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FREEING RELIGION

The Freeing Religion story line surveys religious life in colonial Virginia and explains how Indian, African, and European religions in the colony were modified not only by the legally sanctioned Church of England; but also by the evangelical movement that inspired many people to abandon the established church for dissenting sects; and by the philosophical, political, and social changes that culminated in the passage of a law guaranteeing the free exercise of religion.

KEY POINTS

- **Pervasive Presence.** *Religion permeated everyday life and learning in eighteenth-century Virginia.*
- **State Church.** *Legally established and protected, the Church of England was the predominant religious institution in the Virginia colony.*
- **Separation of Church and State.** *As many Virginians responded to the appeal of evangelical faith and the tolerant rationalism of the Enlightenment, they moved away from the idea of a single authoritarian church protected by the state and toward the concept of religion disassociated from government.*
- **Cradle of Liberty.** *The personal appeal of evangelical faith and the ideals of the Enlightenment helped create an atmosphere in which democratic ideas developed.*
- **Equal Before God.** *As it filtered through African-American culture, evangelical Christianity's message of equality before God merged with Old Testament images of deliverance giving many slaves new strength for resisting and coping with slavery.*
- **Unwilling Subjects.** *Native Americans' reluctance to convert to Christianity and adopt other English customs helped persuade land-hungry colonists and British officials that encroachment on Indian lands and the near-extinction of native populations were justified.*

I STORY LINE

Background and Thesis

The first colonists knelt in a prayer of thanksgiving when they arrived on the shores of Virginia in 1607. At the time, the Protestant Church of England that prescribed the order of service they followed was not yet seventy-five years old. Henry VIII (1509-1547) had broken with the Roman Catholic Church in the 1530s to make himself, not the Pope, head of the English church. Henry's action made the church in England independent of Rome, but true Protestant reform in the Church of England was a restrained and lengthy process.

Devotional practice and liturgy under Henry retained a rich medieval Catholic framework. During Edward VI's few years (1547-1553) on the throne, the church bore the imprint of the king's Protestant tutors and advisors: worship services were conducted in English, the Mass was downplayed and divested of some of its mystery, and churches were stripped of religious images. Mary Tudor (1553-1558) forced the church back into the Catholic fold with considerable support from the laity. Elizabeth I (1558-1603) and her bishops took a "middle way" in order to accommodate a wide spectrum of Protestant opinion from high church Anglicans who favored ritualistic worship, to low church reformers who could tolerate bishops and other holdovers from medieval Catholicism. Nonetheless, the "Elizabethan settlement" left two groups outside the Church of England: intractable Catholics who refused to forswear their

allegiance to the Pope, and extreme Protestants (Puritans) influenced by Calvinism who believed the vestiges of Latin liturgy in Anglicanism and its episcopal organization were contrary to scripture.

In the next century the religion, Catholic or Protestant, of rulers in most Christian countries continued to dictate the religion of their subjects as it had for hundreds of years. State churches were believed to reinforce the power of government. In turn, laws protected "established" churches and safeguarded orthodoxy by suppressing or limiting dissent, while public taxes defrayed church expenses.

In England, Anglican bishops (with royal approval) eventually agreed on thirty-nine articles of faith "for avoiding of Diversities of Opinion, and for the stablishing [*sic*] of Consent touching True Religion." The deliberately ambiguous language in these articles allowed for considerable variation in personal beliefs. Protestants generally depended less on church tradition for religious authority and more on the Bible for God's truth. Dissent from Anglicanism was inevitable as reformers interpreted scripture for themselves. Parliament permitted dissenters to assemble legally for worship provided they followed the rules set forth in the Act of Toleration of 1689. Nonetheless, they could not hold public

office, nor avoid paying taxes to the Church of England.

Scattered settlement during the first century of colonization and the absence of a church hierarchy headed by a bishop forced changes in the established Church of England in Virginia. For instance, parish vestries composed of laymen took control of church affairs in the colony. Dissenters from the Anglican church enjoyed broad religious toleration up to the middle of the eighteenth century. Thereafter, Anglicans who clung to the idea of centralized church authority tried to limit free exercise of religion, while political leaders influenced by the Enlightenment and evangelical dissenters joined forces to expand it.

Ten years after the outbreak of the Revolution, Virginians were in the vanguard of American constitutional change when they broke the ties that had bound Christian churches to the state for nearly fifteen hundred years. In the process, they freed themselves to worship under whatever religious roof they preferred or never to darken a church door at all.

World Views at Odds

English-speaking whites, Native Americans, and Africans, the three main groups who interacted in Virginia, operated within belief systems that included supreme beings, a variety of lesser benevolent entities or angels, troublesome spirits and devils, explanations of good and evil, and stories about creation and the afterlife. In the colonial period, traditional religions of Indians and Africans came under intense

pressure from the dominant Anglo-Virginian culture.

Besides envisioning opportunities for commercial gain, the king, Virginia Company investors, and colonists also viewed the Virginia experiment as a noble effort to fulfill the biblical injunction, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," by converting Indians to their Christian God. Christianity and civilization were nearly synonymous in Tudor-Stuart England. This was reflected in the English social order where human beings occupied positions of increasing importance and responsibility in an ascending hierarchy from the lowliest servant or slave to the monarch. English colonists in Virginia were therefore confident their god intended for them to impose an "orderly government," not the Christian religion alone, on the non-Christian peoples they encountered.

The Anglo-Virginians expected to convert the fifteen to twenty thousand Algonquian-speaking native inhabitants (Powhatans) of the Tsenacomoco coastal plain. The Powhatans were polytheistic, and their priests interceded with several deities to bring rain and cure disease. Powhatans were mindful of the remote Ahone, a beneficent god. The most important deity in their pantheon was the guardian Okeus who, if not properly appeased, visited sickness, crop failure, or other catastrophes on those who offended him. Traditional beliefs bound tribal members to each other and to the natural world in an ethos that English settlers and Virginia-born colonists could not fathom or take seriously. Indian agent and historian Robert Beverley and a party of his

companions rifled a Powhatan temple toward the end of the seventeenth century without recognizing that their investigation was an act of desecration. In turn, most Native Americans spurned the monotheistic religion of the English invaders.

Most West Africans transported to Virginia had been brought up in complex belief systems distinguished by close relationships between the natural world and the supernatural, the secular and the sacred. West Africans considered God to be omniscient and omnipotent. Their knowledge and worship of God was expressed in songs, names, myths, religious ceremonies, prayers, and proverbs. Supreme or creator gods such as Onyame, Mawu, and Olorun had only a remote connection to people's daily lives. Worshipers were most attentive to an array of lesser divinities, personages, and intermediaries associated with the forces of nature such as Oya in the Yoruba country, who was goddess of the Niger River and wife of Shango the thunder god, and Olokun, who owned the sea in Yoruba, Bini, and Ibo.

The Yoruba recognized more than seventeen hundred divinities, known collectively as Orisha, and the Ashanti worshipped many divinities known as Abosom created to guard and protect men. Orisa incorporated Ogun, the god of iron and steel, and Orunmila, who understood "every language spoken on earth," for example. These sky, earth, water, and forest spirits paid close attention to the concerns of humans. Eshu, a trickster god in Dahomey and Nigeria, could bring evil on a house, although he was not purely evil since daily

propitiation garnered his protection and favor.

Africans torn from the supportive embrace of these belief systems were hard put to reestablish them whole on Virginia plantations where slaves from different regions of Africa were thrown together without common language or customs and where slave owners dismissed or forbade what they saw as satanic, "outlandish," or dangerous practices.

Challenges to personal and institutional religion also came from the far-reaching effects of two important movements of the period, the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening. Based on expanding scientific and philosophical horizons by the early eighteenth century, the Enlightenment encouraged educated people to esteem science as the conqueror of superstition and ignorance and inevitably led them to question accepted Christian truths based on biblical revelation. The series of religious revivals later called the Great Awakening emphasized immediate personal understanding of religious truth through the joyful acceptance of a gospel of repentance and redemption that appealed to people from all walks of life.

Anglican Virginia

The Anglican Church establishment was well organized by 1725. All but a few parishes had a minister in marked contrast to the severe shortage of clergy in the previous century. New church buildings that dotted the landscape featured raised pulpits, communion tables accessible to the congregation, monarchical arms, and

ranked seating, all of which reflected Protestant reforms and reinforced the social hierarchy.

In 1684, although the settlement called Middle Plantation was still a frontier of sorts, the parish of Bruton erected its main church there. That church made Middle Plantation attractive to Commissary James Blair and Governor Francis Nicholson as the site for the college they hoped to found in the early 1690s. Bruton Parish Church and the College of William and Mary figured prominently in the decision to move the capital to Middle Plantation in 1699.

By that time, the Anglican clergy included an influential group of Scots in Anglican orders. One of them, James Blair, presided for fifty-four years over the church in Virginia as commissary, the Bishop of London's resident representative in Virginia. Blair founded the College of William and Mary, including a divinity school to train clergymen from the colony. Although his power was limited, Blair's positions of commissary, president of the college, rector of Bruton Parish Church, and member of the governor's Council combined to lend considerable prestige to the established church.

No parish was without a minister by the late 1750s, and nearly one-third of the clergy were Virginia-born. Anglican ministers performed marriages, baptized infants and adults, taught the young, counseled the troubled, comforted the sick and bereaved, and buried the dead. After mid-century, the reputations of some Anglican parsons were seriously discredited as dissenters regularly

admonished them for their worldliness and lack of spirituality. Modern historians frequently belittle the established clergy because of the misdeeds of a few corrupt parish priests. Most, however, were upright in their morals and mindful of their parishioners' needs.

Officeholders at all levels had to be members of the Anglican church. As a result, the overlapping jurisdictions of government and church concentrated political power in the hands of a relatively small group of Virginia leaders. The elite augmented their power by consolidating their control of colonial, county, and parish offices. In turn, the gentry, not an ecclesiastical hierarchy, imparted authority and standing to the established church.

An Anglican parish marked the area ministered to by a church and its vestry. It also served as a subdivision of the county for the administration of civil government. The vestry, a self-perpetuating panel of powerful laymen, met periodically to conduct church business which included responsibilities that fall to secular authorities today. The vestry hired the parish minister when the governor failed to appoint one, kept a register of births and deaths in the parish, and levied taxes to fund construction and repair of church buildings, pay the minister's salary (set by law), and clean up church grounds. Vestrymen also spent tax monies to support indigent parishioners. The vestry placed poor orphans in the homes of tradesmen who agreed to teach them a trade, while county courts protected the estates of propertied orphans.

Virginia did not have church courts comparable to the ones in England, but

county court justices exercised a combination of administrative, judicial, and ecclesiastical powers. Vestrymen lent them a hand. Based in part on what churchwardens (two members of the vestry) told the county grand jury, justices exacted fines or other punishments on offenders for bastardy, adultery, and too-frequent absences from Anglican church services

Spirituality and Community

Recent studies show that Anglican ministers frequently preached to full congregations on Sunday. Since gentry folk accounted for only a fraction of the population, small planters, merchants, artisans, and their families outnumbered the well-to-do in church. In all likelihood, wealthy and middling Virginians shared the belief that religious sentiment ought to be nurtured within the framework of an organized church. Every person (except formally declared dissenters) in eighteenth-century Virginia was a member of the Anglican Church. As such, they were constrained by law to attend services at least once a month, although the courts enforced church attendance only sporadically.

Churchgoing had both spiritual and communal significance for Anglo-Virginians. Most Anglicans went to church regularly because religion offered affirmation of their place in God's design and reassurance that they did not face the uncertainties of everyday life alone. To be sure, colonial Anglicans eschewed outward displays of emotion or religious "enthusiasm." But they found confession, repentance, forgiveness, comfort, and unity in the familiar prayers and responses

in the Book of Common Prayer, such as: "Almighty and most merciful Father; We have erred, and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; And we have done those things which we ought not to have done; And there is no health in us."

Anglican ministers stressed moral instruction for Christian living in their sermons, thereby providing parishioners a standard against which to measure their personal behavior. William Byrd II wrote in his diaries of his remorse over repeated sins of the flesh. Gentlemen, it seems, ascribed to Christian ideals but did not always feel bound by them.

The once-a-week gatherings at the parish church were important social occasions. Before and after Sunday services, parishioners mingled with their neighbors, exchanging news of family and friends and making business and political contacts. Small planters, merchants, and tradesmen probably came to expect a certain civility and recognition from their "betters" in these churchyard exchanges.

Well-to-do families arrived and departed in coaches. Humbler sorts came in more practical wagons and carts, on horseback, or on foot. Seating patterns in Virginia Anglican churches "exhibited the community to itself in ranked order." Women and common planters were already in their seats when the gentlemen of the parish entered as a body. Ordered seating would have been especially evident in Williamsburg, where the elaborate box for the governor in Bruton

Parish Church was in full view of the congregation.

Sundays in the eighteenth century found masters and their slaves at cross purposes. Slaves could attend church only if they obtained their master's consent. Moreover, white Virginians usually invited friends and family home to dine after services, and slaves bore a large part of the work load on those occasions. Their duties took up some of the precious free time slaves had to visit their families and friends, hold their own religious meetings, and supplement their rations by raising chickens, growing vegetables, or trapping and fishing.

The religious lives of poor white parishioners and free blacks within the Anglican system remain obscure. During services, they probably occupied benches at the rear of parish churches. Favored house slaves may have sat with their masters in family pews or boxes; others undoubtedly sat or stood in spaces on the periphery of the congregation. The formality and reserve of Anglican worship may not have appealed to these people as much as the emotionally charged meetings of evangelical sects, although Commissary James Blair observed that many slaves attended Bruton Parish Church regularly and exhibited sincere religious feeling. Similarly, in December 1786, free blacks and other folk joined leading parishioners of Charles Parish, York County in a petition to the General Assembly on behalf of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Reflection on the minister's words, at least among the gentry, often took place within the family circle or in private

meditations, as John Blair of Williamsburg recorded in his diary. Private libraries in Virginia contained Bibles and prayer books and more works on religion than on any other subject. These included sermons, Bible commentaries, concordances, and devotional readings. The most popular Bibles, prayer books, and **The Whole Duty of Man** could also be found in non-gentry homes. Scriptural prints adorned the walls in many Virginia dwellings.

Women in the Established Church

Men of the Virginia gentry ran their parish churches, preached to congregations, openly displayed a Christian duty toward their fellows, and likely read prayers at home. Gentry women had no official duties in the Anglican Church, but were expected to live the Christian ideal. By the middle of the eighteenth century, women in well-to-do households took significant responsibility for their children's religious education, and exerted a strong influence on religious practices in their families. Betsy Randolph, Margaret Hornsby, and Anne Nicholas of Williamsburg and Lucy Nelson of Yorktown saw to it that their families observed Sabbath laws, attended weekly church services and communion, and read the Bible. Many relied on religious faith for strength as they faced the risks and pain of childbirth and the deaths of children, husbands, and friends. Women lower on the economic scale left so few records that it is very difficult to determine if they fulfilled a similar role in their families, albeit reduced by demands of work and diminished literacy. Mrs. Ann Wager, a widow of modest means, was evidently a devout Anglican and familiar

with religious writings. Named mistress of the Bray School for black children in Williamsburg, she taught from a curriculum based almost entirely on the Bible, catechisms, religious tracts, and bishops' pastoral letters supplied by the school's sponsors in England.

The Church of England and Slavery

Shared religious values among white and black Virginians developed slowly. Just what the spiritual lives of Africans in the colony were like, especially in the early seventeenth century, remains elusive. Whether freemen or bound laborers, they undoubtedly held onto familiar African religious practices as long as possible.

As they adapted to life in Virginia, some Africans heard about Christianity from a few sympathetic Anglicans, or had contact with small groups of dissenters in the colony. The son of two blacks who arrived in 1619 was baptized in the Anglican church at Jamestown in 1624, although his parents may have been Catholic. William, son of "Negro Prosta," was baptized in York County in 1655. That same year, white planter Edmond Chisman was warned by the York County Court to keep his wife and several of his slaves away from one of the small "unlawful assemblies" of Quakers. It is difficult to draw conclusions from such isolated events, but slaves somehow became familiar enough with Christianity and English ways to suppose that baptism would set them free. Take for example Elizabeth Key, the daughter of a slave woman and a white man. She sued for her freedom in Northumberland County in 1655. One of her attorney's arguments before the court was that as a baptized

Christian, Key could not be enslaved. (The General Assembly closed that loophole in 1667, but the idea still heartened slaves as late as 1730. Until the Baptists and Methodists did so in the 1760s and 1770s, neither Anglicans nor dissenters in Virginia challenged the institution of slavery itself.

By the 1680s and 1690s, slaves had replaced white indentured servants as the principal work force in Virginia. Many slave holders were indifferent to their slaves spiritual needs; many more feared that the spiritually liberating effect of Christian teachings would make their slaves proud and unmanageable. With little support from masters or guidance from church officials in England, Anglican ministers hands were tied.

On the urging of the Bishop of London in the 1720s, a number of priests in Virginia, among them Commissary James Blair, began catechizing slaves in their parishes. William LeNeve of James City Parish; Francis Fontaine of Yorkhampton Parish, which included Yorktown; Jonathan Boucher of Caroline County; and William Willie of Sussex County all ministered to slaves. By that time, some slave holders had come to feel that their slaves ought to be Christianized.

Blair reported that sincere Christian belief distinguished a number of slaves who attended his church in Williamsburg. One may have been James Westover who was baptized at Bruton Church as a "grown person." Several local slave owners, James Geddy, Robert Carter Nicholas, Christiana Campbell, and Peyton Randolph, saw to it that children of their slaves were baptized, and sometimes enrolled them in the school for black

children sponsored by the Associates of Dr. Bray, a philanthropic organization in England closely tied to the Anglican church. Free black Matthew Ashby's children also numbered among its students.

On the other hand, many slaves saw little to recommend the religion of their masters, and rejected Christianity altogether. Moreover, Anglican clergymen cooperated with slave owners by counseling slaves to accept their subservient status and to obey their masters, thereby attempting to use religion as a method of control. Mrs. Wager, mistress of the Bray School, undoubtedly reinforced this message, although the schooling black children received may have had unintended consequences. Mrs. Wager taught her students rules of behavior, correct enunciation, and, most important, reading: Tools slaves could use to advantage in a society that offered them little formal protection.

One Tree, Many Branches

Politically, the 1707 Act of Union united Wales, Scotland, and England. Still divided by cultural differences and historical enmities, Britons during the remainder of the eighteenth century nevertheless were drawn together by a shared commitment to Protestantism in the face of repeated conflict with Catholic France and Spain. Widespread suspicion of papists in Great Britain transferred to those few Catholics who settled in Virginia and the somewhat larger number in Maryland. In contrast, colonial officials generally tolerated law-abiding Protestant dissenters. Even Puritans lived peaceably

in Nansemond County until 1649 when three hundred fled the colony under pressure from Governor William Berkeley, who was eager to demonstrate his loyalty to king and church during the civil war in England.

By 1700, at least twenty Quaker groups resided in Virginia despite laws that made it illegal for them to enter the colony and harassment from local sheriffs when they failed to attend militia musters. Huguenots arrived in Virginia in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries having first fled France for England when Louis XIV nullified the rights of French Protestants in 1685 by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Huguenots eventually merged with the Anglican establishment. Virginians of Huguenot descent included the Marots and Pasteurs of Williamsburg.

An influx of Scots and Ulster Scots brought Presbyterianism to the Valley of Virginia in the 1730s and 1740s. Traditional Presbyterians even filled vacancies on Anglican parish vestries in some western Virginia counties. Virginia officials accommodated smaller numbers of Moravians and other German sects on the frontier where Regular Baptists had been settling since the 1750s. Even the colony's capital city harbored a few non-Anglican Protestants. In 1765, a group of men gained permission from the York County Court to use a house in Williamsburg for services "according to the Practice of Protestant Dissenters of the Presbyterian denomination."

Their growing numbers notwithstanding, dissenters labored under serious legal, financial, and social

restrictions. The law required them to pay the same taxes that Anglicans did to fund ministers' salaries, construction and upkeep of Anglican churches, and poor relief. In addition, dissenters had to pay their own ministers' salaries and maintain their separate meetinghouses. Although the House of Burgesses suffered a few Presbyterians from frontier counties to join its ranks, holding public office was generally off limits to dissenters. Sheriffs and their assistants were belligerent and occasionally violent when they broke up evangelical meetings in the 1770s. When he saw Baptist ministers preaching from their jail cells in Orange County, James Madison's inclination toward religious toleration turned into full-blown sympathy for disestablishment.

Jewish immigrants gained a foothold in Rhode Island, New York, South Carolina, and Georgia in the colonial period, but few Jews settled in Virginia until after the Revolution. Of Portuguese-Jewish descent, London-born physician John DeSequeyra immigrated to Virginia in the 1740s, and lived as a respected medical practitioner in Williamsburg for about fifty years. Whether Dr. DeSequeyra was willing or able to practice his faith and honor Jewish traditions is not known.

Enlightenment Thought

The movement known as the Enlightenment derived its name from the campaign in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to shine light into the recesses of the human mind benighted by superstition and ignorance. A series of scientific revelations that began during the Renaissance fostered ideas of progress and methods of reasoning that offered the

first serious alternative to medieval certainties upheld by religious and civil authorities in the Christianized west. From Copernicus's theory that the earth and planets revolved around the sun to the universal laws of gravitation put forward by Isaac Newton in *Principia* (1687), the Scientific Revolution promised to liberate human beings from the fear and anxiety evoked by the unknown. Farsighted seventeenth-century philosophers such as Francis Bacon championed the modern scientific method of careful and replicable investigations and logical thinking over theological synthesis and philosophical speculation. The laws of science seemed so irrefutable and so different from the older view of nature that, by the 1690s, as one historian has put it, the "new, reforming mentality inspired a cultural war with orthodox Christianity that began in Western Europe and continued right up to the French Revolution."

It must be remembered that the outcome of this tug-of-war was not as predictable as it might first appear. Newton himself believed that the laws by which the forces of nature operated were proof of the "greater glory of God." Moreover, the Enlightenment in England and America was not so much opposed to religion as in partnership with it. Liberal clergymen in England and educated Protestant thinkers in the colonies came to see God's purpose in the ordered Newtonian universe. In other words, they could have their Bible along with their science. Other thinkers and writers caught up in the Enlightenment, particularly on the Continent, used Newton's discoveries to dispense with God altogether. In educated British and American circles, however, the "Protestant

version of science" prevailed over the atheistic Enlightenment.

Although the Anglican church in Virginia revered reason in the service of religion, many among the educated colonial elite distrusted organized religion.

In their view, medieval mysticism had corrupted the simple message of Christianity. Moreover, they were troubled by the degree to which, contrary to reason, Christian churches of their own time relied for religious insight on biblical revelation and accounts of miracles. An early manifestation of this attitude is found in the case of Sir John Randolph of Williamsburg, a member of the Bruton Parish vestry. Probated in 1737, his will noted that "I have been reproached by many people especially the clergy in the article of religion" and have been called "names very familiar to blind zealots such as deist heretic and schismatic."

Sir John's religious beliefs as explained in the will, appear similar to those of a number of members of the Revolutionary generation, some of whom were schooled in scientific advances and Enlightenment rationalism at the College of William and Mary. Thomas Jefferson spent several years in Williamsburg in the company of men of the Enlightenment stripe: William and Mary professor William Small, Governor Francis Fauquier, member of the Royal Society, and the scholarly George Wythe. Jefferson expressed admiration for the moral system of Jesus, which he described as the most "sublime ever preached to man." Jefferson, however, doubted the divinity of Christ, was opposed to orthodox Christian doctrine of the Trinity, and believed that God was a remote creator who had set

the ordered universe in motion. This new "rational" religion had very little in common with versions of Christianity steeped in miracles and prophecy.

Personal God

By the 1750s and 1760s, evangelical Presbyterians and Separate Baptists had made inroads in Virginia. They preached a message that emphasized the natural depravity of men and women, salvation by God's grace alone, and direct access to God for all baptized believers. Virginia planters who controlled the established church were suspicious of dissent and revival "enthusiasm." Outdoors, or in simple meetinghouses, evangelicals' emotionally charged preaching style exhorted listeners to repent their sins. This stood in marked contrast to the scholarly sermons Anglican clergymen read in monotone from their raised pulpits.

James Blair invited English Methodist George Whitefield to preach from the Bruton pulpit in 1739. Whitefield's warmly personal version of Christianity was well received. In the 1740s, Samuel Davies, a "new side" Presbyterian came to Williamsburg voluntarily on several occasions to secure the license to preach required by the General Court. As evangelical denominations grew, dissenters complied less willingly with these regulations. Baptists flouted licensing laws, and submitted with equanimity to fines and imprisonment meted out by county officials. Sheriffs and constables roughed up preachers and worshippers when they disrupted Baptist meetings. Virginia authorities were slow to recognize that evangelicals thrived in

adversity much like the early Christians with whom they identified.

"Awakened" Christians did not show customary deference when they censured high-born Anglicans for excessive drinking, gambling, and fancy dressing. Moreover, Baptists believed that each congregation was an authority unto itself, a challenge to conventional notions of hierarchy in the colony. More alarming still, traditional class lines blurred as "New Lights" drew converts from all classes, including slaves.

Some leading families in Virginia were touched by the new religious enthusiasm. Henry family unity was threatened when young Patrick's mother held fast to her evangelical Presbyterian faith. Councilor Robert Carter broke with the Anglican church in 1776 under the influence of the rationalism of the age as he began a spiritual journey that included conversion to the Baptist faith and later to the Church of the New Jerusalem and the teachings of Emanuel Swedenborg.

"New Light" Christians and Slavery

In the 1740s evangelical Presbyterian Samuel Davies ministered to black and white congregants in Hanover County. By the 1760s and 1770s, Baptist and Methodist ministers not only preached to mixed congregations, but they called on their white converts to manumit their slaves. In 1771, William Lee of Greensprings in James City County expressed the reaction of many slave owners when he wrote, "the wandering new light preachers from the Northward have put most of my Negroes crazy with their new light and their new Jerusalem."

As a remedy, Lee advised his overseer to encourage all his slaves to go every Sunday to the parish church.

Blacks and whites in the Williamsburg area probably gathered together in the 1780s to hear outdoor sermons by itinerant preachers such as Baptist Joseph Mead and Methodists Joseph Pilmore and Francis Asbury. A few slaves and free blacks answered the call to preach. Local blacks may have responded to "New Light" Christianity in secrecy, perhaps under the influence of runaway slaves such as James Williams, James Traveller, Jack, Tom, and Harry. All were described in the *Virginia Gazette* as preachers or hymn singers, and hid in and around Williamsburg between 1775 and 1785.

Williamsburg slave preachers Moses and then Gowan Pamphlet met secretly with fellow slaves and free blacks at least as early as 1781. The group eventually allied itself with the Baptist denomination under Pamphlet's leadership to form the earliest Baptist church in America organized by and for blacks. Pamphlet organized his church for slaves and free blacks, but he soon recognized the benefits in respectability and protection that his congregation would gain if he cemented strong ties with white Baptists. Pamphlet succeeded when the white regional Dover Baptist Association approved his congregation's application for membership in 1793.

Popular Culture

Children in the eighteenth century were familiar with biblical imagery and the phraseology and rhythm of *The Book of Common Prayer* from an early age. In

Anglican and dissenting homes alike, the family Bible was often the text mothers and other adults used to teach very young children the basic elements of spelling and reading. Moreover, Anglican ministers continued the traditional link between education and religious training, when they opened schools for somewhat older white children. Later, they prepared young people in their teens for an oral drill on the Anglican catechism and articles of faith. Phrases such as, "the patience of Job," "ashes to ashes, dust to dust" and images of the fatted calf and the prodigal son peppered the speech of people of all ranks and degrees of literacy, and turned up in the writings of educated Virginians alongside classical allusions and quotations from Greek and Roman authors.

If biblical imagery and Christian teachings were second nature to most white colonists, they existed side by side with folk beliefs. Traditional Protestant denominations, the rise of Enlightenment skepticism and scientific investigation, the spread of evangelical Christianity, higher literacy, and the maturation of colonial society gradually loosened the hold of magic and superstition on the popular imagination. At the same time, there is evidence that folk practices, sometimes in combination with hybrid Christian beliefs, persisted. For example, almanacs published by the *Virginia Gazette* continued to print astrological calculations and the ever popular "anatomy," a crude human figure surrounded by the twelve signs of the zodiac that were thought to control various parts of the body. Even Robert Carter of Nomini Hall renamed some of his quarters after signs of the zodiac in the late 1770s.

Long Road to Disestablishment

Disestablishment of the Anglican church took nearly a decade. Article sixteen of George Mason's Declaration of Rights, adopted in June 1776, stated that every person had an equal right to "free exercise" of religion, even though it left the favored position of the Anglican church intact. Dissenters took the "free exercise" clause at face value, however, and began petitioning the legislature to be relieved of paying taxes for the support of the established Anglican church and to be freed from various legal restrictions. Later that year, the General Assembly agreed to suspend, but not abolish, obligatory church taxes, a serious blow to a religious institution unaccustomed to meeting expenses through voluntary contributions. In 1779, Thomas Jefferson introduced his bill for religious freedom, but legislators deemed complete disestablishment too radical at that time and tabled the measure. Dissenters' petitions kept the issue alive, until it could be reconsidered after the Revolution. Meanwhile, the Assembly continued to take small steps to placate evangelicals such as the act passed in 1780 legalizing marriages performed by dissenting ministers.

Virginia patriots were by no means of one mind about what to do about the partnership between church and state in the Old Dominion. Most shared the belief that republican government could thrive only if it were rooted in a virtuous populace, but Patrick Henry, Robert Carter Nicholas, Edmund Pendleton, and George Mason were less sanguine than Jefferson or Madison that public and private virtue could be inculcated without the authority of

an established church. In 1784, sensing that the privileged position of the Episcopal (formerly Anglican) church could not be sustained much longer, Henry and others proposed a "general assessment" that would have made all Christian churches eligible for state funds. James Madison voiced his own and most dissenters' misgivings about this proposal in his famous "Memorial and Remonstrance." He wrote that if a state could legally establish Christianity today, it could legitimately establish "any particular sect of Christians" tomorrow.

When "General Assessment" failed to pass in the General Assembly, Madison resurrected Jefferson's old bill. With its author in France, Madison became chief advocate for its passage. The bill contained the ringing phrase, "Almighty God hath created the mind free." By acknowledging God as the source of human reason, Jefferson deftly combined religious and rationalist ideals. Both dissenters and "enlightened" thinkers could champion this symbol in the struggle to disassociate religion and government. In the ten years since the Declaration of Rights was adopted in 1776, the combined efforts of "New Light" Christians and the Jefferson/Madison cohort gained passage of the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom in 1786. Other states with religious establishments gradually followed suit, with Massachusetts the last when it disestablished the Congregational Church in 1833.

Hollow Ring

The institution of slavery was the most obvious blemish on the accomplishments of the Revolution and religious freedom in

Virginia. If passage of Jefferson's bill in 1786 ensured freedom of religion with guarantees of special privilege to none, it did so only for the white citizens of the new state. Intercultural bonds forged between white and black Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists in the decades before the American Revolution began to unravel by the turn of the century. Calls for evangelicals to free their slaves died out as Baptists and Methodists gained respectability and entered the mainstream of society where slavery was entrenched.

Whites had long regarded slavery and religion as a potentially dangerous combination. The mid- to late-eighteenth-century revivals and awakenings only increased their anxiety. White Virginians were sure that black preachers, including Gowan Pamphlet of Williamsburg, fomented rebellion. This suspicion appeared to be justified in 1831 when Baptist preacher Nat Turner spearheaded a revolt that took a number of lives, both black and white. In the aftermath, the black Baptist meetinghouse in Williamsburg was forced to close for the better part of a year. Stricter laws soon curtailed independent African-American religious activities. Black Christians in Virginia left mixed congregations and associations before and after the Civil War.

Although Pocahontas and some other Powhatans converted to Christianity in the first two decades of white settlement in Virginia, most Native Americans saw little to recommend the Christian religion or the customs of the English. When added to the language barrier, the strangeness of each others lifestyles, and the dryness of

the Anglican catechism, the failure of Anglican missionary efforts was inevitable. An Indian school established at Fort Christanna in the late 1710s was initially well received by Indian parents and the children they sent to be "Christianized," but it was open for only a few years. Between 1700 and the Revolution, the College of William and Mary pursued the unrealistic goal of indoctrinating Indian boys sufficiently in English ways so that they could become missionaries to their people. None responded as hoped because most felt that time at William and Mary cost them valuable training in their native customs. As Native-American populations dwindled and priests and traditional religions lost their power after prolonged contact with whites, remnants of several tribes withdrew to the Carolina uplands and the Ohio Country in the 1760s. There they revived their traditional cultures, including renewal of native spiritual systems. Those who remained behind in the East gradually converted to Christianity, especially to its evangelical strains.

Conclusion

Churches proved to be even more influential in the new republic than they had been before the Revolution precisely because they were independent of government. One historian noted, "as the Republic became democratized, it became evangelized." Ordinary people continued to rely on religion for moral direction and spiritual support as they faced the precariousness of life. Public leaders soon learned that devotion to evangelical Christianity carried political weight. In 1802, Baptists forced the sale of Episcopal (Anglican) glebe lands bought with public

tax monies before 1777. Likewise, when Jefferson ran for office, his enemies turned away many voters by calling his eccentric religious views atheism.

Traditionalists among post-war leaders came to view Christianity as the only force that could rescue the new nation from the social disorder that enveloped the early republic. Others were disappointed that the freedom to choose one's religious affiliation, coupled with repeated waves of revivalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, did not always draw people together. Instead, it spawned denominationalism and the non-violent but schismatic tendencies that remain characteristic of American religious life today. Moreover, questions about abortion rights and religious displays on public property continue to involve ordinary citizens and the Supreme Court in the redefinition of what is meant by separation of church and state.

Organized religion responded to people's changing circumstances in America. The frontier was the Promised Land to countless groups and individuals from all over the world as well as to many who struck out from the older settled areas of the colonies. Methodist, Baptist, and Disciples of Christ churches sprang up throughout the American wilderness in the wake of camp meetings, weeklong revivals, and circuit-riding itinerant preachers. Perhaps owing to the very freedom of worship once feared by supporters of established state religion, an extraordinarily large number of Americans today profess a belief in God and regularly attend a church, synagogue, or other formal worship service despite ever-

growing secularization of American culture in other respects.

2

"FREEING RELIGION" AND THE BECOMING AMERICANS THEME

Diverse Peoples

White English colonists brought their own religious values, customs, and assumptions to their experience in Virginia. The Powhatan Indians they found here believed in a distant, kindly, creator god and a pantheon of lesser deities associated with the natural world who expected to be worshipped, and visited disease, crop failure, or other calamities on people who offended them. They felt the earth was sacred to their gods and needed protection. Priests possessed both curative and magical powers derived from their secret communications with the various deities. English colonists transplanted the state-supported Church of England in Virginia, and made it the custodian of spirituality, morality, charity, and education as it was in England. Protestant dissenters began settling in Virginia in the seventeenth century, and up to the middle of the eighteenth century, colonial officials tolerated law-abiding Presbyterians and German sects on the frontier. Black peoples brought with them a variety of African religious systems distinguished by a close relationship between the natural world and the supernatural, the secular and the sacred. They clung to familiar customs as long as they could, but African religious systems did not survive slavery intact. Comparatively few slaves converted to Christianity under Anglican auspices.

Clashing Interests

People's different backgrounds, ideas, and aspirations soon came into conflict in Virginia. Although English settlement in Virginia was a commercial enterprise, it also embraced missionary goals. Most Virginia Indians resisted Christian conversion, however. They saw little in the hostility and indifference displayed by Anglican colonists to recommend the Christian religion over their own traditional beliefs. Traditional African belief systems were largely lost to blacks after years of slavery in Virginia, although individual practices persisted. Nor did slaves embrace the religion of their masters in significant numbers until the religious revivals known as the Great Awakening. Many white Virginians also responded to the revivals, and turned their backs on the established church to join evangelical sects. New Light Baptists and other evangelicals ignored licensing laws and demanded to be relieved of paying taxes to the established church. By that time, many intellectuals in the colony, influenced by the Enlightenment and Scientific Revolution, had begun to question the soundness of orthodox Christian ideas and the justification for an established church.

Shared Values

Biblical language and imagery permeated both the oral and written

cultures of all ranks of Christians. Religious values that Anglicans and Protestant dissenters shared encouraged toleration and cooperation before mid-century. In spite of their reputation as carefree lovers of fun, Virginia gentlemen had a great interest in religion as their libraries attest. Even those Virginians who adopted a more rational approach to religion came to that view after being reared in the Anglican church. The Anglican church as well as masters and mistresses were slow to respond to the spiritual needs of slaves. Anglican clergymen reached out more willingly to slaves after about 1720, although they never challenged the institution of slavery, nor refused slave owners' requests that they preach to black congregates on the Christian virtue of obedience. Shared religious perceptions among blacks and whites were more evident in evangelical denominations after 1750. For a time, blacks and whites viewed themselves as brothers and sisters in the sight of God, who loved them all equally. Emotionally charged sermons of Baptist and other evangelical preachers appealed to worshippers from all walks of life. Over the course of the colonial period, most Native Americans shared few religious values with white Virginians, whether Anglicans or dissenters. Prolonged contact probably fostered a limited exchange of folk knowledge among Indians, blacks, and whites.

Formative Institutions

White Virginians, Native Americans, and African Americans reached religious compromises through formal and informal institutions. With a commissary at its head and nearly enough ministers to fill

Anglican parishes in the colony, by 1700 the Anglican establishment had become well entrenched. The real power of the church rested in the hands of local gentry vestrymen. Parish officials brought charges of bastardy, adultery, and non-attendance at church to the county courts for resolution. Church vestries taxed parishioners for support of the poor and disabled. Although there were no official roles for women in the Anglican church, important "non-institutional" responsibilities fell to wives and mothers. They often taught the rudiments of reading to children in their households for which the Bible served as the textbook, and by example set the agenda for religious practices in their homes. Anglicans met with limited success in bringing Christianity to Indians and slaves in the colonial period. Young Native Americans educated at William and Mary soon returned to their traditional tribal life and religion. Black people in Virginia had limited opportunity under the slave system to sustain complex African spiritual supports. Anglican missionary efforts addressed the spiritual needs of slaves only on a limited basis depending upon the commitment of individual parish priests, and the inclination of the slaves to whom they ministered. Later, evangelical Christian sects such as the Baptists appealed to much larger numbers of slaves.

Partial Freedoms

The institutions nurtured by a state-supported church in Virginia privileged some and disadvantaged others. Overlapping church and government institutions concentrated political power in the hands of the gentry. In turn, they imparted authority to the church. People

from the upper and middle ranks of white society shared similar cultural values fostered by church attendance and socializing in the churchyard after services. These contacts likely carried over into the workaday world to give up-and-coming tradesmen and merchants a foothold in Virginia society. On the other hand, poor people got financial assistance from the church but little else. Many Anglican parishioners took great personal solace from their belief in God and felt a keen sense of Christian duty toward their fellow men. Initially, toleration of religious diversity in Virginia was not equated with freedom of religion. Consequently, dissenters could not fill public offices. Nor did making their dissent official by registering with the courts according to law absolve non-Anglicans from paying public taxes to support the established church. The church in Virginia sometimes ameliorated conditions within the institution of slavery, but it also lent biblical authority to the subservient status of slaves. Church attendance by slaves and servants depended upon their masters' will. The Anglican church did not countenance rituals or beliefs of Native

Americans. For their part, few Indians warmed to the Christian religion.

Revolutionary Promise

In Virginia, persistent injustices, inequalities, and unbalanced power relationships contained seeds of future religious discord. Isolated incidents of religious persecution before 1700 gave way to relatively peaceful coexistence among religious groups before the middle of the eighteenth century. Thereafter, the struggle to gain religious freedom went hand in hand with political events that transformed Virginia from colony to state, although disestablishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church (formerly the Church of England) was not achieved until ten years after political independence was declared. In 1776, the unlikely partnership between dissenters and Enlightenment thinkers freed Virginians to worship, or not, as their consciences dictated, but religious freedom had a hollow ring for slaves, who often worshipped under the watchful eyes of their masters. Moreover, contact with outside cultures eventually undermined Native-American belief systems.

3

CONNECTIONS WITH OTHER STORYLINES

Taking Possession

As colonists took up land in Virginia, Anglican parishes regularly processioned the bounds to confirm titles to it. Anglican parishes owned farms or plantations known as glebe lands that ministers could work themselves for profit or rent out to

supplement their salaries, which were set by law. After disestablishment, there was a clamor to have these lands, purchased with tax monies in the colonial period, removed from church ownership and sold for the benefit of the public. Native Americans viewed land, sky, water, and air as integral parts of the earth that could

not be bought and sold. Land-hungry colonists and British officials concluded that encroachment on Indian lands and the near-extirmination of native populations was justified in part because most Native Americans did not embrace the monotheistic religion and other customs of the invaders.

Enslaving Virginia

The Anglican church in Virginia tolerated slavery. A missionary organization in England, the Associates of Dr. Bray, was especially concerned with slaves, but focused only on saving their souls and improving their treatment, not on the abolition of slavery. Some masters feared that the spiritually liberating effect of Christianity would foster rebelliousness in their bondsmen. Individual ministers and owners had slaves instructed in the Anglican catechism, but they often stressed humility and obedience as the most desirable Christian values. Ministers (with permission from a broad cross section of local masters) baptized nearly one thousand slaves at Bruton Parish Church. Mrs. Ann Wager, tutor at the Bray School for black children in Williamsburg, doubtless shared some of the same goals and assumptions as owners and ministers, but she also taught slaves to read, a skill that could be used to advantage by slaves eager to circumvent controls forced on them by white society. Many more slaves were drawn to the Baptists and other New Light evangelical sects than had responded to Christianity through the established church. The evangelical Christian message of equality before God merged in African-American culture with Old Testament images of

deliverance to give many slaves a spiritual identity and new inner strength.

Redefining Family

Belief in a father God who guided and cared for the human beings he created was reflected in the patriarchal arrangement in eighteenth-century white families. Husbands headed households, and family values were based on religious values. Wives often exerted important influence on religious practices in their families, even though they were subordinate to their husbands. Anne Nicholas and Ann Wager, women of different social ranks in Williamsburg, represented the ideal of Anglican womanhood as models of piety for their friends and relations and initiators of religious faith in the children they taught. Virginians often kept birth and death dates in family Bibles, although vestries officially recorded these events. The established church did not recognize slave marriages, while marriages of free persons had its blessing and protection. Vestries provided support for free families fallen on hard times. White family structure came under some pressure as evangelical sects won more converts. It was often a woman who responded to religious revivals, which disrupted family unity if her husband was loyal to the Anglican church, as was the case with Patrick Henry's parents.

Buying Respectability

Clergymen of all stripes, playwrights, and lawmakers had long warned that the spread of luxury in England would spawn "dangerous insubordination in society" as people sought to buy their way up the social ladder. Pulpits, Anglican and

dissenter alike, and newspapers in America rang with similar admonitions about the disturbing growth of luxury and extravagance. As one writer put it in the *Virginia Gazette*, "Luxury poisons a whole Nation and all Conditions and Ranks of Men are Confounded." Baptists and other New Light Christians in Virginia denounced the extravagant lifestyle of the well-to-do, decrying their devotion to fancy dress and games of chance. Evangelicals argued that the gentry's self-serving habits reflected a shallow faith. The new consumerism became apparent in Anglican churches in eighteenth-century Virginia. A new church for Bruton Parish completed in 1715 came into being in part because burgesses, the governor, and councilors wanted to worship in an appropriately appointed state church. Plans for the church included a fine box for the governor and later a steeple and organ. Private pews and burial inside the church, or beneath elaborate stones in the churchyard, bestowed prestige on those who could afford them. Weekly Anglican church services made for convenient display of fine coaches and clothing, and Mrs. Anne Nicholas's piety did not stop her from ordering an expensive prayer book from England.

Choosing Revolution

In the 1750s and 1760s, evangelical Presbyterians and Baptists became less and less willing to be constrained by rules that advantaged the Church of England in the colony. They precipitated a struggle for religious freedom that challenged the centralized church establishment even before the Stamp Act crisis gave evidence that changes were underway in the political arena. In the twenty-five years

before events in 1776 forced Virginians to choose between rebellion and loyalty to the king, the sermons of George Whitefield, Samuel Davies, and others during a series of revivals we know as the Great Awakening had already inspired many colonists to make decisions that upset the status quo. When they turned their backs on the Anglican establishment, evangelical dissenters not only challenged civil authority, but questioned its legal partnership with a particular church. Moreover, traditional class lines blurred as black and white, rich and poor, free and slave worshippers mingled at gatherings where they heard about a God who loved them all equally.

In the political arena, Baptists and Presbyterians who wished to practice their religion unmolested teamed up with men such as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, who believed the human mind was created free. These strange bedfellows persuaded the General Assembly to pass a law in 1786 guaranteeing free exercise of religion. Before the Revolution, his distaste for church establishments notwithstanding, Jefferson had helped "cook up" the fast day observed on June 1, 1774, at Bruton Parish and other Anglican churches to show solidarity with the citizens of Boston.

Some ministers praised the Revolution from the pulpit as God's vehicle for bringing the people in America into the Promised Land. On the other hand, ministers loyal to the crown continued to stress that the king remained God's principal representative on earth, who carried out his duty with the help of a select group of high-ranking individuals. Meanwhile, George Washington and other military leaders recognized the importance

of religious counsel for their troops. Many ministers successfully petitioned the Episcopal (formerly Anglican) clergymen Assembly to be permitted to do the same who supported independence became chaplains, and several dissenting

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THE REFORMATION

The term *Reformation* or *Protestant Reformation* did not come into general use until the nineteenth century. It refers to religious changes that took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe and the British Isles. The Reformation took different forms in different places, largely shaped by the views of leading reformers on the Continent and in England. The Reformation divided along the following lines:

Lutheranism

Luther saw the problems of the Church as theological rather than moral. By arguing that the corrupt state of the Church was the product of false doctrine, he provided an ideological weapon that undermined the Catholic Church's authority, opening the door to far-reaching theological, institutional, and spiritual change. In Germany, Luther was seen as a liberator from foreign papal domination and exploitation. Lutheranism spread rapidly in northern Europe and northern and central Germany.

Calvinism

In the cities of southern Germany and Switzerland, beginning with Ulrich Zwingli in Zurich, and progressing to its classic form under Calvin in Geneva, there developed a competing Protestant movement. They agreed with Lutheranism on justification by faith alone and the role of Scripture -- but these Reformed Protestants were more radical in their demands, rejecting all of Catholic worship as idolatry, emphasizing predestination, and instituting a rigorous system of religious and moral discipline. In 1525, the Reformed Protestants and the Lutherans split over the interpretation of the Eucharist.

Radical Reformation

A third group of Protestants is referred to as the Radical Reformation--the largest group of which were the Anabaptists (ancestors of modern Baptists and Mennonites). This group rejected infant baptism, insisting that only those who had faith be baptized. Protestants and Catholics condemned Anabaptists as heretics. More than fifty thousand were executed in the sixteenth century.

Reformation in England

Tension between two branches of the national church in England, conservative Anglicans and radical Protestants (Puritans), and the compromise struck between the two shaped the Church of England.

Freeing Religion Team

THE CONTINENTAL REFORMATION

Source: David L. Holmes, **A Brief History of the Episcopal Church** (Valley Forge, 1993), pp. 1-4.

In sixteenth-century Europe, the religious pluralism Americans accept today, as a birthright was unknown. Virtually everywhere the religion of the ruling authority determined the religion of the people. If the king remained loyal to papal teachings during the conflicts of the Reformation, then his land remained Roman Catholic. If the ruler accepted the teachings of one of the principal Protestant Reformers—Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Ulrich Zwingli (whose brief reformation in Switzerland was continued and largely replaced by Calvinism)—then his people also followed Luther, Zwingli, or Calvin.

Politics, economics, and social considerations played a role, but the Reformation was overall a distinctly religious movement. Ironically, although it arose in reaction to the worldliness and corruption of late medieval Roman Catholicism, it nevertheless emerged out of the spiritual riches of precisely the same church it was attempting to reform.

By the time the Reformation's storms had quieted on the continent of Europe, France, parts of Germany, and most of central and southern Europe (led by Spain) remained loyal to the teaching of Roman Catholicism that Christ had entrusted his church to the care of the papacy. The Scandinavian lands and many of the German states had become Lutheran. Calvinism had won the Netherlands and some of the Swiss cantons, and taken root in parts of Germany, France, and Hungary. Roman Catholic and Protestant governments alike had persecuted almost out of existence the small number of Christians who had embraced the more thoroughgoing reformation of the Anabaptists (the forerunners of today's Mennonite, Amish, and Hutterite churches).

Initially positive and meaning "to assert (or stand) for" something, the term "Protestant" came from a protest issued in 1529 by six princes and fourteen cities when a diet of the German Holy Roman empire revoked an earlier decision to allow religious toleration to Lutheran and Zwinglian churches. Few of the continental churches used the term for themselves (the Lutherans preferring "Evangelical" and the Zwinglians and Calvinists favoring "Reformed"), but the name stuck. Although the various churches subsequently called "Protestant" varied, they were united in certain central affirmations.

Above all, Protestants maintained that they were not teaching new doctrines but rather restoring (an important word in Protestantism) the Christianity described in the New Testament and in the writings of the early church fathers. Calvin, for example, claimed that he could have written his landmark *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (first edition, 1536) out of the writings of the fourth- and fifth-century church father Augustine of Hippo. Roman Catholicism required reforming, Protestants asserted, because it had

not only departed from the true faith of early Christianity but also added a substantial body of man-made religion to it.

All Protestants—whether Lutheran, Reformed, or Anabaptist—believed that the Holy Scripture was the sole source of revealed truth, that its reading nourished Christians, and that individual conscience could interpret it. They rejected the concept of a hierarchical and intermediary priesthood, believed that all baptized believers formed a universal priesthood with direct access to God, emphasized the role of the laity, viewed clergy as laypeople set aside to witness full-time for Jesus Christ, and on biblical grounds supported the marriage of clergy.

Stressing the sovereign transcendence of God and the sinfulness of humankind, Protestants taught that men and women were powerless to save themselves through so-called good works. They taught that salvation comes only through the loving mercy of God, which the Christian receives through his or her total commitment of trustful faith and not (as Roman Catholicism then taught) through a combination of faith, good works that earn merits, and the dispensations of the church. The Reformation taught that the Christian's good works -- the love of God and neighbor over the self -- then flow from this new relationship out of gratitude, but are in no way meritorious. Called "justification by grace through faith," this central teaching of Protestantism is articulated in such hymns as "A Mighty Fortress is Our God," "Ah, Holy Jesus," and "Just as I Am."

For most early Protestants the belief in God's sovereignty and human sinfulness also led to a belief in predestination -- the teaching that God had selected some persons for salvation while allowing or ordaining all others to follow their own ways to sin and damnation. Although most early Protestants found the biblical support for the doctrine compelling, other Protestants challenged it (as did the Roman Catholics) and argued that God allowed Christians to accept or reject salvation. Although the teaching is embedded in such popular hymns as "Amazing Grace" and "Rock of Ages," belief in predestination steadily declined until only a small number of Protestants asserted it by the twentieth century.

In matters of liturgy, most Protestants -- Lutheranism was a partial exception -- believed that a return to the doctrine and practices of early Christianity carried with it a simplification of worship. On the basis of Scripture and the teachings of the church fathers, Protestants reduced the seven sacraments of the medieval church to the two they believed Jesus Christ had instituted -- baptism and the Lord's Supper or Eucharist; unlike Roman Catholicism, they insisted that the laity receive not only the bread but also the wine in the Eucharist. All Protestants taught that the preaching of the Word was God's chosen means of spreading the gospel, opposed any subordination of preaching to the sacraments, advocated that worship be in the language of the people (the "vernacular") rather than Latin, and objected to the role Roman Catholicism had given over the centuries to the person and work of the Virgin Mary.

Protestants rejected monasticism and the medieval distinction between the higher calling of the clergy and the lower life of the laity. They held that all honest forms of work could be a divine vocation. On New Testament ground, however, they imposed an almost monastic standard of personal morality on church members -- a standard that proved easier to achieve in Anabaptism and Calvinism than in Lutheranism.

Implicit in Protestantism from the beginning was what came to be known as the Protestant Principle: the assertion that all attempts by Christianity to capture the Word of God fail, for the simple reason that the finite cannot express the infinite. Because creeds, doctrines, edicts of popes, proclamations of councils of bishops, and even books of the Bible are human expressions, they can distort or fall short of divine truth. Because they emerge from the limitations of human existence, they can err. For most Protestants of the Reformation era, it simply did not please the Most High God to make Christianity infallible by overriding human limitations. One sees this Protestant Principle enunciated as early as 1521, when Luther made the momentous assertion to the Diet of Worms that popes and general councils of bishops could err and had erred. The axiom *Ecclesia reformata sed semper reformanda* ("a church reformed but always open to further reformation") expresses the Protestant refusal to absolutize a church structure.

The Protestant Principle has allowed Protestants to break without fear of damnation with their denominations and to form new ones that they believe better represent the teaching of Scripture. Protestants have also divided over doctrinal questions, principally concerning predestination, church government, the presence or absence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, and the age at which a Christian may be baptized. From the beginning, the finely wrought theology of Calvinism proved impossible to reconcile with that of Lutheranism, even though Calvin viewed Luther as his mentor and the two interpretations of Christianity agreed on doctrine after doctrine.

Anglicanism is not necessarily Protestant. But readers can gain a good sense of the differences between Roman Catholic and Protestant teachings by comparing the decrees of the Council of Trent (1545-1563), which aimed both at renewing Roman Catholicism and at refuting Protestant teachings, to the Confession of Augsburg (1530), which, though Lutheran, embodied most of the central beliefs of other Protestants.

Source: David L. Holmes, A Brief History of the Episcopal Church (Valley Forge, 1993), pp. 1-4.

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REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

Source: David L. Holmes, **A Brief History of the Episcopal Church** (Valley Forge, 1993), pp. 4-7.

From the 1520s on, the number of Christians in England who were influenced by the teachings of the Protestant Reformation grew. As Lutheran and Reformed (or Calvinist) state churches supported by taxes and the power of the government began to dot the landscape of Europe, the question was whether English Christianity would remain Roman Catholic, accept one of the continental forms of Protestantism, or follow yet a third option. And the crucial figure in the answer to the question was the English monarch.

The reigns through 1688 of the Tudor kings and queens (Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth I) and the Stuart monarchs (James I, Charles I, Charles II, and James II) witnessed a pendulum swing of Anglicanism in terms of religious loyalty. Under Henry VIII the Church of England became a kind of autonomous Catholicism, independent of Rome, like Eastern Orthodoxy or the apparently indigenous British Catholicism of the earliest Christian centuries. An English translation of the Bible was made accessible in each church, and men of Protestant inclinations began to be appointed bishops. Doctrinally and to a large extent liturgically, however, the Church of England appeared unchanged (the mass, for example, remained in Latin). But Henry entrusted the education of his two heirs—Edward VI, his son by Jane Seymour, and Elizabeth I, his daughter by Anne Boleyn—to Protestant tutors. Since he clearly knew that the Protestant upbringing of his heirs could have momentous consequences for English history, Henry's decision may indicate that he was less opposed to the Reformation than historians have often assumed.

During the reign of the sickly, precocious boy-king Edward VI (1547-1553), Anglicanism moved closer theologically to continental Calvinism. Under Henry VIII, Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, had been obliged to bridle his Protestant instincts. But under Edward's Calvinist advisors Cranmer was allowed to move the Church of England firmly into the Reformation camp. Protestant in teaching, his Forty-Two Articles of Religion (1553) were intended as a confession of faith required of all clergy, schoolmasters, and Oxford and Cambridge faculty and students. Never enforced because of Mary Tudor's accession to the throne, these articles formed the foundation of the later Thirty-Nine Articles.

Concerned with reforming not only doctrine but also worship, Cranmer issued two versions (1549 and 1552) of what became the official service book of the Church of England, the Book of Common Prayer. Worship in England now changed to the vernacular, the language of the people -- a sign of Protestantism. A monument of English prose style, written both for the ear and for the eye, the Book of Common Prayer contained the orders for daily and Sunday services, for administering the sacraments, and for other rites of the Church of England. Its sources lay in the

medieval Roman Catholic mass, in the Eastern Orthodox liturgies of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil, in Lutheran liturgies, and in other liturgies of the Christian churches, revised to conform to what Cranmer believed to be biblical teaching. All were blended and shaped by the genius of Cranmer. The first version of the Book of Common Prayer (1549) included more medieval ceremonial than the second (1552).

Although brief, the Edwardian reformation became the basis for the emergence of a genuine Anglicanism under Elizabeth I. When Cranmer buried Edward with Protestant ceremonies in 1553, the dead king's half-sister, Mary Tudor, Henry's daughter by Catherine of Aragon, had a private Latin mass said for his soul -- a portent of the swing of the pendulum soon to occur. During her brief rule from 1553 to 1558, Mary courageously returned the country to papal obedience and to Latin masses. More than eight hundred clergy and laity of the Church of England--the Marian exiles--fled to Geneva and to other centers of Reformed Protestantism in Europe. When they returned during the reign of Mary's successor, they would bring with them ideas about Christianity that are now called "Calvinist," "Zwinglian," or "Reformed."

Although the evidence seems to indicate that Mary might have won the majority of England's people back to Roman Catholicism, she made many political blunders, such as marrying the king of Spain (one of England's principal rivals) and thus raising the specter of Spanish control of England. In a nation that found the burning of heretics distasteful, she also martyred such an exorbitant number of Protestants (including Archbishop Cranmer) that she acquired the name of "Bloody Mary." In 1555, when the fires flamed up around them at the execution spot in Oxford, one of those Protestant heretics, a former bishop of Worcester named Hugh Latimer, cried out to his companion at the stake, a former bishop of London named Nicholas Ridley, and said words that would become famous: Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out.

The words were also prophetic. During Mary's reign the Reformation spread from the ground up, and the English people were made ready for religious peace and for some form of national Catholicism or Protestantism.

Source: David L. Holmes, A Brief History of the Episcopal Church (Valley Forge, 1993), pp. 4-7.

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THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT

Source: David L. Holmes, A Brief History of the Episcopal Church (Valley Forge, 1993), pp. 7-9.

When Mary died childless and largely discredited in 1558, her half-sister Elizabeth I (ruled 1558-1603) succeeded her. Cool in temperament, authoritative in manner, skillful in politics, but possessed of her share of human failings, Elizabeth had a distaste for the fanaticism and religious persecution she had witnessed in England from childhood on. Her private religious views are somewhat unclear. Although raised in the

Henrician Catholicism of her father's reign, she had not only been tutored by Protestants but had also experienced six years of Calvinist influence in the national church during the reign of her half-brother. Like the later Stuart kings, however, she opposed Calvinism because its republican thrust tended to make life uneasy for monarchs as well as their bishops.

During her half-sister Mary's reign, Elizabeth had conformed outwardly to Roman Catholicism. Yet she opposed Roman Catholicism, not only on religious grounds but also because the pope had excommunicated her father and ruled that she herself was the illegitimate offspring of a concubine. Privately she seems to have preferred a high church form of Anglicanism, though her prayers show a more distinct Protestant orientation. "Unbelligerent Protestantism" perhaps best describes her religious views.

Had Elizabeth been able to impose her private views and still maintain national unity, the Church of England probably would have kept ritualistic worship and celibate clergy. It would have added such Protestant teachings as justification by grace through faith. In addition, it would have included communion in both kinds (the giving of both bread and wine to the laity in the Eucharist, one of the hallmarks of Reformation Protestantism). But Elizabeth imposed her private views only to a point. Desirous of national unity and confronted by a nation that may have been (there can be no exact figures) one-third Protestant, one-third Catholic, and one-third much like herself in desiring an end to doctrinal contention, she attempted to create a national church that could blend Catholic and Protestant elements and steer a middle course between theological extremes.

Elizabeth wished to avoid the mistakes of her half-brother and half-sister. On the one hand, Edward's Calvinist model had proved too Protestant for many English citizens. Yet Elizabeth knew that an increasing number of earnestly religious people in England (later to be called "Puritans" because of their desire to purify the Church of England from what they considered medieval accretions in belief, government, garb,



Elizabeth I
After Marcus Gheerhardt the Younger
Colonial Williamsburg

and worship) advocated Calvinism as the original religion of the New Testament. Many of their leaders were Marian Exiles who had returned to England wanting to conform the Church of England to the Protestantism they had experienced in the Reformed centers of Europe. On the other hand, Mary's Roman Catholic model had failed in England because it had seemed too bloody, too foreign, and too medieval and magical. Yet a substantial part of the population, including many people living in rural areas, still favored it.

Elizabeth's desire was to forge a national church that could unite all Catholic-minded English men and women who were willing to stop short of recognizing the authority of the pope and all Protestant-minded citizens who were willing to accept bishops. Those who were inclined toward Protestantism (which on the whole rejected rule by bishops as untrue to the New Testament) had to accept bishops, for the Elizabethan church continued the threefold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons, and hence could be viewed as having kept the apostolic succession.

The hierarchical structure seemed to place the national church in the camp of Roman Catholicism. But in the disputed doctrinal and liturgical questions of the Reformation era, Elizabeth wished the Church of England to take a different tack—the *via media*, or “Middle way”—between Rome and Geneva. The church would adhere to the first four Ecumenical Councils. But within the broad unity of worship according to a Trinitarian, incarnational Book of Common Prayer that combined Protestant understandings with Catholic form and structure, the church would still leave room for a wide spectrum of emphases. It would not be among the Christian traditions whose members agreed to think exactly alike.

Although this consolidation of contending elements called the “Elizabethan Settlement” or “Reformation Settlement” took time, the Church of England's hold on the English people steadily increased during Elizabeth's reign.

Source: David L. Holmes, A Brief History of the Episcopal Church (Valley Forge, 1993), pp. 7-9.

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THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF RELIGION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Holy Scripture and the Book of Common Prayer became the fundamental theological documents of Anglicanism. The principal doctrinal statement of the Elizabethan Settlement appeared later, twelve years after the re-issuance of the Book of Common Prayer. Patterned upon the Forty-Two Articles of Edward's reign and consisting of a series of brief paragraphs, the Thirty-Nine Articles (1571) laid down in broad terms the Anglican approach on matters of Christian doctrine and practice in dispute during the Reformation period.

Some of the articles affirmed such traditional teachings as the Trinity, the incarnation, the resurrection, and original sin. Others specifically rejected such Roman Catholic teachings as purgatory, sacrificial masses, and the adoration of the eucharistic host, and affirmed such Protestant teachings as the authority of the Holy Scripture, justification by grace through faith, worship in the vernacular, communion in both kinds, the fallibility of general councils, and the marriage of clergy. Several articles rejected such Anabaptist teaching as baptism only of believing adults and ministry by unordained people.

Source: David Holmes, A Brief History of the Episcopal Church (Valley Forge, 1993), pp. 11-12.

Agreed upon by the ARCHBISHOPS and BISHOPS of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at London in the Year 1562, for avoiding the Diversities of Opinions, and for the stablishing of Consent touching True Religion. Reprinted by His Majesty's commandment; with his Royal Declaration prefixed thereunto.

ARTICLES of RELIGION.

I. Faith in the Holy Trinity.

There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

II. Of the Word or Son of God, which was made very Man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took Man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance; so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and the Manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very Man; who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men.

III. Of the going down of Christ into Hell.

As Christ died for us, and was buried; so also it is to be believed, that he went down into Hell.

IV. Of the Resurrection of Christ.

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of Man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth until he return to judge all men at the last day.

V. Of the Holy Ghost.

The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

VI. Of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation.

Holy Scriptures containeth all things necessary to Salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to Salvation. In the name of the holy Scripture we do understand those Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.

Of the Names and Numbers of the Canonical Books. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, The First Book of Samuel, The Second Book of Samuel, The First Book of Kings, The Second Book of Kings, The First Book of Chronicles, The Second Book of Chronicles, The First Book of Esdras, The Second Book of Esdras, The Book of Hester, The Book of Job, The Psalms, The Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, or Preacher, Cantica, or Songs of Solomon, Four Prophets the greater, Twelve Prophets, the less.

And the other Books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any Doctrine; Such are these following: The Third Book of Esdras, The Fourth Book of Esdras, The Book of Tobias, The Book of Judith, The rest of the Book of Hester, The Book of Wisdom, Jesus the Son of Sirach, Baruch the Prophet, The Song of the Three Children, The Story of Susanna, Of Bel and the Dragon, The Prayer of Manasses, The First Book of Maccabees, The Second Book of Maccabees.

All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them Canonical.

VII. Of the Old Testament.

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New: for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the Old Fathers did look only for transitory Promises. Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the Civil Precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any common-wealth: yet notwithstanding no Christian man whatsoever is free from the Obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral.

VIII. Of the three Creeds.

The three Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius's Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture.

IX. Of Original, or Birth-Sin.

Original Sin standeth, not in the following of Adam (as the Pelagians do vainly talk) but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is ingendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain; yea, in them that are regenerated, whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek, [phronaema sarkos], which some do expound the Wisdom, some Sensuality, some the Affection, some the Desire of the Flesh, is not subject to the Law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

X. Of Free-will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam, is such that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith, and calling upon God: Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will.

XI. Of the Justification of Man.

We are accounted righteous before God, only for the Merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by Faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

XII. Of good Works.

Albeit that good Works which are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgement; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith; insomuch that by them a lively Faith may be as evidently known, as a tree discerned by the fruit.

XIII. Of Works before Justification.

Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the School-Authors say) deserve grace of congruity: yea, rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

XIV. Of Works of Supererogation.

Voluntary Works besides over and above God's commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety. For by them men do declare, That they do not render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake, than of bounden duty is required: Whereas Christ saith plainly, When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants.

XV. Of Christ alone without Sin.

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things (sin only except) from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh. And in his spirit. He came to be the Lamb without spot,

who by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world: and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him. But all we the rest (although baptized and born again in Christ) yet offend in many things, and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

XVI. Of Sin after Baptism.

Not every deadly sin, willingly committed after Baptism, is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin; and by the grace of God we may arise again, and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned, which say, they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.

XVII. Of Predestination and Election.

Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed, by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ our of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore they, which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpose by his Spirit working in due season; they through grace obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made sons of God by adoption: they be made like the image of his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ: they walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of Predestination, and our Election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their early members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation, to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: So, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the Sentence of God's Predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchedness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation,

Furthermore, we must receive God's Promises in suchwise, as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture: And in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

XVIII. Of obtaining eternal Salvation only by the Name of Christ.

They also are to be had accursed, that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that Law, and the Light of Nature. For holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

XIX. Of the Church.

The visible Church of Christ is a Congregation of faithful men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's Ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisites to the same.

As the Church of Hierusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, have erred; so also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.

XX. Of the Authority of the Church.

The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies of Faith: And yet it is not lawful for the Church to obtain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written; neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore although the Church be a Witness and a Keeper of Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation.

XXI. Of the Authority of General Councils.

General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes. And when they be gathered together (forasmuch as they be an Assembly of men whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of holy Scripture.

XXII. Of Purgatory.

The Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, worshipping and adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and also Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and founded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.

XXIII. Of Ministering in the Congregation.

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the Office of publick preaching, or ministering the Sacrament in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have publick authority given unto them in the congregation to call and send Ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

XXIV. Of speaking in the Congregation in such a Tongue as the People understandeth.

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the Custom of the Primitive Church, to have publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacrament in a Tongue not understood of the People.

XXV. Of the Sacraments.

Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's Profession: but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown, partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a

wholesome effect or operation: but they that receive them unworthily, purchase to themselves damnation, as Saint Paul saith.

XXVI. Of the unworthiness of the Ministers, which hinders not the effect of the Sacraments.

Although in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the ministration of the Word and Sacraments: yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by his commission and authority, we may use their ministry, both in hearing the Word of God, and in receiving of the Sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such, as by faith, and rightly do receive the Sacraments ministered unto them: which be effectual because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men.

Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that enquiry be made of evil Ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally being found guilty, by just judgement be deposed.

XXVII. Of Baptism.

Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened: but it is also a sign of Regeneration, or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church: the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God. The Baptism of young Children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

XXVIII. Of the Lord's Supper.

The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another: but rather is a Sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death: Insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break, is a partaking of the body of Christ; and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

XXIX. Of the Wicked, which do not eat the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper.

The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as Saint Augustine saith) the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ: but rather to their condemnation, do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great thing.

XXX. Of both kinds.

The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the Lay-people: for both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

XXXI. Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.

The offering of Christ once made, is that perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone; wherefore the sacrifice of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.

XXXII. Of the Marriage of Priests.

Bishops, Priests, and deacons, are not commanded by God's Law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage: Therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

XXXIII. Of Excommunicate Persons, how they are to be avoided.

That Person which by open denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful, as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance and received into the Church by a judge that hath authority thereunto.

XXXIV. Of the Traditions of the Church.

It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private judgement, willingly and purposely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that other may fear to do the like) as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

Every particular or national Church hath the authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church, ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

XXXV. Of the Homilies.

The second book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth; and therefore we judge

them to be read in Church by the ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people.

XXXVI. Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers.

The Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such Consecration and Ordering: neither hath it any thing that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the rites of that Book, since the second year of the forenamed King Edward, unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites; we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

XXXVII. Of the Civil Magistrates.

The King's Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of England, and other his dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this Realm whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be subject to any foreign Jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the King's Majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended; we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify: But that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.

The Bishop of Rome hath no Jurisdiction in this Realm of England.

The laws of the Realm may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars.

XXXVIII. Of Christian men's goods, which are not common.

The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding, every man ought of such things as he possesseth, liberally give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

XXXIX. Of a Christian man's Oath.

As we confess that vain and rash swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, and James his Apostle; so we judge that Christian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity; so it be done according to the Prophet's teaching, in Justice, Judgement, and Truth.

Source: The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Church of England (London, 1771).

The Presbyterians in Scotland

Though a native of Scotland, John Knox (1505-1572) was living in England at the time that Mary I came to the throne; thus his flight to Geneva in 1554. In 1559 he returned to Scotland, there to urge that country toward its own national establishment. The resulting Presbyterian Church represented (like England) a rejection of Rome, but (unlike England) also a rejection of bishops as spiritual-political officers within the Church. Knox's 1560 *Book of Discipline* concerns among other things the sacraments of the church. For Protestants and more particularly for Calvinists, the seven sacraments of Roman Catholicism (baptism, confirmation, communion, confession, marriage, ordination, and death) were reduced to two: "Baptism, and the Holy Supper of the Lord Jesus," to use Knox's words. All else was idolatry and an invention of man.

Source: Edwin S. Gaustad, ed. *A Documentary History of Religion in America* (Grand Rapids, 1982), p. 51.

NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Source: Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville, c. 1976), pp. 120-134.

Like all other people in the world, the Southeastern Indians interpreted most of the humdrum, everyday events in their lives in terms of ordinary, common sense beliefs and knowledge. . . . Again like all other people, the Southeastern Indians encountered in the course of their lives some events and conditions which they could not explain in terms of common sense, and these are precisely the events and conditions their belief system explained. . . . A belief system explains unusual events in everyday life, though it is expressed in terms we generally call religious or magical. . . . The categories and beliefs of the Southeastern Indians represented the world as they believed it existed, and this included both the natural and supernatural, the normal and the abnormal, and the sacred and the profane. . . . It is regrettable that we can never know how much diversity existed among the belief systems of various Southeastern societies. We do know from the archaeological record and from accounts left by the earliest Europeans who had contact with the Southeastern Indians that there were in fact substantial cultural similarities among these societies in late prehistoric and protohistoric times. We also know that when some of the Southeastern Indians began to be dislocated by European diseases, slave-raiders, and wars, they took up residence with other Southeastern peoples with considerable ease, and this implies that they thought in much the same terms even when they spoke different languages. . . . It is notable that James Mooney and John Swanton who collected Southeastern oral traditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often remarked on the large number of motifs and stories that were common all over the Southeast. In some cases, the Indians with whom Mooney and Swanton worked explicitly said that they learned some of their oral traditions from storytellers who were from other Southeastern societies.

The Southeastern Indians conceived of This World as a great, flat island resting rather precariously on the surface of the waters, suspended from the vault of the sky by four cords attached at each of the cardinal directions. . . . The Southeastern cosmos consisted of three worlds: in addition to This World, an Upper World existed above the sky vault, and an Under World existed beneath the earth and the waters. This World was believed to have seven levels. Although the way in which these levels were arranged probably varied in different parts of the Southeast, the Cherokees evidently thought they all existed in This World, between the Under World and the Upper World, with the first level nearest the Under World and the seventh level nearest the Upper World. . . . In the beginning, just two worlds existed: the Upper World and the Under World. This World, the world on which the Indians lived, was created later. The Upper World epitomized order and expectableness, while the Under World epitomized disorder and change, and This World stood somewhere between perfect order and complete chaos. In the Upper World things existed in a grander and purer form than they did in This World. We will probably never entirely understand the precise nature of the more remote Southeastern deities who dwelled in the Upper World. The Sun and the Moon,

for example, were of the Upper World. . . . The Sun, the source of all warmth, light, and life, was one of the principal gods. . . . The Cherokees generally considered the Sun to be female. . . . The earthly representative and ally of the Sun was sacred fire, the principal symbol of purity. . . . The Cherokees believed that sacred fire, like the Sun, was an old woman. . . . Out of respect, they fed her a portion of each meal; if neglected, they thought she might come at night in the guise of an owl or whippoorwill and take vengeance on them. Successful hunters would throw into the fire a piece of meat (usually liver) from any game they killed. . . . The Cherokees believed that the Moon was the Sun's brother. . . . The Cherokees addressed both the Sun (and sacred fire) and the Moon as "our grandparent." . . . The Sun and Moon stood in a relationship of respect and affection, as their remote ancestors. . . . Another important Cherokee deity was Thunder or **Kanati**, the Red Man, who lived above the sky vault in the east. . . . Creatures in the Upper World were much larger than those in This World, and although the Upper World had many of the same features that were found in This World, such as chiefs, councils, and town houses, the beings of the Upper World were not subject to all of the rules that limited ordinary people in their behavior.

In contrast, beings in the Under World were often ghosts or monsters, and things in the Under World often had inverted properties—just the opposite of normal things in This World. . . . The Upper World represented structure, expectableness, boundaries, limits, periodicity, order, stability, and past time. The Under World represented inversions, madness, invention, fertility, disorder, change, and future time.

The Southeastern Indians lived in between, in This World, trying to strike a balance. . . . This World became populated by three great categories of nonspiritual beings: men, animals, and plants. Men and animals were opposed to each other, with enmity existing between them, while plants were the friends of man. . . . There were three major categories of animals: the four-footed animals, epitomized by the deer; the birds, who because of flight were associated with the Upper World, and who were epitomized by the bald eagle; and thirdly, vermin, such as snakes, lizards, frogs fish, perhaps insects, and other animals associated with the Under World and epitomized by the rattlesnake. . . . Each of these major categories was broken down into subcategories to such a degree that the Indians had names for all of the species that were important to them. . . . This World was sometimes frequented by Under World monsters who came out of the river, lakes, waterfalls, and mountain caves, all of these being entrances to the Under World.

The Cherokee attached much significance to the four cardinal directions, associating each of them with a series of social values. Actually, these seem to have been two sets of opposites. In one opposition, the east was the direction of the Sun, the color red, sacred fire, blood, and life and success; its opposite, the west was associated with the Moon, the souls of the dead, the color black, and death. In the other opposed pair, the north was associated with cold, the color blue (and purple), and trouble and

defeat; while its opposite, the south, was associated with warmth, the color white, peace, and happiness. The Cherokees also gave a propitious value to brown, assigning it to the upward direction, and yellow, like blue, was associated with trouble, though the direction to which it was assigned is not clear. A full complement of spiritual beings dwelt in the Upper World in each of the four quarters.

These, then, are the broad categories of the belief system of the Southeastern Indians—their mental furniture. In the following story collected by James Mooney, the Cherokees tell how their world began.

How the World was Made. The earth is a great island floating in a sea of water, and suspended at each of the four cardinal points by a cord hanging down from the sky vault, which is of solid rock. When the world grows old and worn out, the people will die and the cords will break and let the earth sink down into the ocean, and all will be water again. The Indians are afraid of this.

When all was water, the animals were above in (the Upper World), beyond the arch; but it was very much crowded, and they were wanting more room. They wondered what was below the water, and at last. . . ."Beaver's Grandchild," the little Water-beetle, offered to go and see if it could learn. It darted in every direction over the surface of the water, but could find no firm place to rest. Then it dived to the bottom and came up with some soft mud, which began to grow and spread on every side until it became the island which we call the earth. It was afterward fastened to the sky with four cords, but no one remembers who did this.

At first the earth was flat and very soft and wet. The animals were anxious to get down, and sent out different birds to see if it was yet dry, but they found no place to alight and came back again to (the Upper World). At last it seemed to be time, and they sent out the Buzzard and told him to go and make ready for them. This was the Great Buzzard, the father of all the buzzards we see now. He flew all over the earth, low down near the ground, and it was still soft. When he reached the Cherokee country he was very tired, and his wings began to flap and strike the ground, and whenever they struck the earth there was a valley, and where they turned up again there was a mountain. When the animals above saw this, they were afraid that the whole world would be mountains so they called him back, but the Cherokee country remains full of mountains to this day.

When the earth was dry and the animals came down, it was still dark, so they got the sun and set it in a track to go every day across the island from east to west, just overhead. It was too hot this way, and . . . the Red Crawfish had his shell scorched a bright red, so that his meat was spoiled; and the Cherokee do not eat it. The conjurers put the sun another hand-breadth higher in the air, but it was still too hot. They raised it another time, and another, until it was seven hand-breadths high and just under the sky

arch. Then it was right, and they left it so. This is why the conjurers call the highest place . . . "the seventh height" because it is seven hand-breadths above the earth. Every day the sun goes along under this arch, and returns at night to the upper side to the starting place.

There is another world under this, and it is like ours in everything—animals, plants, and people—save that the seasons are different. The streams that come down from the mountains are the trails by which we reach this underworld, and springs at their heads are the doorways by which we enter it, but to do this one must fast and go to water and have one of the underground people for a guide. We know that the seasons in the underworld are different from ours, because the water in the springs are always warmer in winter and cooler in summer than the outer air.

When the animals and plants were first made—we do not know by whom—they were told to watch and keep awake for seven nights, just as young men now fast and keep awake when they pray to their medicine. They tried to do this, and nearly all were awake through the first night, but the next night several dropped off to sleep, and the third night others were asleep and then others, until, on the seventh night, of all the animals only the owl, the (cougar), and one or two more were still awake. To these were given the power to see and to go about in the dark, and to make prey of the birds and animals which must sleep at night. Of the trees only the cedar, the pine, the spruce, the holly, and the laurel were awake to the end, and to them it was given to be always green and to be greatest for medicine, but to the others it was said: "Because you have not endured to the end you shall lose your hair every winter."

Men came after the animals and plants. At first there were only a brother and sister until he struck her with a fish and told her to multiply, and so it was. In seven days a child was born to her, and thereafter every seven days another, and they increased very fast until there was danger that the world could not keep them. Then it was made that a woman should have only one child in a year, and it has been so ever since.

Source: Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville, c. 1976), pp. 120-134.

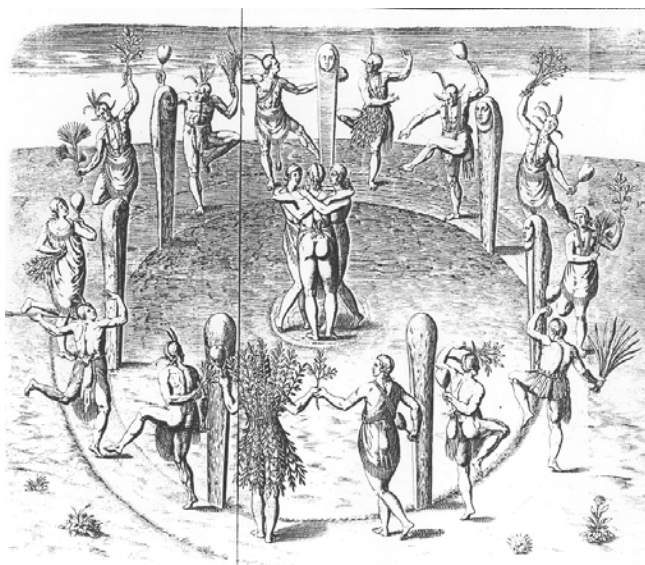
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Source: Helen C. Rountree, *The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture* (Norman, Okla., 1989), pp. 135-139.

The English called the Powhatans devil worshipers, but only in a very limited sense were they right. More accurately, the Powhatans were appeasers of a severe deity who policed their actions. They also paid great respect to all things that could hurt them. . . . The Powhatan term for each of these lesser but potentially harmful entities, as well as for their priests, was **kwiokos** (pl. **kwiokosuk**), or minor god.

The Powhatans believed in a great god called Ahone, who had created the world and "the Moone and Starres his Companions, great powers, and which dwell with him," and who made the sun to shine. Ahone was so beneficent that no offerings needed to be made to him. Okeus was another matter; he was a severe god whose relationship to Ahone was never made clear by Indian informants. Okeus kept a close watch on the doings of men, for he was always "present in the Air, in the Thunder, and in the Storms." His was a "severe Scale of Justice." Anyone who displeased him even in minor things received punishment in the form of illness, loss of crops through storms, and infidelity on the part of wives. Okeus could reward a hunter by showing him where game was or punish him by letting him be "shrewdly scratched," presumably by briars, as he went alone through the woods. Not appeasing this god invited catastrophe. The Powhatans therefore venerated him by dedicating their temples to him.

People sometimes made an offering after asking a priest to prescribe for a situation or after a priest had demanded one, but most often they made their offerings spontaneously whenever they were faced with difficulties or wanted to render thanks. The offerings consisted of "blood, deare suet, and Tobacco," as well as other valuables such as dried tobacco and puccoon. Many offerings were made on altar stones called **pawcorances**, which stood either by people's dwellings, out in the woods, or in any other spot that people felt they had "any remarkable occasion" to commemorate.



Engraving from Theodor de Bry, *America*, vol. 1, Plate XVIII, Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library

In the early seventeenth century, at least, the Powhatans showed a special reverence for the sun. After bathing in the river each morning people made a circle on the ground with dried tobacco, sat down within it, and lifting their hands and eyes toward the sun, they prayed with much noise and many emphatic gestures. A similar ritual was performed at sunset.

The Powhatans had no rigid schedule for rituals; instead, they made offerings as needed or as the seasons arrived, particularly the harvest. In times of military triumph and at the first "gathering together (of) their fruits," everyone in a chiefdom gathered to give thanks and dance for several hours before feasting. People offered part of the first fruits of all plants and animals to the gods and part to their rulers before they partook

themselves. People also made offerings at the full moon and before great undertakings such as raids and hunts. The celebration of first gathering of corn was the Powhatans' most elaborate festival, "at which they revel several days together."

As polytheists, the Powhatans appear to have allowed for individual choice in what gods to emphasize. John Rolfe reported that Indians were "very inconstant . . . in all that they speake of their religion; one denying that which another affirmeth." They were also willing to add gods to their pantheon. Our best source for these attitudes is the priest Uttamatomakkin, who told Puchas about Okeus as an alternative creator god, and said that he himself was too old to learn the worship of the Christian God, recommending they teach the young people in Pocahontas's retinue instead. It was not until the English clergymen wore out his patience with evangelizing that he understood something of the monotheism of Christianity and became rabidly opposed to it. The **veroance** Pipsco asked the English in the summer of 1607 or 1608 to pray to their god for rain, "for his gods would not send him any."

Three accounts of the creation of the world were collected from various Powhatan informants, two of them regrettably sketchy. It seems that a considerable variety in beliefs was tolerated among the Powhatans. . . . The creation story recorded among the Patowomecks was much more detailed. Five gods were involved. The chief god, who often appeared to human beings as "a mightie great Hare," created men and women and kept them for a time in a great bag in his dwelling place, which was in the direction of the rising sun. Then the other four gods, who were the winds of the four directions and "like great Giants," only without substance, paid the hare a visit and wanted to eat the men and women. The Hare "reproved" them and drove them away, after which he created "the water and the fish therein and the land and a great deare, which should feed upon the land." This made the four winds jealous, so they returned, killed the deer "with hunting poles" or spears, dressed and ate the carcass, and departed again. The Hare, seeing this done, took the hairs of the slain deer and "spredd them upon the earth with many powerful wordes and charmes whereby every haire become a deare." He then opened the bag and released the men and women, assigning, "a man and a woman in one Country and a man and a woman in another Country, and so the world tooke his first beyning of mankyne." No flood story was recorded among the Powhatans until late in the seventeenth century, which suggests that this myth was a later borrowing from the English.

Powhatan funeral customs and beliefs about an afterlife reflected the stratified society in which the people lived Archaeology has shown both primary (one-stage) and secondary (two-stage) burials, as well as occasional cremations, throughout the Powhatan region. Historical accounts describe the first two kinds. . . . In a primary burial, which was given to most ordinary people, the corpse was wrapped with its jewelry in skins and mats and laid in a stakelined grave. Though English writers say graves were deep, excavations have shown them to be shallow, which accords with the

digging tools the Powhatans had; corpses might be flexed or extended, lying on their back, faces, or sides. After a primary burial, female relatives remained at home, mourning loudly and with their faces painted black. Wailing for the dead could also be done by men, as the English found out in 1609 when a captured Chickahominy nearly smothered and his brother, also a captive, thought him dead and immediately "broke forth in . . . bitter agonies." In a secondary burial, accorded to high-status people and sometimes to commoners, the corpse was wrapped in a mat and laid on a scaffold "about 3 or 4 yards" high, while relatives mourned loudly. If the deceased came of a well-to-do family, the relatives threw beads to the poor, and a jolly feast followed. When the corpse was laid on the scaffold, other corpses lying there were examined, and any that had been reduced to bones were taken down, wrapped in a new mat, and hung in the houses of their relatives, where they remained, according to Spelman, until the houses were abandoned. In practical reality, the bone bundles were probably kept until the next periodic burial of all corpses in a nearby ossuary, an event that seems to have occurred every five years or so. The English collected varying accounts of afterlife beliefs from the Powhatans. The few writers who got to know nonrulers reported that only rulers and priests were thought to live after death; those who interviewed rulers got their opinions on their afterlife. Beyond apparent agreement that the afterlife was reserved for high-status people, stories differed. . . . The Powhatans did not believe in separate afterlives for the good and the wicked, and they were confused by "leading" English questions about such things They apparently felt that Okeus punished the wicked sufficiently in this world. It was only late in the seventeenth century that reports were heard of a Powhatan version of heaven and hell. Before that time, afterlives were officially for people of very high standing, and other folk bent their efforts toward being "successful" men and women while they lived.

Source: Helen C. Rountree, The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture (Norman, Okla., 1989), pp. 135-139.

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In 1705 **Robert Beverley's** book on Virginia was printed and sold in London. In his comprehensive description of the ninety-eight-year-old colony, Beverley reviewed the colony's history, natural environment, the aboriginal inhabitants, and contemporary political and social conditions. Beverley notes where his observations of Indian life differ from other accounts.

Concerning the Religion, and Worship of the Indians.

Source: Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill, 1947), pp. 195-216.

*I Don't pretend to have div'd into all the mysteries of the **Indian** Religion, nor have I had such opportunities of learning them, as Father **Henepin** and Baron **Labontan** had, by living much among the **Indians** in their Towns; and because my rule is to say nothing but the naked Truth, I intend to be very brief upon this Head.*

*In the Writings of those two Gentlemen, I cannot but observe direct contradictions, altho they travell'd the same Country, and the accounts they pretend to give, are of the same **Indians**. One makes 'em have very refin'd notions of a Deity, and the other don't allow them so much as the name of a God. For which reason, I think my self oblig'd sincerely to deliver what I can warrant to be true upon my own knowledge; it being neither my Interest, nor any part of my Vanity to impose upon the World.*

*I have been at several of the **Indian** Towns, and conversed with some of the most sensible of them in that Country; but I cou'd learn little from them, it being reckon'd Sacrilege, to divulge the Principles of their Religion. However, the following Adventure discover'd something of it. As I was ranging the Woods, with some other Friends, we fell upon their **Quioccosan** (which is their House of Religious Worship) at a time, when the whole Town was gathered together in another place, to consult about the bounds of the Land given them by the **English**.*

*Thus finding our selves Masters of so fair an opportunity, (because we knew the **Indians** were engaged,) we resolved to make use of it, and to examine their **Quioccosan**, the inside of which, they never suffer any **English** Man to see; and having removed about fourteen Loggs from the Door, with which it was barricado'd, we went in, and at first found nothing but naked Walls, and a Fire place in the middle. This House was about eighteen foot wide, and thirty foot long, built after the manner of their other Cabbins, but larger, with a Hole in the middle of the Roof, to vent the Smoke, the Door being at one end: Round about the House, at some distance from it, were set up Posts, with Faces carved on them, and painted. We did not observe any Window, or passage for the Light, except the Door, and the vent of the Chimney. At last, we observ'd, that at*

*the farther end, about ten foot of the Room, was cut off by a Partition of very close Mats; and it was dismal dark behind that Partition. We were at first scrupulous to enter this obscure place, but at last we ventur'd, and groping about, we felt some Posts in the middle; then reaching our hands up those Posts, we found large Shelves, and upon these Shelves three Mats, each of which was roll'd up, and sow'd fast. These we handed down to the light, and to save time in unlacing the Seams, we made use of a Knife, and ripp'd them, without doing any damage to the Mats. In one of these we found some vast Bones, which we judg'd to be the Bones of Men, particularly we measur'd one Thigh-bone, and found it two foot nine inches long: In another Mat, we found some **Indian Tomahawks** finely grav'd, and painted. These resembl'd the wooden Faulchion us'd by the Prize fighters in **England**, except that they have no guard to save the Fingers. They were made of a rough heavy Wood, and the shape of them is represented in the Tab. 10. No. 3. Among these **Tomahawks** was the largest that ever I saw; there was fasten'd to it a Wild Turkey's Beard painted red, and two of the longest Feathers of his Wings hung dangling at it, by a string of about 6 Inches long, ty'd to the end of the **Tomahawk**. In the third Mat there was something, which we took to be their Idol, tho of an underling sort, and wanted putting together. The pieces were these, first a Board three foot and a half long, with one indenture at the upper end, like a Fork, to fasten the Head upon, from thence half way down, were Half hoops nail'd to the edges of the Board, at about four Inches distance, which were bow'd out, to represent the Breast and Belly; on the lower half was another Board of half the length of the other, fasten'd to it by Joynts or pieces of Wood, which being set on each side, stood out about 14 inches from the Body, and half as high, we suppos'd the use of these to be for the bowing out of the Knees, when the Image was set up. There were packt up with these things, red and blue pieces of Cotton Cloath, and Rolls made up for Arms, Thighs and Legs, bent to at the Knees, as is represented in the Figure of their Idol, which was taken by an exact Drawer in the Country. It wou'd be difficult to see one of these Images at this day, because the **Indians** are extreme shy of exposing them. We put the Cloaths upon the Hoops for the Body, and fasten'd on the Arms and Legs, to have a view of the representation: But the Head and rich Bracelets, which it is usually adorn'd with, were not there, or at least we did not find them. We had not leisure to make a very narrow search; for having spent about an hour in this enquiry, we fear'd the business of the **Indians** might be near over; and that if we staid longer, we might be caught offering an affront to their Superstition; for this reason we wrapt up these Holy materials in their several Mats again, and laid them on the Shelf, where we found them. This Image when drest up, might look very venerable in that dark place; where 'tis not possible to see it, but by the glimmering light, that is let in, by lifting up a piece of the Matting, which we observ'd to be conveniently hung for that purpose; for when the light of the Door and Chimney, glance in several directions, upon the Image thro that little passage, it must needs make a strange representation, which those poor people are taught to worship with a devout Ignorance. There are other things that contribute towards carrying on this Imposture; first the chief Conjuror enters within the Partition in the dark, and may undiscern'd move the Image as he pleases: Secondly, a Priest of Authority stands in the*

room with the people, to keep them from being too inquisitive, under the penalty of the Deity's displeasure, and his own censure.

*Their Idol bears a several name in every Nation, as **Okee, Quioccos, Kiwasa**. They do not look upon it, as one single Being, but reckon there are many of them of the same nature; they likewise believe, that there are tutelar Deities in every Town.*

*Father **Henepin** in his Continuation, pag. 60. will not allow that the **Indians** have any belief of a Deity, nor that they are capable of the Arguments, and Reasonings that are common to the rest of Mankind. He farther says, that they have not any outward Ceremony to denote their Worship of a Deity, nor have any word to express God by: That there's no Sacrifice, Priest, Temple, or any other token of Religion among them. Baron **Labontan**, on the other hand, makes them have such refin'd Notions, as seem almost to confute his own belief in Christianity.*

*The first I cannot believe, tho written by the Pen of that Pious Father; because, to my own knowledge, all the **Indians** in these parts, are a Superstitious and Idolatrous people; and because all other Authors, who have written of the **American Indians**, are against him. As to the other account, of the just thoughts the **Indians** have of Religion, I must humbly intreat the Barons pardon, because I am very sure, they have some unworthy Conceptions of God, and another World. Therefore what that Gentleman tells the Publick, concerning them, is rather to show his own Opinions, than those of the **Indians**.*

*Once in my Travels, in very cold Weather, I met at an **English** man's House with an **Indian**, of whom an extraordinary Character had been given me, for his Ingenuity and Understanding. When I see he had no other **Indian** with him, I thought I might be the more free; and therefore I made much of him, seating him close by a large Fire, and giving him plenty of strong Cyder, which I hop'd wou'd make him good Company, and open-hearted. After I found him well warm'd (for unless they be surprized some way or other, they will not talk freely of their Religion) I asked him concerning their God, and what their Notions of Him were? He freely told me, they believ'd God was universally beneficent, that his Dwelling was in the Heavens above, and that the Influences of his Goodness reach'd to the Earth beneath. That he was incomprehensible in his Excellence, and enjoy'd all possible Felicity: That his Duration was Eternal, his Perfection boundless, and that he possesses everlasting Indolence and Ease. I told him, I had heard that they Worshipped the Devil, and asked why they did not rather Worship God, whom they had so high an opinion of, and who wou'd give them all good things, and protect them from any Mischief that the Devil could do them? To this his answer was, That 'tis true, God is the giver of all good things, but they flow naturally and promiscuously from him; that they are showr'd down upon all Men indifferently without distinction; that God do's not trouble himself, with the impertinent affairs of Men, nor is concern'd at what they do: but leaves them to make the most of their Free Will, and to*

secure as many as they can, of the good things that flow from him. That therefore it was to no purpose either to fear, or Worship him: But on the contrary, if they did not pacify the Evil Spirit, and make him propitious, he wou'd take away, or spoil all those good things that God had given, and ruine their Health, their Peace and their Plenty, by sending War, Plague and Famine among them; for, said he, this Evil Spirit, is always busying himself with our affairs, and frequently visiting us, being present in the Air, in the Thunder, and in the Storms. He told me farther, That he expected Adoration and Sacrifice from them, on pain of his displeasure; and that therefore they thought it convenient to make their Court to him. I then asked him concerning the Image, which they Worship in their **Quioccasan**; and assur'd him, that it was a dead insensible Log, equipt with a bundle of Clouts, a meer helpless thing made by Men, that could neither hear, see, nor speak; and that such a stupid thing could no ways hurt, or help them. To this he answer'd very unwillingly, and with much hesitation; However, he at last deliver'd himself in these broken and imperfect sentences; **It is the Priests - they make the people believe and** - Here he paus'd a little, and then repeated to me, that **it was the Priests** - and then gave me hopes that he wou'd have said something more, but a qualm crost his Conscience, and hinder'd him from making any farther Confession.

The Priests and Conjurers have a great sway in every Nation. Their words are looked upon as Oracles, and consequently are of great weight among the common people. They perform their Adorations and Conjurations, in the general Language before spoken of, as the Catholicks of all Nations do their Mass in the **Latin**. They teach, that the Souls of Men survive their Bodies, and that those who have done well here, enjoy most transporting Pleasures in their **Elizium** hereafter; that this **Elizium** is stor'd with the highest perfection of all their Earthly Pleasures; namely, with plenty of all sorts of Game, for Hunting, Fishing and Fowling; that it is blest with the most charming Women, which enjoy an eternal bloom, and have an Universal desire to please. That it is deliver'd from excesses of Cold or Heat, and flourishes with an everlasting Spring. But that, on the contrary, those who are wicked, and live scandalously here, are condemn'd to a filthy stinking Lake after Death, that continually burns with Flames, that never extinguish; where they are persecuted and tormented day and night, with Furies in the Shape of Old Women.

They use many Divinations and Inchantments, and frequently offer Burnt Sacrifice to the Evil Spirit. The people annually present their first Fruits of every Season and Kind, namely, of Birds, Beasts, Fish, Fruits, Plants, Roots, and of all other things, which they esteem either of Profit or Pleasure to themselves. They repeat their Offerings, as frequently as they have great successes in their Wars, or their Fishing, Fowling or Hunting.

Captain **Smith** describes the particular manner of a Conjunction that was made about him, while he was a Prisoner amongst the **Indians**, at the **Pamaunkie** Town, in

*the first settlement of the Country; and after that, I'll tell you of another of a more modern date, which I had from a very good hand. **Smith's** words are these.*

"Early in the Morning a great Fire was made in a long House, and a Mat spread on the one side and on the other: On the one they caus'd him to sit, and all the Guard went out of the House; and presently there came skipping in a great grim Fellow, all painted over with Coal mingl'd with Oyl, and many Snakes and Weasel Skins stufft with Moss, and all their Tails ty'd together, so as they met in the Crown of his Head, like a Tossil, and round about the Tossil was a Coronet of Feathers, the Skins hanging round about his Head, Back and Shoulders, and in a manner covering his Face; with a hellish Voice, and a Rattle in his Hand, with most strange gestures and postures he began his Invocation, and environ'd the Fire with a Circle of Meal; which done, three more such like Devils came rushing in with the like Antick Tricks, painted half black, half red; but all their Eyes were painted white, and some great strokes, like Mostachoes along their Cheeks: Round about him these Fiends danced a pretty while; and then came in three more as ugly as the rest, with red Eyes and white strokes over their black Faces: At last they all sat down right against him, 3 of them on one hand of the Chief Priest, and three on the other. Then all of them with their Rattles began a Song; which ended, the Chief Priest laid down five Wheat Corns; then straining his Arms and Hands with such violence that he sweat, and his Veins swell'd, he began a short Oration: At the conclusion, they all gave a short groan, and then laid down three grains more; after that, began their Song again, and then another Oration, ever laying down so many Corns as before, till they had twice encircled the Fire: That done, they took a bunch of little Sticks prepar'd for that purpose, continuing still their Devotion; and at the end of every Song and Oration they laid down a Stick betwixt the divisions of Corn. Till night neither he nor they did eat or drink, and then they feasted merrily, with the best provisions they could make. Three days they used this Ceremony, the meaning whereof they told him, was to know, if he intended them well or no. The Circle of Meal signified their Country, the Circles of Corn, the bounds of the Sea, and the Sticks his Country. They imagined the World to be flat and round like a Trencher, and they in the midst."

*Thus far is **Smith's** Story of Conjuraton concerning himself, but when he says they encircled the Fire with Wheat, I am apt to believe, he means their **Indian** Corn; which some, contrary to the custome of the rest of Mankind, will still call by the name of **Indian** Wheat.*

*The later Story of Conjuraton is this, Some few years ago, there happen'd a very dry time, towards the heads of the Rivers, and especially on the upper parts of **James River**, where Collonel **Byrd** had several Quarters of Negroes. This Gentleman has for a long time been extreamly respected, and fear'd by all the **Indians** round about, who, without knowing the Name of any Governour, have ever been kept in order by Him. During this drowth, an **Indian**, well known to one of the Collonel's Overseers, came to him, and ask'd if his Tobacco was not like to be spoyl'd? The Overseer answer'd Yes, if*

they had not Rain very suddenly: The **Indian**, who pretended great kindness for his Master, told the Overseer, if he would promise to give him two Bottles of Rum, he would bring him Rain enough: The Overseer did not believe any thing of the matter, not seeing at that time the least appearance of Rain, nor so much as a Cloud in the Sky; however, he promis'd to give him the Rum, when his Master came thither, if he wou'd be as good as his word: Upon this the **Indian** went immediately a **Pauwawing**, as they call it; and in about half an hour, there came up a black Cloud into the Sky, that shower'd down Rain enough upon this Gentlemans Corn and Tobacco, but none at all upon any of the Neighbours, except a few drops of the Skirt of the Shower. The **Indian** for that time went away, without returning to the Overseer again, till he heard of his Masters arrival at the **Falls**, and then he came to him, and demanded the two Bottles of Rum. The Collonel at first seem'd to know nothing of the matter, and ask'd the **Indian**, for what reason he made that demand? (altho his Overseer had been so overjoy'd at what had happen'd that he could not rest till he had taken a Horse and rid near forty Miles to tell his Master the story.) The **Indian** answer'd with some concern, that he hop'd the Overseer had let him know the service he had done him, by bringing a Shower of Rain to save his Crop. At this the Collonel, not being apt to believe such Stories, smil'd. and told him, he was a Cheat, and had seen the Cloud a coming, otherwise he could neither have brought the Rain, nor so much as foretold it. The **Indian** at this seeming much troubl'd, reply'd, Why then had not such a one, and such a one, (naming the next Neighbours) Rain as well as your Overseer, for they lost their Crops; but I lov'd you, and therefore I sav'd yours? The Collonel made sport with him a little while, but in the end order'd him the two Bottles of Rum, letting him understand however, that it was a free Gift, and not the consequence of any Bargain with his Overseer.

The **Indians** have their Altars and places of Sacrifice. Some say they now and then sacrifice young Children: but they deny it, and assure us, that when they withdraw these Children, it is not to Sacrifice them, but to Consecrate them to the service of their God. **Smith** tells of one of these Sacrifices in his time, from the Testimony of some people, who had been Eye-witnesses. His words are these.

"Fifteen of the properest young Boys between ten and fifteen years of Age they painted white, having brought them forth, the people spent the Forenoon in Dancing and Singing about them with Rattles. In the Afternoon they put these Children to the Root of the Tree. By them all the Men stood in a Guard, every one having a **Bastinado** in his Hand, made of Reeds bound together; they made a Lane between them all along, through which there were appointed five Young Men to fetch these Children: So every one of the five went through the Guard, to fetch a Child each after other by turns; the Guard fiercely beating them with their **Bastinados**, and they patiently enduring and receiving all, defending the Children with their naked Bodies from the unmerciful blows, that pay them soundly, though the Children escape. All this while the Women weep and

cry out very passionately, providing Matts, Skins, Moss, and dry Wood, as things fitting for their Childrens Funeral. After the Children were thus past the Guard, the Guards tore down the Tree, Branches and Bows with such violence, that they rent the Body, made Wreaths for their Heads, and bedeck'd their Hair with the Leaves.

"What else was done with the Children was not seen, but they were all cast on a heap in a Valley as dead, where they made a great Feast for all the Company.

*"The **Werowance** being demanded the meaning of this Sacrifice, answer'd, that the Children were not dead, but that the **Okee** or Devil did suck the Blood from the Left Breast of those, who chanc'd to be his by lot, till they were dead, but the rest were kept in the Wilderness by the young men, till nine months were expired, during which time they must not converse with any; and of these were made their Priests and Conjurers."*

*How far Captain **Smith** might be misinform'd in this account, I can't say, or whether their **Okee's** sucking the Breast, be only a delusion or pretence of the Physician, (or Priest, who is always a Physician) to prevent all reflection on his skill, when any happen'd to dye under his discipline. This I choose rather to believe, than those Religious Romances concerning their **Okee**. For I take this story of **Smith's** to be only an example of **Huskanawing**, which being a Ceremony then altogether unknown to him, he might easily mistake some of the circumstances of it.*

*The Solemnity of **Huskanawing** is commonly practis'd once every fourteen or sixteen years, or oftener, as their young men happen to grow up. It is an Institution or Discipline which all young men must pass, before they can be admitted to be of the number of Great men, or **Cockarouses** of the Nation; whereas by Captain **Smith's** Relation, they were only set apart to supply the Priesthood. The whole Ceremony is performed after the following manner.*

*The choicest and briskest young men of the Town, and such only as have acquired some Treasure by their Travels and Hunting, are chosen out by the Rulers to be **Huskanawed**; and whoever refuses to undergo this Process, dare not remain among them. Several of those odd preparatory Fopperies are premis'd in the beginning, which have been before related; but the principal part of the business is to carry them into the Woods, and there keep them under confinement, and destitute of all Society, for several months; giving them no other sustenance, but the Infusion, or Decoction of some Poisonous Intoxicating Roots; by virtue of which Physick, and by the severity of the discipline, which they undergo, they become stark staring Mad: In which raving condition they are kept eighteen or twenty days. During these extremities, they are shut up, day and night, in a strong Inclosure made on purpose; one of which I saw, belonging*

to the **Paumaunkie Indians**, in the year 1694. It was in shape like a Sugar-loaf, and every way open like a Lattice, for the Air to pass through, as in Tab. 4. Fig. 3. In this Cage thirteen young Men had been **Huskanaw'd**, and had not been a month set at liberty, when I saw it. Upon this occasion it is pretended, that these poor Creatures drink so much of that Water of **Lethe**, that they perfectly lose the remembrance of all former things, even of their Parents, their Treasure, and their Language. When the Doctors find that they have drank sufficiently of the **Wysoccan**, (so they call this mad Potion) they gradually restore them to their Sences again, by lessening the Intoxication of their Diet; but before they are perfectly well, they bring them back into their Towns, while they are still wild and crazy, through the Violence of the Medicine. After this they are very fearful of discovering any thing of their former remembrance; for if such a thing should happen to any of them, they must immediately be **Huskanaw'd** again; and the second time the usage is so severe, that seldom any one escapes with Life. Thus they must pretend to have forgot the very use of their Tongues, so as not to be able to speak, nor understand any thing that is spoken, till they learn it again. Now whether this be real or counterfeit, I don't know; but certain it is, that they will not for some time take notice of any body, nor any thing, with which they were before acquainted, being still under the guard of their Keepers, who constantly wait upon them every where, till they have learnt all things perfectly over again. Thus they unlive their former lives, and commence Men, by forgetting that they ever have been Boys. If under this Exercise any one should dye, I suppose the Story of **Okee**, mention'd by Smith, is the Salvo for it: For (says he) **Okee** was to have such as were his by lot; and such were said to be Sacrificed.

Now this Conjecture is the more probable, because we know that **Okee** has not a share in every **Huskanawing**; for tho two young men happen'd to come short home, in that of the **Pamaunkie Indians**, which was perform'd in the year 1694, yet the **Appamattucks**, formerly a great Nation, tho now an inconsiderable people, made an **Huskanaw** in the year 1690, and brought home the same number they carried out.

I can account no other way for the great pains and secrecy of the Keepers, during the whole process of this discipline, but by assuring you, that it is the most meritorious thing in the World, to discharge that trust well, in order to their preferment to the greatest posts in the Nation, which they claim as their undoubted right, in the next promotion. On the other hand, they are sure of a speedy Passport into the other World, if they should by their Levity or Neglect, show themselves in the least unfaithful.

Those which I ever observ'd to have been **Huskanawed**, were lively handsome well timber'd young men, from fifteen to twenty years of age or upward, and such as were generally reputed rich.

I confess, I judg'd it at first sight to be only an Invention of the Seniors, to engross the young mens Riches to themselves; for, after suffering this operation, they

never pretended to call to mind any thing of their former property: But their Goods were either shared among the old men, or brought to some publick use; and so those Younkers were oblig'd to begin the World again.

*But the **Indians** detest this opinion, and pretend that this violent method of taking away the Memory, is to release the Youth from all their Childish impressions, and from that strong Partiality to persons and things, which is contracted before Reason comes to take place. They hope by this proceeding, to root out all the pro-possessions and unreasonable prejudices which are fixt in the minds of Children. So that, when the Young men come to themselves again, their Reason may act freely, without being byass'd by the Cheats of Custom and Education. Thus also they become discharg'd from the remembrance of any ties by Blood, and are establisht in a state of equality and perfect freedom, to order their actions, and dispose of their persons, as they think fit, without any other Controul, than that of the Law of Nature. By this means also they become qualify'd, when they have any Publick Office, equally and impartially to administer Justice, without having respect either to Friend or Relation.*

*The **Indians** offer Sacrifice almost upon every new occasion; as when they travel or begin a long Journey, they burn Tobacco instead of Incense, to the Sun, to bribe him to send them fair Weather, and a prosperous Voyage: When they cross any great Water, or violent Fresh, or Torrent, they throw Tobacco, Puccoon, Peak, or some other valuable thing, that they happen to have about them, to intreat the Spirit presiding there, to grant them a safe passage. It is call'd a Fresh, when after very great Rains, or (as we suppose) after a great Thaw of the Snow and Ice lying upon the Mountains to the North West, the Water descends, in such abundance into the Rivers, that they overflow the Banks which bound their Streams at other times.*

*Likewise when the **Indians** return from War, from Hunting, from great Journeys, or the like, they offer some proportion of their Spoils, of their chiefest Tobacco, Furs and Paint, as also the fat, and choice bits of their Game.*

I never could learn that they had any certain time or set days for their Solemnities: but they have appointed Feasts that happen according to the several Seasons. They solemnize a day for the plentiful coming of their Wild Fowl, such as Geese, Ducks, Teal, &c. for the returns of their Hunting Seasons, and for the ripening of certain Fruits: but the greatest Annual Feast they have, is at the time of their Corn-gathering, at which they revel several days together. To these they universally contribute, as they do to the gathering in the Corn. On this occasion they have their greatest variety of Pastimes, and more especially of their War-Dances, and Heroick Songs; in which they boast, that their Corn being now gather'd, they have store enough for their Women and Children; and have nothing to do, but to go to War, Travel, and seek out for New Adventures.

*They make their Account by units, tens, hundreds, &c. as we do; but they reckon the Years by the Winters, or **Cobonks**, as they call them; which is a name taken from the note of the Wild Geese, intimating so many times of the Wild Geese coming to them, which is every Winter. They distinguish the several parts of the Year, by five Seasons, viz. The budding or blossoming of the Spring; the earing of the Corn, or roasting ear time; the Summer; or highest Sun; the Corn-gathering, or fall of the Leaf; and the Winter, or **Cobonks**. They count the Months likewise by the Moons, tho not with any relation to so many in a year, as we do: but they make them return again by the same name, as the Moon of Stags, the Corn Moon, the first and second Moon of **Cobonks**, &c. They have no distinction of the hours of the Day, but divide it only into three parts, the Rise, Power, and lowering of the Sun. And they keep their account by knots on a string, or notches on a Stick, not unlike the **Peruvian Quippoos**.*

*In this state of Nature, one would think they should be as pure from Superstition, and overdoing matters in Religion, as they are in other things: but I find it is quite the contrary; for this Simplicity gives the cunning Priest a greater advantage over them, according to the **Romish Maxim, Ignorance is the Mother of Devotion**. For, no bigotted Pilgrim appears more zealous, or strains his Devotion more at the Shrine, than these believing **Indians** do, in their Idolatrous Adorations. Neither do the most refin'd Catholicks undergo their pennance with so much submission as these poor Pagans do the severities, which their Priests inflict upon them.*

*They have likewise in other cases many fond and idle Superstitions, as for the purpose, by the falls of **James River** upon Collonel **Byrd's** Land, there lies a Rock which I have seen, about a mile from the River, wherein is fairly imprest several marks like the footsteps of a Gigantick Man, each step being about five foot asunder: These they aver to be the track of their God.*

*This is not unlike what the Fathers of the **Romish** Church tell us, that our Lord left the print of his Feet on the Stone, whereon he stood while he talkt with St. **Peter**, which Stone was afterward preserv'd as a very Sacred Relique, and after several translations, was at last fix'd in the Church of **St. Sebastian** the Martyr, where it is kept, and visited with great expressions of Devotion. So that the **Indians**, as well as these, are not without their pious frauds.*

As this people have a great reverence for the Priest, so the Priest very oddly endeavours to preserve their respect, by being as hideously ugly as he can, especially when he appears in publick; for besides, that the cut of his Hair is peculiar to his Function, as in Tab. 4. Pag. 6. and the hanging of his Cloak, with the Fur reverst and falling down in flakes, looks horridly shagged, he likewise bedaubs himself in that frightful manner with Paint, that he terrifies the people into a veneration for him.

*The Conjurer is a Partner with the Priest, not only in the Cheat, but in the advantages of it, and sometimes they officiate for one another. When this Artist is in the Act of Conjunction, or of **Pauwawing**, as they term it, he always appears with an air of Haste, or else in some Convulsive posture, that seems to strain all the faculties, like the **Sybils**, when they pretended to be under the Power of Inspiration. At these times, he has a black Bird with expanded Wings fasten'd to his Ear, differing in nothing but colour, from **Mahomet's** Pidgeon. He has no cloathing but a small skin before, and a Pocket at his Girdle, as in Tab. 4. Pag. 6.*

*The **Indians** never go about any considerable Enterprize, without first consulting their Priests and Conjurers; for the most ingenious amongst them are brought up to those functions, and by that means become better instructed in their Histories, than the rest of the people. They likewise engross to themselves all the knowledge of Nature, which is handed to them by Tradition from their Forefathers; by which means they are able to make a truer judgment of things, and consequently are more capable of advising those that consult them upon all occasions. These Reverend Gentlemen are not so entirely given up to their Religious Austerities, but they sometimes take their pleasure (as well as the Laity) in Fishing, Fowling and Hunting.*

*The **Indians** have Posts fix'd round their **Quioccasan**, which have Mens Faces carved upon them, and are painted. They are likewise set up round some of their other celebrated places, and make a Circle for them to dance about, on certain solemn occasions. They very often set up Pyramidical Stones, and Pillars, which they colour with **Puccoon**, and other sorts of Paint, and which they adorn with **Peak, Roenoke, &c.** To these they pay all outward signs of Worship and Devotion; not as to God, but as they are Hieroglyphicks of the permanency and immutability of the Deity; because these, both for figure and substance, are, of all Sublunary Bodies, the least subject of decay or change; they also for the same reason keep Baskets of Stones in their Cabbins. Upon this account too, they offer Sacrifice to Running Streams, which by the perpetuity of their Motion, typifie the Eternity of God.*

They erect Altars where-ever they have any remarkable occasion; and because their principal Devotion consists in Sacrifice, they have a profound respect for these Altars. They have one particular Altar, to which, for some mystical reason, many of their Nations pay an extraordinary Veneration; of this sort was the Crystal Cube, mention'd Book II. Chap. 3.

*The **Indians** call this by the name of **Pawcorance**, from whence proceeds the great Reverence they have for a small Bird that uses the Woods, and in their note continually sound that name. This Bird flys alone, and is only heard in the twilight. They say this is the Soul of one of their Princes; and on that score, they wou'd not hurt it for the World. But there was once a profane **Indian** in the upper parts of **James River**, who, after abundance of fears and scruples, was at last brib'd to kill one of them with his*

*Gun; but the **Indians** say he paid dear for his presumption, for in few days after he was taken away, and never more heard of.*

When they travel by any of these Altars, they take great care to instruct their Children and Young people in the particular occasion and time of their erection, and recommend the respect which they ought to have for them; so that their careful observance of these Traditions, proves as good a Memorial of such Antiquities, as any Written Records; especially for so long as the same people continue to inhabit in, or near the same place.

I can't understand that their Women ever pretended to intermeddle with any Offices, that relate to the Priesthood, or Conjunction.

*The **Indians** are Religious in preserving the Corpses of their Kings and Rulers after Death, which they order in the following manner. First, they neatly flay off the Skin as entire as they can, slitting it only in the Back; then they pick all the Flesh off from the Bones as clean as possible, leaving the Sinews fastned to the Bones, that they may preserve the Joynts together; then they dry the Bones a little in the Sun, and put them into the Skin again, which in the mean time has been kept from drying or shrinking; when the Bones are placed right in the Skin, they nicely fill up the vacuities, with a very fine white Sand. After this they sew up the Skin again, and the Body looks as if the Flesh had not been removed. They take care to keep the Skin from shrinking, by the help of a little Oyl or Grease, which saves it also from Corruption. The Skin being thus prepar'd, they lay it in an Apartment for that purpose, upon a large Shelf rais'd above the Floor. This Shelf is spread with Mats, for the Corps to rest easie on, and skreen'd with the same, to keep it from the Dust. The Flesh they lay upon Hurdles in the Sun to dry, and when it is thoroughly dryed, it is sewed up in a Basket, and set at the Feet of the Corps, to which it belongs. In this place also they set up a **Quioccos**, or Idol, which they believe will be a Guard to the Corps. Here night and day one or other of the Priests must give his Attendance, to take care of the Dead Bodies. So great an Honor and Veneration have these ignorant and unpolisht people for their Princes, even after they are dead.*

The Mat is suppos'd to be turn'd up in the Figure, that the Inside may be viewed.
Source: Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill, 1947), pp. 195-216.

* * *

Source: Paul A.W. Wallace, ed. The Travels of John Heckewelder in Frontier America (Pittsburgh, 1958), pp. 105-107, 112-113.

Interesting Account of the Embassy of a Swedish Missionary to Convert the Heathen.
(Brash & Reid: Glasgow, 1745)

The politeness of these savages in conversation, is indeed carried to excess; since it does not permit them to contradict or deny the truth of what is asserted in their presence. By this means they always avoid disputes; but then it becomes difficult to know their mind, or what impression you make upon them. The Missionaries who have attempted to convert them to Christianity, all complain of this as one of the greatest difficulties of their mission. The Indians hear with patience the truths of the gospel explained to them; and give their usual tokens of assent and approbation: you would think they were convinced. No such matter: it is mere civility.

A Swedish Minister having assembled the Chiefs of the Susquehanah Indians, made a sermon to them; acquainting them with the principal historical facts on which our religion is founded; such as the fall of our first parents, by eating an apple; the coming of Christ to repair the mischief; his miracles and suffering, &c.-When he had finished an Indian orator stood up to thank him. "What you have told us (says he) is all very good. It is indeed bad to eat apples: it is better to make them all into cider. We are much obliged by your kindness, in coming, so far, to tell us those things which you have heard from your mothers. In return, I will tell you some of those we have heard from ours."

"In the beginning, our fathers had only the flesh of animals to subsist on; and if their hunting was unsuccessful, they were starving. Two of our young hunters having killed a deer, made fire in the woods to broil some parts of it. When they were about to satisfy their hunger, they beheld a beautiful young woman descend from the clouds, and seat herself on that hill, which you see yonder among the Blue Mountains. They said to each other, It is a spirit that, perhaps, has smelt our broiling venison, and wishes to eat of it: let us offer some to her. They presented her with the tongue: she was pleased with the taste of it, and said, Your kindness shall be rewarded. Come to this place after thirteen moons, and you shall find something that will be of the greatest benefit in nourishing you and your children to the latest generations. They did so, and, to their surprise, found plants they had never seen before; but which, from that ancient time, have been constantly cultivated among us, to our great advantage. Where her right hand had touched the ground, they found maize; where her left hand had touched it, they found kidney-beans; and where her backside had sat on it, they found tobacco." - The good Missionary, disgusted with this idle tale, said, "What I delivered to you were sacred truths; but what you tell me is mere fable, diction, and falsehood." The Indian, offended, replied, "My brother, it seems your friends have not done you justice in your education; they have not well instructed you in the rules of common civility. You saw that we, who understand and practice those rules, believed all your stories: why do you refuse to believe ours?"

The same hospitality, esteemed among them as a principal virtue, is practiced by private persons; of which Conrad Weiser, our interpreter, gave me the following instance: - He had been naturalized among the Six Nations and spoke well the Mohock language. In going through the Indian country, to carry a message from our Governor to the Council at Onondage, he called at the habitation of Canassetego, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, spread furs for him to sit on, placed before him some boiled beans and venison, and mixed some rum and water for his drink. When he was well refreshed, and had lit his pipe, Canassetego began to converse with him; asked, how he had fared the many years since they had seen each other? Whence he then came? What had occasioned the journey? &c. Conrad answered all his questions; and when the discourse began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, said "Conrad you have lived long among the white people, and know something of the customs: I have been sometimes at Albany, and have observed, that once in seven days they shut up their shops, and assemble all in the great house; tell me what it is for. - What do they there?" - They meet there (says Conrad) to hear and learn good things. - "I do not doubt (says the Indian) that they tell you so; they have told me the same: but I doubt the truth of what they say, and I will tell you my reasons: I went lately to Albany to sell my skins, and buy blankets, knives, powder, rum, &c. You know I generally used to deal with Hans Hanson; but I was little inclined this time to try some other merchants. However, I called first upon Hans, and asked him what he would give for beaver: He said he could not give more than four shillings a pound: but (said he) I cannot talk business now; this is the day when we meet together to learn good things, and I am going to the meeting. So I thought to myself, since I cannot do any business today, I may as well go to the meeting too: and I went with him, There stood up a man, in black, and began to talk to the people very angrily. I did not understand what he said; but perceiving that he looked much at me, and Hanson, I imagined he was angry at seeing me there; so I went out, sat down near the house, struck fire, and lit my pipe, waiting till the meeting should break up. I thought too, that the man had mentioned something of beaver; and I suspected it might be the subject of their meeting. So when they came out, I accosted my merchant, -- Well, Hans, says I, I hope you have agreed to give more than four shillings a pound? - No, says he, I cannot give so much; I then spoke to several other dealers, but they all sung the same song, Three-and-sixpence, Three-and-sixpence. This made it clear to me that my suspicion was right; and that whatever they pretended of meeting to learn good things, the real purpose was to consult how to cheat Indians in the price of beaver. Consider but a little, Conrad, and you must be of my opinion. If they meet so often to learn good things, they certainly would have learned some before this time: but they are still ignorant. You know our practice; if a white man, in traveling through our country, enters one of our cabins, we all treat him as I treat you; we dry him if he is wet, we warm him if he is cold, and give him meat and drink that he may allay his thirst and hunger; and we spread soft furs for him to rest and sleep on: we demand nothing in return. But if I go into a white man's house at Albany, and ask for victuals and drink, they say, Where is your money? And if I have none, they say, Get out, you

Indian dog! You see they have not yet learned those little good things that we need no meeting to be instructed in, because our mothers taught them to us when we were children; and therefore it is impossible their meeting should be, as they say, for any such purpose, or have any such effect: they are only to contrive the cheating of Indians in the price of beaver."

* * *

John Heckewelder was one of the most active and observant American travelers of the eighteenth century. Beginning in 1762, as a missionary for the Moravian Church he traveled extensively through Pennsylvania, the Ohio country, Kentucky, and the Illinois country. Heckewelder lived among the Indians for nearly sixty years, learning their languages, sharing their activities, writing down clearly and vividly what he saw and heard.

In April, 1773, Heckewelder, with several other Moravians and Indians journeyed by water down the Beaver and the Ohio, up the Muskingum River. During the trip he recorded the following:

The 19th. We passed the town (Mingo Junction) this morning. The Mingoos wanted to walk with us, but none of us understood their language. It was from this point, last year, that Brother David and his party went overland to Welhik Thuppeek.

A few miles farther on, a white man called to us and bade us come ashore and rest a while; but we did not want to lose time, and explained to him why, to which he responded, "then I wish you good people a safe journey." We saw more houses and plantations belonging to white people at various places on the east side of the river. No sooner had we landed this evening when 6 white men appeared on the opposite bank and began to talk with me, but the river is so wide we could hardly understand each other. So with the Brethren, Anton and Boas, I crossed over to them. For the next half hour they plied us with all sorts of questions, politely enough, and chiefly about our religious beliefs and teaching. I give a few examples:

"What kind of Indians are these and where do they come from?"

Ans. They are a Christian Indian congregation from Beaver Creek."

"Where are they going?"

"To the Muskingum."

"Are these the Moravian Indians?"

Ans. "Yes."

"Do they have a minister with them?"

Ans. "Yes. There are 2 congregations and each has its teacher."

"What is the religion of their teachers?"

"They are Brethren (Moravians)."

"Do they receive an annual stipend from the King or some recognized society?"

"No."

"Then who supports them?"

Ans. "The Brethren contribute voluntarily, each giving what he can, and their preachers are supported by these freewill offerings."

"That is praiseworthy," they said to one another. "Can their preachers talk with them in their own language?"

"Yes."

"Have any of them really been brought to believe there is a God in heaven?"

"Yes."

"Do they accept baptism?"

"Yes."

"Have these two been baptised, and what are their names?"

Ans. "They have both been baptized, and their names are Anton and Boas."

"Do they remain true to the faith after baptism?"

"They seldom leave us. Take this man Anton, for example. He has kept the faith for 20 years."

"You can see by this man's face," they said to one another, "that he is a true Christian," and they asked further, "Do they celebrate the Sabbath and keep it holy, and do no work, not even go hunting, on that day?"

Ans. "They observe the Sabbath the same as other Christian churches do."

"Which day do you regard as the Sabbath?"

Ans. "The first day of the week."

"Do they hold services on any day besides the Sabbath?"

Ans. "Yes. They have one and sometimes 2 services every day."

"It is clear enough," said they, "that these are true Christians. What do you do if one of your people misdemeans himself?"

Ans. "We rebuke him, and if that is not enough he is excluded from the congregation and sometimes even sent away."

"Do you keep school for them?"

"Yes."

"In what language?"

"In their own."

"That is right," they said.

"We think that, as long as they are not living entirely among the white people, they cannot learn their language, for many of them are too old and many are very unskilful at learning foreign languages."

Their last question was this: "Do you not do business with them, and do they not give you part of their hunting bag?"

Ans. "We have no business dealings with them, and we get nothing from them. We are content to live very simply, and as long as, from time to time, we see someone turn and become a believer, we consider ourselves well paid."

"Surely," they said, "God is with you and blesses your work. This is just what our minister, Johnes, reported of you. He told us a lot about you. He met and talked with one of your ministers (that was Brother David, whom he met at Gnadenhutten). He knows you are a true Christian community in the Indian country. We wish you success and God's blessing on your work, and may your numbers increase."

With that we parted, for night had come.

At the end of this trip Heckewelder commented on the origin of Indian hospitality: *The Indian considers himself as a being created by an all-powerful, wise, and benevolent Mannitto; all that he possesses, all that he enjoys, he looks upon as given to him or allotted for his use by the Great Spirit who gave him life; he therefore believes it to be his duty to adore and worship his Creator and benefactor; to acknowledge with gratitude his past favours, thank him for present blessings, and solicit the continuation of his good will. (An old Indian told me about fifty years ago that when he was young, he still followed the custom of his father and ancestor, in climbing upon a high mountain or pinnacle, to thank the Great spirit for all the benefits before bestowed, and to pray for a continuance of his favour; that they were sure their prayers were heard, and acceptable to the Great Spirit, although he did not himself appear to them.)*

He also believes, that he is highly favoured by his Maker, not only in having been created different in shape and in mental and bodily powers from other animals, but in being enabled to control and master them all, even those of an enormous size and of the most ferocious kinds; and therefore, when he worships his Creator in his way, he does not omit in his supplications to pray that he may be endowed with courage to fight and conquer his enemies, among whom he includes all savage beasts; and when he has performed some heroic act, he will not forget to acknowledge it as a mark of divine favour, by making a sacrifice to the great and good Mannitto, or by publicly announcing

that his success was entirely owing to the courage given him by the all-powerful Spirit. Thus habitual devotion to the great First Cause, and a strong feeling of gratitude for the benefits which he confers, is one of the prominent traits which characterize the mind of the untutored Indian.

Not satisfied with paying this first of duties to the Lord of all, in the best manner they are able, the Indians also endeavour to fulfill the views which they suppose he had in creating the world. They think that he made the earth and all that it contains for the common good of mankind; when he stocked the country that he gave them with plenty of game, it was not for the benefit of a few, but of all. Everything was given in common to the sons of men.

Source: Paul A.W. Wallace, ed. The Travels of John Heckewelder in Frontier America (Pittsburgh, 1958), pp. 105-107, 112-113.

* *

Nicholas Cresswell came to America seeking his fortune. In May 1774, he landed at Alexandria, but the time was ill chosen for a loyalist. He traveled around Virginia, Maryland, New York, and finally Williamsburg. His journal includes observations on the Native Americans he encountered.

Sunday, August 27th, 1775. Proceeded on our journey and about noon got to an Indian Town called Wale-hack-tap-poke, or the Town with a good Spring, on the Banks of the Muskingham and inhabited by Dellawar Indians. Christianized under the Moravian Sect, it is a pretty town consisting of about sixty houses, and is built of logs and covered with Clapboards. It is regularly laid out in three spacious streets which meet in the centre, where there is a large meeting house built of logs sixty foot square covered with Shingles, Glass in the windows and a Bell, a good plank floor with two rows of forms, Adorned with some few pieces of Scripture painting, but very indifferently executed. All about the meeting house is kept very clean.

In the evening went to the meeting. But never was I more astonished in my life. I expected to have seen nothing but anarchy and confusion, as I have been taught to look upon these beings with contempt. Instead of that, here is the greatest regularity, order, and decorum, I ever saw in any place of Worship, in my life. With that solemnity of behaviour and modesty, religious deportment would do honour to the first religious society on earth, and put a bigot or enthusiast out of countenance. The parson was a Dutchman, but preached in English. He had an Indian interpreter, who explained it to the Indians by sentences. They sung in the Indian language. The men sit on one row of forms and the women on the other with the children in the front. Each sex comes in and goes out of their own side of the house. The old men sit on each side of the parson.

Source: The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1777 (Port Washington, N.Y., 1968), pp. 106-107.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN RELIGION AND AFRICAN RETENTION

It emerges clearly that for African peoples, this is a religious universe. Nature in the broadest sense of the word is not an empty impersonal object or phenomenon: it is filled with religious significance. Man gives life even where natural objects and phenomena have no biological life. God is seen in and behind these objects and phenomena: they are His creation, they Manifest Him, they symbolize His being and presence. The invisible world is symbolized or manifested by these visible and concrete phenomena and objects of nature. The invisible world presses hard upon the visible: one speaks of the other, and African peoples "see" that invisible universe when they look at, hear or feel the visible and tangible world. This is one of the most fundamental religious heritages of African peoples. . . . To African peoples this religious universe is not an academic proposition: it is an empirical experience, which reaches its height in acts of worship.

Source: John S. Mbiti, African Religions & Philosophy (Portsmouth, N.H., 1990), pp. 56-57.

African Origins of African-American Religious Thought

Source: Albert J. Rabateau, Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South (New York, 1978), pp. 4-16.

The enslavement of an estimated ten million Africans over a period of almost four centuries in the Atlantic slave trade was a tragedy of such scope that it is difficult to imagine, much less comprehend. When these Africans were brought to slavery in the mines, plantations, and households of the New World, they were torn away from the political, social, and cultural systems that had ordered their lives. Tribal and linguistic groups were broken up, either on the coasts of Africa or in the slave pens across the Atlantic. Most brutal of all, the exigencies of the slave trade [often] did not allow the preservation of family or kinship ties.

In the New World slave control was based on the eradication of all forms of African culture because of their power to unify the slaves and thus enable them to resist or rebel. Nevertheless, African beliefs and customs persisted and were transmitted by slaves to their descendants. Shaped and modified by a new environment, elements of African folklore, music, language, and religion were transplanted in the New World by the African diaspora. Influenced by colonial European and indigenous native American cultures, aspects of the African heritage have contributed, in greater or lesser degree, to the formation of various Afro-American cultures in the New World. One of the most durable and adaptable constituents of the slave's culture, linking African past with American present, was his religion. It is important to realize, however, that in the Americas the religions of Africa have not been merely preserved as static "Africanisms"

or as archaic "retentions." The fact is that they have continued to develop as living traditions putting down new roots in new soil, bearing new fruit as unique hybrids of American origin. African styles of worship, forms of ritual, systems of belief, and fundamental perspectives have remained vital on this side of the Atlantic, not because they were preserved in a "pure" orthodoxy but because they were transformed. Adaptability, based upon respect for spiritual power wherever it originated, accounted for the openness of African religions to syncretism with other religious traditions and for the continuity of a distinctly African religious consciousness. At least in some areas of the Americas, the gods of Africa continued to live -- in exile.

African Religious Traditions

Among the Africans who became slaves in the Americas were those, such as the Wolof, Serer, Mandinke, Bambara, Fulani, and Hausa, who were Muslim or least had been influenced by Islam. The ancient kingdoms of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay had been centers of Muslim influence in the western Sudan. South of the Sahara, along the coasts of "Guinea," and through inland kingdoms, people had been exposed to Islam through trade with North African Muslims, through conquest, through colonization, and through conversion. In fact, the first black Africans with whom white Europeans came into contact on the coast of West Africa were "black Moors," i.e., light-skinned Berbers. In the fifteenth century Portuguese sailors in the service of Prince Henry ventured beyond the Canary Islands and Cape Bojador and sailed along the coast of West Africa in search of trade, wealth, and the legendary Christian king Prester John. In a kind of prologue to the Atlantic slave trade, the Portuguese by the 1440s were capturing Berber and Negro Moors from the coasts of Mauretania and the Senegambia region. According to the Portuguese chronicler Gomes Eannes De Azurara, over nine hundred Africans had been seized and brought to Lisbon as slaves by 1448.

An eighteenth-century traveler observed that while some West African towns had mosques and though some Muslim "Foolas and Mandingoes attend to the ceremonial duties of their religion with such strictness as well might cause Christians to blush," yet "they still entertain a degree of belief in the powers of witchcraft and in those of ...charms." It is clear that elements of Islam were often mixed with or adapted to forms of traditional African belief. A case in point is recorded for Dahomey: "Among the *amulets*, or *charms*, the principal is a scrap of parchment containing a sentence of the Koran, which the natives purchase from the Moors who visit the country." As we shall see, Muslim slaves became particularly noted in the New World for the power of their magical charms.

Similarly, it is possible that a few enslaved Africans may have had some contact with Christianity in their homeland. Attempts to establish European Christianity along the coast of West Africa date from the time of Portuguese missionaries in the early

sixteenth century.* John Barbot, in his account of Guinea, written around 1682, notes that:

The Portuguese missionaries have undergone great labours, and run mighty hazards to convert some of them [Africans in the region of the Gambia] to Christianity, ever since the beginning of the last, and during this century, but with little success: for though some seem to embrace the doctrines, yet many mix it with pagan idolatry and Mahometanism; others are no sooner baptiz'd but they return to their wild natural way of living.

French Capuchins were working on the Gold Coast in 1635 and Portuguese Capuchins were sent out to the kingdom of Ouwere in 1683. There were some African converts among the creole societies -- made up of mulattoes of Portuguese-African descent-- which grew up around the European forts on the coasts of Guinea. The Portuguese had some success in the Kongo where the Mani-Kongo or premier king, Nzinga Mbemba, was converted to Christianity and was baptized as Dom Affonso I (1506-1543). In general, however, the early missionaries had very limited success and did not penetrate the interior. Not until Christianized slaves began to return from Europe and America to Africa in the late eighteenth century did the expansion of Christianity on the West Coast of Africa begin. Christianity was carried further inland by the invasion of European and American missionaries shortly before and contemporary with nineteenth-century colonization. Though Islam--and to a much smaller extent, Christianity--had extended into sub-Saharan Africa, by far the greatest number of those Africans who fell victim to the Atlantic trade came from peoples who held the indigenous and traditional beliefs of their fathers.

Over the four centuries of the Atlantic trade, slaves were seized from many parts of Africa -- Central, South, and East -- as well as West Africa. The problem of the provenience of American slaves is a difficult one, complicated by the lengthy duration of the trade. Various European and American countries exported and imported slaves at different periods from various points of the African coast, depending on the availability of slaves, the wishes of African slave traders, and other exigencies of the market. As a result, slaves bound for the Americas came from many different nations, tribes, and language groups. Records of the slave ships mention points of embarkation but are often hazy about the original homelands of the human cargo. On this side of the Atlantic, the ethnic names supplied by slave merchants and owners to newly arrived Africans were frequently confused and inexact. Nevertheless, it is clear that a large percentage of American slaves came from West Africa and from the Congo-Angola region. This vast territory stretched along the coast from Senegambia in the northwest to Angola in the southeast; it extended several hundred miles inland and embraced societies and cultures as diverse as those of the Mandinke, the Yoruba, and Ibo and the Bakongo.

* There was also an Ethiopian Coptic Christian church possibly as early as the 11th century in East Africa.

There were, and are, too many significant differences among the religions of various West African peoples, not to mention local variations within any single people, to permit putting them all into a single category. However, similar modes of perception, shared basic principles, and common patterns of ritual were wide-spread among different West African religions. Beneath the diversity, enough fundamental similarity did exist to allow a general description of the religious heritage of African slaves, with supplementary information concerning particular peoples, such as the Akan, Ewe, Yoruba, Ibo and others, whose influences upon the religions of Afro-Americans have long been noted. It is important to remember also that no single African culture or religion, once transplanted in alien soil, could have remained intact: it was inevitable that the slaves would build new societies in the Americas which would be structured in part from their diverse backgrounds in different African societies, in part from the experience of enslavement in a new environment. A common religious heritage then resulted from the blending and assimilation of the many discrete religious heritages of Africans in the New World.

Common to many African societies was the belief in a High God, or Supreme Creator of the world and everything in it. It was also commonly believed that this High God, often associated with the sky, was somewhat removed from and uninvolved in the activities of men, especially so when compared with the lesser gods and ancestor-spirits who were actively and constantly concerned with the daily life of the individual and the affairs of society as a whole. Early travelers were quick to note that Africans believed in a High God who transcended ritual relationships with humans. Describing religion on the Slave Coast, William Bosman, a Dutch factor, remarked that the Africans had an "idea of the True God and ascribe to him the Attributes of Almighty, and Omnipresent."

It is certain that...they believe he created the Universe, and therefore vastly prefer him before their Idol-Gods But yet they do not pray to him, or offer any Sacrifices to him; for which they give the following Reasons. God, they say, is too high exalted above us, and too great to condescend so much as to trouble himself or think of Mankind; Wherefore he commits the Government of the World to their Idols; to whom, as the second, third, and fourth Persons distant in degree from God, and our appointed lawful Governours, we are obliged to apply ourselves. And in firm Belief of this Opinion they quietly continue.

Occasionally individuals and communities did pray to the High God but sacrifice to him was rare; it was generally the other gods and the spirits of deceased ancestors who received the most attention, since they had been delegated to attend to "the affairs of mankind." Usually, in the traditional religions of West Africa the High God is the parent of the other and lesser gods, who are sometimes seen as mediators between man and God. Among the Yoruba, for example, *Olorun* is viewed as being above all

other gods, and sacrifice to any one of them is concluded in his name. Among other peoples, such as the Ga, there appears to be no overarching High God, but one god who is senior to many, a kind of *primus inter pares*, for each Ga village. The Ibo supreme deity is *Chukwu* (from Chi-Uku, Great Spirit), *Chineke* the Creator God, who controls rain and fertility and from whom the chi, or soul, of a man originates. According to the Bakongo, God (*Nzambi*) is invisible, the source of rain, seeds, health, and children. From him, nkisi, or sacred medicine, which figures importantly in Kongo religious life, receives its power. *Nzambi* is not sacrificed to but is "called upon in times of sighing and difficulty." Though it would be a mistake to assume that the High God is forgotten or never appealed to, it is nevertheless a fundamental characteristic of West African religious life that the worshiper is most concerned with the lesser gods and spirits.

The lesser divinities or secondary gods are numerous. Some are worshipped generally, others only locally. Among some West African peoples there are pantheons, or groups of gods, associated with natural forces and phenomena. Sky pantheons include the god of thunder, lightning, and rainstorm. The gods of the earth govern fertility and punish wickedness by sending smallpox and other virulent diseases. Water divinities dwell in or are identified with lakes, rivers, and the sea. Still other nature spirits may reside in trees, hills, winds, and animals. European travelers frequently identified African gods with demons or devils and accused Africans of devil worship. Or they mistook the image of the god for the god himself and called them fetish worshippers. However, the representation of the gods as fetishes is a mistake. A fetish, properly speaking, is simply a charm or amulet, and the place of object where the god dwells is properly called a shrine; neither should be confused with the gods themselves. Africans refer to these spirits by various names: the Ashanti know them as *abosom*; the Ewe-speaking Fon of Dahomey name them *vodun*; the Ibo worship them as *alose*; and the Yoruba call them *orisha*. It is these gods who govern the forces of the world and affect the affairs of men for good or ill. The gods may be benevolent or malevolent, as willful and arbitrary as humans. Therefore, people must maintain proper relations with them through dutiful praise, sacrifice, and obedience. Generally speaking, the gods have altars, shrines, and temples dedicated to their worship. Devotees are careful to wear certain colors and to eat certain foods which their particular god favors or conversely, to avoid those colors and foods their god has ruled taboo. The individual personalities of the gods are revealed in myths that establish the relationship of one god to another and define each god's sphere of activity in the world. In these myths much of the cosmology of West African peoples is articulated.

The various cults usually have priests and devotees who are active in their service to the gods. It is the role of the priest to offer worship and proper ritual sacrifice to the gods and to preside at periodic festivals honoring gods and ancestors. In addition, priests often serve as skilled diviners and herbalists. Devotees, known among the Yoruba and the Fon as *iyaworisha* and *vodunsi*, i.e., "wife of the *orisha*" or "wife of the *vodun*" (though there are men devotees as well as women), are initiated into a cult

over a more or less lengthy period of training, which involves a novitiate in which the novice "dies." is instructed in the rites of the god, learns a secret language, and finally is "resurrected," to public celebration, as an initiate of the cult. The devotees have become mediums of their gods and upon the occasion of a ritual ceremony they may become possessed. In states of ecstatic trance, described by anthropologists of religion as "spirit possession," the *vodunsi* and *iyaworisha* dance out in mime the character of a god, becoming for a time the god's mouthpiece. Known as "the horse of the god" or "the owner of the god" or "the one mounted by the god," the ecstatic behavior of the possessed is highly stylized and controlled. The identity of the god can be recognized from the dance and demeanor of the possessed devotee. Normally, an individual would become a devotee of the god of his or her mother or father. But occasionally a nonfamilial god may choose an individual for his spouse and will "fight" with that person by sending illness or misfortune until the individual yields and undergoes initiation into the god's cult. Through divination the chosen one discovers the identify of the *orisha* and his will.

Men had to take into account, besides the gods, the power of a "world of spirits." Indeed the religious life of the peoples of the Kongo focused not upon a pantheon but upon a large range of *minkisi*, or sacred medicines, embodying spirits who could harm or cure. If the taboos of the *minkisi* were not observed, these *minkisi* could become malevolent. It was widely believed by West Africans that certain trees, like the iroko, the baobab, and the silk-cotton housed spirits who could grant to supplicants the blessing of fertility.

In the traditional religion of West Africa, the power of the gods and spirits was effectively present in the lives of men, for good or ill, on every level -- environmental, individual, social, national, and cosmic. Aspects of reality seen as impersonal from a modern scientific viewpoint were not only personified but personalized, i.e., placed within the context of social relationships. The gods and men related to one another through the mediation of sacrifice, through the mechanism of divination, and through the phenomenon of spirit possession. Widely shared by diverse West African societies were several fundamental beliefs concerning the relationship of the divine to the human; belief in a transcendent, benevolent God, creator and ultimate source of providence; belief in a number of immanent gods, to whom people must sacrifice in order to make life propitious; belief in the power of spirits animating things in nature to affect the welfare of people; belief in priests and others who were expert in practical knowledge of the gods and spirits; belief in spirit possession, in which gods, through their devotees, spoke to men. Certainly not every West African society shared all these beliefs and some societies emphasized different ones more than others. The Yoruba and the Fon, for example, developed a much more highly articulated pantheon than did the Ibo, the Efik, or the Bakongo. Nevertheless, the outline, in most of its parts, holds as a description of the theological perspective of a wide range of West African peoples.

In addition to the gods, a powerful class of spirits in the world of traditional West African religions are the ancestors. Throughout West Africa, the ancestors, both those who died long ago and those of more recent memory, are revered as founders of villages and kinship groups. It is believed that, as custodians of custom and law, the ancestors have the power to intervene in present affairs and, moreover, to grant fertility and health to their descendants, for whom they mediate with the gods. Among the Mende, for example, the "mediator role of the ancestors is assumed to be possible because they are spirit and therefore have ready access to *ngewo* [God] who is also spirit." Indeed, some gods are the divinized ancestors of sibs, or kinship groups. According to M.J. Field, writing of the Ga, "most people are, in practice, more afraid of offending these [dead forefathers] than of offending the gods, though in theory...they give the higher place to the gods." A person neglects the veneration of his ancestors at the risk of sickness, misfortune, even death. If one suffers ill fortune, he might discover in a dream or through divination that an angry ancestor is punishing him for neglecting to offer sacrifice.

It is commonly held that ancestors are born again in their descendants. A resemblance between a grandchild and his deceased grandfather, for example, is proof that the latter has been reincarnated in the former. West African parents turn to diviners to determine which ancestor's spirit has returned in their newborn child. Barrenness is a serious curse, since it prevents the reincarnation of ancestors within their lineage group. Elderly people are respected and revered in part because they preserve the memory of the dead and are closer chronologically to the ancestors.

The ancestors are watchful guardians of the customs of the people. If anyone deviates from them, he or she may be punished.

The living never forget that they are the trustees of the dead. The continuity of customs must be faithfully preserved. A custom, rite, or ceremony is a link with the dead who instituted it quite as much as it is the right of the god who received it. The dead are always watching to see that the living preserve what their forefathers established. And since the dead have power to bestow either blessing or adversity...the welfare of the living is felt to be bound up with the faithful performance of ancient custom.

Because of the powerful position of the ancestors, burial rites become very important. Improper or incomplete funeral rites can interfere with or delay the entrance of the deceased into the spiritual world and may cause his soul to linger about, as a restless and malevolent ghost. Funeral ceremonies are long, complex, and expensive, but it would be a great disgrace for a family not to observe the proper rites, even if they must go into debt to do so. Before a funeral is complete, several customs must be observed: preparation of the body for burial, the wake, interment, "mourning after burial, and later mourning at varying periods." The graves of the deceased of some West

African peoples are elaborately decorated with the personal effects of the individuals buried there.

Rites honoring the ancestors vary from the simple private offering of food and drink, a gesture that may occur anytime, to more elaborate public ceremonies such as the *adae* ceremonies held by the Ashanti twice every forty-three days, in which the stools of past clan rulers, representing their spirits, are fed and honored. There are societies, such as the Yoruba *Egungun* society and the Ibo *Mmo* society, that foster the cult of the ancestors. Members of these societies go about masked and ceremonially garbed imitating the dead on certain ritual occasions in order to warn the errant living to mend their ways.

Magic is an integral part of religious life for many African peoples. It is intimately related to medicine in traditional African belief because illness and death are not due to "natural" causes alone but to "spiritual" causes as well. It is the priest-diviner-herbalist, or "root doctor," versed in the use of herbs, barks, leaves, and roots, to whom one goes for a diagnosis of these causes and for prescriptions to ameliorate illness. Prevention, however, remains the best cure. Therefore the use of charms and amulets is widespread. Often called *ju-jus*, *gris-gris*, or *fetishes* in travel accounts, they are believed to bear spiritual power. Talismans protect individuals from illness or witchcraft; charms placed at entry-ways protect villages, compounds, houses, and fields from thieves, unless the thief has a countercharm powerful enough to negate the force of the protective charm.

Medicine can be used for healing and protection or for harming and killing enemies. A very common method of offensive medicine was described by Bosman: "they cause some Victuals and Drink to be Exorcised by the *Feticheer* or Priest, and scatter it in some place which their Enemy is accustomed to pass; firmly believing that he who comes to touch this conjured stuff shall certainly dye soon after." Hair cuttings, nail clippings, personal sponges, or anything else that is physically close to a person may be used by experts in medicine, so personal effects must be carefully disposed of lest they fall into an enemy's hands. The use of medicine is especially important in warding off witchcraft, a phenomenon as greatly feared in Africa as it was in Europe and America. It is thought that the witch, usually a woman but occasionally a man, can cause illness and death, often involuntarily, by eating an individual soul. While the witch is asleep, her spirit leaves her body and flies to a meeting of witches where a soul is consumed. The spirit of the witch may assume the body of an animal in order to travel to meetings, and it is believed that if the animal is killed while bearing the witch's spirit, the sleeping body of the witch will die at the same instant. Witch hunters make a profession of identifying witchcraft and cursing its effects. When a person has been killed by witchcraft, the corpse may force its bearers to lurch back and forth through the town until it stops before the home or the person of the guilty witch. The accused will have to confess guilt or undergo trial by ordeal to prove innocence.

In general, if people want to determine guilt or innocence or to seek the answer to any important question in West Africa they will turn to priest-diviners, who are skilled in reading the fate of individuals and the wills of ancestors or gods by means of simple or elaborate systems of divination. Simpler methods include interpreting omens, reading the entrails of a fowl, or water gazing. More elaborate is the Yoruban *Ifa* system (adapted in Dahomey as *Fa*) of divination. In the *Ifa* system, a *baba-lawo*, "father of mysteries," casts a chain of eight halves of palm nuts or else sixteen separate nuts, and then, reading the pattern of the cast, he marks the permutations on a tray covered with wood dust. Each permutation corresponds to an *odu*, or saying, of which there are two hundred and fifty-six. To each *odu* is attached a number of verses conveying a myth or story that points to the answer of the client's problem.

Religious beliefs are carried into action through ritual. Closely interwoven with the ritual experience of West African peoples is the vibrant pattern of music. Dancing, drumming, and singing play a constant and integral part of the worship of the gods and the ancestors. Among the Yoruba and the Fon, the *orisha* and the *vodum* are called to take possession of their devotees by the songs and the drumming of the cult group, each of the gods having his or her own songs and rhythms. When "mounted" by their gods, the devotees dance to the accompaniment of songs and music the distinctive steps revelatory of their gods. So essential are music and dance to West African religious expression that it is no exaggeration to call them "danced religions."

Source: Albert J. Rabateau, Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South (New York, 1978), pp. 4-16.

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Religion in West Africa

Source: Geoffrey Parrinder, D.D. West African Religion: A Study of the Beliefs and Practices of Akan, Ewe, Yoruba, Ibo, and Kindred Peoples (London, 1961), pp. 7-14, 23-32, 37-39, 44-45, 55-57. Parrinder, who lived and worked in western Africa for his field study of African religions, was a pioneer in treating traditional African religions systematically.

Sky Gods

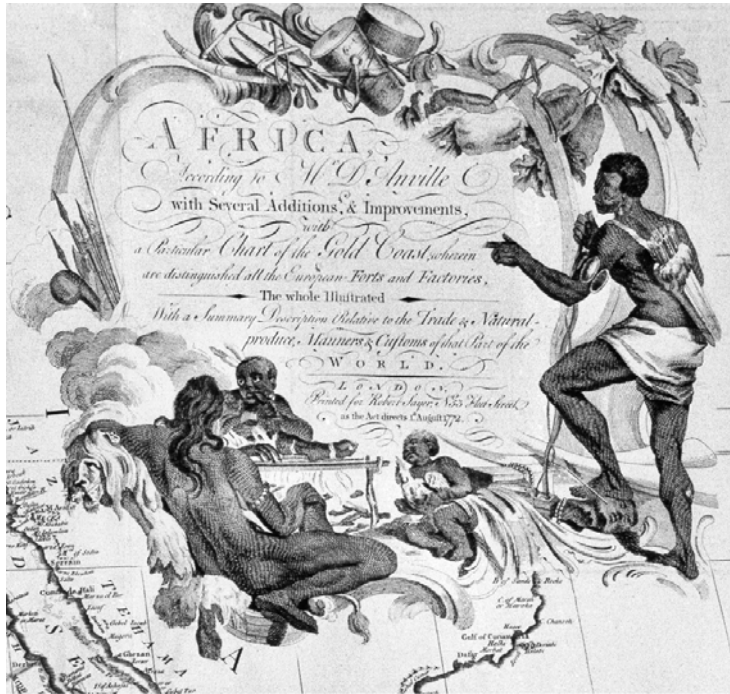
Many of the divinities worshipped in West Africa seem to have come from the personification of natural forces, since all the universe is thought to be peopled with spirits. Others are deified ancestors. Some may have a double quality, both human and divine combined. The gods are felt to be closely concerned with men and their goodwill is sought by appropriate offerings.

The word "god" or "divinity" is the translation of vernacular words used with approximately the same sense through West Africa. *Obosõm* is used in Twi, *vudu* or *vodu* in Ewe-Fõn, *orisha* in Yoruba, *chi* in Ibo. It may be noted that Mawu is included among the gods (*vodu*) at Abomey, but Olorun is never called an *orisha*.

Three Cultures - African/African-American

The Fõn make a convenient distinction between sky-spirits, earth-spirits, water-spirits, and forest-spirits. The first two categories are the senior gods; the latter include fairies and certain departed souls.

The Supreme Being may be called with disparagement a Sky God, though senior of all. He is sometimes paired with an earth god or goddess, like the male and female principle, or to use a current simile like the upper and lower halves of a calabash.



Map of Africa, London 1772. Colonial Williamsburg.

We have already noticed that Nyame of Ashanti is sometimes said to be both male and female; the female element is symbolized by the moon, by silver ornaments, and her power to invest the Queen Mother who is a great influence in the State. The male element is seen in the sun, fiery, golden, and in the king. The female element created men with water, and the male sun shot its life-giving fire into human veins where it fused with the blood, as the blood of a man is said to come from his mother and the fiery semen from his father. But another most

important female deity in Ashanti is Asase Yaa, the great earth mother. [She is similar to the Ibo diety, Mother Earth.]

The most important of the Yoruba *orishas* is Orishala (Orisha-nla, great god). He is also called Obatala, “king who is great” or “king in white clothing.” Orisha-nla was sent down by God to bring the first earth, and he spread it abroad with the help of a hen and a pigeon and then planted the first trees. Later he created human bodies into which God placed breath. Orisha-nla likes white – albinos are sacred to him and his priests wear white clothes. His temples are whitewashed, chalk and white beads are placed there as symbols, and snails rather than blood sacrifices are offered to him. Clean water should always be in his shrine, drawn by a virgin or an old woman past menstruation.

Akin to and sometimes consort of Orisha-nla is Oduduwa. There has been a great deal of discussion about the sex of this deity, and it is complicated by the modern national society of the “Sons of Oduduwa,” which look back to this god as ancestor of the Yorubas. But as far as religious worship goes it seems that the god is male in some places and female in others, possibly because of the predominance of a matriarchal family system in some places, though this is by no means certain. The name Oduduwa seems to mean “chief who created us” or “chief who created being,” and credits this deity with original creating powers. In some of the complex creation myths it is said that Orisha-nla neglected the creating duty that he had received from God, and so this was given to Oduduwa, but other versions contradict this. In some places Oduduwa is mother of seven gods, of which Orisha-nla was first; elsewhere she is the lower half of the calabash of which Orisha-nla is the upper half.

The Ibo cult of the sun, Anyanwum varies from place to place. Sometimes a simple prayer is made with a request to bear it to God, or a white fowl is hung on a bamboo at sunrise with a like prayer. At Nsukka many houses have a shrine of Anyanwu, a tree or branch outside the house with a bowl at its foot and a gong; here white fowls are offered, with kola nuts and wine. At Owerri special sacrifices were offered in times of sickness to bring down the soul of the man which was thought to be rising up to heaven prematurely. Anyansu is a god of good fortune, and is prayed to for profit in the market and for good harvests. There is no corresponding moon cult, though men may lift up their hands to the new moon and say: “New moon protect me as the last moon protected me.” But the great Ibo deity is Mother Earth, leader of all the rest.

Of the Ewe gods it is said that the supreme Mawu-Lisa, themselves twins, had fourteen children, seven pairs of twins, which were the major gods. Mawu and Lisa themselves are the principal sky gods, others are concerned with thunder, iron, and the earth. Like Orisha-nla (a name his own resembles) Lisa favours white. His worshippers and priests wear white clothes, albinos are sacred to him, no blood or oil may be poured on his altar, bloodless white snails and white kola nuts are his favourite offerings, and a whitened calabash is kept in his temple or in the priest’s house. Lisa is associated with

the west and the setting sun; his chief emblem is the chameleon, often to be seen painted on the outer walls of temples.

An important sky god in Dahomey and Togo is Buku, or Bruku. Some of the gods enjoy such great fame and are so widely known that they almost attain to the rank of high-gods, as, for instance, the god Buruku who is known and worshipped in Nigeria, Dahomey, Togoland, and on the Gold Coast. . . . Dassa . . . is one of the most important centres of the deity, Nana Baku, the other chief ones being at Doumé and Banté.

Thunder and Iron Gods

Thunder gods are found almost everywhere in West Africa, as in many other parts of the world. The powerful tornadoes, which yet bring the longed-for rain, make the spirits of the storm important in the life of the people: thunder, lightning, thunderbolt, and rainbow.

In the forests of the Ivory Coast there are many storm spirits which have different names. Here, as in many other places, it is held that the thunder god brandishes an axe which he casts to the earth on occasion.

There are many pointed and polished stones which, throughout West Africa, are associated with the thunder. These were probably prehistoric axes, or "celts," used before the coming of metals to the forest regions. Piles of these stones are still to be found in parts of Sudan and traveling traders do a good business in selling them to priests of the storm gods. For it is widely believed that whenever there is a storm one of these stones falls from heaven, and the priests make a great pretence of searching for them and, of course, usually find one.

At first sight the worship of storm gods might seem to be absent from Ashanti, but there is reason to believe that `Nyame was a thunder and sky god, and his chief "son" Tano has some of the characteristics of the thunder, i.e. axe-bearing. The three-pronged tree, God's tree, used in the worship of `Nyame is like that which occurs in the worship of some other thunder gods. Rattray describes a tornado during which a tree was struck by lightning and had all the appearance of having been cleft by an axe. "One of the villagers came up, and after looking at it, says that God's axe (*`Nyame akuma*) had, after splitting the tree, passed underground to the river where no doubt it would some day be found." `Nyame also incorporates the emblem of the rainbow, Nyãnko-tõn, the Sky God's arch; other people associate it with water.

The Gã of the Accra district have a very important thunder god called Gua. He is the god of blacksmiths, and a smith is always his priest. There are two principal types of temple, one at the forge and one in the forest where the blacksmith's hammer and tongs, together with a pot, are laid at the foot of a silk-cotton tree. Prominent in the cult are the chisel-shaped stones, "God's hoes." Gua is closely linked with agriculture, and

the manufacture of iron tools and hoes by the priest was formerly an important rite. There is an annual feast and dance which lasts several weeks.

The Ewe call their thunder god So. In the coloured clay wall decorations (bas-reliefs) on the palace and museum at Abomey, So is represented as a ram painted red; lightning is coming from his mouth and two axes ending in curves like lightning stand by his side. The ram represents the growling of the thunder, here as also in Togo and Nigeria. The ram is sacred to priests of the thunder god and taboo to them as food. Devotees carry a well-carved "axe"; the wooden handle is some two feet long, ornamented with brass bands. The blade end is shaped like a ram's head and from its mouth projects an axe" six to nine inches long of thin beaten brass, delicately worked and with symbols of fish and lightning. The axe occurs in the Yoruba storm cults also.

The god So is believed to strike down the impious and to destroy the trees which witches use for their meetings in the night. Those people who are struck by lightning are not allowed normal burial, "the god has taken them," and their corpses are appropriated by the priests. They are placed on a rough platform in the temple of So and slowly burnt.

As soon as a storm bursts, the priests of the storm god are heard going round the village with a double gong; they speak in high tones to imitate the voice of their god. It is believed that whenever there is lightning So has claimed a victim, and if the person or tree cannot be found near at hand then the lightning must have struck another village. A house destroyed by lightning may not be repaired until sacrificial and propitiatory rites are made. However, So is not only an angry god, casting down his axes on wicked people; it is also said that he owns the heavens, sends heat and rain, and gives fertility to men and to their crops.

Mother Earth

Spirits of the earth figure prominently in West African religious life. The givers of fertility in family and crops receive great honour, as did De-meter, the Earth Mother, and similar goddesses in ancient Europe and the East, like the Great Goddess in India today.

Among the Ibo, earth "is the great Mother Goddess, the spirit of fertility, the nearest and dearest of all the deities. Some of her statues in the Ibo Mbari temples...with a child in her arms or on her knees and a halo round her head and with the crescent moon often depicted on or near her, are reminiscent of some Italian Madonnas and still more of Ast or Isis with her son Horus" [and of the Native American concept of "Mother Earth."]

This Ibo earth goddess is called Ala (or Ale or Ane) and is the most important of all the gods. She is both the spirit of the earth and also queen of the underworld, ruling the ancestors who are buried in the earth. In addition she is the giver and administrator of moral laws, and priests are guardians of public morality on her behalf. Oaths are

sworn in her name and she is invoked in lawmaking. Crimes such as murder, theft, adultery and poisoning, and mishaps such as giving birth to abnormal children, cripples, and twins are offences against Ala and must be purged by sacrifice to her. Ala is, in fact, the unseen president of the community, and no group is complete without a shrine of Ala. The common possession of a shrine of Ala is, indeed, one of the strongest integrating forces in Ibo society.

Every Ibo village has a shrine of Ala and this shrine is senior to all others in the village. This is usually a tree with a pot for offerings, and in some places iron rods, stones, and wooden gongs are also found there.

As goddess of the earth and of fertility Ala receives special sacrifices at the time of planting, at the first fruits, and at full harvest. Palm wine is poured into the pot at the foot of her tree and prayers made for protection in planting, against the accidents of falling trees and cutting with hoes. At the yam harvest wine and yams are offered to Ala, with the gift of a fowl waved before her tree. On special occasions public sacrifice may be made if a diviner has declared that the goddess needs special propitiation. In these ceremonies the priests of Ala take the lead, and they are potent forces in many aspects of village life. Even with changing times the importance of the earth spirit is great to farmers and in connexion [sic] with burial and the ancestral rites.

No Ashanti farmer would till the ground without first asking permission. When the season for cultivation comes round, at the beginning of the rains in March and April, the farmer kills a fowl and pours its blood on the ground, then the corpse is cut up and mixed with cooked plantain or yam, and scattered to the four points of the compass. Meanwhile he prays to his grandparent who had cultivated the land, and to Asase Yaa, to give help in cultivation, preserve from accidents and snake-bites, and give fruitful increase. The real owners of the land, here and elsewhere, are the ancestors who have laboured there, who watch over the land still, and who have to be consulted before it can be leased or even disposed of by a conquering race.

Similarly, when a grave is to be dug the permission of the earth must first be asked: "We have come to beg you for this spot, so that we may dig a hole." So that although there is no temple or other cult object for the Asase Yaa, and though some writers prefer to speak of an Earth power or principle rather than a Goddess, yet the influence of this power is felt at many points. Farmers of course have a special reference for Asase Yaa, but the ancestors are connected with her and chiefs who rule over the land are bound to respect her.

River and Sea Divinities

After the earth gods may come those very popular divinities of river and sea which play such a large part in West African thought, especially for fishermen and those who live near rivers and sea. They are the spirits which dwell in the mysterious depths of the water and which make it so important.

All the great rivers of Yoruba country have their presiding spirit. We have referred to Oya, goddess of the river Niger, wife of Shāngo the thunder god; two other wives of his were the rivers Oshun east of Ibadan and Ovia at Benin. One of the most popular river spirits is Yemoja, who is called mother of all deities, and has shrines in many parts of the country, but especially rules over the river Ogun at Abeokuta. Yemoja is served by priestesses, and women who come to the temples to pray for children and offer yams and fowls, are her principal worshippers. In the temples the goddess is represented by wooden or clay female images.

Olojun is the “owner of the sea” in Yoruba, Bini, and Ibo; he is Hu in Fōn. The sex of the god seems to vary in different places. Naturally, like Olosa the lagoon goddess, he is worshipped chiefly by those who live along the coast. Yet Olokun is sometimes claimed as the ancestor of the Oni of the sacred inland city of Ife and his shrine in that town is said to be senior to all others of this god.

Olokun is believed to live in a palace under the sea, as sea kings do in many other mythologies, and to have his attendants and mermaid wives, lesser divinities, human and fishlike. Rough seas are attributed to the anger of the god, and propitiatory sacrifices were thrown into the sea for him, generally fowls and animals; formerly, human beings were sacrificed on special occasions. He is the protecting god of fishermen.

Eshu or Legba

Before leaving the subject of supernatural spirits, to pass on to descriptions of shrines and priests, it is necessary to say a few words about a most prominent figure associated with the gods in Dahomey and Nigeria. This is Eshu or Elegbara in Yoruba, Legba in Ewe-Fōn.

The nature of this spirit used to be commonly misunderstood, and the people were sometimes wrongly called “devil-worshippers.” Farrow roundly called Eshu “the devil,” “the prince of darkness”: “he is emphatically the supreme evil spirit.” Samuel Johnson, who was a native of Nigeria but a Christian convert, and wrote fifty years ago, attributed to Eshu or Elegbara the specific characteristics of Hebrew-Christian mythology, and called him “Satan, the Evil One, the author of all evil.”

Dualism of good and evil is otherwise unknown to the peoples of West Africa, and as the terms used here are obviously of European origin, it is clear that care is needed in handling this subject. Since it is admitted by everyone that the favour of Eshu can be successfully invoked on behalf of his worshipper, it is evident that this is quite different from the Jewish-Christian Devil who, in traditional theology, is a purely evil force, can only do evil, and therefore would never be used to protect houses and villages as Eshu is.

Farrow admits that Bishop Crowther in his *Vocabulary* called Eshu “the god of mischief.” It is this mischievous character that is prominent. Eshu is demoniacal, but not diabolical. He is a tricky, mischievous being, who can bring evil on a house and is sometimes invoked by the vengeful to bring harm upon their enemies.

On the other hand, by daily propitiation, men hope to see Eshu as a protection. The image outside houses and villages may perhaps be compared to a savage dog, that will rarely bite the hand that feeds it but, it is hoped, may be relied upon to attack any evil that approaches and that naturally, to the pagan mind, will follow the high road by which the shrine of Eshu stands. For this reason, as a protector, and not only because of his dangerous character, Eshu is not usually found inside the house but at the door, facing outwards.

This idea is not peculiar to West Africa; it is indeed very ancient. “There were snakes and dogs and gryphones,” wrote Sir Leonard Woolley of Ur, “human figures and figures of men with the heads of lions and bulls, with bulls’ legs or fishes’ bodies, every sort of kindly demon that might guard the house and keep off sickness or ill-luck.”

Eshu plays a great part in Yoruba mythology, and often in relationship to the oracle deity Ifa or Orunmila. It is said that Eshu is the messenger of the oracle, taking sacrifices to him and bringing his commands to men, acting under his orders and punishing the wicked for him. Eshu . . . is greatly feared for the evil that he can do; because of this fear, it is said, a portion of every sacrifice offered to other divinities is set aside for Eshu. Eshu is said to impel men to evildoing, and wicked men are often called “Sons of Eshu,” while the weak blame him for moving them to do wrong.

The evil character of Eshu can be used, it is hoped, against one’s enemies. By feeding him with his favourite dish of palm oil, and then offering him his great taboo of palm-kernel oil in the name of an enemy, it is expected that Eshu will fly off and avenge himself on this insulting enemy. In this character he is Elegbara or Shigidi, the avenger.

On the other hand Eshu is looked upon as protective and even benevolent, if he is well fed and respected. He is called “father,” and some people even take his name or a compound of it. He is said to have two hundred names, which indicates that he is a many-sided character, and perhaps too diverse to grasp.

The Supreme God

We have seen that there is a generally recognized head of gods and men, among the peoples of West Africa. He is the supreme God, though differing attitudes are taken up towards his worship, and he is thought to be more remote from human affairs and needs than the gods which are his sons.

It needs to be considered in what sense God is held to be "supreme." Is it so merely in myth, or in practice and worship? It may be quite misleading to transfer ideas and categories from European to African theology. God the Father is supreme in Christian theology, and Allah in Islam. He could not be removed from the faith without undermining the whole structure; belief, worship, and morals are all finally dependent upon him, and he could not be relegated to an inferior station. Does this hold good of all West African views of the Supreme God?

On the whole worship [of the supreme God] is irregular, and apart from Ashanti there are no temples or priests of God. Even the small offerings which in Ashanti are put in the forked branch altar or thrown on the roof are similar to daily libations of maize and water which Ewe and Yoruba offer in front of their protector Eshu-Legba. The few temples of `Nyame are old and hidden away. There are not frequent and splendid gatherings, with parades, dance and sacrifice, such as occur twice every seven weeks for the Ashanti ancestors and many other gods elsewhere.

On the moral side also, though God is generally regarded as upholding the moral law, and judging men after death in accordance with their actions, many practices seem to have little to do with him. A man's taboos are hereditary, or else declared in infancy by the oracle, of those of the god to whose service he is dedicated; few concern the Sky God directly. Marriage and inheritance are determined by the tutelary deity. Funeral and ancestral rites refer to former humans or divine beings, but not to the great God. Social and political arrangements are blessed by the ancestors or gods of the tribe.

It is quite clear from what has been said above of the various kinds of West African belief in God that God is not merely a power but He is a person. He has a personal name, and many attribute names. He has life and consciousness, and sometimes is credited with a wife or consort; other gods are His children. Generally speaking, however, he is not human and was not an ancestor. He is judge, ruler of morals, and the final tribunal before whom man must appear after death. Many myths speak of his activities in the past, and proverbs tell of his power and presence now -- he knows all things and nothing can be hidden from him.

There are only a few temples of God, found almost exclusively in Ashanti. Only one image of Him has been traced. Sacrifice is rarely offered to him, though simple gifts of kola nuts and water may be made. Prayers however are offered to him at anytime and place, though generally these are individual prayers. But communal prayers may be made for rain, and in sacrifices to other gods worship may be concluded in the name of the Father of all.

Source: Geoffrey Parrinder, D.D. West African Religion: A Study of the Beliefs and Practices of Akan, Ewe, Yoruba, Ibo, and Kindred Peoples (London, 1961), pp. 7-14, 23-32, 37-39, 44-45, 55-57.

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African Religions and Christianity in the Atlantic World

As Africans became Americans in Virginia and elsewhere in the Atlantic world, traditional African religious systems and European Christianity locked in a dynamic process of change brought on by physical relocation and cultural clash and accommodation.

Source: John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680*, Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 235-271.

The dynamics of culture change can be seen in the evolution of African languages, social structures, and aesthetics as Africans moved across the seas or came into contact with Europeans. This dynamic process also affected African religion and philosophy both in Africa and as Africans became Americans in the new Atlantic world. As with the other elements of culture, religion responded both to its internal dynamic and to the new dynamic created by culture contact and physical transfer. The result was the emergence of a new African-Atlantic religion that was often identified as Christian, especially in the New World, but was a type of Christianity that could satisfy both African and European understandings of religion.

This new African Christianity allowed some of the African religious knowledge and philosophy to be accommodated in a European religious system and represented a merger of great significance, similar to the creation of Chinese (or East Asian) Buddhism or the Indianization of Islam. In order to understand this remarkable transformation one must first understand the underlying dynamics of religious knowledge (itself the most fundamental branch of epistemology in this period) and from this the mechanisms for religious change, conversion, and transformation in the presence of other systems of religious knowledge. Viewed from this perspective, we can then examine the development of African Christianity, first in Africa and then in the Atlantic world.

The basis of religious knowledge

The merging of religions requires something more than simply mixing forms and ideas from one religion with those of another. It requires a reevaluation of the basic concepts and sources of knowledge of both religions in order to find common ground. Religion as it was experienced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was not simply an intellectual conception, made up by people and subject to reconsideration or debate. Rather, the ideas and the images were "received" or revealed from nonworldly beings in one or another form, and humans' only role was to interpret these revelations and act accordingly. Thus religious philosophy was not the creator of religion; revelations were. Religious philosophy simply interpreted them.

Therefore, strictly speaking, humans were not free to change religions or to question the revelations, and in the end virtually all religious change required at least reinterpretation of existing revelations, at most a new set of stronger revelations. The development of African Christianity in Africa and its transmission to America was in large measure a combination of both factors, used by both Africans and Europeans.

Africans and Europeans had somewhat different systems of religious knowledge, as well as a completely different set of basic revelations, but they still had a number of major ideas in common. Had they not shared these ideas, the development of African Christianity would probably not have been possible. Both cultures accepted the basic reality of religion: that there was another world that could not be seen and that revelations were the essential source by which people could know of this other world.

Thus, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Africans and Europeans conceived the cosmos as being divided into two separate but interconnected worlds: "this world," the material world that we all live in and that can be perceived by the five normal senses, and the "other world," normally imperceptible except to a few gifted individuals and inhabited by a variety of beings or entities. One could pass from this world to the other world upon death, so that the souls of the dead were among the denizens of the other world.

The other world was more than a home of the dead, however; it was also a superior world, in that events in this world were governed by the other world. Barbot, describing religion on the Gold and Slave coasts between 1678 and 1682, maintained that all Africans believed in a Supreme Being who ruled the other world, caused accidents, and determined the time of life and death. The Sieur d'Elbée remarked in 1671 that the inhabitants of Allada believed in a higher power that caused accidents to happen. Likewise, when fishing or commerce was bad on the Gold Coast, according to Vilaut, who visited in 1668, the people attributed it to the action of the higher powers and made sacrifices, apologizing to the powers of the other world and begging forgiveness.

Both Africans and their Christian visitors from Europe also agreed that the way of knowing about the other world was through revelations, though they disagreed about the validity of many specific revelations. Nevertheless, they did accept the general principle in common that the souls of the dead and those of other inhabitants of the other world, although often omnipresent, were invisible and could not communicate with people in this world on a regular basis. Cavazzi, a priest whose observations of Kongo and Mbundu religion show a high degree of attention to details, related several instances that emphasize the normal inaccessibility of the other world. These anecdotes have an African ring and were probably tales of his African informants. In one case, he noted that a woman had been cruelly scarified to the other world by an Ibangala ruler, but in spite of the grievous wound she suffered, she still managed to rise and return to the town. When she saw the ruler, she informed him that she had

been to the other world but had not been wanted and was thus returned. Even more significant, Cavazzi related the story of a powerful and haughty prince who wished to know for himself what the other world was like. He thus ordered himself buried alive, but alas, he did not return to tell any tales, confirming that no matter how powerful one is in this world, one must yield to the other world.

Because of the inaccessibility of the other world to normal human senses, every society has its unbelievers, who deny the reality of any phenomenon they cannot perceive. Marcellino d'Atri, a Capuchin priest who traveled widely in Kongo and the Mbundu-speaking regions of central Africa at the end of the seventeenth century, noted that he had met an occasional "Epicurian" (a seventeenth-century term for an atheist or materialist) during his travels and religious investigations, though such people were reasonably rare. D'Arti's Epicurians not only confirm the existence of materialists in Africa but are a direct connection to the existence of similar people and systems of thought in Europe.

At the same time, the other world also had its own means to make people in this world understand it. Not only could it communicate directly with the limited group of people with a sixth sense, but it could send messages to people in this world through indirect means. These might include dreams or the ordering of events in this world in such a way as to convey messages for all to understand (augury).

All these various communications take the form of revelations. A revelation is a piece of information about the other world, its nature, or its intention that is perceptible to people in this world through one or another channel. Revelations provide this world with its window on the other world. The information thus gathered is then basic data used for constructing a general understanding of the nature of the other world and its inhabitants (a philosophy), a clear perception of its desires and intentions for people to obey (a religion), and a larger picture of the workings and history of both worlds (a cosmology). It is thus through revelations that religions are formed, and it is also through them that they change.

European travelers, both priests and laypeople, had definite ideas about the role of revelations in forming their own tradition. Christian concepts were founded on a series of revelations, a record of which was contained in the Holy Scriptures. This series began with the revelations to Moses that formed the old Hebrew law (as well as the creation story) and was extended by stories of the Hebrew prophets or their actual writings in the rest of the Old Testament. This in turn was transformed by the revelation of Jesus and further by the inspired testimony of the apostles in the New Testament. Catholics believed that many post-biblical writers ("Fathers and Doctors of the Church") were also inspired and their words were as much revelations from the other world as those in the Scriptures, and all accepted the idea that lesser revelations, in the form of dreams, conjunctions of events, heavenly apparitions, and the like were divine messages as well as the Scriptures.

Africans also recognized the concept of revelation, and their own revelations had much in common with those of Europe, so that Europeans had little trouble in recognizing them, just as Africans ultimately had little trouble in recognizing the content of the Bible or Church histories of the Europeans as being revelations. In the end, where Africans and Europeans did not always agree was on the validity of any given revelation, since both recognized that apparent revelations could be received by the insane or that ambitious and cynical people might feign revelations to increase their own power or prestige. Many Europeans, moreover, believed that although African revelations were genuine messages from the other world, they originated with the Devil and thus ought not to be followed, a point that Africans contested. Africans were less concerned about diabolic revelations but did have difficulty in accepting the validity of many of the revelations that Europeans said were received in the ancient past, for which there were no recent witnesses.

African revelations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be divided into several categories. Augury and divination involve the study of events to determine otherworldly intentions. Dream interpretation relies on the notion that the other world can sometimes communicate through the unconscious mind. More dramatic revelations came in the form of visions or hearing voices, usually only by people with special gifts. Perhaps the most dramatic form of revelation was given through the spirit medium or possessed object, in which an otherworldly entity took over a human, animal, or material object and spoke through it.

Europeans, familiar with the concept from their own tradition, recognized African augury at once, though many writers regarded it as a diabolic contrivance. In augury, random events of this world are studied to determine the other world's desires or intentions. Cavazzi, himself a firm believer in augury as a valid form of Christian revelation, mentioned that in mid-seventeenth-century Mbundu society, people were attentive to the cries of birds, the behavior of dogs, foxes, and rabbits, the sputtering of fires, earth tremors, the discovery of unusually shaped stones or plants, and celestial phenomena. To a similar list compiled for Gold Coast societies around 1669, the Lutheran priest Müller added birdcalls and human sneezes.

Observation of the course of time (like astrology in Europe) was often a form of augury, for Müller noted that on the Gold Coast in his time people had devised a calendar of lucky and unlucky days. People avoided doing various types of business on specifically unlucky days, and a person's birthday prescribed a personal cycle of good and bad days. A related form of time augury was observed by Cavazzi in central Africa. There, the conditions of a person's birth could sometimes reveal the person's character or govern his or her decisions. Indeed, he noted, Queen Njinga was so named because she was born with the umbilical cord wrapped around her neck. This foreordained her to have a proud and haughty character.

Divination was a variant of augury. In divination, people perform an activity and ask the other world to influence the results in such a way that those of this world can know the other world's intentions. As we shall see, Christian priests often used various forms of divination to determine which saint to direct prayers to or which saint a church ought to be dedicated to, although they also believed that divination in other contexts was consulting with the Devil.

One of the most famous African forms of divination, known most often by its Yoruba name, *ifa*, was described in detail in an early eighteenth-century description of Whydah. The priest caused cowry shells to fall on a specially designed board, while asking the other world to influence the outcome of this event in such a way as to allow the diviner to answer questions. The Capuchin de Naxera, visiting Allada in 1660-2, was probably speaking of *ifa* or a related sort of divination when he noted that they consulted with "the Devil" through casting "lots." A divination board from Allada, obtained by a curious European before 1659, survives today in the Ulmer Museum and is similar to other such boards in use today.

But *ifa* did not exhaust African divination by any means. The Jesuit missionary Alvares noted several forms in Sierra Leone, including throwing sticks or stones or choosing lots randomly. Müller has a description of a form of divination used on the Gold Coast as well. This involved throwing specially marked stones, called "obuss ubbues" (*obussù bù*), up in the air and catching them in a basket. Another method was to throw strings of teeth, whose position at landing provided the basic data for interpretation.

This type of divination was typically used to learn the other world's intentions, to find solutions to problems that came from or could be addressed by the other world, or to ascertain how best to gain the favor of the other world. A variant on this was the judicial ordeals found in most Atlantic African societies. In this sort of divination, the other world was asked to influence events in such a way as to reveal the guilt or innocence of a person accused of a crime.

A common ordeal, such as the *bulungu* of Angola, the "red water" ordeal of the Upper Guinea region, and an Allada ordeal observed by the Capuchins in the early 1660s, required giving the accused poison -- if he vomited it up, then he was held to be innocent; if not, then he either died of its effects or was held to be guilty. Other ordeals achieved the same purpose. A famous one in Allada involved throwing the accused into a particularly tricky stretch of river that sometimes sucked swimmers down (who were then held to be guilty) or threw them ashore (then declared innocent). Jose' de Naxera declared that even nonswimmers underwent this ordeal when confident that their innocence would save them. Cavazzi also recorded a variety of other judicial ordeals in his careful inventory of African religion in Angola, including plunging hands in hot water or seizing hot irons (the innocent were unburned) or throwing sticks (as in other forms of

divination). In addition to testing one ordeal himself (he was badly burned), Cavazzi also noted numerous European parallels to the African practices.

Augury and divination were indirect forms of revelation and some of them were ambiguous in their interpretation. This may explain why Africans also relied on more direct revelations. One such direct revelation came from the study of dreams. Because Africans, like people in other areas, often believed that dreams or other altered states of consciousness provided access to the other world, they were carefully attentive to the assumed meanings of their dreams. Since all people have dreams, in many ways they were considered no more remarkable than the study of divination or augury. Dreams employ symbolic language and often require interpretation -- a direct, unambiguous revelation in the form of a dream seems to have been rare. Cavazzi noted that people in Angola often reported speaking with the souls of their dead ancestors in dreams, and because these were fairly direct types of communication, people often paid close attention to dreams.

The small number of people who had visions or heard voices from the other world formed an important part of the priesthood. Gold Coast priests reported actually having seen beings from the other world and having communicated with them. They could provide physical descriptions of such beings, and Müller, based on one such description and some dubious biblical exegesis, concluded that the being was none other than the Devil himself. Miguel Cube, a Temne priest in Sierra Leone who upon his conversion to Christianity became an important informant for the Jesuits there at the start of the seventeenth century, also gave them a description of the "demon" who appeared to him. Finally, the king of Allada informed his French guest d'Elbée in 1671 that he had seen such a deity in the form of a white child, and the child had actually predicted d'Elbée's coming.

Such messages, heard or seen by special people, were, of course, very direct revelations, for the priest might actually converse with an otherworldly being. But average people could not have such communication. Instead, they had to rely on the priest or priestess to have the communication and inform the rest of the people of the message. Müller noted this fact in his description of Gold Coast religion. Often priests would go off by themselves and have visions and then return to report them to the community at large.

Surely the most dramatic and convincing of the various revelations were those given to spirit mediums or possessed objects and shrines, revelations that Europeans often associated with the Devil (diabolic possession requiring exorcism) rather than God, but which were revelations nevertheless. Christians did believe, however, that the Holy Spirit routinely possessed churches during the performance of mass and that Christ was physically present in the host during Eucharist, beliefs that were analogous to possession of shrines, though messages were not received in this way.

In the case of human possession, a being from the other world would enter the medium's body and speak with his or her voice. In the case of a shrine, the being might use a material object for the same purpose. Obviously, anyone in earshot could clearly hear the being and thus the revelation obtained in this manner was perfectly clear and unambiguous. Moreover, the being might engage in conversation and even answer questions while inhabiting the body of the medium. Typically possession would occur after the medium had fallen into trance, for as in the case of dreams, the other world seems to have found it easiest to communicate with people in an unconscious state or an altered state of consciousness. Such a trance might be induced by drugs or hypnotic dancing, singing, or drumming.

Spirit mediumship would play a role in the merger of traditions in Africa, especially when saints possessed mediums or when ancestors advised their descendants through mediums to take up Christian practice. Central Africa was the land of the spirit medium par excellence, and we have detailed descriptions of possessed mediums from Angola and Kongo. Luca da Caltanissetta, who traveled throughout the area in the last decade of the seventeenth century, provides an excellent description of the medium in operation. When the people want to know the cause of "a death or sickness or a lost item or another thing" they go to the *nganaga ngombo* (a spirit medium). Forming a circle around him, they "sing and pray for the Devil to enter the head of that priest" (entering the head being a term for spirit possession). Once the spirit enters, they make their demands, wishing to know all about who poisoned whom, or how it is that someone has died or something has been lost. The "devil" then "says a thousand lies through the mouth of that witch [*fatuciero*] and if their desire is to have a sickness treated, he also gives them the remedy for it."

Cavazzi gave descriptions with similar details of the Angolan spirit medium, the *xingila*. Like his Kongo counterpart, the *xingila* would typically enter a trance state induced by clapping, drumming, or dancing -- a process that in one case the Cavazzi observed took three days to finish. In one detailed description of a medium in 1657, Cavazzi observed the being, in this case a deceased brother of an Imbangala ruler, enter the medium, speak convincingly in the brother's voice, and then inform the king that he would be well advised to agree to a peace treaty with the Portuguese that had been under discussion for some time. Often such ancestors would berate the living for the lack of attention or their failure to make sacrifices, often making specific demands for more.

Central Africans argued that it was best to attempt to this form of mediumship in the presence of physical remains of the ancestors, just as Christians often used relics of saints to address them more strongly. Thus, mediums often performed at the ancestor's tomb or with containers (called *misete*) of relics of the ancestors such as bones or personal possessions. If possession was to be by a deity or by an ancestor who had died so long ago that a tomb was no longer preserved, then the possession might take place near specially constructed shrines.

Possession might give special force to divination as well. Both da Caltanissetta and his frequent companion, d'Atri, wrote about the *nganga ngombo* as a diviner. He would place his staff before him while possessed and then allow it to drop in such a way that its position when it landed would indicate the answers to questions. Alternately, the staff itself seems to have been possessed, for in d'Atri's description he called it an "enchanted staff."

Possession of items is also frequently referred to in descriptions of West Africa: one of the more dramatic forms of West African revelations seems to have been speaking shrines, in which an otherworldly being possessed a physical item and spoke through it. When de Naxera was living in Allada in 1660-2, he noted the presence of a shrine ("idol") there that spoke with the voice of a deity (which he, of course, assumed was the Devil), which the king himself admitted to hearing. The English captain Phillips, visiting in 1694, also heard of the shrine and was bold enough to attack it, shooting at it and causing some small damage. The king told him that the shrine was not itself a god but was only a vehicle for him to speak to the people, but he would not speak to Europeans.

In Senegambia, shrines that did not speak but that nevertheless represented places where otherworldly entities could channel themselves were common. Alvares noted that one such shrine, called a "tower of bagabaga," was the sometime residence of a local deity who was responsible for rain. During one drought, Christian, traditional, and Moslem religious workers performed their rites around one [such shrine].

Animals could be possessed as well as material objects, although they did not necessarily deliver messages. Typically, possessed animals were agents of the other world seeking revenge or obedience. Shortly after the death of queen Njinga in 1663, for example, the people of Matamba were troubled by rogue leopards, who they believed were possessed by the dead queen's soul and whose exorcism required Cavazzi's full attention. Cavazzi's colleague in Kongo, Girolamo da Montesarchio, faced a similar problem with possessed snakes, elephants, and lions at one or another time during his twenty-year sojourn there.

Possessed animals doing the work of the other world were not a central African monopoly. Alvares noted frequent trouble in Sierra Leone with possessed leopards, who might be carrying out the will of the other world.

Finally, the possession of material objects by beings from the other world might not necessarily be a form of revelation, just as the possessed animals were not. Possession of material objects by beings from the other world lay at the root of the efficacy of magical charms, whose use was widespread. Modern descriptions of *nkisi*, the Kongo charms, suggest that the priest might actually fix the being into the object, thus subjugating it to his will (a form of magic exactly analogous to the European magic

of the same time). Although seventeenth-century descriptions do not confirm this, Cavazzi did note that when preparing to make such a charm and to give it efficacy, the priest would first sacrifice to the soul of the first person to make the charm. Apparently the soul of this "inventor of the art" provided the otherworldly power that made it possible for an entity to be captured.

Thus, Africans had a variety of types of revelations by which they could learn the desires of the other world or ask it to use its power over this world to assist them. The information of these revelations could then be assembled into a comprehensive cosmology and philosophy, and the instructions, rewards, and punishments received compiled into a code of behavior and a religion.

Both Christianity and African religions were constructed in the same way, through the philosophical interpretation of revelations. Africans, however, unlike Christians, did not construct these religious interpretations in such a way as to create an orthodoxy. Thus, Africans might agree on the source of religious knowledge in the abstract and hence accept philosophical or cosmological descriptions, but they might not agree too fully on all the specifics. When Africans came into contact with Christians, this lack of orthodoxy facilitated conversion, and usually the relations between the two traditions were not hostile, at least as Africans saw it.

This absence of orthodoxy in Africa had two causes. The first was the relative lack of power of the priesthood, which lacked the means to force the whole population to accept a uniform cosmology. The second reason was that Africans received revelations continuously, and without a strong priesthood that enforced a certain type of interpretation, rigid cosmologies or philosophies could not survive the constant addition of new data.

The precariousness of the position of each priest derived from the fact that many forms of revelation relied on human agency. For many types of revelation, no one could be sure whether priests genuinely had a revelation or whether they were deluding the people for their own enrichment or prestige. Validation of revelations is a problem for all religious traditions that rely on them, and such traditions all require some form of it.

In the Western tradition, miracles were the means of validation. If a prophet demonstrated power or knowledge that would have been unavailable to him through normal physical laws (as they were then understood), then this was taken as a sign (the root of the word "miracle" ultimately refers to a demonstration) that the revelation he reported did indeed come from the other world. This explains why miracle stories are so central (and so important) to the Christian Scriptures, for they were intended to provide validation of the revelations reported in the same passages.

In Africa, priests were typically required to provide more or less continuous proof of their capacity to receive or transmit revelations as well. Typically, this proof was not

so much the performance of miracles as the efficaciousness of their advice. If they predicted the future accurately, provided efficacious cures, or located clearly guilty parties, then their claims were validated; if not, they might be subject to rejection or scorn. In an extreme case, they might be punished. In 1563, the king of Ndongo had eleven rainmakers put to death because they failed to deliver rain and were thus charged with chicanery.

This requirement for constant validation rendered the African priests' position precarious. They derived their support from payments by clients, one of the reasons that Cavazzi believed that they were tricking people to fill their purses. He noted that those who did well were well paid and lived handsomely; those who were less effective might actually live in poverty or give up their profession altogether.

A really successful priest might rise to great heights and obtain an immense following. For example, one named Sucequo came to the attention of Portuguese authorities in Angola around 1642. He claimed to be able to work miraculous cures, bless crops and the like, interpret dreams, and be possessed by anyone's ancestors. His career was brief, for the Portuguese captured him and burned him at the stake, but his fall was ultimately taken simply as evidence that his powers had deserted him.

Such cases were not restricted to central Africa. Müller related the case of a famous priest on the Gold Coast who won great support from the English settled around Kormantin after 1665 because he made significant and correct predictions. He soon won a large clientele drawn from all the people in the area, but later his powers left him, and he ended up "scorned and despised by both Blacks and Whites." Once again, we see that the claims had to be continuously verified, and reputation was worth little in maintaining a following.

Given the potentials for rewards, there were undoubtedly cases of trickery, and such cases as were discovered were immediately grounds for the priest's being abandoned and impoverished. Danish traders successfully exposed one group of tricksters at Komenda in 1668, and they were immediately scorned by all. Some Europeans believed that African priests were tricksters. Other Europeans were convinced that the priests had otherworldly contacts, though the more religious of them attributed the power to the Devil. Cavazzi's attitude is clearly ambiguous, for example, and he alternates between a trickster explanation and a diabolic one. But even Africans seems to have shared their suspicions about the claims of any one priest, and thus in effect all such priests were required to confirm their powers constantly.

The insecurity of the priesthood obviously presented a barrier to enforced orthodoxy in African religions. Moreover, although kings and other powerful people often had their personal and state priests, the absence of landed property meant that an endowed clergy was impossible. Priests lived at the pleasure of their clients, whether they were rulers or simple people paying on a cash-for-service basis. Priests might be

able to enforce behavior, Cavazzi believed they certainly did, especially if they insisted that revelations told them certain types of behavior were essential to please the other world. But ultimately their strictures were acceptable only as long as rulers accepted them or people agreed to be bound by them. Religious actors had no independent power to enforce orthodoxy.

Without a secure clergy and with an enhanced place for continuous revelation, African religions had less enforced orthodoxy. Cosmology, the description of the religious universe, is not given in all-encompassing discontinuous revelations received at great intervals and carefully recorded either in writing or in oral tradition for posterity but rather is a constantly updated picture of the other world, which is perceived as being in a state of flux.

When Müller presented the people of the Gold Coast with the Bible, which he treated as a discontinuous revelation, they were unimpressed. They found Christianity as presented in the Holy Scriptures difficult to accept because the events in question had taken place so long ago and so far away. Instead of consulting a book of revelations like the Bible to determine the course of action in any given situation, Africans would simply approach a priest or spirit medium and could expect an answer on a very specific topic almost immediately. If previous applications to the other world had produced different advice, the person in question would have to assume that the entities of the other world had changed their minds or that the structure of the other world had somehow changed in the interim. Since Africans were in almost constant contact with the other world, the potential for a flowing and constantly changing cosmology and religion was obviously enhanced, contributing to the continuing precariousness of the priests.

Although the primacy of continuous revelation in Africa weakened the priesthood, it did not prevent the creation and maintenance of a fairly stable cosmology. Once a group of revelations had established the existence of a set of relations in the other world and between the other world and this world, it was possible to create a coherent cosmology. Revelations might shape fine points in the cosmology, but it need not change much over time. Thus, scholars studying modern African religions can find great similarities between seventeenth-century cosmologies and those of the twentieth century.

This is quite clear in central African religion, where thanks to a comprehensive description of beliefs in a variety of sources (of which Cavazzi's account is perhaps the best) the cosmology matches modern descriptions quite clearly. Wyatt MacGaffey, comparing his own field notes on Kongo religion in the 1960s, those of literate Kongo in the early 1900s, and descriptions found in missionary sources going back to 1500, was able to identify the same basic religious structure. There were, and are, four categories of otherworldly beings: ancestors (the souls of the formerly living); territorial deities (who modern informants believe were also once living but lived so long ago that they

have no specific group of descendants), headed by Nzambi Mpungu, the "first man" from whom everyone descends; lesser spirits that can be captured in charms; and harmful spirits that wander in out-of-the-way places (ghosts). On the other hand, although the general scheme of deities and ancestors is the same, modern informants do not always describe the religion in exactly the same way. Whether this is the result of our incomplete knowledge of the earlier period or historical change is unresolved.

In compiling a critical apparatus to Müller's description of Gold Coast religion, Adam Jones has attempted the same task for that region, by matching the older description with ethnographic accounts of the early twentieth century. Though less thoroughgoing than MacGaffey's account, it still demonstrates the basic identity of the two belief systems. In Akan one can identify a group of territorial deities, souls of ancestors, and deities inhabiting charms, as in Kongo.

The accounts of Portuguese Jesuits in Sierra Leone and neighboring regions, as well as earlier accounts (Alvaro Velho's account of religion in Sierra Leone dating to about 1506 is one of the earliest and most detailed), have not been systematically matched with modern ethnography. Insofar as these texts have been published, especially by P.E.H. Hair, the task has been handled in much the same way as it was by Jones. In Sierra Leone, one can recognize a group of territorial deities ("corofims" in Portuguese sources, *krifi* today) and ancestors in the other world; ghosts and charm-spirits are found in other regions.

In Sierra Leone, several writers mention the existence of "secret societies," that is, associations devoted to the worship of particular deities and into which entry was restricted to certain people (often dependent upon wealth or status). There was likely to be esoteric knowledge associated with these societies. Alvares even made note of a "university" of several local societies near Cape Mount. Such societies may have had elaborate cosmologies and governed much of religious life, but our knowledge of them then, as now, is limited.

African Christianity in the New World

Much of the Christianity of the African world was carried across the seas to America. In addition to the Africans who were themselves Christians, there were also the catechists who helped to generate an African form of Christianity among the slaves who were not Christian. But Christianity in the New World also had some features of its own that separated it from its ancestor and supporter in the Old World.

For example, in Africa, most people were followers of a particular religion and cosmology that was reasonably fixed and stable. For them, there was a specific body of revelations that they had come to accept as legitimate and from which they had constructed a religion and cosmology. Some religions were fairly particular, being confined to a limited region, though not necessarily to a particular nation or ethnolinguistic group. Even though the people of the early eighteenth-century Whydah

might also accept Yoruba (Lucumie) revelations, or people all over central Africa might accept the revelations of itinerant Vili merchants as being of value, they would not have come into contact with religions from farther away.

In America, however, people from more distant parts of Africa would be brought together. Except for the slave trade, Senegambians would probably not have encountered people from the Slave Coast, nor people from the Slave Coast those of Angola. Thus, Africans from such disparate areas would encounter cosmologies that were quite different from their own. It might be difficult, for example, for central Africans or Senegambians with their concepts of local deities to accept the more universal deities of the Aja group of the Slave Coast...

Yet, on American plantations and in American cities, groups from all the nations of Atlantic Africa were thrown together in close proximity. Interethnic friendships and marriages would, of course, increase the contact between people of different nations as well. No doubt they were acutely aware of the different cosmologies and revelations particular to various nations and might well have sought a reconciliation. There was ample reason in this situation for considerable time and effort to be expended to develop a new cosmology on the basis of these varying traditions.

Sobel has argued that these differences might have been sufficiently great to warrant the emergence of a new cosmology in the New World, which she has dubbed the "Afro-American Sacred Cosmos." Africans arriving in the New World merged their separate cosmologies to arrive at a new, joint, cosmology that was neither Christian nor exactly like any particular African cosmology. Instead, it was composed of elements making up the considerable common ground of all Atlantic African religions.

Without denying the probability of such a new cosmology, one needs to look more to the revelations as the basis for cosmologies rather than simply trying to match cosmologies as if they were static entities, if we wish to understand the merging of African traditions. Although Africans, particularly those from areas where the cosmos was conceived of as containing local deities and ancestors, might assume that they were now separated from their original otherworldly helpers and enemies, they would immediately begin searching for revelations from whatever otherworldly beings might inhabit this New World.

In this task, they would certainly be helped by the numerous priests who had come from Africa on the slave ships with them. Priests were, in fact, fairly numerous...

In the end, European Christianity may have performed the same functions for the development of an Afro-American Christianity as the European languages did for the formation of creole languages. Just as creole slaves or slaves born of inter-national marriages had to learn creole forms of European languages to communicate, so too did

Christianity provide a sort of lingua franca that joined various national religious traditions, though in this case not necessarily replacing them...

Of course, whatever the slaves might have felt about becoming Catholics, in Protestant areas there were serious barriers to converting slaves. Settlers from the Netherlands and England refused to believe, whatever their pastors told them, that becoming a Christian did not give a slave freedom, and thus they actively sought to discourage it. Even where pastors continued to preach to slaves, as in Dutch New Netherlands, they doubted that the slaves were truly being converted, believing that the slaves sought conversion to obtain freedom or lighter work loads.

For North American slaves, conversion that was acceptable by both groups had to await the Great Awakening of the mid-eighteenth century. The Great Awakening's theology relied heavily on personal conversion experiences to create a rebirth and to strengthen faith. These experiences, which were often produced in emotional mass meetings, were, in effect, revelations of the Holy Spirit. The emphasis placed by the Baptist preachers in North America and the Moravians in Jamaica on the mediation of the Holy Spirit provided this Christian tradition with a continuous revelation that both Euro-American Christians and the African and Afro-American slaves could share. Since these revelations appeared from a Protestant source, they gave a different version of the other world than African Christianity or Catholicism. In the end, inserting the Holy Spirit into the act of conversion resulted in the dramatic conversion of slaves in Protestant countries. Now, the Afro-Baptist in North America or Myalist in Jamaica could practice a new form of spirit mediumship and thus accept a set of revelations that was acceptably Christian and yet conformed to their concepts of religious truths.

The changing and merging of religious philosophies in the Atlantic world were thus another example of the complex cultural dynamic that gradually transformed Africans and especially Afro-Americans. Religious conversion, as it is conventionally understood, was therefore not simply a process of Europeans forcing Africans to accept an alien religion, nor did the practicing of traditional African forms of continuous revelation in the New World represent some sort of heroic religiocultural resistance. Instead it was a spontaneous, voluntary act on the part of the Africans, convinced by the same types of revelations that had shown them their own gods that the other world was in fact inhabited by a group of beings who were identical to the deities of the Europeans. **Source: John Thornton, Africa and Africans in the making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680, Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 235-271.**

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Olaudah Equiano of the Niger Ibo

Brought from Benin to Virginia in 1757 at the age of 12, Olaudah Equiano recalled religious practices among the Ibo in *The Interesting Narrative of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vasa, the African* (2 vols., London, 1789). Published as Olaudah's autobiography, the style of writing reflects literary standards of the period.

Source: Philip D. Curtin, editor. *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade*, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1967, pp. 69, 78-80.

As to religion, the natives believe that there is one Creator of all things, and that he lives in the sun, and is girded round with a belt, that he may never eat or drink; but according to some, he smokes a pipe, which is our own favorite luxury. They believe he governs events, especially our deaths or captivity; but, as for the doctrine of eternity, I do not remember to have ever heard of it: some however believe in the transmigration of souls in a certain degree. Those spirits, which are not transmigrated, such as their dear friends or relations, they believe always attend them, and guard them from the bad spirits of their foes. For this reason, they always, before eating, as I have observed, put some small portion of the meat, and pour some of their drink, on the ground for them; and they often make oblations of the blood of beasts or fowls at their graves. I was very fond of my mother, and almost constantly with her. When she went to make these oblations at her mother's tomb, which was a kind of small solitary thatched house, I sometimes attended her. There she made her libations, and spent most of the night in cries and lamentation. I have been often extremely terrified on these occasions. The loneliness of the place, the darkness of the night, and the ceremony of libation, naturally awful and gloomy, were heightened by my mother's lamentations; and these concurring with the doleful cries of birds, by which these places were frequented, gave an inexpressible terror to the scene.

We compute the year from the day on which the sun crosses the line; and, on its setting that evening, there is a general shout throughout the land; at least, I can speak from my own knowledge, throughout our vicinity. The people at the same time made a great noise with rattles not unlike the basket rattles used by children here, though much larger, and hold up their hands to heaven for a blessing. It is then the greatest offerings are made; and those children whom our wise men foretel will be fortunate are then presented to different people. I remember many used to come to see me, and I was carried about to others for that purpose. They have many offerings, particularly at full moons, generally two at harvest, before the fruits are taken out of the ground; and, when any young animals are killed, sometimes they offer up part of them as a sacrifice. These offerings, when made by one of the heads of a family, serve for the whole. I remember we often had them at my father's and my uncle's, and their families had been present. Some of our offerings are eaten with bitter herbs. We had a saying among us

to any one of a cross temper, That if they were to be eaten, they should be eaten with bitter herbs."

We practised circumcision like the Jews, and made offerings and feasts on that occasion in the same manner as they did. Like them also our children were named from some event, some circumstance, or fancied foreboding, at the time of their birth. I was named Olaudah, which, in our language, signifies vicissitude, or fortune also; one favoured, and having a loud voice, and well spoken. I remember we never polluted the name of the object of our adoration; on the contrary, it was always mentioned with the greatest reverence; and we were totally unacquainted with swearing, and all those terms of abuse and reproach which find their way so readily and copiously into the language of more civilized people. The only expressions of that kind I remember were "May you rot, or may you swell, or may a beast take you."

I have before remarked, that the natives of this part of Africa are extremely clean. This necessary habit of decency was with us a part of religion, and therefore we had many purification's and washings; indeed almost as many, and used on the same occasions, if my recollection does not fail me, as the Jews. Those that touched the dead at any time were obliged to wash and purify themselves before they could enter a dwelling-house. Every woman, too, at certain times, was forbidden to come into a dwelling-house, or touch any person, or anything we eat. I was so fond of my mother I could not keep from her, or avoid touching her at some of those periods, in consequence of which I was obliged to be kept out with her in a little house made for that purpose, till offering was made, and then we were purified.

Though we had no places of public worship, we had priests and magicians, or wise men. I do not remember whether they had different offices, or whether they were united in the same persons, but they were held in great reverence by the people. They calculated our time, and foretold events, as their name imported, for we called them Ah-affoe-way-cah, which signifies calculations or yearly men, our year being called Ah-affoe. They wore their beads, and, when they died, they were succeeded by their sons. Most of their implements and things of value were interred along with them. Pipes and tobacco were also put into the grave with the corpse, which was always perfumed and ornamented; and animals were offered in sacrifice to them. None accompanied their funerals, but those of the same profession or tribe. They buried them after sunset, and always returned from the grave by a different way from that which they went.

Source: Philip D. Curtin, editor. Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1967, pp. 69, 78-80.

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AFRICAN-AMERICAN BURIAL PRACTICES
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Evidence from the Utopia Quarter in James City County, Virginia

The Utopia Quarter was part of the landholding of the Thomas Pettus family in the second half of the seventeenth century (ca. 1660-1700). Utopia was transferred to the James Bray family at the turn of the eighteenth century, and the Brays maintained Utopia as a slave quarter until the middle of the century (ca. 1700-1750). The property then was owned by the Lewis Burwell family until the end of the American Revolution (ca. 1750-1783).

Third Occupation of Utopia (ca. 1720-1750): A Second Generation of Slaves

Distinctive artifacts were recovered that relate to an evolving African-American culture at Utopia. This next generation appears to have had more access to a growing international market economy. Preliminary evidence suggests that the third generation of inhabitants had the use of a variety of European ceramics, a wider array of tools, more tobacco pipes, and an improved and more diverse diet. Dozens of identical pipe bowls and bowl fragments strongly suggest that slaves were issued tobacco pipes by Bray. Again, some of the artifacts suggest an African presence. For instance, two cowrie shells were recovered from the storage cellars. Moreover, burnished animal horns, lead disks, marbles, glass beads, more clam shells with worm-bore holes, a drilled spoon handle, fish hooks, lead net weights, lead shot (including one with deep bite marks), and Colonoware was recovered, among the usual bottle glass, European ceramics, clay tobacco pipes, animal bone, nails, and other eighteenth-century debris.

At the southernmost extent of the site, a burial ground containing 25 individuals was excavated because much of it was in danger of eroding down a steep embankment into the James River. It is likely that most, if not all, the individuals interred in the burial ground were once members of the eighteenth-century community of African-American slaves living at Utopia. The burials appeared to be arranged in family groups, thereby suggesting that the residents were able to develop extended family units that survived the rigors of the slave system imposed on them. Based on the size of the burial shafts, it appears that twelve infants or small children and thirteen adults were represented. Unfortunately, the remains were in extremely poor condition, which will limit the amount of osteological information to be learned from them. No testable bone remained in any of the infant/child burials. In general, the adults were in poor condition as well. The skeletal remains are presently being studied and will be reinterred in the summer of 1997. Most of the individuals were interred in wooden coffins (except for one which was coffinless), along an east/west axis, although two were placed on a north/south axis. Most of the coffins were rectangular boxes, although five were hexagonal. Three adults had English clay tobacco pipes purposely placed under the upper humerus (including both the north/south oriented individuals). Based on the maker's marks, all three pipes date to the first half of the eighteenth century. One of the sub-adults was interred with a

Three Cultures - African/African-American

glass bead necklace around the neck. The beads are transparent, multi-faceted, amethyst-colored glass. Except for one burial which contained cuff buttons and two pants fastener buttons in-situ, no other clothing implements were recovered from any of the burials.

Source: Garrett R. Fesler, "Interim Report of Excavations at UTOPIA QUARTER (44JC32): AN 18TH-CENTURY SLAVE COMPLEX at Kingsmill on the James in James City County, Virginia," Williamsburg, Va.: James River Institute for Archaeology, Inc., June 9, 1996.

For more information about the Christianization of slaves see pages 169ff.

ANGLICAN CHURCH IN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY VIRGINIA

When the first settlement in Virginia was made at Jamestown, religious practice was not an issue. No one aboard those three ships doubted that the religion of the new colony would be Christianity, or that the form it would take would be that of the Church of England. Religious questions were not to be settled individually, but corporately. The leaders of the colony considered it their duty to see to it that God was worshipped in Virginia, and how he would be worshipped.

Not every Anglican was in agreement about every matter, and some thought the Church needed to be better “purified” of the “corruptions” of Rome, but certain matters seemed settled. The Church of England was Protestant. It served the community not only as a spiritual guide, but as part of the mechanism by which order, morality, and virtue, and therefore the favor of God, would be maintained in the new world.

In the beginning, clergymen were sent out with the first groups of settlers, weekly attendance at “divine service” was mandatory, and the colony promulgated strict laws against blasphemy and heterodox practice. Nationality was defined as much in terms of religion as geography or language. Many supposed that a community divided into various religious sects was no community at all.

Though the absence of a bishop, and an insufficiency of clergy made the achievement of the goal difficult for many years, it was the goal of Virginia’s government throughout the seventeenth century to build the church in Virginia on the model of the Church of England back home. The country was divided into parishes, and a vestry composed of twelve prominent local gentlemen was selected to oversee parish affairs, and to collect parish taxes (called “levies” or “tithes”). They were required by law to build a church, and engage a clergyman to serve the parish, to provide him a salary (a “living” as they would say), a house, and some portion of land (“a glebe”) that he could farm or rent to a tenant, and to see to it that divine services were performed and attended weekly. The parish priest was expected not only to instruct the people of the parish (all the people of the parish) in matters of religion, and to perform rituals and ceremonies, but to act generally as a moral guide and overseer. The form of religious practice in the churches was determined by the Book of Common Prayer. The parish rector was the only person in the parish with the authority to baptize, to marry, and to bury, and thus the clergy served as the only official recorders of births, marriages, and deaths. The House of Burgesses held the power to determine how much clergymen would be paid, and to create new parishes when needed. In theory, the governor could go “over the heads” of the vestry, and appoint a minister without consulting them.

Freeing Religion Team

The Rise and Fall of the Established Church in Virginia 1607-1787

Source: David L. Holmes, A Brief History of the Episcopal Church (Valley Forge, Penn., 1993), pp. 20-22.

The faith of the Church of England was established from the start in the colony of Virginia. "Establishment" meant that Virginia's General Assembly legislated for the church, supported it through taxes, and protected it against dissent. This government support bulwarked the Church of England in Virginia during most of the colonial period. Growing slowly but steadily, it especially flourished in the years between 1680 and 1740. But in time, as is usually the case in church history, state support almost crushed the spiritual life of a Christian church.

From 1607 on, the established church slowly grew—first in Jamestown, and then in ever-widening settlements along Virginia's rivers, the boulevards of the time. Whenever settlers moved too far from existing courthouses and churches, the assembly established the boundaries of new counties and new parishes. The number of parishes in colonial Virginia steadily increased from forty-eight in 1671, to fifty-three in 1726, to one hundred seven in 1784. Most were smaller in size than the colonial counties.

A typical parish contained three or four churches. Virtually all had a church farm (or "glebe"). The intention of the Virginia parish system (still in evidence along the banks of such rivers as the Rappahannock) was to place a church not more than six miles—easy riding distance—from every home in the colony. Although they had more formal names, many of these Anglican churches bore unintentionally humorous names taken from rivers, settlements, and other geographical landmarks: Pohick Church, Beaver Dam Church, Difficult Church, Cattail Church, Turkey Run Church, Rattlesnake Church, even Cheesecake Church (the latter a corruption of a Native American name).

Although the General Assembly of Virginia passed the laws governing its established church, groups called vestries composed of twelve laymen—always white, always male, and usually wealthy—ran the individual parishes. Their powers were immense, ranging from levying taxes to hiring and firing the clergy to handling the welfare system that was the responsibility of the church prior to the separation of the church and state in Virginia. Very early these vestries became self-perpetuating, closed corporations. In other colonies, vestries were elected either by all members of the Church of England or by the freeholders of a parish. But in Virginia from approximately the mid-seventeenth century on, if a member died or resigned, the remaining members elected his replacement. Thus Virginia's colonial vestries effectively kept parish control in the hands of a select few.

The vestry system clearly offered great advantages for the established church. It assured the services and the loyalty, for example, of the leading landowners—families with names such as Randolph, Carter, Byrd, Page, Nelson, and Washington. The vestries tended to hire clergy on one-year contracts, which reduced the number of unworthy clergy in Virginia's pulpits. In day-to-day matters, the system seems to have worked efficiently.

But in the long run, the vestry system made the established church in Virginia conspicuously the church of the aristocracy. In the minds of the common people (who comprised more than ninety percent of Virginia's population), it also allied the church with the

English government's policy of taxation without representation. In addition, clerical supervision of parish morality suffered; generally protected by one-year contracts only, parsons were hesitant to speak out against the sins of their leading parishioners. Clergy such as Morgan Godwyn of Potomax Parish, who broke with the *status quo* by insisting that parishioners should allow clergy to catechize and baptize their slaves, were forced out of parishes. Finally, since the vestries asked parish residents only to pay an annual tax bill enforceable by the sheriff, the system left the Anglican laity with no knowledge of how to support a church voluntarily. By the eve of the Revolutionary War, the vestry system had begun to work silently but surely to assist the collapse of the established church.

Source: David L. Holmes, A Brief History of the Episcopal Church (Valley Forge, Penn.), 1993, pp. 20-22.

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LAWES DIVINE, MORALL AND MARTIAL, ETC FOR THE COLONY IN VIRGINIA

Imposed at Jamestown in 1610, the Lawes Divine, Morall and Martial included several laws directly bearing on religious practice and moral behavior. Although penalties sound harsh, the purpose was generally to intimidate unruly elements into useful citizenship rather than to eliminate them through execution. For instance, three absences from sabbath services calls for the death penalty, but there is no record that anyone was executed under this decree.

Freeing Religion Team

Source: David H. Flaherty, editor. For the Colony in Virginia BRITANNIA. Lawes Divine, Morall and Martial, etc. Printed at London for Walter Burre, 1612 (Charlottesville, Va., 1969).

Articles, Lawes, and orders, Divine, Politique, and Martiall for the colony in Virginea: first established by Sir Thomas Gates Knight, Lieutenant Generall, the 24th of May 1610. Exemplified and approved by the Right Honourable Sir Thomas West Knight, Lord Lawair, Lord Governour and Captaine Generall the 12th of June 1610. Againe exemplified and enlarged by Sir Thomas Dale Knight, Marshall, and Deputie Governour, the 22nd of June. 1611.

[selected portions (first ten of 37 laws)]

First since we, owe our highest and supreme duty, our greatest, and all our alleageance to him, from whom all power and authoritie is derived, and flowes as from the first, and onely fountaine, and being especiall souldiers emprest in this sacred cause, we must alone expect our successe from him, who is onely the blesser of all good attempts, the King of kings, the commaunder of commaunders, and Lord of Hostes, I do strictly commaund and charge all Captaines and Officers, of what qualitie or nature soever, whether commanders in the field, or in towne, or townes, forts or fortresses, to have a care that the Almighty God bee duly and daily served, and that they call upon their people to heare Sermons, as that also they diligently frequent Morning

and Evening praier themselves by their owne exemplar and daily life, and dutie herein, encouraging others there unto, and that such, who shall often and wilfully absent themselves, be duly punished according to the martiall law in that case provided.

That no man speake impiously or maliciously, against the holy and blessed Trinitie, or any of the three persons, that is to say, against God the Father, God the Son, and God the holy Ghost, or against the knowne Articles of the Christian faith, upon paine of death.

That no man blaspheme Gods holy name upon paine of death, or use unlawful oathes, taking the name of God in vaine, curse, or banne, upon paine of severe punishment for the first offence so committed, and for the second, to have a bodkin thrust through his tongue, and if he continue the blaspheming of Gods holy name, for the third time so offending, he shall be brought to a martiall court, and there receive censure of death for his offence.

No man shall speake any word, or do any act, which may tend to the derision, or despight of Gods holy word upon paine of death: Nor shall any man unworthily demeane himselfe unto any Preacher, or Minister of the same, but generally hold them in all reverent regard, and dutiful intreatie, otherwise he the offender shall openly be whipt three times, and ask publike forgiveness in the assembly of the congregation three several Saboth daies.

Everie man and woman duly twice a day upon the first towling of the Bell shall upon the working daies reparaire unto the Church, to hear divine Service upon pain of losing his or her dayes allowance for the first omission, for the second to be whipt, and for the third to be condemned to the Gallies for six Moneth Likewise no man or woman shall dare to violate or breake the Sabboth by any gaming, publique, or private abroad, or at home, but duly sanctifie and observe the same, both himselfe and his familie, by preparing themselves at home with private prayer, that they may be the better fitted for the publique, according to the commandements of God, and the orders of our Church, as also every man and woman shall reparaire in the morning to the divine service, and Sermons reached upon the Sabboth day, and in the afternoon to divine service, and Catechising, upon paine for the first fault to lose their provision, and allowance for the whole weeke following, for the second to lose the said allowance, and also to be whipt, and for the third to suffer death.

All Preachers or Ministers within this our Colonie, or Colonies, shall in the Forts, where they are resident, after divine Service, duly preach every Sabbath day in the forenoone, and Catechise in the afternoone, and weekely say the divine service, twice every day, and preach every Wednesday, likewise every Minister where he is resident, within the same Fort, or Fortresse, Townes or Towne, shall chuse unto him, foure of the most religious and better disposed as well to informe of the abuses and neglects of the people in their duties, and service to God, as also to the due reparation, and keeping of the Church handsome, and fitted with all reverent observances thereunto belonging: likewise every Minister shall keepe a faithful and true Record, or Church Booke, of all Christnings, Marriages, and deaths of such our people, as shall happen within their Fort, or Fortresses, Townes or Towne at any time, upon the burthen of a neglectfull conscience, and upon paine of losing their Entertainment.

No man shall commit the horrible, and detestable sins of Sodomie upon pain of death; and he or she that can be lawfully convict of Adultery shall be punished with death. No man shall ravish or force any woman, maid or Indian, or other, upon pain of death; and know that he or shee, that

shall commit fornication, and evident prooffe made thereof, for their first fault shall be whipt, for their second they shall be whipt, and for their third they shall be whipt three times a weeke for one month, and aske publique forgivenesses in the Assembly of the Congregation.

No man shall bee found guilty of Sacriledge, which is a Trespasse as well committed in violating and abusing any sacred ministry, duty or office of the Church, irreverently, or prophanely, as by beeing a Church robber, to filch, steale or carry away any thing out of the Church appertaining there unto, or unto any holy, and consecrated place, to the divine Service of God, which no man should doe upon paine of death; likewise he that shall rob the store of any commodities therein, of what quality soever, whether provision of victuals, or of Arms, rucking stoffe, Apparrell, Linnen, or Wollen, Hose or Shooes, Hats or Caps, Instruments or Toolles of Steele, Iron, etc. or shall rob from his fellow souldier, or neighbour, any thing that is his, vituals, apparell, household stoffe, toole, or what necessary else soever, by water or land, out of boate, house, or knapsack, shall bee punished with death.

Source: David H. Flaherty, editor. For the Colony in Virginia BRITANNIA. Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall, etc. Printed at London for Walter Burre, 1612 (Charlottesville, Va., 1969).

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RELIGIOUS LAWS—SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

William Waller Hening was admitted to the practice of law at Fredericksburg in 1789. He was elected to the House of Delegates from Albemarle County in 1804. He published various legal hand books, casebooks, and collections of statutes, the most significant being his thirteen-volume collection of the *Statutes at Large of Virginia*, which he collected, edited, and published between 1806 and 1823. This compilation, partially subsidized by the Commonwealth and greatly encouraged by Thomas Jefferson as a means of multiplying scarce manuscripts has been a vital resource for historians of Virginia ever since.

The laws of the Church of England were administered by the General Assembly. Legislation of a moral or religious nature was often the first to be addressed. *The Statutes at Large* is a rich source of material helping us to understand the structure of the established church. Following are only selected portions that might be helpful in your study of the Freeing Religion topic. You will find portions of the Statutes throughout the resource book.

Freeing Religion Team

MARCH, 1623/24

LAWS OF VIRGINIA

1. *THAT there shall be in every plantation, where the people use to meete for the worship of God, a house or roome sequestered for that purpose, and not to be for any imporal use whatsoever, and a place empaled in, sequestered only to the buryal of the dead.*
2. *That whosoever shall absent himselve from the divine service any Sunday without an allowable excuse shall forfeite a pound of tobacco, and he that absenteth himselve a month shall forfeite 50lb. of tobacco.*
3. *That there be an uniformity in our church as neere as may be to the canons in England; both in substance and circumstance, and that all persons yeild readie obedience unto them under paine of censure.*
4. *That the 22^d of March be yeerly solemnized as holliday, and all other hollidays (except when they fall two together) betwixt the feast of the annuntiation of the blessed virgin and St. Michael the arch-angell, then only the first to be observed by reason of our necessities.*
5. *That no minister be absent from his church above two months in all the yeare upon penalty of forfeiting halfe his means, and whosoever shall absent above fowre months in the year shall forfeit his whole means and cure.*
6. *That whosoever shall disparage a minister without bringing sufficient prooffe to justify his reports whereby the mindes of his parishioners may be alienated from him, and his ministry prove the less effectual by their prejudication shall not only pay 500lb. waight of tobacco but also aske the minister so wronged forgiveness publickly in the congregation.*
7. *That no man dispose of any of his tobacco before the minister be satisfied, upon pain of forfeiture double his part of the minister's means, and one man of every plantation to collect his means out of the first and best tobacco and corn.*

Source: William Waller Hening. The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619, 13 Vols. Richmond, Va., New York, Philadelphia, 1809-1823; reprint ed., Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia for the Jamestown Foundation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1969, Vol. 1, pp. 122-124.

MARCH 1629/30

THE ORDERS

At this Assembly established followeth:

IT is ordered, That all ministers residing and beeing, or who hereafter shall reside and bee within this colony, shall conforme themselves in all thinges according to the cannons of the church of England. And if there shall be any that, after notice given, shall refuse for to conforme himselve Hee shall undergoe such, as by the said cannons in such cases is provided for such delinquent. And that all acts formerly made concerning ministers shall stand in force, and bee duly observed and kept.

Hening, Statutes, Vol. 1, p. 149.

FEBRUARY 1631/22

**The 24th day of February was enacted this followinge
Order for the Mynisters.**

IT is ordered, That there bee a uniformitie throughout this colony both in substance and circumstance to the cannons and constitution of the church of England as neer as may Bee and that every person yeald readie obedience unto them uppon penaltie of the paynes and forfeitures in that case appoynted.

THAT the statutes for comminge to church every Sondag and holydays bee duly executed. That is to say, that the church-wardens doe levy one shilling for every tyme of any person's absence from the church havinge no lawfull or reasonable excuse to bee absent. And for due execution hereof the Governor and Councill together with the burgisses of this grand assembly doe in God's name earnestlie require and chardge all commanders, captaynes and church-wardens that they shall endeavour themselves to the utter-most of their knowledge that the due and true execution hereof may be done and had through this colony, as they will answere before God for such evils and plagues wherewith Almighty God may justlie punish his people for neglecting this good and wholesome lawe.

IT is ordered, That as many of the mynisters as convenientlie may, and one of the church-wardens at least, of every parish be present yearlie at mid-somer quarter cort to holden on the first day of June; and theire to make theire presentments uppon oath together with a register of all burialls, christnenings, & marriages, as turn likewise their accounts of all levys, collections, and disbursements as have been or fallen out in their tymes concerninge the church affayres.

And it is further ordered and thought expedient, according to a former order made, by the governor and councill that all church-wardens shall take this oath and that it bee admynistered before those that are of the commission for mounthlie corts, viz. "YOU shall sweare that you shall

make presentments of all such persons as shall lead a prophayne or ungodlie life, of such as shall be common swearers, drunkards or blasphemers, that shall ordinarilie profane the saboth dayes or contemne Gods holy word or sacraments. You shall also present all adulterers or fornicators, or such as shall abuse their neighbors by slandering tale carryinge or back bitinge, or that shall not behave themselves orderlie and soberlie in the church during devyne servise. Likewise they shall present such maysters and mistrisses as shall be delinquent in the catechisinge the youth and ignorant persons. So helpe yow God!"

NOE man shall disparage a mynister whereby the myndes of his parishoners may be alienated from him and his mynistrerie prove less effectually upon payne of severe censure of the governor and councell.

NO mynister shall celebrate matrimony betweene any persons without a facultie or lycense graunted by the Governor, except the baynes of matrimony have beene first published three severall Sundays or holydays in the time of devyne service in the parish churches where the sayd persons dwell accordinge to the booke of common prayer, neither shall any mynister under any pretense whatsoever joyne Any persons soe licensed in marriage at any unseasonable tymes but only between eight and twelve in the fore-noone, nor when banes are thrice asked, and no lycense in that respect necessarie, before the parents or guardians of the parties to be married under the age of twenty and one years, shall either personally or by sufficient testimony signifie unto him their consents given to the said marriage.

EVERY mynister in this colony havinge cure of soules shall preach one sermon every sunday in the yeare, having no lawful impediment, and yf the mynisters shall neglect their charge by unnecessarie absence or otherwise the church wardens are to present it. But because in this colony the places of their care are in many places ffar distant, It is thought fitt that the mynisters doe soe divide their turnes as by joynt agreement of the parishoners they should be desired.

IT is also thought fit, That upon every Sunday the mynister shall halfe an hower or more before evenenge prayer examine, catechise, and instruct the youth and ignorant persons of his parrish, in the ten commandments the articles of the beleife and in the Lord's prayer; and shall diligentlie heere, instruct and teach them the catechisme, sett forth in the booke of common prayer. And all fathers, mothers, maysters and mistresses shall cause their children, servants or apprentizes which have not learned the catechisme to come to the church at the tyme appoynted, obedientlie to heare, and to be ordered by the mynister untill they have learned the same : And yf any of the sayd ffathers, mothers, maysters and mistresses, children, servants , or apprentises, shall neglect their duties as the one sorte not causinge them to come and the other in refusinge to learne as aforesayd, they shall be censured by the corts in those places holden. And this act to take beginninge at Easter next.

WHEN any person is dangerouslie sicke in any parrish, the mynister havinge knowledge thereof shall resort unto him or her to instruct and comfort them in their distresse.

IN every parrish church within this colony shall be kept by the mynister a booke wherein shall be written the day and yeare of every christeninge, weddinge, and buriall.

MYNISTERS shall not give themselves to excesse in drinkinge, or riott, spendinge their tyme idellye by day or night, playinge at dice, cards, or any other unlawful game; but at all tymes convenient they shall heare or reade somewhat of the holy scriptures, or shall occupie themselves

with some other honest study or exercise, awayes doinge the thinges which shall apperteyne to honesty, and endeavour to profitt the church of God, awayes haveinge in mynd that they ought to excell all others in puritie of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and christianlie.

IN every parish church where sacraments are to be admynistered within this colony, the holi communion shall be admynistred by the mynister thrice in the yeare, whereof the feast of Easter to be one.

AND all preachinge, admynistringe of the communion, and marriages shall be done in the church except in cases of necessitie.

Hening, Statutes, Vol. 1, pp. 155-158.

* * *

April 1691

An act for dividing New Kent Countie.

*WHEREAS sundry and divers inconveniences attend the inhabitants of New Kent county and all others who have occation to prosecute sites there, by reason of the difficulty in passing the river. **Be it therefore enacted by their majesties lietenant governour, councell and burgesses of this present generall assembly, and the authority thereof, and it is hereby enacted,** That the aforesaid county of New Kent be divided into two distinct counties, so that Pomunkey river devide the same, and so down York river to the extent of the county, and that the part which is now on the south Side of the Yorke and Pomunkey river be called New Kent, and that the North side with Pomunkey Neck be called and known by the name of King and Queen county. **And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted,** that the inhabitants of Pomunkey Necke, that now belong to St. Peters parish be restored and added to St. Johns parish, from which they formerly were taken, and that Pomunkey river be the bounds betwixt the two parishes, any law usages or custome to the the contrary notwithstanding.*

Hening, Statutes, Vol. 3, p. 94.



St. Peter's Parish, New Kent County

THE SEARCH FOR GOOD MEN: RECRUITING MINISTERS IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA

Joan R. Gundersen, Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Vol. XLVIII (1979), pp. 453-464.

The heat of a late spring morning in Virginia was already closing in around Alexander Cruden when he said good-bye to the Robert Rose family and began the long horseback ride to Williamsburg. Racing thunderclouds threatened a wet journey for the young Scot who had tutored Rose's children for the last two years. Cruden, bound for England, carried with him the promise of a position as curate to the Reverend Rose upon his return. Cruden's decision to seek ordination was not unusual in the late colonial period. Historians, however, long have considered unsuccessful the search for good men to serve as rectors in Virginia, stressing both the failure to find sufficient numbers, and a lack of quality among the candidates found. This paper will focus on the error of those assumptions and the process by which Virginians did indeed find sufficient numbers of suitable ministers for a greatly expanding church, a process illustrated by Alexander Cruden's journey.

Virginia began the eighteenth century with 50 parishes and 40 ministers. When the colonial period ended in 1776 with independence, there were 100 parishes and 109 ordained ministers. These figures mask many of the changes in the origins of ministry and the actual fluctuations in the numbers of the clergy. The decade of the 1720s was a time of crisis for the Virginia establishment. The old generation of ministers began to die in rapid succession, and new ministers were not readily found, since the English church and its Scottish branch were more stable than they had been in the late seventeenth century. It took diligent work by the old Scot commissary, James Blair, the new lieutenant governor, William Gooch, and the new bishop of London, Edmund Gibson, to replace the old generation of clergy and find pastors enough for the wave of expansion beginning in the 1720s. By 1740, the church's pulpits again were mostly filled, and in 1758 there were more parsons than parishes. This surplus continued to grow, allowing older ministers -- for the first time -- to find sufficient curates. Thus, from the mid-eighteenth century, there was a sufficient number of ministers.

The quality of those ministers is much harder to ascertain. Local records, complaints of vestries and contemporary reputation of the clergy indicate that some were guilty of "notorious immoralities." The frustration with these men was compounded by the inability of vestries to remove erring clergymen and by the lack of machinery for the church in Virginia to police itself. When time is taken to study the individuals in the ministry, a number of factors become clear. First, charges (including unproved anonymous charges) were brought against only about 15 percent of the clergy. Many of these were frivolous charges, for example, wearing clothing which was too gay. The complaints, including those of alcoholism, against 10 percent of the clergy seem to have merit. In a similar time period covering the modern Episcopal church, I found that about eight percent of the ministers had been deposed. Thus the Virginia

ministers, on the whole, seem to have been about as decent a group as the current priests. The reason that the two groups have such differing contemporary reputations may lie in changes in society and the inability to remove colonial clergy who were disgraced.

If we discuss the assumptions that the Virginia church was undersupplied with pastors and that those who did serve were the dregs of the Anglican church, the questions remain about what kind of men Virginia ministers were and from what sources did they come. No single answer will suffice since the parsons of the established church were an amazingly diverse lot. Describing the "average" clergyman inevitably means that some of the men will not fit the description. However, there are discernible trends which help to answer the questions at hand. In particular, there is substantial evidence that the Virginians themselves took the initiative recruiting both for candidates and for men already in orders. Increasingly, their men were already in the colony. To illustrate this, we must examine the national origins and location of men when recruited for the Virginia church.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were no native Virginian ministers serving the colony's parishes. All were missionaries, recruited elsewhere. Most were English, although some came from the church in Ireland, and an influential group led by the bishop's commissary, James Blair, were Scots. William and Mary College, founded in 1693 in part to train men for the ministry, was just a struggling grammar school, and colonials who hoped to pass the canonical examinations had to attend an English university. Although a very few men had made the trip from Virginia to England for ordination, beginning with David Mossom in 1712, all of them were immigrants to the colony. In general, the pattern for filling parish vacancies followed a time-consuming routine. A request by the local vestry was forwarded by sea to the bishop in London who then made a search throughout the British Isles. Once the bishop found a willing candidate (and ordained him if he was not yet in orders), the minister took ship and sailed sight unseen to the waiting Parish. In the early days, the parish vestry could refuse to accept the candidate or in some cases, the parson might move off to a more attractive parish. Basically, the Virginia establishment was stocked with ministers from abroad with little local initiative beyond the first request.

In the 1730s, this pattern changed. William and Mary reached the size specified in its charter. Virginia was creating a stable, provincial society. Its leading families ran local affairs through the county courts and the vestries were no longer willing to accept passively the selection of local rectors by others. Virginia also had changed commercial ties as Scotland captured the tobacco trade from English merchants. Many of the young men who sought advancement in the colonies came from the outlying areas of Britain -- Wales, Scotland, Ireland, or the North Country. The second quarter of the eighteenth century was thus transitional, the period to which the story of Alexander Cruden belongs.

Alexander Cruden was born at Ross, Scotland, where his father was a merchant. Within two years of receiving the M.A. degree at Marischall College, Aberdeen, Scotland, Cruden arrived in Virginia. This was not unusual for an ambitious young Scot with mercantile ties in the mid-eighteenth century. Scot factors had made deep inroads in the tobacco trade by the 1740s. Cruden began tutoring, eventually spending the years 1747-1749 in the home of a fellow Scot, the Reverent Robert Rose, a frontier entrepreneur and dedicated parson who had just taken the frontier parish of St. Anne's, Albemarle County. What passed between the two men -- one at the height of his career, the other just beginning -- is uncertain, but after two years, Cruden decided on the life of the Anglican cloth and went for ordination. Rose may well have influenced the decision because he had also lured his own brother Charles to Virginia to take a parish. Cruden returned in orders the following year and settled at South Farnham Parish.

A number of ambitious tutors, many of them Scots, followed the same general route as Cruden. In fact, the number of Scots in Anglican orders doubled between 1726 and 1758 (see Figure A). So did the number of Englishmen, but the Scots remained a more tightly knit group. Many served parishes on the Northern Neck and their families intermarried until the relationships resembled a clan. Thus, the few ministers of English origin on the Northern Neck complained in the 1750s of the high numbers of Scots in the ministry. In truth, an equal number of Scots and English served parishes. Each accounted for one third of the clergy in 1758.

By 1758 a new factor appeared which would alter the structure of the priesthood. While two thirds of the clergy were English or Scots, the remaining third were mainly Virginia-born. The few parsons of Welsh, French or Irish birth were overshadowed by the native born colonials. Two generations of a family of Virginia clerics will illustrate this. The first generation of the Yates family came to Virginia as immigrant missionaries. In 1701 the Reverend Bartholomew Yates joined his brother Robert in Virginia and soon succeeded Robert at Christ Church, Middlesex County. Robert returned to England. Bartholomew, Jr., and William followed in their father's footsteps. The older sons, Robert and Bartholomew, were sent to England as children to prepare for the ministry. The financial sacrifice was great. Parson Yates supposedly could not afford any books and lived in poverty during the years his sons were in school. Yates died in 1734 knowing that two of his sons were nearing ordination. Bartholomew, Jr., arrived in 1736 to take charge of Christ Church. Neighboring Petsworth Parish had held its rectorship vacant for two years while awaiting Robert's return in 1741. The two older brothers were transitional figures. Although Virginian born, their education was English. Several families who pioneered in providing native-born clergymen during the 1720s and 30s followed this pattern.

Figure A - National Origins of the Clergy			
	1726	1754	1776

Faith Transported

Virginia	0	15	41
Colonial, Non-Virginian	0	0	11
England	11	24	13
Wales	4	1	4
Scotland	10	23	25
Ireland	2	2	4
Non-British	5	1	0
Unknown	10	9	11
Total	42	75	109

The route taken by the youngest of the three Yates brothers, and by his brother-in-law John Reade, the great-grandson of a Virginia minister, completed the transition. Both men were born in Virginia, both were descendants of clergymen. Both were products of William and Mary. Three years after John Fox had become the first William and Mary candidate for orders, John Reade followed suit. Reade served as a deacon at Christ Church, Middlesex from 1734 to 1736, and then went back to England a second time for priest's orders when Bartholomew Yates, Jr., arrived to take his father's place. Reade returned to serve at Stratton Major Parish. William Yates was 14 when his father died, and was already enrolled at William and Mary. Educating a son in Virginia was less costly than sending him to England. Yates continued at the Virginia college, serving as usher there until he reached the age for ordination. In 1745 he went to England and took orders. Later he served as president of William and Mary.

The decision made by Bartholomew Yates, Sr., and his executors to educate William in Virginia was the trend of the future. The final third of the colonial eighteenth century is marked by the triumph of a native-born and native-recruited ministry. In 1775 over two-fifths of the colony's ministers had been born in Virginia. Another tenth were from other colonies and a total of 74 out of 109 had been in Virginia before ordination. In other words, they had taken either the route of Alexander Cruden or the Yates brothers. William and Mary had become by 1775 the leading *alma mater* for Virginia clergymen. One-fifth of the parsons attended that college. Another fifth had attended other colonial colleges, academies, or were self-educated in the colonies. No other college could claim even ten percent of the clergy. Contrast this with the one-fifth of the clergy in 1726 who had attended Oxford. (See Figure B).

The colonial-born clergymen were a great boon to the church. Most came from the ranks of the middling gentry, although a few such as Devereux Jarratt had more modest origins. Some were less wealthy members of influential families; William Stith, for example, was a poor relation of the Randolphs. Jesse Carter's father, Charles, was a magistrate. Others, such as Thomas Landrum, who gave up the "Drudgery of the law," or Charles Green, who was a physician, moved from one profession to another. By 1775, 11 percent of the clergy came from families with some claims to colonial leadership. Many of the clergy were sons of ministers. They came from all parts of Virginia, although most heavily from the English settlements and thus most Anglican in

religious affiliation (i.e. the Tidewater). As a group they were exceptionally well-behaved. Of the colonial-born, only one, John Brunskill II "whose crimes would have made the *Old-Bailey* blush," had to be removed from his parish. Townshend Dade escaped removal following charges of adultery. Of those immigrants who were recruited for the ministry, the record is more mixed. Many married well and achieved social and religious respectability. But the natural prejudice against Scots by those of English background hindered others. Men recruited in Virginia for the ministry, no matter where they were born, had better than average records morally. In fact, most of the clergy who disgraced the cloth were recruited on the other side of the Atlantic.

Figure B - Education of the Clergy

	1726	1754	1776
William and Mary	0	13	26
College of Philadelphia	0	0	3
Yale	0	0	2
Princeton	0	0	2
Other Colonial	1	1	20
Oxford	9	15	5
Cambridge	3	8	7
Unspecified English	1	1	4
Edinburgh	2	2	5
Aberdeen	1	6	8
Glasgow	2	3	1
Unspecified Scot	1	4	6
Unknown	16	19	14
Foreign	1	1	1
Trinity, Ireland	5	2	4

The Virginia ministry contributed greatly to the search for good men. Education in the colony depended upon the parsons. About half of the ministers had taught school before taking orders and many continued to teach. The many private schools often began the education of future ministers, and these same private schools provided usher's positions for young men, such as Abner Waugh, who were waiting until they reached age 24 and could be ordained. In addition, most of the faculty of William and Mary were clergymen. Commissary James Blair's bequest of £500 to support candidates at the college provided employment for a number of future priests. Rather than found a seminary, however, Virginia clergymen privately tutored young candidates and encouraged them to take orders. We do not know for sure what Alexander Cruden did while staying with the Rose family as tutor, but it is likely that Robert Rose helped to prepare Cruden for the canonicals, because we know this happened in many cases. Fifteen of the rectors proved to be active recruiters, for they all signed three or more recommendations for ministerial candidates. James Scott held the record with eight, followed closely by Robert McLaurine and John Dixon with six each, and Henry Skyring and William Douglas with five apiece.

Virginia laity also encouraged candidates for the priesthood. For example, George Washington arranged credit in England for one candidate, his step-children's tutor. The choices of the laity were not always agreeable to the clergy. Several young men who did not have the requisite languages were strongly supported by leading Virginians. This led to conflict with Commissary James Horrocks in the 1760s. Twice the commissary strongly opposed the man recruited by the gentry. Horrocks bowed to pressure in a third case only after losing the two earlier battles. In each case the candidate had strong colonial backing. Thomas Baker had the support of William Byrd III, James Ogilvie that of Thomas Walker and Thomas Jefferson, and Daniel Sturges that of Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, and Lord Fairfax. In each case, the candidate did not know Greek.

The battle for acceptance or rejection of Thomas Baker and James Ogilvie was carried on through the trans-Atlantic mails -- each side trying to convince the Bishop of London. Thomas Baker had the good fortune to have as his patron a man who knew the bishop personally. Even so, Baker's ordination was delayed over a year. The ordination of James Ogilvie became a major crusade for Thomas Jefferson. Commissary Horrocks twice refused to recommend Ogilvie. The Bishop of London supported Horrocks and at last Ogilvie received support for the diaconate from Aberdeen. The bishop of Durham ordained him deacon and he took a parish at Berwick to wait out the time before taking priest's orders. In 1771 the Bishop of London finally gave in, ordained Ogilvie and he returned to Virginia. By the time Norborne Parish nominated one of its most pious laymen as rector, Commissary Horrocks had given up and reluctantly signed a recommendation for Daniel Sturges which said that although learning did not qualify him, piety and the forcible recommendation of members of the House of Burgesses did. Again, there were laymen more active in recruiting than others, especially Carter Braxton, William Byrd III, George Washington, and Wilson Miles Cary.

No matter how candidates were recruited, each followed a similar routine toward taking orders which grew more detailed with the passing years. Candidates had to have letters certifying their good behavior for the previous three years from three ministers in the area of residence. The candidate had to be 24, to be ordained priest, and to have some knowledge of Greek and Latin. This requirement, as noted, was ignored occasionally, but the test for languages in any case was hardly severe. Thomas Davis, Jr., gleefully reported to friends in Virginia:

Tell honest Jones that there is strict scrutiny in Greek at the Examination, and that I would have him be sure of construing one Verse in twenty, or it won't do here. I candidly confessed that I knew little of Greek and by that Means excepted as Examined therein.

The prospective minister also had to have title to a vacant parish or a curacy. After mid-century when the supply of clergy exceeded the number of parishes, most

candidates settled for curacies worth only an average of £30 per annum. Robert Rose had provided just such a title as curate for Cruden. All of these documents, and later, another showing that the candidate's intent to become a minister had been published in his parish church for three Sundays, were presented to the commissary who, with the governor of the colony, provided the final recommendation to London. In London, the bishop would examine the candidate and decide if he should be ordained. If approved, the candidate attended the first ordination available anywhere in England and became a deacon. Time was of the essence so that the new priest could sail when the annual tobacco fleet left in convoy for Virginia.

This complicated process was fraught with physical dangers and disappointments. Many candidates considered the possibility that they might not live long enough to return. Pirates threatened more than one voyage and disease hounded almost all of them. Luckily, only two candidates for orders from Virginia, Charles Pasteur and Rice Hooe, were struck down by smallpox before they ever served a parish. Smallpox cost Devereux Jarratt the sight in one eye, and he almost ran out of money during his recovery in England. Only the timely intervention of a patron allowed Jarratt to sail with the fleet. Thus cautious Thomas Landrum wrote a will before he sailed in 1752 leaving his pregnant wife explicit directions on how she should raise their children. Most had settled affairs before leaving, tersely announcing in the *Virginia Gazette* their intention to leave. Once on board ship, the pangs of homesickness and misgivings were overwhelming. "I have felt enough upon Parting already," wrote one candidate waiting for his ship to weigh anchor along the James.

Despite the obvious dangers and discomforts, the number of candidates for holy orders leaving Virginia increased throughout the century; one-half of the men who served Virginia parishes from 1723 to 1776 had been recruited in Virginia. For those immigrants to the colony, it meant weathering at least three Atlantic crossings. For Virginians, born and bred, the journey was a cultural shock. For example, James Madison, later Bishop Madison, provoked this comment in Edinburgh:

[Madison was] an antiluvian figure wearing a Hat & Coat such as were in fashion before the flood. You may be sure under such circumstance he did not fail to attract the general notice and admiration of all Ranks of People whose Curiosity could not fail to be excited by the appearance of so primeval a figure.

Others, unlike the scholarly Madison, thoroughly enjoyed the social whirl of London. Thomas Davis admitted that he had accomplished his business four days after arrival and since then he had been swept into "A continuous round of dissipation & Folly."

Although there were a few casualties along the way, most did return to Virginia. By 1775, three-quarters of the priests in the colony had been recruited there. Over half of those were native Virginians; another eleven were from other colonies. The church

was no longer without an adequate supply of clergy. In fact, the problem now for the young minister was finding a vacant parish. (Young Thomas Davis spent several years hunting for a parish, always hopefully reporting his tryouts at parishes to his friends. Eventually he took his father's parish.) The salary of a curate was hardly enough for a bachelor to live on (much less marry on) in genteel poverty. Curate income was not likely to increase since it came directly from the pockets of the parish rectors. For large parishes, though, it meant that both the main church and the outlying chapels could be served, and the Virginia church was stronger for it.

Ironically, at the very time that Virginia could have its choice of priests, the clergy were faced with severe criticism. While good priests, such as Thomas Davis, waited for curacies, a few notoriously drunk and uncaring ministers refused to give up their parishes. One man candidly admitted that he did not care "what became of his flock (meaning his congregation) so he got the fleece." The commissary had no authority to intervene in matters, which, according to English law, belonged in church courts. The American Revolution created its own solution. In 1776 parishes suspended the salaries of all ministers, cutting off their livelihoods. Only those with a strong desire to serve and an independent income could continue in parishes. Alexander Cruden was among those ministers who could not swear an oath of allegiance to the new government, and he left his adopted homeland. The supply of clergy also abruptly stopped. Candidates for the ministry had to take an oath of loyalty to the king, a fact which would hardly make them welcome in rebellious Virginia. In 1776 the Bishop of London refused Fitzhugh McKay, who had apparently hurried to England to seek ordination as the political situation worsened. Although he was under age, McKay told those in Virginia the real reason for refusal was that the bishop would not ordain a man from a country of rebels. For whatever reason, a decade would pass before Virginian candidates could again seek ordination.

Joan R. Gundersen, Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Vol. XLVIII (1979), pp. 453-464.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

The Anglican Book of Common Prayer ordered services in parish churches in colonial Virginia. The first Book of Common Prayer was introduced in 1549 during the short reign of King Edward VI (1547-1553). The use of the prayer books was suppressed during the reign of Queen Mary I (1553-1558). Mary, the eldest child of King Henry VIII and Queen Catherine of Aragon, was a Roman Catholic, and reinstated the Latin liturgy and ritual of the Catholic Church in England during her short reign. From 1649 to 1660, the Puritan government under Oliver Cromwell, heavily restricted the use of The Book of Common Prayer, the liturgy, and the rites of the Church of England.

In 1662, two years after the Stuart monarchy was restored in England, King Charles II approved a revision of the prayer book. This 1662 revised prayer book was the accepted version used during the eighteenth-century colonial period. The 1662 Book of Common Prayer (printed in the vernacular) contains the accepted liturgical rites, ceremonies, prayers, and sacraments of the Church of England.

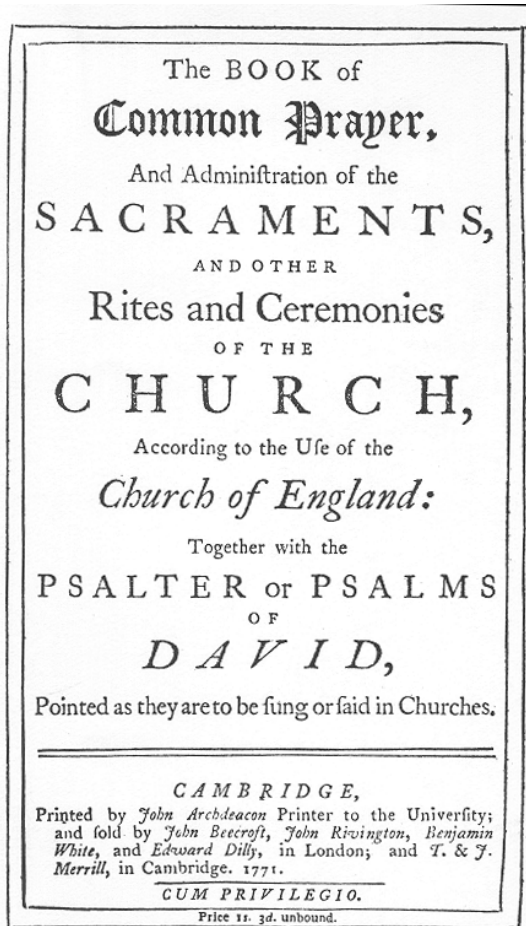
Faith Transported

The liturgy of the hours (morning and evening prayer) was celebrated daily either in church or in private homes. The Sabbath day and holy days were celebrated by special liturgies in the church. Anglicans could also attend church on special occasions, such as days set aside for fasting and humiliation, and the faithful were encouraged to attend church on the four days of recollection: January 30—the memorial of the martyrdom of King Charles I (1649); May 29—The day of thanksgiving for the return, restoration, and nativity of King Charles II (1660); October 25—The thanksgiving day of the accession to the throne of King George III (1760); and November 5—the memorial of the Deliverance of King James I (the Gunpowder Treason, 1605) and of the arrival of King William III (1688).

During the colonial period the sacrament of Holy Communion was not administered daily or even weekly in the Anglican Church. Most Anglicans in Virginia received the sacrament only three to five times a year and they were encouraged to receive communion on the Church's holiest days: Christmas, Easter, and Whit Sunday. Baptisms or christenings were often celebrated in homes, but by 1770 most Anglican clergymen returned the celebration of this sacrament to the church. The ceremony of matrimony was often celebrated in homes in Virginia, but was encouraged by the clergy to be celebrated in church, as was the burial of the dead and the "churching of women."

The following excerpts are taken from the Prayer Book. Colonial Virginians of all ranks heard and said these words together—as a community. As you read them, think about slaves and the governor, men and women, tradesmen and professors praying together for healing the sick, protection from enemies, for rain, for peace. Healing the sick would have had special meaning in 1768, when Williamsburg was in the grip of a smallpox epidemic. Thanksgiving was important, too. Governor Nicholson declared a day of thanksgiving in Williamsburg on June 5, 1701 for "it has pleased almighty God of his Infinite mercy to deliver this Colony from the late great & rageing Plague of Caterpillers with which it was Infested."

**The ORDER for MORNING PRAYER,
Daily throughout the Year.**



I acknowledge my transgressions, and my sin is ever before me. Psal. 51. 3.

Hide my face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities. Psal. 51. 9.

The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise. Psal. 51. 17.

Rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God; for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repenteth him of the evil. Joel. 2. 13.

To the Lord our God belong mercies and forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against him: neither have we obeyed the voice of the Lord our God, to walk in his laws which he set before us. Dan. 9. 9, 10.

Lord, correct me, but with judgement; to in thine anger, lest thou bring me to nothing. Jer. 10. 24.

Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand. S. Matth. 3. 2.

I will arise, and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father; I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son. S. Luke 15.18, 19.

Enter not into judgement with thy servant, O Lord; for in thy sight shall no man living be justified. Psal. 143. 2.

At the beginning of Morning Prayer, the Minister shall read with a loud voice some one or more of these Sentences of the Scriptures that follow: and then he shall say that which is written after the said Sentences.

WHEN the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive. Ezek. 18. 27.

If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us: But if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.

1 S. John 1. 8, 9.

DEARLY beloved brethren, the Scripture moveth us in sundry places to acknowledge and confess our manifold sins and wickedness; and that we should not dissemble nor cloke them before the face of Almighty God our heavenly Father; but confess them with an humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart; to the end that we may obtain forgiveness of the same by his infinite goodness and mercy. And although we ought at all times humbly acknowledge our sins before God; yet ought we most chiefly so to do, when we assemble and meet together, to render thanks for the great benefits that we have received at his hands, to set forth his most worthy praise, to hear his most holy Word, and to ask those things which are requisite and necessary as well for the body as the soul. Wherefore I pray and beseech you, as many as are here present, to accompany me with a pure heart and humble voice, unto the throne of the heavenly grace, saying after me:

A general Confession to be said of the whole Congregation after the Minister, all kneeling

Almighty and most merciful Father; We have erred and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep: We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts: We have offended against thy holy laws; We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; And we have done those things which we

ought not to have done; And there is no health in us. But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us miserable offenders: Spare thou them, O God, which confess their faults: Restore thou them that are penitent; According to thy promises, declared unto mankind in Christ Jesus our Lord. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake; That we may hereafter live a godly, righteous and sober life, To the glory of thy holy Name. Amen.

The Absolution or Remission of sins, to be pronounced by the Priest alone, standing; the People still kneeling.

Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live; and hath given power and commandment to his Ministers, to declare and pronounce to his People, being penitent, the Absolution and Remission of their sins: He pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel. Wherefore let us beseech him to grant us true repentance, and his holy Spirit; that those things may please him which we do at this present, and that the rest of our life hereafter may be pure and holy: so that at the last we may come to his eternal joy, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

The people shall answer here, and at the end of all other Prayers, Amen.

Then the Minister shall kneel, and say the Lord's Prayer with an audible voice; the People also kneeling, and repeating it with him, both here, and wheresoever else it is used in Divine Service.

OUR Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven: Give us this day our daily bread: And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; And lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil; For thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory, For ever and ever. Amen.

Then likewise he shall say,

O Lord, open thou our lips.

Answ. *And our mouth shall shew forth thy praise.*

Priest. *O God, make speed to save us.*

Answ. *O Lord, make haste to help us.*

Here all standing up, the Priest shall say,

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost;

Answ. *As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.*

Priest. *Praise ye the Lord.*

Answ. *The Lord's Name be praised.*

Then shall be said or sung this Psalm following:

Venite, exultemus Domino.

PSAL. 95.

O Come, let us sing unto the Lord: let us heartily rejoice in the strength of our salvation.

Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving: and shew ourselves glad in him with psalms.

For the Lord is a great God: and a great King above all gods.

In his hand are all the corners of the earth: and the strength of the hills is his also.

The sea is his, and he made it; and his hands prepared the dry land.

O come let us worship and fall down: and kneel before the Lord our Maker;

For he is the Lord our God: and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand.

To-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts: as in the provocation, and as in the day of temptation in the wilderness;

When your fathers tempted me: proved me, and saw my works.

Forty years long was I grieved with this generation, and said: It is a people that do err in their hearts, for they have not known my ways.

Unto whom I sware in my wrath: that they should not enter into my rest.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost;

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. Amen.

Then shall be sung or said the Apostles Creed by the Minister and the People, standing. Except only such days as the Creed of Saint Athanasius is appointed to be read.

I Believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.

And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord; Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary, Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Was crucified, dead, and buried; He descended into hell; The third day he rose again from the dead, He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Ghost; The holy Catholick Church; The Communion of Saints; The forgiveness of Sins; The

Resurrection of the body, And the Life everlasting. Amen.

Then shall follow three Collects, the first of the Day, which shall be the same that is appointed at the Communion; the second for Peace; the third for Grace to live well; and the two last Collects shall never alter, but daily be said at Morning Prayer throughout all the Year, as followeth; all kneeling.

The second Collect, for Peace.

O God, who are the author of peace, and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, whose service is perfect freedom; Defend us thy humble servants in all assaults of our enemies; that we surely trusting in thy defence, may not fear the power of any adversaries, through the might of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The third Collect, for Grace.

O Lord our heavenly Father, Almighty and everlasting God, who hast safely brought us to the beginning of this day; Defend us in the same with thy mighty power; and grant that this day we fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of danger, but that all our doings may be ordered by thy governance, to do always what is righteous in thy sight, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then these five Prayers following are to be read here, except when the Litany is read; and then only the two last are to be read as they are there placed.

A Prayer for the King's Majesty.

O Lord our heavenly Father, high and mighty King of kings, Lord of lords, the only Ruler of princes, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth; Most heartily we beseech thee with thy favour to behold our most gracious Sovereign Lord King GEORGE, and so replenish him with the grace of thy holy Spirit, that he may always incline to thy will, and walk in thy way: Endue him plenteously with heavenly gifts; grant him in health and wealth long to live, strengthen him that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies; and finally after this life, he may attain everlasting joy and felicity, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A Prayer for the Clergy and People.

Almighty and everlasting God, who alone workest great marvels; Send down upon our Bishops and Curates, and all Congregations committed to their Charge the healthful Spirit of thy grace; and that they may truly please thee, pour upon them the continual dew of thy blessing. Grant this, O Lord, for the honour of our Advocate and Mediator Jesus Christ. Amen.

A Prayer of S. Chrysostom.

Almighty God, who hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee, and dost promise that when two or three are gathered together in thy Name, thou wilt grant their requests; Fulfil now, O Lord, the desires and petitions of thy servants, as may be most expedient for them; granting us in this world knowledge of thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting. Amen.

2 Cor. 13. 14.

THE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. Amen.

Here endeth the Order of Morning Prayer throughout the Year.

**PRAYERS and THANKSGIVINGS
Upon several Occasions;
To be used before the two final Prayers of the Litany, or at Morning and Evening Prayer.**

PRAYERS

For Rain

O God heavenly Father, who by thy Son Jesus Christ hath promised to all them that seek thy kingdom and the righteousness thereof, all things necessary to their bodily sustenance; Send us, we beseech thee, in this our necessity, such moderate rain and showers, that we may receive the fruits of the earth to our comfort, and to thy honour, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

In the Time of War and Tumults.

Almighty God, King of all kings, and Governor of all things, whose power no creature is able to resist, to whom it belongeth justly to punish sinners, and to be merciful to them that truly repent; Save and deliver us, we humbly beseech thee, from the hands of our enemies; abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices, that we, being armed with thy defence may be preserved evermore from all perils, to glorify thee, who are the only giver of all victory, through the merits of thy only Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

For Deliverance from the Plague, or other Common Sickness

Lord God, who hast wounded us for our sins, and consumed us for our transgressions, by thy late heavy and dreadful Visitation; and now in the midst of judgement remembering mercy hast redeemed our souls from the jaws of death; We offer unto thy fatherly goodness ourselves, our souls, and bodies, which thou hast delivered, to be a living sacrifice unto thee; always praising and magnifying thy mercies in the midst of thy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

A General Thanksgiving

*Almighty God, Father of all mercies, we thine unworthy servants do give thee most humble and hearty thanks for all thy goodness and loving-kindness to us, and to all men: [*particularly to those who desire now to offer up their praises and thanksgivings for thy late mercies vouchsafed unto them.] We bless thee for our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life; but above all for thine inestimable love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ; for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory. And we beseech thee, give us that due sense of all thy mercies, that our hearts may be unfeignedly thankful, and that we may shew forth thy praise, not only with our lips, but in our lives, by giving up ourselves to thy service, and by walking before thee in holiness and righteousness all our days, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.*

***The Thanksgiving of Women after
Child-birth, commonly called, The
Churching of Women.***

***The Woman, at the usual time after her
Delivery, shall come into the Church,
decently apparelled, and there shall
kneel down in some convenient place,
as hath been accustomed, or as the
Ordinary shall direct: and then shall
the Priest say unto her,***

*Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty
God of his goodness to give you a safe
deliverance, and hath preserved you in
the great danger of child-birth, you shall
therefore give hearty thanks unto God,
and say:...*

Minister. *Let us pray.*

*Almighty God, we give thee humble
thanks for that thou hast vouchsafed to
deliver this woman thy servant from the
great pain and peril of child-birth: Grant,
we beseech thee, most merciful Father,
that she through thy help may both
faithfully live, and walk according to thy
will in this life present, and also may be
partaker of everlasting glory in the life to
come, through Jesus Christ our Lord.
Amen.*

* * *

***At the time of the celebration of the
Communion, the Communicants
being conveniently placed for the
receiving of the holy Sacrament, the
Priest shall say this Exhortation.***

*Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind
to come to the holy Communion of the
Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ,
must consider how Saint Paul exhorteth
all persons diligently to try and examine*

*themselves, before they presume to eat
that Bread, and drink of that Cup. For as
the benefit is great, if with a true penitent
heart and lively faith we receive that holy
Sacrament (for then we spiritually eat the
Flesh of Christ, and drink his Blood; then
we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; we
are one with Christ, and Christ with us:)
so is the danger great, if we receive the
same unworthily. For then we are guilty
of the Body and Blood of Christ our
Saviour; we eat and drink our own
damnation, not considering the Lord's
Body; we kindle God's wrath against us;
we provoke him to plague us with diverse
diseases, and sundry kinds of death.
Judge therefore yourselves, brethren, that
ye be not judged of the Lord; repent ye
truly for your sins past; have a lively and
stedfast faith in Christ our Saviour; amend
your lives, and be in perfect charity with
all men; so shall ye be meet partakers of
those holy mysteries. And above all
things ye must give most humble and
hearty thanks to God the Father, the Son,
and the Holy Ghost, for the redemption of
the world by the death and passion of our
Saviour Christ, both God and man; who
did humble himself even to the death
upon the Cross, for us miserable sinners,
who lay in darkness and the shadow of
death; that he might make us the children
of God, and exalt us to everlasting life.
And to the end that we should always
remember the exceeding great love of our
Master and only Saviour Jesus Christ,
thus dying for us, and the innumerable
benefits which by his precious
bloodshedding he hath obtained to us; he
hath instituted and ordained holy
mysteries, as pledges of his love, and for
a continual remembrance of his death, to
our great and endless comfort. To him
therefore, with the Father and the Holy*

Ghost, let us give (as we are most bounden) continual thanks; submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. Amen.

When the Priest standing before the Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with the more readiness and decency break the Bread before the People, and take the cup into his hands, he shall say the Prayer of Consecration, as followeth,

Almighty God our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy dost give thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption; who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again; Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee; and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood: Who in the same night that he was betrayed [Here the Priest is to take the Paten into his hands;] took bread and when he had given thanks [and here to break the bread.] he brake it; and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, [And here to lay his hand upon all the bread.] this is my body which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after Supper [Here he is to take the cup into his hand.] he took the cup, and when

he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for this [And here to lay his hand upon every vessel (be it chalice or flagon) in which there is any wine to be consecrated.] is my Blood of the New Testament which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins: Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me. Amen.

CATECHISM; that is to say, an Instruction to be learned of every Person, before he be brought to be confirmed by the Bishop.

Question. WHAT is your Name?

Answer. N. or M.

Question. Who gave you this Name?

Answer. My Godfathers and godmothers in my Baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ, the Child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.

Quest. What did your Godfathers and Godmothers then do for you?

Answ. They did promise and vow three things in my name: First, that I should renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanity of the wicked world, and all the sinful lust of the flesh. Secondly, that I should believe all the Articles of the Christian Faith. And thirdly, that I should keep God's holy Will and Commandments, and walk in the same all the days of my life.

Quest. Dost thou not think that thou art bound to believe, and to do, as they have promised for thee?

Answ. Yes verily; and by God's holy will so I will. And I heartily thank our heavenly Father, that he hath called me to this

state of salvation through Jesus Christ our Saviour. And I pray unto God to give me his grace, that I may continue in the same unto my life's end.

Catechist. *Rehearse the Articles of thy Belief.*

Answer. *I Believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth: And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord; Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary, Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Was crucified, dead and buried; He descended into Hell; The third day he rose again from the dead; He ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty. From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost; The holy Catholick Church; The Communion of Saints; The Forgiveness of sins; The Resurrection of the body; And the Life everlasting. Amen.*

Quest. *What dost thou chiefly learn in these articles of thy Belief?*

Answ. *First I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me, and all the world;*

Secondly, in God the Son, who hath redeemed me, and all mankind;

Thirdly, in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me, and all the elect people of God.

Quest. *You said that your Godfathers and Godmothers did promise for you, that you should keep God's Commandments: Tell me how many there be?*

Answ. *Ten.*

Quest. *Which be they?*

Answer. *THE same which God spake in the twentieth Chapter of Exodus, saying,*

I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

I. Thou shalt have none other gods but me.

II. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me; and shew mercy unto thousands in them that love me, and keep my commandments.

III. Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his Name in vain.

IV. Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath-day. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: In it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it.

V. Honour thy father, and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

VI. *Thou shalt do no murder.*

VII. *Thou shalt not commit adultery.*

VIII. *Thou shalt not steal.*

IX. *Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.*

X. *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his.*

Quest. *What dost thou chiefly learn by these commandments?*

Answ. *I learn two things: My duty towards God, and my duty towards my Neighbour.*

Quest. *What is thy duty towards God?*

Answ. *My duty towards God is to believe in him, to fear him, and to love him with all my heart, with all my mind, with all my soul, and with all my strength; to worship him, to give him thanks, to put my whole trust in him, to call upon him, to honour his holy Name and his Word, and to serve him all the days of my life.*

Quest. *What is thy duty towards thy Neighbour?*

Answ. *My duty towards my Neighbour is, to love him as myself, and to do to all men, as I would they should do unto me; To love, honour, and succour my father and mother; To honour, and obey the King; and all that are put in authority under him; To submit myself to all my governors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters; To order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters; To hurt no*

body by word or deed; To be true and just in all my dealings; To bear no malice nor hatred in my heart; To keep my hands from picking and stealing, and my tongue from evil-speaking, lying and slandering; To keep my body in temperance, soberness, and chastity; Not to covet nor desire other men's goods; but to learn and labour truly to get mine own living, and to do my duty in that state of life, unto which it shall please God to call me.

Catechist. *My good child, know this, that thou are not able to do these things of thyself, nor to walk in the commandments of God, and to serve him, without his special grace, which thou must learn at all times, to call for by diligent Prayer. Let me hear therefore if thou canst say the Lord's Prayer?*

Answer. *OUR Father which are in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven: Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, But deliver us from evil. Amen.*

Quest. *What desirest thou of God in this Prayer?*

Answ. *I desire my Lord God, our heavenly Father, who is the giver of all goodness, to send his grace unto me, and to all people; that we may worship him, serve him, and obey him, as we ought to do. And I pray unto God that he will send us all things that be needful both for our souls and bodies; and that he will be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins; and that it will please him to save and defend us in all dangers ghostly and bodily, and that he will keep us from all*

sin and wickedness, and from our ghostly enemy, and from everlasting death. And this I trust he will do of his mercy and goodness, through our Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore I say, Amen. So be it.

Quest. *HOW many Sacraments hath Christ ordained in his Church?*

Answ. *Two only, as generally necessary to salvation; that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.*

Quest. *What meanest thou by this word Sacrament?*

Answ. *I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us, ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure thereof.*

Quest. *How many parts are there in a Sacrament?*

Answ. *Two: the outward visible sign, and the inward spiritual grace.*

Quest. *What is the outward visible sign, or form in Baptism?*

Answ. *Water: wherein the person is baptized, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

Quest. *What is the inward and spiritual grace?*

Answ. *A death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness: for being by nature born in sin and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace.*

Quest. *What is required of persons to be baptized?*

Answ. *Repentance whereby they stedfastly believe the promises of God made to them in that Sacrament.*

Quest. *Why then are Infants baptized, when by reason of their tender age they cannot perform them?*

Answ. *Because they promise them both by their Sureties: which promise, when they come to age, themselves are bound to perform.*

Quest. *Why was the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ordained?*

Answ. *For the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby.*

Quest. *What is the outward part or sign of the Lord's Supper?*

Answ. *Bread and Wine, which the Lord hath commanded to be received.*

Quest. *What is the inward part or thing signified?*

Answ. *The Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.*

Quest. *What are the benefits whereof we are partakers thereby?*

Answ. *The strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the Body and Blood of Christ, as our Bodies are by the bread and wine.*

Quest. *What is required of them who come to the Lord's Supper?*

Answ. *To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, stedfastly purposing to lead a new life; have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of his death; and be in charity with all men.*

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**The MINISTRATION of PUBLICK
BAPTISM of INFANTS, To be used in
the Church.**

The People are to be admonished, that it is most convenient that Baptism should not be administered but upon Sundays, and other Holy-days, when the most number of People come together: as well for that the Congregation there present may testify the receiving of them, that be newly baptized, into the number of Christ's Church; as also because in the Baptism of Infants, every man present may be put in remembrance of his own profession made to God in his Baptism. For which cause also it is expedient, that Baptism be ministered in the Vulgar Tongue. Nevertheless (if necessity so require) Children may be baptized upon any other day.

And note, that there shall be for every Male-Child to be baptized, two Godfathers and one Godmother: and for every Female, one Godfather, and two Godmothers.

Hear the words of the Gospel written by Saint Mark, in the tenth Chapter, at the thirteenth Verse.

THEY brought young-children to Christ, that he should touch them: and his disciples rebuked those that brought them, But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall

not enter therein. And he took them up in his arms, and put hands upon them, and blessed them.

**The MINISTRATION of
PRIVATE BAPTISM OF INFANTS,
To be used in the Home.**

Forasmuch as this Child hath promised by you his sureties to renounce the devil and all his works, to believe in God, and to serve him; ye must remember that it is your parts and duties to see that this Infant be taught, so soon as he shall be able to learn, what a solemn vow, promise, and profession he hath here made by you. And that he may know these things the better, ye shall call upon him to hear Sermons, and chiefly ye shall provide that he may learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue, and all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health; and that this Child may be virtuously brought up to lead a godly and a Christian life; remembering always that Baptism doth represent unto us our profession, which is to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto him; that as he died, and rose again for us; so should we who are baptized, die from sin, and rise again unto righteousness, continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living.

Then shall the Priest speak unto the Godfathers and Godmothers on this wise.

Dearly beloved, ye have brought this child here to be baptized: ye have prayed that our Lord Jesus Christ would vouchsafe to receive him, to release him

of his sins, to sanctify him with the Holy Ghost, to give him the kingdom of heaven, and everlasting life. Ye have heard also that our Lord Jesus Christ hath promised in his Gospel to grant all these things that ye have prayed for: which promise he for his part will most surely keep and perform. Wherefore after this promise made by Christ, This Infant must also faithfully, for his part, promised by you that are his Sureties (until he come of age to take it himself) that he will renounce the devil and all his works, and constantly believe God's holy Word, and obediently keep his commandments, I demand therefore, DOST thou, in the Name of this Child, renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow, nor be led by them?
Answ. *I renounce them all.*

Forasmuch as this Child hath promised by you his sureties to renounce the devil and all his works, to believe in God, and to serve him; ye must remember that it is your parts and duties to see that this Infant be taught, so soon as he shall be able to learn, what a solemn vow, promise, and profession he hath here made by you. And that he may know these things the better, ye shall call upon him to hear Sermons, and chiefly ye shall provide that he may learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue, and all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health; and that this Child may be virtuously brought up to lead a godly and a Christian life; remembering always that Baptism doth represent unto

us our profession, which is to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto him; that as he died, and rose again for us; so should we who are baptized, die from sin, and rise again unto righteousness, continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living.

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**The Form of Solemnization of
MATRIMONY.**

AT the day and time appointed for solemnization of Matrimony, the Persons to be married shall come into the body of the Church with their Friends and Neighbours: and there standing together, the Man on the right hand, and the Woman on the left, the Priest shall say,

Dearly beloved, we are gathered together here in the sight of God, and in the face of this congregation, to join together this man and this woman in holy Matrimony; which is an honourable estate, instituted of God in the time of man's innocency, signifying unto us the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and his Church; which holy estate Christ adorned and beautified with his presence, and first miracle that he wrought in Cana of Galilee, and is commended of Saint Paul to be honourable among all men; and therefore is not by any to be enterprised, not taken in hand unadvisedly, lightly, or wantonly, to satisfy men's carnal lusts and appetites, like brute beasts that have no understanding; but reverently, discreetly, advisedly,

soberly, and in the fear of God, duly considering the causes for which Matrimony was ordained.

First, it was ordained for the procreation of children, to be brought up in the fear and nurture of the Lord, and to the praise of his holy Name.

Secondly, it was ordained for a remedy against sin, and to avoid fornication, that such persons as have not the gift of continency, might marry and keep themselves undefiled members of Christ's body.

Thirdly, it was ordained for the mutual society, help, and comfort that the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity:

Into which holy estate these two persons present come now to be joined. Therefore if any man can shew any just cause why they may not lawfully be joined together, let him now speak, or else hereafter for ever hold his peace. ALL ye that are married, or that intend to take the holy estate of Matrimony upon you, hear what the holy Scripture doth say as touching the duty of husbands towards their wives, and wives towards their husbands.

St. Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians, the fifth Chapter, doth give this commandment, to all married men; Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water, by the Word; that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish. So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife, loveth himself. For no man ever yet hated his own flesh: but nourisheth and cherisheth

it, even as the Lord the Church; for we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and the two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery: but I speak, concerning Christ and the Church.

Nevertheless, let every one of you in particular so love his wife, even as himself.

Likewise the same St. Paul, writing to the Colossians, speaketh thus to all men that are married; Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter against them.

Hear also what Saint Peter the Apostle of Christ, who was himself a married man, saith unto them that are married; Ye husbands, dwell with your wives according to knowledge, giving honour unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel, and as being heirs together of the grace of life; that your prayers be not hindered. Hitherto ye have heard the duty of the husband towards the wife. Now likewise, ye wives, hear and learn your duties towards you husbands, even as it is plainly set forth in holy Scripture.

Saint Paul, in the aforementioned Epistle to the Ephesians, teacheth you thus; Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church: and he is the Saviour of the body. Therefore as the Church is subject unto Christ; so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing. And again he saith, Let the wife see that she reverence her husband.

And in his Epistle to the Colossians, Saint Paul giveth you this short lesson; Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord.

Saint Paul also doth instruct you very well, thus saying; Ye wives, be in

subjection to your own husbands; that if any obey not the word, they also may without the word be won by the conversation of the wives; while they behold your chaste conversion coupled with fear. Whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price. For after this manner in the old time the holy women also who trusted in God adorned themselves, being in subjection unto their own husbands; even as Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him lord: whose daughters ye are as long as ye do well, and are not afraid with any amazement.

***It is convenient that the new married Persons should receive the holy Communion at the time of their Marriage, or at the first opportunity after their Marriage.*

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The ORDER for the VISITATION of the Sick

When any person is sick, notice shall be given thereof to the Minister of the Parish; who coming into the sick person's house, shall say,
Peace be to this house, and to all that dwell in it.

When he cometh into the sick person's presence, he shall say, kneeling down,
Remember not, Lord, our iniquities, nor the iniquities of our forefathers; Spare us, good Lord, spare thy people, whom thou

hast redeemed with thy most precious blood, and be not angry with us for ever.
Answ. *Spare us, good Lord.*

The Communion of the Sick.

The Collect.

Almighty everliving God, maker of mankind, who dost correct those whom thou dost love, and chastise every one whom thou dost receive; We beseech thee to have mercy upon this thy servant visited with thine hand, and to grant that he may take his sickness patiently, and recover his bodily health, if it be thy gracious will; and whensoever his soul shall depart from the body, it may be without spot presented unto thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Visitation of the Sick

Then shall the Minister exhort the sick Person after this form, or other like.

Dearly beloved, know this, that Almighty God is the Lord of life and death, and of all things to them pertaining, as youth, strength, health, age, weakness, and sickness. Wherefore, whatsoever your sickness is, know you certainly, that it is God's visitation. And for what cause soever this sickness is sent unto you, whether it be to try your patience for the example of others, and that your faith may be found in the day of the Lord, laudable, glorious, and honourable, to the increase of glory and endless felicity; or else it be sent unto you to correct and amend in you whatsoever doth offend the eyes of your heavenly Father; know you certainly, that if you truly repent you of your sins, and bear your sickness patiently, trusting in God's mercy, for his dear Son Jesus Christ's sake, and render

unto him humble thanks for his fatherly visitation, submitting yourself wholly unto his will, it shall turn to your profit, and help you forward in the right way that leadeth unto everlasting life.

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**The ORDER for the BURIAL
of the DEAD**

Here is to be noted, that the Office ensuing is not to be used for any that die unbaptized, or excommunicate, or have laid violent hands upon themselves.

The Priests and Clerks meeting the Corps at the entrance of the Church-yard, and going before it, either into the Church, or towards the grave, shall say, or sing,

When they come to the Grave, while the Corps is made ready to be laid into the earth, the Priest shall say, or the Priest and Clerks shall sing:

MAN that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery. He cometh up, and is cut down like a flower; he fleeth as it were a shadow, and never continueth in one day.

In the midst of life we are in death; of whom may we seek for succour, but of thee, O Lord, who for our sins are justly displeased?

Yet, O Lord God most holy, O Lord most mighty, O holy and most merciful Saviour, deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death.

Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts: shut not thy merciful ears to our prayers; but spare us, Lord, most holy, O god most mighty, O holy and merciful Saviour, thou most worthy Judge

eternal, suffer us not at our last hour for any pains of death to fall from thee.

Then while the earth shall be cast upon the Body by some standing by, the Priest shall say,

Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed, we therefore commit his body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ; who shall change our vile body, that it may be like unto his glorious body, according to the mighty working, whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself.

**The Restoration of the Royal Family
In the Communion Service,
immediately before the reading of the
Epistle, shall these two Collects be
used, instead of the Collect for the
King, and the Collect of the Day.**

O Almighty God, who are a strong tower of defence unto thy servants against the face of their enemies; We yield thee praise and thanksgiving for the wonderful Deliverance of these Kingdoms from THE GREAT REBELLION, and all the miseries and oppressions consequent thereupon, under which they had so long groaned. We acknowledge it thy goodness, that we were not utterly delivered over as a prey unto them: beseeching thee still to continue such thy mercies towards us, that all the world may know, that thou art our Saviour and mighty Deliverer, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.



servant now set over us, and to his heirs after him: whom we beseech thee to bless with all increase of grace, honour and happiness in this world, and to crown him with immortality and glory in the world to come, for Jesus Christ his sake, our only Lord and Saviour. Amen.

Lord God of our salvation who hast been exceedingly gracious unto this land, and by thy miraculous providence didst deliver us out of our miserable confusions, by restoring to us, and to his own just and undoubted rights, our then most gracious Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second, notwithstanding all the power and malice of his enemies, and by placing him on the throne of these Kingdoms, didst restore also unto us the publick and free profession of thy true Religion and Worship, together with our former Peace and Prosperity, to the great comfort and joy of our hearts: We are here now before thee, with all due thankfulness to acknowledge thine unspeakable goodness herein, as upon this day shewed unto us, and to offer unto thee our sacrifice of praise for the same; humbly beseeching thee to accept this our unfeigned, though unworthy oblation of ourselves; vowing all holy obedience in thought, word, and work, unto thy Divine Majesty; and promising all loyal and dutiful Allegiance to thine anointed

Hugh Jones (1692-1760) was a mathematics professor at the College of William and Mary. He arrived in Virginia in 1716 shortly after receiving a master's degree from Oxford. In addition to his professorship, Jones was appointed to serve both as chaplain to the General Assembly and as minister at Jamestown. His writings, especially *The Present State of Virginia*, 1724, are invaluable references to the natural, physical, intellectual, and emotional world of colonial Virginia.

**THE CHURCH AND RELIGION
SECT. XI**

Concerning the Church and Religion

The Inhabitants do generally profess to be of the Church of England, which accordingly is the Religion and Church by Law establish'd. The Number of Dissenters in that Country are very inconsiderable, there not being so many of any Sort as to set up a Meeting-House, except three or four Meetings of Quakers, and one of Presbyterians.

The Country is divided into Fifty Parishes, in most of which there are two, sometimes three Churches and Chappels, yet some of these Parishes are exceeding small, in Proportion to the rest, so that they are not able to maintain a Minister: The Reason whereof was, that these Parishes were in the most fertile and lovely Spots of Ground, where the first English Inhabitants did chiefly settle; and it is very likely, when the Division of the Parishes was made, it was thought Towns would be built in those Places, and therefore they assign'd them but a small Compass of Country. But this Design miscarrying, it is great Pity that there is not a more convenient Division of the Parishes order'd.

As to the Government of the Church, from the first Settlement that whole Matter, as all Things else, was put into the Hands of the Governor. By the Laws of the Country, the Ministers were oblig'd to produce their Orders to him, and to shew that they had Episcopal Ordination.

In every Parish, by the Law of that Country, there is a Vestry consisting of twelve Men, chosen at first by all the Masters of Families in the Parish. They have a Power to continue themselves, for as one dyes or removes out of the Parish, the remaining Vestry-men chuse another in his room. Those Vestry-men lay the Parish Levy, and manage all other parochial Matters. The Power of presenting Ministers is in them by the Law of that Country; But the Law in this Point is little taken Notice of, by reason of a contrary Custom of making annual Agreements with the Ministers, which they call by a Name coarse enough, viz. Hiring of the Ministers; so that they seldom present any Ministers, that they may by that Means keep them in more Subjection and Dependence. This Custom has had a great many bad Consequences. No good Minister that were inform'd of it would come into the Country, and if they came, ignorant of any such

Custom, they quickly felt the Effects of it in the high Hand wherewith most Vestries manag'd their Power, and got out of the Country again as soon as they could. The Mansion-Houses, if there were any, went to Decay, the Minister holding the Living so precariously, that it could not be expected he would bestow much on Reparation; and very often the Glebe was not in his Hand. He stood likewise on so precarious Terms, that he must have a special Care how he preach'd against the Vices that any great Man of the Vestry was guilty of; for if he did, he might expect a Faction would be made in the Vestry, to be against renewing the Agreement with him for another Year. In short, several Ministers were turn'd out by the Vestries, without any Crime proved, or so much as alledg'd against them. And this is their Case at this Day: They are only in the nature of Chaplains, and hold their Livings by annual Agreements with the Vestries; at the Expiration of which Agreement, the Minister is dismiss'd or retain'd again at the Vestries Pleasure. By reason of these their precarious Circumstances, it comes to pass that the Country is very badly provided with Ministers, there not being at present above half so many Ministers as there are Parishes. The Governor connives at this, and tho' he is Ordinary, yet never presents jure devolato; so that really many Parishes chuse to be without a Minister, for by that Means they save all the Minister's Dues in their own Pockets.

The yearly Salary of the Minister, establish'd by Law, is 16000 Pounds of Tobacco, without Cask. This tobacco is levy'd by the Vestry on the Parish, according to the Number of Tythables, and collected by the Church Wardens with the rest of the Parish Levy; They have 5 per Cent. For their Pains.

King Charles II Gave the Bishop of London Jurisdiction over all the Churches in the English Plantations, except as to three Things, viz. Licenses of Marriages, Probates of Wills, and Inductions of Ministers, which he reserved to the several Governors.

In Virginia the Lord Bishop of London deutes a Commissary for this Part of his Jurisdiction, whose Business is to make Visitations of Churches, and to take the Inspection of the Clergy. The present Commissary is Mr. James Blair, he hath no Salary nor Perquisites, but the King makes it up by his Royal Bounty, having been graciously pleas'd for two Years, to order him 100/. A Year, out of the Quit-Rents of Virginia, which we suppose his Majesty intends to continue.

Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia From Whence Is Inferred A Short View of Maryland and North Carolina, edited with an introduction by Richard L. Morton. The Virginia Historical Society by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC, 1956.

**ROYAL INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING RELIGION
ADDRESSED TO GOVERNORS AND LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS OF VIRGINIA**

With the governor's royal commission came a set of instructions relating to his duties. They dealt with everything from vacancies on the Council to command of military forces. A number of those instructions spelled out gubernatorial duties with regard to the established church in the colony. In the absence of an Anglican bishop in Virginia, the governor (or lieutenant governor) was the head of the Church of England in the colony. In the example below, eleven of Gooch's 127 instructions had to do with the religious life of the colony. So, on paper at least, Virginia governors had broad oversight of the church. Almost from the beginning, though, vestries in the parishes displayed an independence uncharacteristic of Anglican parishes in England. For instance, vestries were supposed to present the minister of their choice to the governor for "induction" within a specified period of time after a vacancy occurred. This meant the minister had the appointment for life. Vestries more often than not simply ignored this dictum, preferring to keep their ministers on contract for specified lengths of time. That way, they could dismiss ministers who proved unsuitable.

Freeing Religion Team

Lt. Gov. William Gooch's Instructions

You are to permit a Liberty of Conscience to all persons (except Papists) so they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving Offence or Scandal to the Government.

You shall take especial care that God Almighty be devoutly & duly Serv'd throughout your Government; The Book of Common Prayer as by Law Established, read each Sunday & Holiday, and the blessed Sacrament Administered according to the rites of the Church of England.

You shall be carefull that the Churches already built there, be well and orderly kept, and that more be built as that Colony shall by God's blessing be Improv'd, and that besides a competent Maintenance to be assigned to the Minister of each Orthodox Church, a Convenient House be built as the common charge for each Minister, and a Competent portion of Land assigned him for a Glebe and exercise of his Industry.

And you are to take care, that the Parishes be so limited and Settled as you shall find most convenient for the accomplishing this good work.

You are not to prefer any Minister to any Ecclesiastical Benefice in that Our Colony, without a Certificate from the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London, of his being conformable to the Doctrine & Discipline of the Church of England and of a good Life and conversation, and if any person already prefer'd to Benefice shall appear

to you to give Scandal, either by his Doctrine or Manners, you are to use the best means for the removal of him.

You are to give Order forthwith (if the same be not already) that every Orthodox Minister within Your Gov^{mt}: be one of the Vestry in his respective Parish, and that no Vestry be held without him, except in case of Sickness, or that after notice of a Vestry Summond, he omit to come.

You are to enquire whether there be any Minister within Your Government, who Preaches & Administers the Sacraments in any Orthodox Church or Chappel without being in due Orders, and to give an Account thereof to the Lord Bishop of London.

And to the end that the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Lord Bishop of London may take place in that Our Colony, so far as conveniently may be, We do think fit that you do give all Countenance and Encouragement to the Exercise of the same, excepting only the Collating to Benefices, Granting Licences for Marriages & Probate of Wills, which We have reserv'd to you Our Gov^r: and to the Commander in Chief of Our said Colony for the time being.

And We do further direct that no Schoolmaster be henceforward permitted to come from this Kingdom, and to keep School in that our said Colony, without the Licence of the said Lord Bishop of London, and that no other person now there, or that shall come from other parts shall be admitted to keep School in Virginia, without your Licence first Obtain'd.

And you are to take especial care that a Table of Mariages, established by the Cannons of the Church of England, be hung up in every Orthodox Church, and duly observ'd, and you are to endeavour to get a Law passed in the Assembly of that Colony (if not already done) for the strict observation of the said Table.

The Right Rever^d: Father in God Edm^d: Lord Bishop of London having presented a Petition to his late Majesty, humbly beseeching him to send Instructions to the Gov^r: of all the sev^l: Plantations in America, that they cause all Laws already made against Blasphemy, Polygamy, Incest, Prophanation of the Lord's Day, Swearing & Drunkenness in their respective Governments, to be vigourously executed; and We thinking it highly just that all persons who shall Offend in any of the particulars aforesaid should be prosecuted and punished for their said Offences; It is therefore Our Will and Pleasure that you take due care for the Punishment of the foremention'd Vices, and that you earnestly recommend to the Assembly of Virginia to provide effectual Laws for the restraint and Punishment of all such of the aforemention'd Vices against which no Laws are as yet provided: And also you are to use your Endeavors to render the Laws in being more effect by providing for the punishment of the aforemention'd Vices, by presentment upon Oath be made to the Temporal Courts by the Churchwardens of the several Parishes at proper times of the Year, to be appointed for that purpose. And for

the further Discouragement of Vice and encouragement of Virtue and good living, that by such Example the infidels may be invited & perswaded to Embrace the Christian Religion, You are not to admit any person to publick Trusts and Employments in the Colony under your Government, whose ill Fame and Conversation may Occasion Scandal; And it is Our further Will & Pleasure that you recommend to the Assembly to enter upon proper methods for the erecting and maintaining of Schools, in order to the training up of Youth to reading, and to a necessary knowledge of the Principles of Religion; And you are also, with the Assistance of the Council & Assembly, to find out the best Means to facilitate and encourage the Conversion of Negroes & Indians to the Christian Religion.

You shall send to Us and to Our Commiss^{rs}: for Trade & Plantations, by the first conveyance, An Account of the present Number of Planters & Inhabitants Men, women and Children, as well Masters and Servants free and unfree, and of the slaves in Our said Colony, and also a Yearly Account of the Increase or decrease of them, and how many of them are fit to bear Arms in the Militia of Our said Colony.

You shall also cause An Exact Account to be kept of all Persons born Christians and Buried, and send Yearly fair Abstracts thereof to Us and to Our Commiss^{rs}: for Trade & Plantations, as aforesaid.

Public Record Office (London) Colonial Papers PRO CO 5/1365. CW microfilm reel M-230, pp. 385-433.

Bishops of London, Commissaries of the Bishops of London, Presidents of the College of William and Mary, and Rectors of Bruton Parish Church, 1689-1781

<u>Bishop of London</u>	<u>Commissary</u>	<u>President W&M</u>	<u>Rector BP</u>
Henry Compton (1675-1713)	James Blair (1689-1743) [C]	James Blair (1693-1743)	Samuel Eburne (1688-1697)
			Cope Doyley (1697-1702)
			Soloman Wheatley (1702-1710)
John Robinson (1713-1723)			James Blair (1710-1743)
Edmund Gibson (1723-1748)			
Thomas Sherlock (1748-1761)	William Dawson (1743-1752) [C]	William Dawson (1743-1752)	Thomas Dawson (1743-1760)
		[brothers]	
		William Stith (1752-1755)	
	Thomas Dawson (1752-1760) [C]	Thomas Dawson (1755-1760)	
Thomas Hayter (1761-1762)	William Robinson (1761-1768)	William Yates (1761-1764)	William Yates (1761-1764)
Richard Osbaldeston (1762-1764)			
Richard Terrick (1764-1777)			
	James Horrocks (1768-1772) [C]	James Horrocks (1764-1772)	James Horrocks (1764-1772)
	John Camm* (1772-1776) [C]	John Camm (1772-1777)	Josiah Johnson (1772-1773)
Robert Lowth (1777-1787)	-----	James Madison (1777-1812)	John Bracken (1773-1818)

*John Camm was rector of Yorkhampton Parish, 1749-1779
[C] Commissaries appointed to the governor's Council

**PAROCHIAL REPORT MADE BY COMMISSARY JAMES BLAIR
TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON**

In 1724 the Bishop of London sent a questionnaire to the Anglican ministers of Virginia, requesting information on church activities in their parishes. The questions and answers give us interesting insight into Anglican practices at the local level. An original copy of the questionnaire with Blair's handwritten answers can be seen on microfilm (reel M-286) in the Foundation Library.

BRUTON PARISH Alias Called WILLIAMSBURGH

1724, July 15

How long is it since you went over to the Plantations as a Missionary?

I came to Virginia Dom. 1685.

Have you had any other Church, before you came to that which you now possess; and if you had, what Church was it, and how long have you been removed?

I was first Minister of Henrico which being 50 miles distant from the College. I left it in 1694 to attend the College: then I was Minister of James Town and adjacent parish till 1710. The Church is 8 miles distant. Since 1710 I have been Minister only of this parish where the College now stands.

Have you been duly Licensed by the Bishop of London to officiate as a Missionary, in the Government where you now are?

I was duly licensed by Bishop Compton.

How long have you been Inducted into your Living?

I have had this living 13 years but without induction.

Are you ordinarily resident in the Parish to which you have been Inducted?

I am constantly resident in this Parish.

Of what extent is your Parish, and how many Families are there in it?

The parish is about 10 miles square, about 110 families.

Are there any Infidels, bond or free, within your Parish; and what means are used for their conversion?

No infidels, but slaves. I encourage the baptising and catechising of such of them as understand English, and exhort their Masters to bring them to Church and baptise the infant slaves when the Master or mistress become sureties.

How oft is Divine Service performed in your Church? And what proportion of the Parishioners attend?

I have divine service and sermon every Sunday morning as also on Christmas day, Good Friday, Assention day and the 30th of January and read prayers every Wednesday and Friday in Lent. On Sunday morning we have full congregations. We have likewise prayers and a Lecture every Sunday afternoon by Mr. Le Neve. This Lecture is encouraged by a voluntary subscription of about 25 £ per annum. Not well attended, the inhabitants being at such a distance that the Country people can't conveniently return.

How oft is the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered? And what is the usual number of Communicants?

I administer the Sacrament 4 times in the year, viz; at Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday and the nearest Sunday to Michaelmas. There are about 50 Communicants.

At what time do you Catechise the Youth of your Parish?

Every Sunday in Lent, after the first service.

Are all things duly disposed and provided in the Church, for the decent and orderly performance of Divine Service?

Yes. We have a great Bible, 2 Common prayer Books, the Homilies, Canons, pulpit Cloth, altar and altar piece, Font, Cushion, Surplice, Bell and etc.

Of what value is your Living in sterling money, and how does it arise?

I think it is about £100 sterling. It arises by 16,000 lbs Sweet Scented tobacco and a few perquisites, viz: Marriages, by Banns 5s, by Licence 20s, and funeral sermons 40s.

Have you a House and Glebe? Is your Glebe in Lease, or Let by the Year? Or Is it occupied by yourself?

I have a glebe of about 300 acres of land; no dwelling house (I live in a house of my own by the College.) The Glebe is occupied by myself.

Is due care taken to preserve your House in good repair? And at whose expense is it done?

There is no dwelling house. I doubt not the parish will build one when they come to have a minister that wants one, and will keep it in repair.

Have you in your Parish any public School for the instruction of Youth? If you have, is it endowed? And who is the Master?

No public parish school. Little Schools where they teach to read and write and arithmetic are set up, wherever there happens to be a convenient number of Scholars. Of these I have four in my parish. A public Grammar School is kept here at the College and a school for teaching Indian Boys endowed by Esq^{re} Boyle.

Have you a Parochial Library? If you have, are the Books preserved and kept in good condition? Have you any particular rules and orders for the preserving of them? Are those rules and orders duly observed.

We have not, nor ever had any parochial Library. The College has a small Library. The Key is kept by one of the Masters.

*Your Lordships most obedient Servant,
James Blair,
Minister of Williamsburgh.*

Williamsburgh, July 15, 1724

Source: William Stevens Perry, Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, (reprint, New York, 1969), pp. 257-260.

* * *

BRUTON PARISH VESTRY 1770

Based on information in the York County Project files, it is possible to reconstruct most of the Bruton Parish vestry at about 1770. Keep in mind that the bounds of Bruton Parish included all of Williamsburg and parts of rural York and James City counties. Since twelve men comprised a regulation vestry, it appears that the York County project captured nine of the twelve. Joseph Hornsby, a Williamsburg merchant and vestry member by 1773 and Matthew Moody, vestry clerk by 1773, are other possibilities. Or perhaps additional rural parish residents filled the missing seats on the vestry.

The task of identifying Bruton vestrymen in any given year is a bit trickier than it at first appears because only a few excerpts from the minutes of the Bruton vestry meetings survive. These excerpts contain names of some vestry members and there are scattered references in other sources. Of course, names such as Robert Carter Nicholas and John Blair are no surprise, but planters from rural areas of Bruton Parish such as Frederick Bryan and William Graves are less familiar.

Once elected, vestrymen usually served for life. Peyton Randolph, however, was a Bruton vestryman in the late 1740s but does not appear to have been a member in the 1770s. John Blair, Lewis Burwell, and Benjamin Waller had been Bruton Vestrymen for at least thirty years by 1770; Thomas Everard and Robert Carter Nicholas for at least sixteen years. The following were on the vestry about 1770:

James Horrocks, rector	John Blair (Williamsburg)
Frederick Bryan (rural, York County near Williamsburg)	Lewis Burwell (rural, James City County)
Thomas Everard (Williamsburg)	William Graves (rural, York County)
Robert Carter Nicholas (Williamsburg)	John Prentis (Williamsburg)
Benjamin Waller (Williamsburg)	George Wythe (Williamsburg)

* * *

SAMPLE VESTRY BOOK ENTRIES

Because Bruton vestry books (meeting minutes) for the colonial period do not survive, the attached pages for the October 23, 1770 vestry meeting for nearby Blisland Parish (New Kent and James City counties) serve to illustrate a variety of parish concerns and business. Vestries usually met once a year in October or November unless urgent matters warranted another meeting.

The Blisland vestry first proceeded “to lay the Parish Levy,” that is, to apportion the yearly parish expenses based on the number of tithables in the parish. The minister’s salary came first for which each tithable was charged 16½ pounds of tobacco (recall that ministerial salaries were set by law at 16,000 pounds of tobacco per annum). From there the vestry moved on to enumerate such expenses as charges for lay readers (“clark”), payments to the sexton who had washed surplices (part of the minister’s vestments), and charges from churchwardens who had made arrangements for communion services. Then came disbursements to churchwardens who saw to the needs of the widowed or orphaned poor, the sick, and the elderly of the parish unable to provide for themselves. Payments were also made to individual parishioners who agreed to take disadvantaged persons into their homes. Two shillings, five pence (2s. 5d.) was charged against each tithable in the parish to cover all these expenses.

The size of the parish tax depended upon the parish expenses for the year. For instance, a new church building or extensive repairs could drive the charges up. In this 1770 Blisland Parish example, the levy came to little over five shillings current money (16 ½ lbs tob. for the minister’s salary equalled approximately 2s. 9d. plus 2s. 5d. for other expenses for a total of about 5s. 2d.) charged against each tithable. Recall that if there were a number of tithables in a household (black and white males aged 16 and over; black females over the age of 16), the household head paid the parish tax for all of them. For this year in Blisland, a free household with white husband and wife, seventeen-year-old son, one white male adult servant, two adult slaves and three slave children would have paid 5 x 5s. 2d. for a total of £1-5-10 current money for the year.

One further note about tithables. Justices of the county courts were appointed tithetakers responsible for preparing accurate lists of tithables in each precinct (Upper Bruton, Lower Bruton, for instance). In June of the year, tithetakers announced when and where heads of households were to deliver their list of tithables. Tithetakers then turned over their collected lists on a specified day, usually in August, to the county clerk who posted the lists for all to see so that inaccuracies could be corrected. Corrected lists were then used to assess parish, county, and colony taxes. Note in the Blisland register attached that the parish had purchased copies of the list of tithables (“tithes”) from county officials.

**Excerpts from
THE VESTRY BOOK
of
BLISLAND (BLISSLAND) PARISH**

**New Kent and James City Counties, Virginia
1721-1786**

	£	S.	d.
<i>To Dudley Williams, Clark of the upper Church & Vestry</i>	15	---	---
<i>To Cap^t Richardson Henley, Clark of the lower Church</i>	10	---	---
<i>To John Yates, Sexton at the upper Church, & for washing the Surplice</i>	5	---	---
<i>To Richard Linsey, Sexton at the lower Church, & for washing the Surplice</i>	5	---	---
<i>To Maj^r William Armistead Ch. Warden, for four Commun^s. for the upper Church</i>	5	---	---
<i>To Cap^t Richardson Henley, Ch. Warden, for four Commun^s. for the lower Church</i>	5	---	---
<i>To M^r Ben Waller, for a Copy of the List of Tithes</i>	-	3	---
<i>To Maj^r William Clayton, for two Copies of the List of Tithes</i>	-	6	---
<i>To the Church Wardens, for Sarah Valentine</i>	8	6	8
<i>To Jeremiah Martin, for keeping James Garland, & Richard Jeffers</i>	7	1	8
<i>To Cap^t William Richardson, for 5 Bar^s. Corn at 15/ for Mary Banks</i>	3	15	-
<i>To Sarah Laffoon, for keeping Mary M^cCormick</i>	5	---	-
<i>To Jeremiah Martin his Acco^t. For Sund^s. for Mary Banks</i>	-	8	---
<i>To William Jones, for keeping Lucy Tyree</i>	5	---	---
<i>To Martha Bush, for keeping Tho^s. Linsey</i>	5	---	---
<i>To Moses Sweny, for keeping John Goodin, & Susanna Sander's Child</i>	5	---	---
<i>To Cap^t Richardson Henley, for 30^{lb}. Bacon at 7^d. for Keziah Allen, & Eliz^a. Cumbo</i>	-	17	6

Faith Transported

To Charles Hankin, for 10 Bar ^s . Corn at 12/6 for Eliz ^a . Lively	6 5 ---
To the Church Wardens, to Settle and to pay Doct ^r . William Pasteur's Acco ^t . For Thomas M'gary and Keziah Allen	<u>12 12 6</u>

1770 October 23^d. Blisland Parish Deb^t.

To Ann Taylor, for the Support of her Son John Taylor	4 3 4
To Mary Jones, for keeping Keziah Allen 19 days in her sickness at 20/ per month	- 13 7
To John Thomas Constable one Levy paid William Smith wrong listed in 1767 31 ^{lb} . Tob ^o .	- 5 2
To Bartlet Williams Collector, bal ^a . of his Acco ^t .	7 5 10¼
To the Church Wardens, for repairs to be made on the Glebe	<u>10 -- -</u>

To 6 P Cent. For Collecting £127 3 3¼	127 3 3¼
	<u>7 12 7</u>
	134 15 10¼
Deposited in the Collector's hands	<u>1 1¾</u>
	<u>£134 17 -</u>

Blisland Parish	Cred ^t	
By 1116 Tithes at 2 ^s 5 ^d P Poll		£134 17 -

C.G. Chamberlayne, translator and editor, The Vestry Book of Blisland (Blissand) Parish, New Kent and James City Counties, Virginia, 1721-1786. Published by The Library Board, Richmond, 1935, pp. 182-185.



Hickory Neck Episcopal Church, Toano, Va..

RELIGIOUS LAWS—EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

October 1705

An act concerning Marriages

BE it enacted, by the Governor, Council, and Burgesses of this present general assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same, That no minister or ministers shall celebrate the rights of matrimony between any persons, or join them together as man and wife, without lawful license, or thrice publication of the banns according as the rubric in the common prayer book prescribes, which enjoins, that if the persons to be married, dwell in several parishes, the banns shall be published in both parishes; and that the curate of the one parish shall not solemnize the matrimony until he have a certificate from the curate of the other parish, that the banns have been thrice published, and no objection made against the parties joining together: And if any minister or ministers shall, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, celebrate the rites of matrimony between any persons, or otherwise join them in marriage, he or they so offending, shall, for every such offence, be imprisoned without bail or mainprize, by the space of one whole year; and also shall forfeit and pay five hundred pounds current money of Virginia: and if any minister, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, shall go out of this her majesty's colony and dominion, and there join together in matrimony, any person or persons belonging to this country, without such license or publication of banns, as is there in prescribed, every minister so offending, shall incur the same penalties and forfeitures, as if the same had been done in this colony.

Provided always, and be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That where any parish or parishes have not a minister, it shall and may be lawful for the clerk or reader to publish the banns of matrimony between any persons desiring the same; and if no objection be made, to grant a certificate thereof, and such certificate shall be as sufficient for any minister to solemnize the rites of matrimony, as if the same had been signed, according to the directions herein before mentioned.

And be it also enacted, That if any minister, clerk or reader, shall grant a false certificate, he shall suffer one year's imprisonment, without bail or mainprize, and be fined five hundred pounds sterling, and shall also be liable to further punishment, as in case of forgery: And all such offences may be prosecuted, tried, and determined, in any court of record in this colony; which courts are hereby impowered to hold cognizance thereof, and to hear and determine the same, according to the course of common law; and upon conviction of the party accused, by confession, verdict, or otherwise, to award execution, and inflict the penalties provided by this act for the same: And in such case, the said offence may be alleged and laid in any county within this colony.

And be it also enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted, That all licences for marriage, shall be issued by the clerk of the court of that county where the feme shall have her usual residence, and by him only, and in such manner, and under such

rules and directions as are herein mentioned and set down; (that is to say,) he shall take bond to our sovereign lady the Queen, her heirs and Successors with good surety, in the penalty of fifty pounds current money of Virginia, under the condition, that there is no lawful cause to obstruct the marriage, for which the licence shall be desired; and each clerk failing herein, shall forfeit and pay fifty pounds current money of Virginia: And if either of the persons intended to be married, shall be under the age of one and twenty years, and not theretofore married, the consent of the parent or guardian of every such person under the age of one and twenty years, shall be personally given before the said clerk, or signified under the hands and seal of the said parent or guardian, and attested by two witnesses: All which being done, the clerk shall write the licence, and shall certify specially the said bond: And if the persons, in the licence, or either of them, be under the age of one and twenty years, as aforesaid, he shall also certify the consent of the parent or guardian of such so under age, and the manner thereof, to the first justice in commission of the peace for that county, or to such other person as shall be thereto commissioned by the governor of this her majesty's colony and dominion, or commander in chief thereof, for the time being; which premises being performed, the said justice of the peace, or other person commissioned as aforesaid, is hereby authorized, impowered, and required to sign and direct the said license: And a licence so obtained and signed, and no other whatsoever, is hereby declared to be a lawful licence, according to the true intent and meaning of this Act: and if any county court clerk shall, in any other manner, issue any licence of marriage, or contrary to this act, make certificate for any licence of marriage; and if any person whatsoever shall sign or direct a license of marriage, in any other manner, than is by this act permitted and allowed, or without such certificate from the county clerk as is by this act prescribed, all and every person or persons so offending, shall be imprisoned without bail or mainprise, by the space of one whole year; and moreover, shall forfeit and pay five hundred pounds current money of Virginia.

And be it also enacted, by the authority aforesaid, and it is hereby enacted, That if any woman-kind, or maiden, of the age of twelve years or upwards, and under the age of sixteen years, shall contrary to the will or consent of her parent or guardian and without publication of the banns, as aforesaid, consent and agree in her marriage with any person whatsoever, that then the next of kin to such woman-kind, or maiden, to whom the inheritance should descent or come, have right to enter upon and take possession of all the lands, tenements, hereditaments, and all other real estate whatsoever, which the said woman-kind, or maiden, at the time of her said marriage and agreement, had in possession, reversion, or remainder; and have, hold, occupy, and enjoy the same, to him, and the representatives of his stock, with all the immunities and privileges thereto belonging, during the coverture: And that after the determination thereof, the said lands, tenements, hereditaments, and other real estate, and also the possessions, reversions, and remainders thereupon, with all the rights, immunities, and privileges thereto belonging, shall then immediately vest, remain and be in the said woman so agreed and married, as aforesaid, and her heirs, or such person or persons as should have enjoyed the same, if this act had never been made, other than the person with whom she shall so consent in

marriage; with power to them, and every of them, to re-enter and take possession of the same; any thing herein contained, to the contrary, thereof, in any-wise, notwithstanding.
Hening, Statutes, Vol. 3, pp. 441-444.

* * *

October 1705

An Act Concerning Servants and Slaves

And be it further enacted, That no minister of the church of England, or other minister, or person whatsoever, within this colony and dominion, shall hereafter wittingly presume to marry a white man with a negro or mulatto woman; or to marry a white woman with a negro or mulatto man, upon pain of forfeiting and paying, for every such marriage the sum of ten thousand pounds of tobacco; one half to our sovereign lady the Queen, her heirs and successors, for and towards the support of the government, and the contingent charges thereof; and the other half to the informer; To be recovered, with costs, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, in any court of record within this her majesty's colony and dominion, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law, shall be allowed.

Hening, Statutes, Vol. 3, p. 454.

* * *

November 1713.

An Act for registering Births, Christnings, and Burials.

WHEREAS it is judged convenient, that an exact and regular account of all persons who shall be born, christned, or buried in this colony, should be kept, and an act made at a grand assembly, held at James City, the twenty third day of March, in the year one thousand six hundred sixty-two, requiring, among other things, registers of births and burials to be kept, hath for a long time been disused, and the method prescribed in the said act, hath not answered the end for which it was intended.

Be it therefore enacted, by the Lieut. Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same, That from and after the twentieth day of April, next after the end of this session of assembly the parents of every child which shall be born free, or one of them, and master, owner, or overseer of every child which shall be born a slave, shall within twenty days after the birth of such child or children, give notice in writing, of the birth of such child or children, together with the name of the parents of such free-born child, and the name of owner or master of such child born in slavery; and shall distinguish whether such child or children be male or female, to the minister of the parish where such child or children shall be born; and if there shall be no minister of the said parish, then, and in such case, the notice shall be given, as aforesaid, to the clerk of the said parish, or of the church or chappel nearest, to the place where such birth and births shall be: and if any parent of a child born free, or the master, owner, or overseer of any child which shall be born a slave, shall neglect or refuse to give such notice, within the time herein before limited for doing thereof, every parent, master, owner, and overseer, so neglecting or refusing, shall forfeit and pay two hundred pounds of tobacco for every offence.

And be it also enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the said twentieth day of April, the master or mistress of every family or house, where Any person, being free, shall die, and the master, owner, or overseer of any slave, who shall die, shall, within twenty days after the death of such free person or slave, give notice in writing of the death of such free person, and the christian and surname of such free person, and the death of such slave, and the name or names such slave was called by, together with the names of the master or owner of such slave, to the minister of the parish, where such free person or slave shall die; or if there shall happen to be no minister of the said parish, then the notice of such death shall be given, as aforesaid, to the clerk of the said parish, or to the clerk of the church or chapel nearest to the place, where such free person or slave shall die. And if any master or mistress of any house or family, where any free person shall die, or overseer of any slave dying, shall neglect or refuse to give notice of such death, within the time herein before for that purpose limited and appointed, every master and mistress of such house or family, and every master, owner, and overseer of such slave so dying, who shall neglect or refuse to give such notice, shall forfeit and pay two hundred pounds of tobacco for every offence.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the said twentieth day of April, the minister of every parish within this colony, shall keep a fair and exact register of all the births and deaths of the persons within his parish, of which notice shall have been given to him, according to the directions of this act; as also of all persons which shall be baptized by him: And the clerk of every parish church or chappel, whereof there shall be no minister, shall keep a fair and exact register of all the births and deaths of the persons within the parish or place whereof he shall be clerk, of which he shall have had notice, in manner as is above directed: In which said register shall be expressed and distinguished, the names of the persons which shall be born free, and of their parents, and the names of the persons which shall be baptised, and the names of the master or owner of the slaves which shall be born, and whether such slave be male or female; and also the names of all persons dying, together with the names of the master or owner of the persons dying in slavery; a fair and true copy of which register, signed by the minister or clerk keeping the same, shall, on the twentieth day of April, and in the twentieth day of October, in every year, by him be returned to the office of the secretary of this dominion: For the keeping and returning of which said register, as above directed, there shall be satisfied and paid to the minister or clerk respectively keeping the same, three pounds of tobacco for every person so registered: The fee for registering the births and christenings of all free persons, shall be paid by the parent of such child; and the fee for registering the births of all slaves shall be paid by the owner of such slave; and the fee for registering the death of all free persons, shall be paid by the person who shall give notice of such death; and the fee for registering the death of all slaves, shall be paid by the owner of such slaves: All which fees for registering, shall and are hereby declared to be distrainable. And if any minister or clerk shall neglect or refuse to keep or return such register, in manner before in this act appointed, every minister and clerks so refusing or neglecting to keep or return such

register, shall forfeit and pay two hundred pounds of tobacco for every month he shall refuse or neglect to keep or return the same.

Hening, Statutes, Vol. 4, pp. 42-44.

* * *

October 1748

An Act for setting the Titles and Bounds of Lands.

And for preventing controversies concerning the bounds of lands, Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That once in every four years the bounds of every persons land shall be processioned, or gone round, and the land marks renewed, in manner following, that is to say, the court of every county, at some court between the first day of June, and the first day of September, which shall be in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty one, and so between the first day of June, and the first day of September, in every fourth year thereafter, by order of court, shall direct the vestry of each parish within their county respectively, to divide their parishes into so many precincts, as to them shall seem Most convenient for processioning every particular person's land in their respective parishes, and to appoint the particular times, between the last day of September and the last day of March then next coming, when such processioning shall be made in every precinct; and also to appoint two or more intelligent honest freeholders of every precinct to see such processioning performed, and to take and return to the vestry an account of every persons land they shall procession, and of the persons present at the same, and what lands in their precincts they shall fail to procession, and the particular reasons for such failure: a copy of which order shall be delivered by the clerk of every court respectively, to the church wardens of every parish within his county, within fifteen days after the making thereof; and the church wardens shall cause a vestry to be summoned, to meet within one month after the receipt of such order, at which vestry the same shall be exactly punctually obeyed in every particular; and thereupon notice shall be given by the churchwardens, at their parish church, at least three Sundays next before the same is to be performed, of the persons and times so appointed by the vestry, for processioning in every several precinct, as aforesaid, and the vestry shall also cause the accounts returned by the freeholders, as aforesaid, to be registered in particular books to be kept for that purpose, by the clerk of the vestry; and to prevent mistakes or omissions in any such register, the churchwardens shall examine the same, in presence of the vestry, and compare the register with the original returns, at the next vestry that shall be held after such return made, from time to time, and shall certify the same under their hands in every register so by them examined and compared: And that no person may pretend ignorance, the vestries are also to direct what precinct or precincts in their parish respectively every particular freeholder thereof shall attend, and perform the processioning as aforesaid: And where any parish shall lie in several counties, the order of each county court shall be delivered, as aforesaid, to the churchwardens of such parish, and shall also be obeyed by the vestry in manner before directed: And if any county court shall, at any time hereafter, fail to make such order, as aforesaid, every justice of the peace of such county shall forfeit and pay one thousand pounds of tobacco; and if any vestry shall fail to obey and execute such order, every member of such vestry shall forfeit and pay two hundred pounds of tobacco, and every church warden failing in his duty by this act required, shall forfeit and pay five

hundred pounds of tobacco; and if any county clerk shall fail in his duty, as aforesaid, he shall forfeit and pay one thousand pounds of tobacco: One moiety of which several forfeitures shall be to our sovereign lord the king, his heirs and successors, for and towards the better support of this government and the contingent charges thereof, and the other moiety to the informer; to be recovered with costs, by action of debt or information in any court of record wherein such forfeiture shall be cognizable; and if any other person, not having lawful excuse, shall fail to perform his duty as is herein before required, every person so failing shall forfeit and pay five hundred pounds of tobacco; to be recovered with costs; by the churchwarden or churchwardens of the parish wherein such failure shall be, by action of debt or information, in any county court, and applied towards purchasing ornaments for the church of such parish.

Hening, Statutes, Vol. 5, pp. 426-428.

October 1748
An Act for the support of the Clergy; and,
for the regular collecting and paying
the parish levies.

BE it enacted, by the Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That every minister now preferred, or hereafter to be preferred to, or received into any parish within this dominion, shall have and receive an annual salary of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco, and cask, with an allowance of four per cent. for shrinkage, to be levied, assessed, collected and paid, in manner herein after directed.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the vestry of every parish within this dominion shall, and they are hereby authorised and required, at some convenient time, before the first day of December, in each year, to meet and lay the parish levy; whereof public notice shall be given by the minister or reader, at each church in the parish: And every vestry is hereby authorised and required to levy and asses, upon the tithable persons in their respective parishes, as well the minister's salary aforesaid, as all other the parish charges, and also the legal allowances for cask, where the tobacco due to any parish creditor shall be contracted for to be paid with cask, together with the allowance of six per centum for collecting the parish levy.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That where any parish is or shall become vacant, by the death or removal of their minister, the vestry of such parish shall have power to levy the salary aforesaid, or any part thereof, for satisfying some neighbouring or other minister, or ministers, for serving in the care of such parish during the vacancy.

And for the better collecting and paying the parish levies, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the vestry of every parish respectively shall be, and is hereby authorised and empowered, to nominate and appoint such person as they shall think fit, to collect and receive their parish levy, the person so appointed giving bond, with sufficient securities, that he will duly collect, pay, and satisfy, unto the several parish creditors, all tobacco for them levied: And

every such collector, for his trouble, shall have the allowance herein before appointed, and shall also have full power and authority, by virtue of this act, upon therewith, to distrain the slaves, goods, and chattels, for the refusal of payment of the said levies, or any part thereof, by any person or persons chargeable refusing, and to make sale thereof, in the same manner as is by law directed for other distresses: And if the vestry of any parish shall neglect or refuse to levy the tobacco due to the minister, or other parish creditors, in such case, all and every the vestrymen of the parish neglecting, or refusing, shall be liable to the action of the party grieved, his, or her executors, or administrators, for all damages which he or she shall sustain by such refusal or neglect.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in every parish of this dominion, where a good and convenient glebe is not already purchased and appropriated, a good and convenient tract of land, to contain two hundred acres at the least, shall be purchased by the vestry, and assigned, and set apart for a glebe, for the use of the minister of such parish, and his successors, in all times hereafter; and where mansion, and other convenient out-houses, are not already erected, for the habitation of the minister. It is hereby declared, and enacted, That the vestry of every such parish shall have power, and they are hereby authorised and required, to cause to be erected and built on such glebe, one convenient mansion house, kitchen, barn, stable, dairy, meat house, corn house, and garden, well pailed, or inclosed with mud walls, with such other conveniences as they shall think fit, and to levy the charge of the glebe land, and buildings, on the tithable persons in their respective parishes.

And to the end the buildings already erected, or hereafter to be erected, upon every glebe, may be kept in good repair, It is hereby further enacted, That every parish minister within this dominion shall, during the time of his being minister of the parish, keep and maintain the mansion house, and all other the out-houses and conveniences, erected, or to be erected on his glebe, in tenantable repair, and so shall leave the same at his removal from his parish, or death, accidents by fire, or tempest, only excepted: and in case any minister shall fail so to do, such minister, his executors and administrators shall fail so to do, such minister, his executors and administrators, shall be liable to the action of the churchwardens of the parish, for the time being, wherein the value of such repairs shall be recovered in damages, with costs of suit, and the damages so recovered, shall be applied and laid out in making necessary repairs upon the glebe: And every vestry of a vacant parish is hereby impowered and required, to put all the buildings upon the glebe of their parish, into such good and sufficient repair, as that the same may be fit for the reception of the succeeding minister: Provided nevertheless, That any vestry, who shall judge that the minister has not wilfully committed any waste on his glebe, may make such necessary repairs, at the charge of their parish as they shall think fit: And every minister, received into any parish as aforesaid, shall be entitled to all the spiritual and temporal benefits of his parish, and may maintain an action of trespass, against any person or persons whatsoever, who shall disturb him in the possession and enjoyment thereof.

Hening, Statutes, Vol. 6, pp. 88-90.

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February 1752

**An Act for enlarging the Church in the
City of Williamsburg, and purchasing
an Organ to be placed therein.**

WHEREAS the church, in the city of Williamsburg, is not sufficiently large to contain all such persons as resort thither, in the times of the sitting and holding of the General Assemblies, and General Courts, of this colony:

BE it enacted by the Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same, That the Honourable John Blair, esq. the Honourable Philip Ludwell, esq. John Robinson, and Peyton Randolph, esquires; Armistead Burwell, and James Power, and Benjamin Waller, gentlemen; or any four of them, be, and they are hereby impowered, to covenant, agree with, hire and employ, such and so many undertakers, workmen, and labourers, and to provide, furnish, and buy, such materials, as they, or any four of them, shall think convenient and proper to be employed and made use of, in and about enlarging the said church; and to give such necessary orders, and directions therein, from time to time, as they shall see cause, until it shall be finished.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That the said directors, as often as they shall have occasion for money, for the uses aforesaid, shall, from time to time, apply themselves to the governor, or commander in chief for the time being, to issue out his warrant to the treasurer of this colony, to pay so in his hands, according to the directions and regulations in the said recited act mentioned, any thing in the said act, to the contrary thereof in any wise, notwithstanding.

Hening, Statutes, Vol. 6, pp. 230-231.

May 1755

An Act for employing and better maintaining the Poor.

WHEREAS the number of poor people hath of late years much increased throughout this colony, and it will be the most proper method for their maintenance, and for the prevention of great mischiefs arising from such numbers of unemployed poor, to provide houses for the reception and employment.

BE it enacted, by the Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That it shall and may be lawful for the vestry of every parish in this colony, to order and cause to be erected, purchased, or hired, one or more house or houses within their parish for the lodging, maintaining, and employing of all such poor people as shall be upon the parish, or who shall desire relief from the vestry or churchwardens; and to employ all such poor persons, in such works as shall be directed by the said vestry, or churchwardens; and to take and apply the benefit of their labor, for and towards their maintenance, and support, and to provide cotton, hemp, flax, or any other necessary materials, implements, or things, for setting the said poor to work: And where any parish shall be too small to purchase, erect, or hire such house, or houses, it shall and may be lawful for the vestries of any two or more of such parishes, lying, adjoining, or convenient to each other, to unite in purchasing,

erecting, or hiring such house or houses, for the reception and employment of the poor of their respective parishes: And the said vestry, or vestries, shall have power to purchase or rent a tract of land, whereon the said house or houses shall stand, or be erected, or convenient thereto, not exceeding one hundred acres, for the use of the said poor; and to levy a reasonable allowance in their parish levies, for the education of such poor children as shall be placed in the said house, or houses, until they shall be bound out according to law.

Provided always, That no poor person shall gain or acquire a settlement, so-as to become chargeable to the parish whither he or she shall be removed or placed, by virtue of this act, but shall be deemed a resident, and to belong to the parish from whence he or she was removed.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That the churchwardens of every parish, or any one of them, shall have power and authority to order the constables in their parish, or such other officer as they shall appoint for that purpose, to convey all and every person and persons who shall be found begging in their parish, to the house or houses so to be provided for the reception of the poor, there to be employed for the space of twenty days, or a less time in such works and labours as the said churchwardens, or either of them shall adjudge them able to perform, and to apply the profits of such begger's labor towards his or her maintenance.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That the vestry of every parish wherein any house, or houses, for the reception of the poor shall be shall have power and authority to make and ordain proper rules and orders, for, and concerning the work, employment, and correction, of such poor persons as shall be placed or sent there, pursuant to this act, and to contract with, and appoint one or more fit person or persons to keep the said house, or houses, and to oversee the poor, belonging, or sent to such house, or houses, which person or persons, so to be appointed, shall have full power to set all such poor persons as shall be placed or sent there, to work, and labor, according to their several abilities, and the rules and orders of the vestry and church-wardens and to inflict corporal punishment on such persons, under his or their care and management, who will not conform themselves to the said rules and orders, or who shall behave refractorily, not exceeding ten lashes at one time, or for one offence; and the person or persons so to be appointed shall annually, at the laying of the parish levy, or, when thereto required, render a true account to the vestry, of the poor under his or their care, and of the profits arising from their labor, and how the same have been disposed of; and, moreover, shall be liable to be displaced by the vestry when they shall think fit.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That if any poor person shall refuse to be placed or to continue at any house, or houses, to be appointed for the reception of the poor, in pursuance of this act, he or she so refusing, shall in no wise be entitled to ask, demand, or receive any relief, or sum or sums of money, or tobacco, from the vestry or

churchwardens, by reason of his or her sickness, or old age, shall adjudge them incapable of labor, and order otherwise.

And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That the churchwardens of every parish shall keep a book, wherein the names of all persons who receive relief from the parish shall be registered, with the time they were Admitted on the parish, and the occasion of such admittance, which book shall be by them produced to the vestry, at the laying of the parish levy, or as often as the vestry shall think.

Hening, Statutes, Vol. 6, pp. 475-478.

GRAND JURY PRESENTMENTS

In the absence of a bishop and ecclesiastical courts in Virginia, county courts heard cases of individuals presented for moral offenses by the county grand jury or parish churchwardens. The county grand jury, composed of twenty-four freeholders of the county, heard "information" from members of the community (including churchwardens) regarding a suspected offense. If the evidence was sufficient the grand jury then presented (or charged) persons with not attending church, "common swearing," or having a bastard child, for instance. Churchwardens also could act on their own by presenting people to the court, most often for sexual misconduct. Accused offenders were then required to appear before the county court justices to answer the charges.

Note that grand jury presentments also included other kinds of problems such as not keeping a bridge in repair (in the attached example), failure to list tithables, or charges against surveyors of the highways who neglected to keep roads in their precincts open.

These examples are from the York County records.

18 May 1741

The Grand Jury being returned into Ct. made the following presentmtns.

We present James Toomer for not keeping the bridge over Mr. Haywards Mill and road in repair.

James Geddy for absenting from his parish Church.

John Burdett for the same.

Edward Tabb junr. For the same.

Richard Smith for the same.

John McCarty for the same.

Dios. McCarty for the same.

Mary Meade for having a Bastard.

John Barnes for absenting from his parish Church.

Elizabeth Davis for having a Bastard.

John Butterworth for not keeping the bridge over his Mill Trail in repair.

Ord. That the several persons this day presented by the Grand Jury be Summon'd to appear and answer to their respective presentments at the next Ct.

York County Records - Orders and Wills (19) p. 9.

21 May 1770

Alexander Craig foreman Edward Baptist William Moss Junr Humphrey Harwood William Kerby John Chapman William Moody William Pearson Philip Burt Peter Powell Whitehead Lester John Ginter Francis Cooke Thomas Hunt Philip Dedman Edward Potter Callohill Mennis and Thomas Presson were sworn a Grand Jury of Inquest for the body of the County and having received their Charge went out of Court and after some time returned and Presented as follows vizt.

Ruth Freeman for having a bastard Child

Anne Wise for the same

Arthur Ames, Matthew Hubard Sen^r: William Taylor Norman Jones Mansfield Martha Brookes Thomas Cop John Shepard Matthew Tuel Walter Lenox John Elliot and James Hunley for not going to Church.

And then the said Grand Jury having nothing further to present were discharged.

York County Records - Judgments and Orders (1768-1770) p. 463.

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THE VIRGINIA GAZETTE ACCOUNTS OF THE BISHOP CONTROVERSY

The effort of a minority of the Anglican clergy of the colony to secure the appointment and consecration of a bishop to reside in Virginia occasioned no uncertainty among either leaders or people. The episcopacy controversy spilled over into perhaps the most extensive newspaper debate of all the issues of the early 1770s. The lengthy, sometimes harsh exchange owed more, however, to the ardor of a few outspoken clerics on both sides than to either wide public involvement or any likelihood of success in appointing a Virginia bishop.

Billings, Selby, Tate. Colonial Virginia, White Plains, N.Y., 1990, p. 324.

*To the Reverend the CLERGY of VIRGINIA,
Reverend Brethren,*

I Lately took the Liberty, as would appear from the public Papers, of requesting a full Meeting of the Clergy as upon this Day, but as I have been made to understand that Notification was not taken in the Sense I designed it should have been, and therefore has not produced the Effect intended. I find myself obliged to repeat my Solicitation for that Purpose.

I therefore now propose, and request of you, that a Convention of the Clergy may be held on the 4th of the next Month, at ten o'Clock in the Forenoon, in the College of William and Mary. And that the express intention of applying to you for this Convention may not possibly be misapprehended by any Persons whatsoever, I have judged it proper here to mention that the Subject I shall then recommend to your most serious Consideration and Attention will be one that must appear of the highest Importance, namely, the Expediency of an Application to proper Authority for an American Episcopate. I beg Leave to add my most earnest Hopes and Wishes that we may all then meet well disposed to embrace such Sentiment, and enter upon such Resolutions, as shall be most becoming ourselves, and at the same Time give no just

Occasion of Dissatisfaction or Uneasiness to the candid, the dispassionate, and unprejudiced Part of the Laity.

*I am, with true Regard,
Your affectionate Brother,
The Commissary*

*William & Mary College
May 4, 1771*

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) May 9, 1771

(from a Country Gentleman)

Here give me Leave to ask, are not you, a Country Clergyman of this Colony, among the sanquine Advocates for Episcopacy? Or have you rather have no Form of Church Government of any Kind? ...Do you not mean, for a most bitter Taunt, all you Redomontade (pardon me) about the Knowledge of books and of Mankind to be acquired by a Candidate for Orders in his Trip to England for Ordination and back again; in his spending three or four Months at Sea, and about Half as much Time without Friends or Acquaintance in London? For an Answer to this Flourish, I refer you to the Dissenters. Ask them whether they do not think themselves here much happier than the established Church in this Respect, that their young Men are not obliged, for the Sake of obtaining Orders, to undergo the Fatigue, Danger, and Expense, of two very long and troublesome Voyages. Ask the Dissenters whether they apprehend themselves to be in an Danger of being benighted in a thick Fog of the Ignorance of Books and of Men from their Want of being compelled to sail three Thousand Miles backwards and forwards for Orders. The People in general here are, I believe, satisfied that it would be much for the Advantage of this Country if most of its Natives were in Orders; and that this advantage is much obstructed by the Distance of the Bishop from whom orders must be received...Let the Dissenters enjoy what they deem useful to the Edification of its own Members. How would they take it to be denied the Liberty of such or such a Usage among them, because it was not essential to the Profession of Christianity?

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), May 30, 1771

For my Part, I can discover no Way for supporting this extraordinary Establishment but by making the Scheme complet at once; this is, by erecting America into an archbishoprick, and establishing suffragan Bishops in every Colony, with all the other Spiritual Dignitaries, according to the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the English Church. Under such an Establishment, the American Clergy may meet in Convocation and tax themselves for the Support of their own Officers. This the only feasible Scheme I can think of, without infringing the Rights of the Laity; and it has this Advantage, that an ambitious Man, who is not content with Places and Preferments which have been accumulated upon him beyond his Merit, may have a Chance to become a Metropolitan,

and thereby have it more in his Power to overturn the Constitution of that Country to which he is beholden for Bread.

But allow me to ask, once more, how is this great Alteration to be made in the Constitution of the Colonies? Is an Act of Parliament to be solicited for this Purpose? Beware, I say again, of the Consequences of the Stamp Act, and of the Resentment of the People against the Stampmasters. Is the King to be petitioned for this Establishment? Consider MAGNA CARTA, which allows no Proceedings in a Court to be established by the Prerogative...and that all such Proceedings must be according to the ordinary Rules of the common Law, and such Proceedings cannot be had in Ecclesiastical Courts.

The General Court is established by positive Law, which has received the Royal Approbation. That Law declares the "General Court shall take Cognizance of, and shall have Power and Jurisdiction to hear and determine ALL Causes, Matters, and Things whatsoever, relating to or concerning any Person or Persons, Ecclesiastical or Civil; or any Person or Things, of what Nature soever the same shall be..."

But of all Tyrannies a Spiritual Tyranny is the most to be dreaded, and of all Schemes to enslave the Colonies this of establishing Bishops is most effectual. From such Powers, and from such Councils, good Lord, of thy infinite Mercy, save and protect the American Colonies. A prayer which ought to be offered up daily by every Friend to American Liberty, So sayeth
A REAL LAYMAN
Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), June 20, 1771

* * *

HENLEY-BRACKEN AFFAIR 1772-1773

In 1773 very little of a revolutionary nature was occurring in Williamsburg, but the city was not without its controversies and excitement. One of the more interesting events was Bruton Parish's search for a new rector. This in and of itself would not have ordinarily been such a dominant topic of interest if it had not been for the clash of personalities and doctrines involved in the search for perhaps the most coveted and powerful rectory in the colony.

The position became open in 1772 when The Rev. James Horrocks died in Portugal. The acting rector, The Rev. Mr. Samuel Henley, also professor of moral philosophy at the College of William and Mary, was passed over for the Reverend Josiah Johnson. Johnson remained in the position for less than a year when he died. Again, Henley offered his candidacy but, because of his alleged views regarding the divinity of Christ and liberal opinions regarding religious toleration, vestryman and treasurer of the colony, Robert Carter Nicholas, opposed his election. Nicholas's favorite was The Rev. Mr. John Bracken, who had only been in Virginia since 1772 and was serving in Amelia County at the time.

The resulting campaign sparked heated debates in taverns and homes, touched off enthusiastic petition drives for each candidate, and caused a flurry of editorials and letters in the city's two *Virginia Gazettes*. Diarist Philip Fithian, who served as a tutor several days' ride from Williamsburg, kept up with the controversy via the papers and noted in March that "Mr. Bracken & Mr. Henley, are still contending in furious Combat, but poor Mr. Henley seems to be on the verge of a Defeat."

The campaign came to a climax when the vestry met on June 12 in the steeple of Bruton Parish Church to hear testimony regarding Henley's views. The question over who should assume the rectorship was of infinite importance to the parish's members. Holding the position of Virginia's royal chapel was a great honor. However, the candidates shared very different views on theological and moral issues and it is doubtful that the vestry relished the idea of getting involved in a potentially divisive situation.

The dilemma was this: should the parish be led by Henley—a moralist, a man who held passionate views on religious toleration but was the target of some parishioners for holding unorthodox theological views—or Bracken, a newcomer, but who was known to adhere strictly to the teachings of the established church? The controversy could be best described as a conflict between traditional religious beliefs and new, enlightened beliefs.

Community Events

The following excerpts from the *Virginia Gazette* in no way reflect the amount of correspondence that took place during the Henley-Bracken controversy. They do, however, show how heated the issue had become:

**To ROBERT CARTER NICHOLAS, Esquire,
Treasurer of Virginia,
SIR,**

AN Address of this Nature will, I doubt not, surprise you. The Subject of it, however, must be my Excuse. Averse to engage in personal Altercation, I should not have addressed you on a trivial Occasion. When Reputation is at Stake, Pusillanimity will be roused into Defence. Silence is often a Confession of Guilt. The Love you bear to Truth, and to Justice, must procure for this Letter a favourable Reception.

Your Professions of Rectitude, Candour, and Reason, justly entitle you to universal Esteem. If you, notwithstanding, should unhappily transgress them, ingenuous Minds will behold you with Pain.

So ardent is your Zeal for the established Church, that a Clergyman suspected of Heresy is in your Eye an Object of Horror. But how much more impious such a Character must appear, so much more cautious should you be in fixing the Charge. How cruel to confound the Innocent with the Guilty! Whether this be the Case, remains to be inquired. If I am what you delight to represent me, let the Publick have something more to rely on than private Assertions. Accusation is no Proof of a Crime. By openly convicting me of Heresy, you will furnish them with a Rule to determine the Orthodoxy of others.

I am, Sir, your most obedient,

*William & Mary College,
Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), May 13, 1773*

SAMUEL HENLEY.

Williamsburg

WHEREAS it is publickly reported that I accused the Reverend Mr. HENLEY of Deism, and a Disbelief of the Thirty Nine Articles of our Church, I do hereby, out of Justice to Mr. Henley's Character, declare that I never had Reason to believe that such were his Principles.

Joseph Kidd.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), 20 May 1773

To the Reverend Mr. HENLEY

I heard you deliver a Sermon on the distinct Claims of Government and Religion; which you afterwards thought proper to print. I do not presume to prescribe to you, or any other Minister, on what Subjects you are to display your Talents; but, when a Discourse is once delivered, I have a Right to judge, and if I think any Thing has been said amiss, decently to animadvert upon it. This Privilege I claim in common with yourself, and I

know you sometimes exercise it very freely. Were I a Minister of the Church of England (and one I would not be unless I approved the Doctrine she teaches, and could conform to her Rules and Orders) I should not consider it as any Part of my Duty wantonly to expose the Tenets of others, or give Umbrage to Dissenters of any Denomination: Christian Charity would forbid it. Nor would I wish to make Proselytes to our Church by any Sort of Compulsion. But I should think it my Bounden Duty to endeavour to display the superior Advantages of our Establishment, and the various and striking Beauties of our Liturgy. By such Means, I should hope that those already of our Communion would be still stronger attached to it, and that Strangers might be induced to join with us. But what was the Drift of this Discourse? In my Understanding, however, the supposed Brilliancy of its Diction, or its nice turned Periods might be admired by some, the chief Tendency of it was to beat down and destroy that necessary, that friendly and amiable Alliance between Church and State, which the best and ablest Divines have thought essential to the Prosperity of both. In the 16th Page of the printed Sermons is this Passage: "As Society cannot be injured but by Actions which violate its Property or its Peace, those, who demean themselves honestly and orderly, ought not to be molested on Account either of their Sentiments or Worship." Most cheerfully granted. "If these Sentiments, and this Worship, be the E[thos?] of Sincerity and Devotion, absurd as they may be, God will approve them." Granted also, if the Word approve were changed for accept. "The more such Persons abound in every Community, the better will that Community become." Here I differ from you widely, and fear very much, if this Doctrine should be established, that it might be attended with very bad Consequences. What will not Dissenters of every Denomination say, even such as are supposed the most ignorant and enthusaistick? Will no Advantages be derived to a Community by leading its Members from Absurdity and Errour? And as to future Concerns in another Life, what may be their Loss? Hear what Doctor Secker saith, in his first Sermon by Doctor Porteus, and Doctor Stinton, Page 23d: "Not that, after all, it is indifferent, whether we fall into Errours concerning Religion, or escape them; for both Mistakes and bare Ignorance, when they are accompanied with little or no Guilt, may often be followed by great Disadvantages. Wrong Notions in the Understanding may produce wrong Movements in the Heart, which, even when they will not bring down upon us future Punishments, may unfit us for certain Degrees of future Reward." This, Sir, I take to be sound Divinity. Farther, page the 14th of the same Sermon, you say: "As to the external Homage of the Deity, can a legal Injunction excite the Spirit of Devotion? If the Mode of Devotion? If the ode which the Rubrick prescribes is not the best in the Worshipper's Opinion, he will offer only the Sacrifice of Fools." The Reformers of our Church, and Compilers of our Liturgy, certainly must have thought that the legal Injunction, which you evidently allude to in your subsequent Hypothesis, would excite the Spirit of Devotion, or they were very idly employed...

People will be making Observations; and, when in Reach of my Ears, I cannot help hearing them. I have been asked, what is the Reason that Mr. Henley does not join in the publick Service, except when he officiates? Others have remarked, that Mr. Henley never bows the Knee, when not upon immediate publick Duty. These Things may

appear to be Non-Essentials; but to us, who have been otherwise accustomed, the Omission of them appears exceeding strange. Thus, Sir, have I produced, according to my Promise in an early Part of this Letter, such Documents as you yourself have furnished me with. With Respect to any Thing I may have advanced in Vestry, as coming from another's information, it was, that you had maintained, in Private Conversation, the Principles of the Socinians. After having been told this, and observing that you pretermitted a particular Part of our Service, expressly calculated to combat these Principles, and enjoined by the Rubrick to be used on particular Sundays, can you suppose but that my Suspicions must have been increased? Will you allow me, in a few Words, to mention what I conceive to be my Duty, as a Vestryman: The Vestries in this Colony I consider, as the civil Guardians of our Church; and, as you will not allow us to have any Thing to do with a Bishop, except one whose Authority here, as you have been formerly told, is a mere Non-Entity: In as much as the Clergy are not amenable to any ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in this Colony, surely the Vestries ought to be the more circumspect and attentive to their Duty. The only Instance, I know of, in which they can serve their Parishes, in any important Degree, is to be prudent in the Choice of their Minister. Upon this depends, in a great Measure, the Happiness of the People. You have had the fairest Opportunity of recommending yourself to the Parish. What is it, that prevents your being generally esteemed and respected? Will not you yourself, in the calm retired Moments of Reflection, be apt to suspect that something is strangely amiss? By your Address, Sir, I do assure you I had set me a very disagreeable Task. I have engaged in it with Reluctance, having neither Inclination nor Leisure for Things of this Sort. I have spoken some plain Truths: and, if there should be any Thing offensive in them, remember that they are written by your Command. I wish you very well; and it would give me much Pleasure, if I could, consistent with Truth, say to you, as a Minister of our Church, that I am,

Reverent SIR, your respectful Servant,

RO. C. NICHOLAS.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), 20 May 1773 - supplement

To Robert Carter Nicholas, Esquire from Samuel Henley.

Sir,

Had you not informed the Publick that you read my Letter with great Indifference as to yourself, though not without Pain upon my Account, it might have been mistakenly conjectured that certain Figures of Speech, in which your Answer abounds, and proceeded rather from the selfish than sympathetick Disposition. If you suppose that to give you Pain was my Motive for writing, I am injured; and should have been sorry, had it, as to yourself, produced this Effect. My only Object was to procure Redress for a mortal Blow aimed at my Character; which, to obtain, I desired nothing but an Opportunity of answering your Accusations. Professions of Rectitude, Candour, and Religion, are, in my Opinion, entitled to general Esteem.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), 3 June 1773

To the Reverend Mr. BRACKEN.

SIR,

I PERHAPS ought to begin this Address with asking your Pardon for laying before the Publick an Extract of a Private Letter. Such a Measure is apparently improper, but I hope the Nature of that Extract will be a sufficient Excuse. Had you confined your Reflexions to myself, they would have better been answered in private (though at the same Time, I must add, there is no Scene of my Life that I wish to conceal, or ought to blush at) but as you have been liberal in throwing your insinuations which affect the Character of those Gentlemen upon whose repeated opposition I first thought of Lectureship, it is, I think incumbent upon me to exhibit a few of them, that every Person may know in what Light to consider both them and you.

I am, your humble Servant, SAMUEL HENLEY.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), December 9, 1773

CHRISTIANIZATION OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS

Slave owners in colonial Virginia had mixed feelings about introducing Christianity to their slaves: many feared that the egalitarian message of the Bible would make their workers unruly; others were indifferent to the spiritual needs of African-Americans; still others saw to it that their slaves received religious instruction. Slaves' reaction to Christianity also varied. Many were baptized and instructed in the Anglican way; others were unmoved by the formality of the Anglican church or unable to reconcile the Christian message with slavery.

September 1667

An act declaring that baptisme of slaves doth not exempt them from bondage.

*WHEREAS some doubts have risen whether children that are slaves by birth, and by the charity and piety of the owners made pertakers of the blessed sacrament of baptisme, should by vertue of their baptisme be made Free; **It is enacted and declared by this grand assembly, and the authority thereof**, that the conferring of baptisme doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or Freedome; that diverse masters, Freed from this doubt, may more carefully endeavour the propagation of christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth if capable to be admitted to that sacrament.*

Hening, Statutes, Vol. 2, p. 260

* * *

Virginia clergymen answer Bishop Gibson's queries about slaves (1724):

John Warden of Lawns Creek, Surry County: *"some masters will have their slaves baptised and others will not, by reason that they will not be sureties for them in Baptism. If the slaves live not afar off, they come to Church and Chappel."*

Bartholomew Yates, Middlesex County: *"some few [slaves] that have been born here when of teachable disposition and their Masters allowing them time to come to me, upon instruction and examination, have been publicly baptised and also some children of such who have had baptism some also every Sunday attend at Church."*

John Cargill, Southwark Parish, Surry County: *"As to the negro Slaves there are some of their Masters on whom I do prevail to have them baptised and taught, but not many."*

Alexander Scott, Stafford County: *"the Children of [Negro Slaves] and those of them that can speak and understand the English Language we instruct and baptise if permitted by their Masters."*

Source: William Stevens Perry, Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church (New York), 1969.

James Blair, Bruton Parish: *"I encourage the baptising & catechising of such of them as understand English [older children, adults?], and exhort their Masters to bring them to Church and baptise the infant slaves when the Master or mistress become sureties."*



Blair further noted that *"Your Lo'ps Letter concerning the Instruction of the Negroes has had this good effect, that it has put several Masters and Mistresses upon the Instruction of them. And the Negroes themselves in our Neighbourhood are very desirous to become Christians; and in order to it come and give an Acount of the Lords prayer, and the Creed and ten Commandments, and so are baptized and frequent the Church; and the Negro children are now commonly baptized. I*

doubt not some of the Negroes are sincere Converts; but the far greater part of them little mind the serious part, only are in hopes that they shall meet with so much the more respect, and that some time or other Christianity will help them to their freedom. But I hope their very coming to church will in time infuse into them some better priciples than they have had."

Thad W. Tate, James Blair to the Bishop of London, 1729, The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Va., 1965), pp. 73-74.

"There is a very great number of Negroes lately instructed in the Church-catechism; at least in the Lords prayer, the Apostles Creed and the ten Commandments, and baptized, and great numbers of them frequent the Church. Some allege it makes them prouder, and inspires them with thoughts of freedom; but I take this to be rather a common prejudice than anything else."

Tate, James Blair to the Bishop of London, 1730, The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Va., 1965), p. 74.

"I have great Quantities of Negroes in my Parish, who all bring their Children to be baptised, & many of the Adults likewise are desirous of Baptism, which I perform after Divine Service."

John C. Van Horne, Rev. James Marye, Jr. of Orange County to the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1760, Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717-1777 (Urbana, Ill.), p. 149.

"They use Me with the most invidious Terms of Ill nature for my pains, & because I baptise more Negroes than other Brethren here & instruct them, from the Pulpit, out of

common road, & encourage the Good among them to come to the Communion, after a due Sense of the matter, I am vilified & branded by such as a Negro Parson."

John C. Van Horne, Rev. Alexander Rhonnald of Norfolk Borough to the Associates, 1762, Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717-1777 (Urbana, Ill.), p. 182.

"I have baptiz'd upwards of 100 Negro Children, & betwixt 30 & 40 Adults in less than 6 months that I have been here."

John C. Van Horne, Rev. Jonathan Boucher of King George County to the Associates, 1762, Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717-1777 (Urbana, Ill.), p. 196.

"Many masters are not only averse to learning their Slave to read, but...I've heard some of them say (& blessed be God convinced some of them of their Error) That since we got to baptizing them they are become insolent & Idle, Runaways &c.; that they were never so till Baptism came in Fashion amongst 'em. However never a Sunday passes, but I have many at both my Churches, Infant & adult Negroes too. I've baptiz'd some upwards of 60 Years old, who have with Tears runing down their Cheeks, repeated the Lord's Prayer & Creed, & behav'd in such a Manner as would have pleas'd you & every good Christian."

John C. Van Horne, Rev. Thomas Baker of Kingston Glebe, Gloucester County to the Associates, 1770, Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717-1777 (Urbana, Ill.), p. 289.

As for baptizing Indians and Negroes, several of the people disapprove of it; because they say it often makes them proud, and not so good servants: But these, and such objections, are easily refuted, if the persons be sensible, good, and understand English, and have been taught (or are willing to learn) the principles of Christianity, and if they be kept to the observance of it afterwards; for Christianity encourages and orders them to become more humble and better servants, and not worse, then when they were heathens.

But as for baptizing wild Indians and new Negroes, who have not the least knowledge nor inclination to know and mind our religion, language and customs, but will obstinately persist in their own barbarous ways; I question whether baptism of such (till they be a little weaned of their savage barbarity) be not a prostitution of a thing so sacred.

But as for the children of Negroes and Indians, that are to live among Christians, undoubtedly they ought all to be baptized; since it is not out of the power of their masters to take care that they have a Christian education, learn their prayers and catechism, and go to church, and not accustom themselves to lie, swear and steal, though such (as the poorer sort in England) be not taught to read and write; which as yet has been found to be dangerous upon several political accounts, especially self-preservation.

Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, edited with an introduction by Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill, N.C.), 1956, p. 99.

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RELIGION AND SLAVE REBELLION

There was more trouble [in 1730], touched off by a rumor that former Governor Spotswood, just back from England, had brought an order from the Crown to free all Christian slaves. This was more a matter of general unrest than a concerted plot. The governor, at the time Gooch, reported that by "keeping the Militia to their Duty, by Imprisonment and severe whipping of the most Suspected, this Disturbance was very soon Quashed, and until about six weeks afterwards we were easy. . . . Then there was more trouble. About two hundred slaves in Norfolk and Princess Anne counties gathered on a Sunday at church time and elected officers to lead an intended rebellion. In this instance four of the Negroes involved were executed. A certain amount of continuing uneasiness is reflected in Gooch's address to the assembly in 1736, in which he recommended strengthening the militia as a means of policing the slaves; in his proclamation of October 29, 1736, on the same subject; and in the 1738 revision of the law requesting the militia to include a system of four-men patrols to police slave quarters and suspected gathering places of Negroes in every county.

Source: Thad W. Tate, The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Va.), 1965, pp. 112-113.

* * *

October 1748

An Act directing the trial of Slaves committing capital crimes; and for the more effectual punishing conspiracies and insurrections of them; and for the better government of negroes, mulattoes, and Indians, bond or free.

And to prevent the inconveniences arising by the meetings of slaves, Be it further by the authority aforesaid, That if any master, mistress, or overseer of a family, shall knowingly permit or suffer any slave, not belonging to him, or her, to be and remain upon his, or her plantation, above four hours at one time, without leave of the owner or overseer of such slave, he, or she, so permitting, shall forfeit and pay one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, for every such offence; and every owner or overseer, of a plantation, who shall so permit, or suffer more than five negroes, or slaves, other than his, or her own, to be and remain upon his, or her plantation, or quarter, at any one time, shall forfeit and pay five shillings, or fifty pounds of tobacco, for each negroe, or slave above that number: Which said several forfeitures shall be to the informer, and recoverable, with costs, before any justice of peace of the county where such offence shall be committed.

Provided always, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to prohibit the negroes, or slaves, of one and the same owner, tho' seated at different quarters, from meeting, with their owners or overseers leave, upon any plantation to such owner belonging; nor to restrain the meeting of slaves, on their owners or overseer's business,

at any public mill, so as such meeting be not in the night-time, nor on a Sunday; nor to prohibit their meeting on any other lawful occasion, by license in writing from their owner, or overseer; nor their going to church, and attending divine services on the Lord's day, or any other day of public worship.

Hening, Statutes, Vol. 6, pp. 104, 107-108.

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A VIRGINIA SLAVE APPEALS TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON

Thomas N. Ingersoll, "Release us out of this Cruell Bondegg": An Appeal from Virginia in 1723. The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, Vol. LI, No. 4, October 1994, pp. 781-782.

Slaves were seldom permitted to learn to write, and written expressions of their views of slavery in the colonial period are extremely rare, so it is doubly exciting to discover a passionate appeal for liberation written by a Virginia slave in 1723. This anonymous letter, at the Lambeth Palace Library, is the earliest known plea for freedom by a slave based on a principle designed for general application. The document makes an eloquent protest against slavery. It also opens a window on the conditions of slave life and provides evidence that race mixture endangered the logic of race that structured slave society. Moreover, the writer's plea shows how slaves could use Christian piety to condemn masters who limited their religious activity.

The letter bears two dates: August 4 at the head; September 8 at the foot. We can imagine the writer laboring privately at his text at odd hours (on Sunday) over a period of weeks. For obvious reasons, the letter had to be kept secret—all the more so because it was written in the aftermath of a series of slave plots culminating in the spring of 1723 that so unnerved Virginia planters that they transported a number of alleged plotters to Barbados and took other measures to improve internal security. In May and June, the legislature, meeting at Williamsburg, passed an act for the "more effectual" punishment of slave conspirators "and for the better Government of Negroes Mulattos and Indians bond or free." The act also placed further restrictions on free blacks and provided that condemned slave plotters receive no benefit of clergy, barring first-time offenders from claiming reprieve from capital punishment.

The letter was written only weeks after Virginians learned of the appointment of Edmund Gibson as bishop of London, of whose extended see they formed a distant part. Gibson's popular devotional tracts were already circulating in the colonies; as bishop he would take an active interest in the christianization of slaves. How the letter got to Gibson and into the Fulham Papers (strangely filed with correspondence from Jamaica rather than in one of the four Virginia volumes in the collection) is a mystery, but it demonstrates that slaves knew how to target their protests accurately. This letter, based on logical argument and fundamental moral law, is the earliest known plea in the history of American slavery for liberation of a group of slaves.

The identity of the slave who composed the letter is unknown.

The document was written by someone for whom the composition of grammatical English was a struggle. The ink is a peculiar reddish, faded color by comparison with other documents in the collection; it may have been homemade. The paper, approximately seven by eleven and three-fourths inches, is of good quality with a high rag content. The transcription retains the original spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and marks of emphasis. A few minor interlineations have been brought down on line. Canceled words are reproduced where decipherable.

The letter:

August the forth 1723 to The Right Righ Raverrand father in god my Lord arch Bishop of Lonnd this coms to sattesfie your honour that there is in this Land of verJennia a Sort of people that is Calld molatters which are Baptised and brouaht up in the way of the Christan faith ~~and the~~ and followes the wayes and Rulles of the Chrch of England and sum of them has white fathars and sum white mothers and there is in this Land a Law or act which keeps and makes them and there seed SLaves forever—and most honoured sir a mongst the Rest of your Charitabell acts and deed wee humbly your humbell and ~~peu~~ poore partishinners doo begg Sir your aid and assisttance in this one thing which Lise as I doo understand ~~of~~ in your LordShips brest which is that ~~yr honour~~ your honour will by the help of our Suffervering [i.e., sovereign] Lord King George and the Rest of the Rullers will Release us out of this Cruell Bondegg and this wee beg for Jesus Christs his ~~of~~ Sake who has commaded us to seeke first the kingdom of ~~god~~ god and all things shall be addid ~~un~~ un to us and here it is to bee noted that one brother is a SLave to another and one Sister to an othe which is quite out of the way and as for mee [cancellation] my selfe I am my brothers SLave but my name is Secrett and here it is to be notd againe that wee are commandded to keep holey the Sabbath day and wee doo hardly know when it comes for our [cancellation] task mastrs are has hard with us as the Egypttions was with the Childdann of Issarall god be marcifill unto us here follows our ~~hard service~~ Sevarity and Sorrowfull Sarvice we are hard used up on Every account ~~wee f~~ in the first place wee are in Ignorance of our Salvation and in the next place wee are kept out of the Church ~~and~~ and matrimony is deened us and to be plain they doo Look no more up on us than if wee ware dogs which I hope when these Strange Lines comes to your Lord Ships hands will be Looket in to and here wee beg for Jesus Christs his Sake that as your honour do hope for the marcy of god att the day of death and the Redemtion of our Saviour Christ that when this comes to your Lord Ships hands your honour wll Take Sum pittty of us who is your humble butt Sorrowfull portitinors and Sir wee your humble perticners do humbly beg the favour of your Lord Ship that your honour will grant and Settell one thing upon us which is that our ~~ch~~ childarn may be broatt up in the way of the Christtian faith and our desire is that they may be Larnd the Lords prayer the creed and

the ten commandments and that they may appeare Every Lord's day att Church before the Curatt to bee Exammond for our desire is that godlines Shouldd abound amongs us and wee desire that our Childarn be putt to Schoole and and Larnd to Reed through the Bybell which is all att prasant with our prayers to god for itt's good Success before your honour these from your humbell Servants in the Lord my Riting is vary bad I whope yr honour will take the will for the deede I am but a poore SLave th that writt itt and has no other ~~time~~ time butt Sunday and hardly that att Sumtimes September the 8th 1723 To the Right Reverrand father in d god my Lord arch bishup of J London these with care wee dare nott Subscribe any mans name to this for feare of our masters if for if they knew that wee have Sent home to your honour wee Should goo neare to Swing upon the gallass tree

Thomas N. Ingersoll, "Release us out of this Cruell Bondegg": An Appeal from Virginia in 1723. The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series, Vol. LI, No. 4, October 1994, pp. 781-782.

* * *

Colonial Virginia planters had differing views about their slaves' involvement in both the Anglican church and in dissenting sects. They sometimes used religion as another method of coercing their slaves. For their part, slaves recognized hypocrisy when they saw it in their masters.

William Lee to Cary Wilkinson, overseer at Greenspring plantation

*I am told the wandering new light preachers fr^m the Northward, have put most of my Negroes crazy with their new light and their New Jerusalem: These vagabond preachers I have always observed encourage **in fact**, more wickedness than any other kind of men, therefore I w^d have my people discouraged as much as possible, fr^m going near them: & perhaps the best method of doing it effectually is to encourage them all to go every Sunday to their Parish Church, by giving those who are the most constant attendants at church, a larger allowance of food, or an additional shirt, more than the rest, whereby you will Make it their interest to do their Duty; But above all, let the punishment of those be very exemplary & solemn who are caught **stealing** any thing for these vagabond preachers, for I think **that** is generally the consequence of their preaching.*

Source: Archibald Bolling Shepperson, John Paradise and Lucy Ludwell of London and Williamsburg (Richmond, Va.), 1942, pp. 51-52.

I give leave to all to go to Church who are so inclined; those who are not so inclined will do less injury to religion if they are kept at work at home; for with what are called holidays they run into great mischiefs and drunkenness.

Source: Jack P. Greene, editor. The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778, Vol. II (Richmond, Va.), 1987, p. 925.

...Another advantage I gained in my new master was, he made no pretensions to, or profession of, religion; and this, in my opinion, was truly a great advantage. I assert most unhesitatingly, that the religion of the south is a mere covering for the most horrid crimes,—a justifier of the most appalling barbarity,—a sanctifier of the most hateful frauds,—and a dark shelter under, which the darkest, foulest, grossest, and most infernal deeds of slaveholders find the strongest protection. Were I to be again reduced to the chains of slavery, next to that enslavement, I should regard being the slave of a religious master the greatest calamity that could befall me. For of all slaveholders with whom I have ever met, religious slaveholders are the worst. I have ever found them the meanest and basest, the most cruel and cowardly, of all others. It was my unhappy lot not only to belong to a religious slaveholder, but to live in a community of such religionists. Very near Mr. Freeland lived the Rev. Daniel Weeden, and in the same neighborhood lived the Rev. Rigby Hopkins. These were members and ministers in the Reformed Methodist Church. Mr. Weeden owned, among others, a woman slave, whose name I have forgotten. This woman's back, for weeks, was kept literally raw. made so by the lash of this merciless, **religious** wretch.

Source: Houston A. Baker, Jr., editor. Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, written by Himself (Penguin Books, 1982), pp. 117-118.

BRUTON PARISH RECORDS
Birth and Baptism Dates of
Councillor Robert Carter's Slaves in Williamsburg

<u>Name</u>	<u>Relation</u>	<u>Born</u>	<u>Baptized</u>
[l]liver	son of Sarah		7 July 1765
Bekey	daughter of Cress		5 Aug. 1764
Catheren	daughter of Lucy		4 Oct. 1767
Cress	mother of Bekey		
Dennis	child		30 Aug. 1761
Dorcas	mother of Milly		
James	old man		2 Aug. 1767
John Harrison	son of Judith	6 July 1768	14 Aug. 1768
Judith	mother of Nutty, John Harrison		
Lucy	mother of Catheren		
Martha	mother of Mary Jones		
Mary	mother of William		
Mary Jones	daughter of Martha		6 July 1766
Milly	daughter of Dorcas		5 Mar. 176[3]
Nutty	daughter of Judith	28 June 1762	4 July 1762
Sarah	adult, mother of []liver		5 April 1767
William	son of Mary		7 Nov. 1762

* * *

THE BRAY SCHOOL

Rev. William Yates and Robert Carter Nicholas to [Rev. John Waring]
Virginia Williamsburg 30th. September 1762

Sir,

Agreeable to your Request, we send you inclosed a List of the Negro Children now at the School under our Direction in this City, with an Account of their Ages as nearly as they can be judged of; but it is not in our Power to determine exactly. The Dates of their Admission into the School are various, some of them having been there ever since it was first opened & others admitted just as Vacancies have happened. The Mistress has not been so exact as to keep any Account of the Times of the Entrance, so that it is impossible for us to give the desired Satisfaction in this Point. You may from hence easily judge how difficult it must be for us to inform you particularly of the Progress each Child has made. We can only say in general that at a late Visitation of the School we were pretty much pleased with the Scholars' Performances, as they rather exceeded our Expectations. The Children, we believe, have all been regularly baptized; indeed we think it is a pretty general Practice all over Virginia for Negro Parents to have their Children christened, where they live tolerably convenient to the Church or Minister, & some Times a great Number of Adults are baptized together in different Parts of the Country. We would not have you think, from what was wrote to you last Fall, that we had the least Inclination to discourage so good & pious an Institution; we were indeed & still are apprised of many Difficulties, which we shall have to struggle with, & were willing to prepare you for a Disappointment, in Case the Undertaking should not answer your Expectations. From the small View we have had of the Associates' extensive Charity, we flatter ourselves that we see the Situation of our poor Slaves, with Request to their spiritual Concerns, with the same piteous Eyes that they do, & should think ourselves extremely fortunate if any Endeavours of ours could contribute towards their Happiness. You no Doubt are already apprised that the Slaves in this & the neighbouring Colonies are the chief Instruments of Labour & we fear that they are treated by too many of their Owners as so many Beasts of Burthen, so little do they consider them as entitled to any of the Privileges of human Nature; & indeed many Owners of Slaves, 'tho they may view them in a different Light & treat them with a great Degree of Tenderness, concern themselves very little or not at all with their Morals, much less do they trouble themselves with their religious Concerns, so far from it, that we don't think ourselves the lest uncharitable in saying that we fear the Negroes are often corrupted & rendered more abandoned by the ill Examples that are set them by many white People in the Country & no inconsiderable Number of these themselves Masters of Slaves. This Observation may be justified by a Comparison of new Negroes when they are first imported with those who have resided amongst us for some Years; for 'tho' the former, no Doubt, bring with them vicious Inclinations & a Number of ill Customs, yet we may venture to say that they contract new Vices, which they were Strangers to in their native Country. From this cursory View of the Situation of our

Slaves, you may easily judge how extremely difficult it would be, if not morally impossible, to work any Thing like a thorough Reformation amongst them, unless some of their Masters & the Generality of white People were first reformed, we had almost said new moulded. We would not have it infered from hence that we intend any particular pointed Reflections upon the People of the Country; on the contrary we believe them as good as their Neighbours & think they are much of the same Complexion as the Inhabitants of other Countries. And 'tho' we almost despair of an entire Reformation, yet we have our Hopes that a Scheme like yours properly conducted, if it could meet with due Encouragement, might have a good Effect. We find that many People in this City, upon the first opening of your School, were well enough inclined towards it &, if the Fund allotted was sufficient, we believe that double the Number of Scholars might easily be procured; but at the same Time we fear that many People who have sent or would send their little Negroes to School, would not do it upon the principles which they ought; we mean purely with a View to have them instructed in the Principles of Religion, & enabled to instruct their Fellow Slaves at Home. Some People we fear send their Children more to keep them out of Mischief, others to improve them in Hopes of their being made a little more sensible, that they may be more handy & useful in their Families; We form this Opinion from observing that several, who put their Negroes to School, have taken them Home again so soon as they began to read, but before they had received any real Benefit or it could be supposed that they were made acquainted with the Principles of Christianity. This is one great Impediment which we are apprehensive will obstruct the Success of our Endeavours. We shall strive to guard against it, 'tho' 'twill be with great Difficulty that we shall be able to accomplish our Purpose. Few People have more Negroes than they can employ, & 'tho', when they are very young & useless, they may be willing to send them to School, yet when they grow up a little & become able to tend their Owners Children or do any other little Offices in their Families, they chuse & will take them Home. Another Difficulty which arises on the Part of the Owners is that an Opinion prevails amongst many of them, that it might be dangerous & impolitick to enlarge the Understandings of the Negroes, as they would probably by this Means become more impatient of their Slavery & at some future Day be more likely to rebel; they urge farther from Experience, that it is generally observable that the most sensible of our Slaves are the most wicked & ungovernable; these Observations, we think, are illy founded when used as Objections to your Scheme, which is by no Means calculated to instruct the Slaves in dangerous Principles, but on the contrary has a probable & direct Tendency to reform their Manners; & by making them good Christians they would necessarily become better Servants. We shall not fail endeavouring to remove Scruples of this & every other Sort, but finding they have taken deep Root in many Minds, we are apprehensive of great Difficulties in overcoming them. There is still one greater Discouragement which we fear we shall labour under. 'Tho' the Owners of the Negro Children should cheerfully close with our Proposals & submit them entirely to our Government; 'tho' the Mistress of the School should be ever so diligent in her Duty, & 'tho' the Scholars should make as great a Progress as could be wished, yet we fear that, notwithstanding all our Endeavours to prevent it, any good Impressions which may be made on the Children's Minds at School will be easily

effaced by their mixing with other Slaves, who are mostly abandoned to every Kind of Wickedness. If evil Communications have a general Tendency to corrupt good Manners, the Observation is never more likely to be verified than in Instances of this Sort, where the very Parents of the Children will probably much oftner, from their Intimacy, set them bad Examples than any others. Notwithstanding these & many other Difficulties, which the narrow Limits of a Letter will not permit us to particularize, stare us fully in the Face, we are resolved not to be discouraged; but hope, by the Blessing of God upon your Charity & our Endeavours, that the Undertaking will greatly prosper. The late Reverent Mr. Dawson & Mr. Hunter, we believe, had it in their Intention to form Rules for the better Government of the School but were prevented by Death; we have hitherto contented ourselves with permitting the Mistress to carry on the School in the Way it was begun; but, being sensible that Nothing of the Sort can be properly conducted without certain uniform Regulations, by which all Parties concerned may know how to govern themselves, we have drawn up such a Set of Rules as appear to us properly adapted & send you a Copy of them inclosed for your & the rest of the Associates' Approbation & should be glad to know your Sentiments; we shall be willing to add or diminish any Thing as you may advise. We probably shall have Occation for a few Testaments Psalters & spelling Books & perhaps a Number of Mr. Bacon's Sermons, recommending the Instruction of Negroes in the Christian Faith, properly dispersed over the Country might have a good Influence. We would not put you to the Expençe of any other Books at present. We will not conclude without offering our best Respects to you & the rest of the worthy Associates; Beleive us, Sir, we cannot enough admire a Set of Gentlemen, who at the same Time that they are employed in exercising every Act of Benevolence at Home, have so far enlarged their Charity as to extend it to the most distant Colonies. We are, Sir, with the greatest Exteem Your most obedient humble Servants

*William Yates
Ro. C. Nicholas*

[The Associates in London] Agreed that 25 Spelling Books 25 Psalters 20 Testaments & 25 Bacons Sermons be Sent for the Use of the Negroe School at Williamsburgh.

List of Negro Children at the Bray School

[Williamsburg, 30 September 1762]

A List of Negro Children at the School established by the Associates of the late Reverend Doctor Bray in the City of Williamsburg, Mrs. Anne Wager, School Mistress.

Names of the Children	their Ages as nearly as can be judged of	Owners Names
1 John	8 Years	Mrs. Davenport
2 Anne	6	Ditto
3 Dick	3	Mr. George Davenport

Faith Transported

4	London	7	Mrs. Campbell
5	Aggy	6	Ditto
6	Shropshire	6	Ditto
7	Aberdeen	5	Mr. Alexr. Craig
8	Mary	7	Mr. Thomas Everard
9	Harry	5	Ditto
10	George	8	Mr. Gilmer
11	Bristol	7	Ditto
12	Mary Anne	7	a free Negro
13	Aggy	7	Peyton Randolph Esqr.
14	Roger	7	Ditto
15	Mary	8	Mr. Thomas Hornsby
16	Rippon	3	Mr. Anthony Hay
17	Robert	6	John Randolph Esqr.
18	Lucy	5	Ditto
19	Elizabeth	10	Mrs. Dawson
20	George	6	Dr. James Carter
21	Locust	8	Mrs. Armistead
22	Sarah	7	Mrs. Page
23	Hannah	7	Ro: C: Nicholas
24	Mary Jones		a free Negro
25	John	7	John Blair Esqr.
26	Jane	9	Ditto
27	Doll	7	Ditto
28	Elisha Jones		free
29	John	3	Mr. Hugh Orr
30	Phoebe	3	Mr. Wm. Trebell
	Williamsburgh 30 th .	September 1762	

* * *

List of Negro Children

[Williamsburg, November 1765]

List of Negro Children who are at the Charity School in Williamsburg November 1765

	[# of children]
Mrs. Campbell's Young & Mary	2
Mrs. Davenport's William	1
Mr. Hay's Jerry	1
Doctor Carter's Nanny	1
Mr Blair's John, Dolly, Elizabeth, Catherine, Fanny, Isaac & Johanna	7

Faith Transported

<i>Mrs. Burwell's Joseph & Davy</i>	2
<i>Mrs. Prentis's Molly</i>	1
<i>Colo. Johnson's Squire</i>	1
<i>Colo. Chiswell's Edmund & Johnny</i>	2
<i>Mr. Charlton's Nancy & Davy</i>	2
<i>Mrs. Grymes's Phillis</i>	1
<i>Mrs. Orr's Pat & Jack, James & Sal</i>	4
<i>Mr. Thompson's Charles</i>	1
<i>Mr. Brown's Elizabeth</i>	1
<i>Mr. Thompson's Betty</i>	1
<i>Matt. Ashby's Harry & John</i>	2
<i>Mrs. Vobe's Sal</i>	1
<i>Mr. Waters's Sylvia</i>	1
<i>Mr. Randolph's Roger and Sam</i>	2
<i>in all</i>	34

* * *

List of Negro Children

Negroes now at School. [16 Feb. 1769]

	[# of children]
Mrs. Prisca. Dawson's Grace	1
Mr R. C. Nicholas's Sarah	1
Mr. President Blair's Catherine, Nancy, Johanna & Clara Bee	4
Mr. Hay's Jerry, Joseph, Dick	3
Mrs. Chiswell's Jack	1
Mrs. Campbell's Mary, Sally, Sukey	3
Mrs. Speaker's Sam	1
Mrs. Vobe's Jack	1
John & Mary Ashby . . free	2
Mr. Ayscough's Sally	1
The College. Adam, Fanny	2
The Commissary's Charlotte	1
Mrs. Blaikley's Jenny, Jack	2
Hon. Robt. Carter's Dennis	1
Mr. Hornsby's Nancy, Judy, Ratchel	3
Mr. Cocke's Mourning	1
Mr. Davenport's Matt, Harry	2

* * *

Bray School Regulations

The Associates of the late Reverend Doctor Bray, residing in England, having established Schools in several of the Northern Colonies for the Education of Negroes in the Principles of the Christian Religion, teaching them to read & at the same Time rendering the Females more useful to their Owners by instructing them in sewing knitting &c; encouraged by the Success of these their pious Endeavours & being solicitous to make this Kind of Charity as extensive as possible, they some Time ago came to a Resolution of establishing a School in the City of Williamsburg for the same Purpose & have thought fit to recommend it to the immediate Care & Government of the Reverend Mr. William Yates & Mr. Robert Carter Nicholas; who have cheerfully undertaken the Trust reposed in them & hope that all good Christians will cooperate with them in their Endeavours to promote the Success of so laudable & pious an Institution.

The Associates having engaged in so many Works of this Kind, which will require a very considerable Sum of Money to defray the Expence of, have limited the Number of Scholars to thirty, but as there may be many more Negro Children in this City, equally objects of such a Charity, The Trustees will thankfully accept of any Contributions,

which may be offered, towards augmenting the Number & thereby rendering the Scheme more generally beneficial. If the Scholars should increase, so as to make it necessary, they propose to employ another Mistress; And, for the Satisfaction of their Benefactors, they will be at all Times ready to give an Account of their Proceedings.

The Trustees, for the better Government of the School & to render it more truly beneficial, have thought fit to establish certain Regulations, relating as well to the Owners of Slaves as to the Teacher or Mistress, which they are resolved to have strictly observed & put in Execution, unless they should at any Time hereafter be induced by good Reasons to alter or relax them.

With Respect to the Owners

The School being at present full with the Number of Scholars proposed to be educated at the Expence of the Associates, such Masters or Mistresses, who may incline hereafter to send their Negro Children to the School, are desired to signify the same to the Trustees as they would choose hereafter that all Vacancies should be filled up by an equal Number from each Family as near as may be.

As it will [be] needless & by no Means answer the Design of the Institution for the Children to be put to School & taken away in a short Time before they have received any real Benefit from it, Every Owner, before a Negro Child is admitted into the School, must consent that such Child shall continue there for the Space of three Years at least, if the School should be so long continued.

A decent Appearance of the Scholars, especially when they go to Church, being very likely to make a favourable Impression, All Owners of Children sent to this School must take Care that they be properly cloathed & kept in a cleanly Manner; & if it should be agreeable, the Trustees would propose that the Children should wear one uniform Dress, by which they might be distinguished & it is concieved that this Method would be attended with very little additional Expence.

The Owners must send their Negro Children regularly, & constantly at the Hours of Schooling; must comply with all Orders relating to them & freely submit them to be chastized for the Faults without quarrelling or coming to School on such Occasions; must by no Means encourage or wink at the Children's Faults nor discourage the Teacher in the Performance of her Duty; but if there be any just Grounds of Complaint, they must lay them before the Trustees & Acquiesce in their Determination; the Trustees engaging on their Part to act with the Strictest Justice & Impartiality & that they will, to the utmost of their Power, endeavour to redress every just Grievance.

It is not doubted but that the Owners themselves will give the Children, when at Home, good Examples of a sober & religious Behaviour, but them must moreover take Care, as much as in them lies, that they are not corrupted by the Wickedness & ill

Examples of their Servants & other Slaves, must frequently catechize the Children at Home & second the Endeavours of the Teacher by inculcating in them the most useful & salutary Principles of Christianity.

*Rules to be observed by the Tutoress or Mistress,
(who is preferred to a Master, as the Scholars
will consist of Children of both Sexes.)*

She shall take no Scholars but what are approved of by the Trustees & She shall attend the School at seven O Clock in the Winter half of the Year & at six in the Summer half Year in the Morning & keep her Scholars diligently to their Business during the Hours of schooling, suffering none to be absent at any Time, but when they are sick or have some other reasonable Excuse.

She shall teach her Scholars the true Spelling of Words, make them mind their Stops & endeavour to bring them to pronounce & read distinctly.

She shall make it her principal Care to teach them to read the Bible, to instruct them in the Principles of the Christian Religion according to the Doctrine of the Church of England, shall explain the Church Catechism to them by some good Exposition, which, together with the Catechism, they shall publicly repeat in Church, or elsewhere, so often as the Trustees shall require & shall be frequently examined in School as to their Improvements of every Sort.

She shall teach them those Doctrines & Principles of Religion, which are in their Nature most useful in the Course of private Life, especially such as concern Faith & good Manners.

She shall conduct them from her School House, where they are all to be first assembled, in a decent & orderly Manner to Church, so often as divine Service is there performed & before it begins, & instruct & oblige them to behave in a proper Manner, kneeling or standing as the Rubrick directs, & to join in the public Service with & regularly to repeat after the Minister in all Places where the People are so directed & in such a Manner as not to disturb the rest of the Congregation. She shall take Care that the Scholars, so soon as they are able to use them, do carry their Bibles & Prayer Books to Church with them, & that they may be prevented from spending the Lord's Day profanely or idly, she shall give her Scholars some Task out of the most useful Parts of Scripture, to be learnt on each Lord's Day, according to their Capacities, & shall require a strict Performance of it every Monday Morning.

She shall use proper Prayers in her School every Morning & Evening & teach the Scholars to do the same at Home, devoutly on their Knees, & also teach them to say Grace before & after their Victuals, explaining to them the Design & Meaning of it.

She shall take Particular Care of the Manners & Behaviour of her Scholars & by all proper Methods discourage Idleness & suppress the Beginnings of Vice, such as lying, cursing, swearing, profaning the Lord's Day, obscene Discourse, stealing &c., putting them often in Mind & obliging them to get by Heart such Parts of the Holy Scriptures, where these Things are forbid & where Christians are commanded to be faithful & obedient to their Masters, to be diligent in their Business, & quiet & peaceable to all Men.

Faith Transported

She shall teach her female Scholars knitting sewing & such other Things as may be useful to their Owners & she shall be particularly watchful that her Scholars, between the School Hours, do not commit any Irregularities nor fall into any indecent Diversions.

Lastly, She shall take Care that her Scholars keep themselves clean & neat in their Cloaths & that they in all Things set a good Example to other Negroes.

Source: John C. Van Horne, editor. Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717-1777, (Urbana, Ill.), 1985, pp. 184-191, 241-2, 77-8.



CHURCH AND STATE IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA

This series of questions focuses on the overlapping jurisdictions and revenue requirements of colony, county, and parish governments in colonial Virginia where church and state were closely linked. A final question discusses education.

Were there other taxes based on tithables, or only the church tax?

The variety of public taxes and dues with which colonial Virginians were faced can be grouped into several broad categories: poll taxes; import and export duties, and port charges; royal quit rents (on land); and special taxes for the support of paper currency. It is poll taxes we are concerned with here. Poll or head taxes were the most widely paid levies in the Virginia colony. Poll taxes can be defined as any levy assessed at a flat rate (amount due) per tithable (taxable person). **Three different poll taxes were collected in colonial Virginia—the public levy, the county levy, and the parish levy.** Former Colonial Williamsburg historian Peter V. Bergstrom explained these three poll taxes this way in "Nothing So Certain: Taxes in Colonial Virginia" (1984):

Public Levy: The public levy, laid on by the General Assembly, dates back to 1623 before the dissolution of the Virginia Company. This tax, assessed on tithable persons in the colony, was normally used to pay for expenses of the central government including such things as construction and upkeep of government buildings (first at Jamestown, then Williamsburg), salaries of minor colonial

clerks, and compensation for masters whose slaves were executed. During the eighteenth century the public levy was also the source of funds to pay burgesses. After 1699 the General Assembly imposed a public levy every time it met, but it did not meet every year.

County Levy. Counties in colonial Virginia also charged a poll tax on the tithable population in each county to meet the expenses of county government. Counties collected these taxes regularly after 1647. County levies covered the costs of local justice such as stipends to county court clerks, constables, and coroners. Among the most expensive charges against county levies were construction and upkeep of county facilities (courthouses, jails, bridges, roads). Wolf bounties ran into money in frontier counties. County justices of the peace laid on the county levy annually.

Parish Levy. Vestries in Virginia imposed this poll tax on parish tithables to support the activities of the Church of England in Virginia. The parish rate was not established in law until 1629 when specific legislation for payment of ministers' salaries was enacted. It is safe to assume, however, that parishioners paid some sort of tax for ministers' salaries from the earliest years of the Virginia colony. By the middle of the seventeenth century the parish rate was also used to pay for building and upkeep of churches and chapels, to purchase and maintain glebe farms (established as a further support for parish ministers), and to relieve the "worthy poor" in the parish. The parish rate was an annual levy.

What exactly did tithable mean in colonial Virginia?

Some people are familiar with the term *tithe* (tenth) through their churches. In the tradition of ancient Jewish law, they are encouraged to pledge one-tenth of their earnings for the maintenance of ministers, buildings, and programs. In England, tithes for support of the priesthood and the religious establishment were first enforced in the tenth century.

Tithe also had a more general meaning—any levy, tax, or tribute of one tenth. In England *tithable* crops, livestock, and earnings determined the tithes paid by individuals for the support of the clergy and church. In addition, *Tithing-penny* referred to revenues paid to sheriffs in England by the several tithings of their counties. A *tithing* (from Saxon law) was a group of ten households that formed the tenth part of a hundred, an administrative unit.

As early as the 1620s in Virginia, the term *tithable* meant liable to pay taxes or one subject to payment of taxes. Colonial Virginians paid poll taxes (a set tax rate per person—not based on crops, livestock, or earnings) not only for parish support, but

colony and county expenses, too. Poll tax rates in the colony were not valued at a tenth part of anything.

In Virginia any person legally subject to a poll tax (see #1) was tithable, that is taxable. It was just as necessary to define the taxable population in the colonial period as it is today. The tax base (tithable population) for the public levy, the county levy, and the parish rate was determined by age, sex, and race. The legal definition of a tithable changed several times during the seventeenth century but remained constant in Virginia after 1705. In that year the legislature defined tithables to include males aged sixteen years and upwards (all races) and "all negro, mulatto, and Indian women" aged sixteen and over. All children under sixteen and white women were excepted. Household heads normally paid taxes for all tithable persons attached to their households. Level of income (ability to pay) was not among the criteria for determining who paid how much in poll taxes.

The list of tithables used by the General Assembly, the county, and the parish was recast every year. The law concerning tithables ordered that the county court divide each county into "convenient precincts" [such as Upper Bruton (York County) and Lower Bruton (James City County)] and annually appoint one of the justices of the court for each precinct to take the list of tithes for that precinct. Each tithetaker put a notice at the church or chapel in his precinct stating where he would be on June 10 so that heads of families could bring him the names of the tithables in their households as of June 9. At the meeting of the county court in August each tithetaker delivered the lists he had collected to the courthouse so that all who wanted to could view them "for discovery of such [tithables] as shall be concealed." The county clerk then compiled a master list arranged by parish and precinct.

How was the amount of poll taxes per tithable determined?

It is important to keep in mind that the size of tax bills paid by household heads depended upon both the number of tithables in each household and amounts of money needed in any given year by the General Assembly, county governments, and parish vestries.

Operating funds needed by the central government were divided by the number of tithables in the colony as a whole; county budgetary totals by the number of tithables in the county; and church-related expenses by the number of tithables in the parish.

Here's an example. Suppose John Doe's household consists of himself, his wife, one adult slave woman, and her child about ten years old (total = 2 tithables). Jane Roe heads a household composed of her two sons ages seventeen and nineteen, two slave men, and a slave woman with a babe-in-arms (total = 5 tithables). Their parish vestry adds up expenses for the year including the minister's salary, repairs to the church building, upkeep for several poor or incapacitated persons in the parish, supplies for

four celebrations of the Eucharist, light cleaning around the church and grounds, and laundering church linens. The vestry divides that total by the number of tithables in the parish (which they know from the list of tithables they purchased from the court clerk—or clerks in the case of Bruton). This computation reveals that twenty pounds of tobacco is due for each tithable. This amount is then multiplied by John's two tithables—he owes forty pounds of tobacco and Jane's five tithables—she owes one hundred pounds of tobacco. Meanwhile, similar calculations at the county and provincial levels have produced additional amounts due per tithable that must also be multiplied by John's two tithables and Jane's five.

Who collected taxes based on the tithable population?

Originally, it was the churchwardens of the parish who collected the parish levy, usually by naming a place and time for parishioners to bring their dues to him. This proved exceedingly inconvenient for the people, and by the late seventeenth century it was the county sheriff, with the help of his undersheriff (deputy sheriff) and county constables, who collected the parish tax. This they could do with no added inconvenience at the same time they collected the county public levies.

Was the sheriff really as much of a treasurer as Webb (George Webb, justice of the peace in New Kent County, and author of *The Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace*, an eighteenth-century handbook for Virginia's JPs) makes him sound? Where did the money go? How was transfer of funds handled?

The sheriff certainly needed bookkeeping skills. All taxes were due at the same time of year, so the sheriff had to keep account of how much he and his fellow officers (undersheriff, constables) had collected from whom, how much went to central, county, and parish governments, and which funds he had turned over to whom.

Sheriffs were personally responsible for the funds they and their assistants collected. Since there were no banks in colonial Virginia, sheriffs usually kept revenues in their personal possession, undoubtedly socked away with whatever personal cash, tobacco warehouse receipts, or bills of exchange they had on hand—an unthinkable conflict of interest in the modern United States. These public funds remained in private hands until they were turned over to provincial, county, or parish officials who also were responsible personally for the funds until they were used to pay for work or other charges against each body. If the sheriff lost collected revenues through negligence or misuse, or if he failed to collect all taxes due, government units needed a way to recover public funds. Thus the requirement that sheriffs post bond. It was not uncommon for suit to be brought against a sheriff who failed to turn over public funds or for the county to attach a sheriff's estate for recovery of tax monies in his hands when he died.

One further note. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, taxes were collected in actual tobacco that was used as commodity money until 1730, the year the General Assembly passed the Tobacco Inspection Act. The act required inspection and bonding at public warehouses of all tobacco shipped abroad, and thereafter warehouse receipts became legal tender in lieu of tobacco itself. Taxes could not be paid in cash except in areas that did not grow tobacco, for which the General Assembly made a special exception. The Two penny Acts of 1755 and 1758 permitted Virginians to pay their taxes in money during those two years of short crops and abnormally high tobacco prices at a rate of twopence per pound of tobacco, well below the market value at the time.

Who ultimately made the decision to build a new church and who decided how much the tax had to be to pay for it?

The vestry. Colonial law did require that every parish have a church, but it was not necessary to get approval for a new church from the General Assembly or the governor and Council or the county court. The vestry simply added up the costs of a new church and divided that amount by the number of tithables in the parish to determine how much was due per tithable to pay for construction. Because church buildings were expensive, payments were usually spread out over several years, often for the two or three years *preceding* anticipated construction. Personal contributions and bequests in wills occasionally supplemented monies obtained through parish taxes for church construction. For instance, large contributions from Robert "King" Carter and his heirs helped build Christ Church, Lancaster County. Pew sales were another source of funding for construction.

That being said, there are a couple of things to keep in mind about planning and construction of Bruton Parish Church. The Bruton vestry probably did respond to pressure from the General Assembly that the old parish church completed in 1683 be replaced with a more elegant "state church" suitable for the capital of the colony. Moreover, since the governor and members of the legislature regularly attended Bruton Parish Church, funding for construction came partly from the General Assembly. Governor Spotswood personally financed twenty-two feet of the church's seventy-five-foot length. The government also helped pay for additions to Bruton later in the century. These actions by the Assembly and governor are unique to Bruton.

Explain the working relationship between vestry, local (county), and colonial governments. What was the governing relationship between vestry and county governments?

It is very important to remember that the personnel of the three governmental units in colonial Virginia were often the same people. Vestrymen usually served as county justices of the peace (Bruton vestrymen could be found on the courts of York and

James City Counties, depending upon their place of residence), and it was from among local justices that burgesses were usually elected to represent a county in the General Assembly. The right hand usually knew what the left had was doing. Still, the relationship between the General Assembly, the county courts, and the vestries is complex and not always clear-cut.

General Assembly. It was the House of Burgesses and the governor and Council who passed the laws under which colonial Virginians lived. A number of those laws provided the grounds on which people could be prosecuted by the churchwardens for Sabbath-breaking and a number of other moral offenses. Duties and responsibilities of the vestry also were spelled out in a variety of laws. The governor and his Council approved proposed new parishes and ordered vestry elections be carried out in them. The governor and Council occasionally heard grievances against vestries or ministers from local church members. The governor, as the British monarch's representative in Virginia, came with instructions in hand that included a number of responsibilities for the religious life of the colony. For instance, he was to induct Anglican ministers and ensure conformity to the Church of England and the Book of Common Prayer. In practice vestries rarely presented their ministers for induction, and the governor did little "hands-on" supervision of church life.

Members of a parish could appeal to or petition the General Assembly for redress of grievances in their parishes. Remedy against a parish levy considered oppressive is one example. Boundary disputes that sometimes erupted when an old large parish was divided into two new parishes were referred to the central government for resolution.

County Courts. Justices of the peace in colonial Virginia bear almost no resemblance to modern officials of the same title. In colonial times, JPs had broad judicial and administrative powers. They adjudicated debt cases and other civil matters, heard evidence against accused criminals in the free population except crimes that might result in the death penalty, which were referred to the General Court in Williamsburg. All slaves accused of criminal activity, whether misdemeanor or felony, were tried before the county court. JPs also recorded deeds and probate documents (such as wills, estate inventories, and estate settlements); for the protection of propertied orphans, guardians of propertied orphans annually turned over their accounts of the estates they managed to the county courts. Young slaves recently imported appeared before county judges to have their ages adjudged so that their new masters would know when to count them as tithables. Justices delegated responsibilities to lesser officials such as surveyors of the highways, constables, county jailers, and others. Coroners appointed from among the justices conducted inquests when suspicious deaths were reported. And the list goes on.

Since there were no ecclesiastical courts in Virginia, the law directed churchwardens to resort to the county courts to prosecute Sabbath-breaking and other breaches of the

moral code. The vestry and churchwardens could be prosecuted in the county courts if they did not carry out their responsibilities.

Vestry. The parish was the local unit for administration of church and religious affairs in the community and the promotion of moral health in the community. Broadly speaking, the vestry had several important duties: to appoint the clergyman of the parish; to investigate cases of drunkenness, adultery and fornication, Sabbath-breaking, and other moral offenses; to lay the parish levy, and to keep a record of births and baptisms in the parish. These responsibilities required year-round attention entrusted to two churchwardens elected annually from among vestry members.

Churchwardens were authorized to investigate breaches of the moral code and to present well-founded charges to the county court for final judgment. Part of this process also gave churchwardens authority to protect the parish from charges for the upkeep of bastard children born in the parish by collecting a sum of money from the mother, or requiring the father to post bond, or accepting payment from her master if the mother was an indentured servant. If none of these funds was forthcoming, churchwardens could "sell" the woman into a period of bound servitude to the highest bidder to recover expenses the parish incurred. Churchwardens also were authorized to bind out bastard children whose financial support fell to the parish. They also were supposed to make sure these children were decently treated during their servitude or apprenticeship. They could present cruel or neglectful masters to the county court.

The vestry usually met twice a year. One of these meetings was scheduled for October or November for the laying of the levy. (County courts devised a budget in October or November as well). To figure the parish budget, the vestry needed information about all sorts of expenses including the needs of poor and disabled people of the parish, the existence of illegitimate children born in the parish, and the names of parishioners willing to take—or who had taken—indigent persons into their homes. Churchwardens could supply most of these details.

When county lines and parish boundaries did not coincide (e.g., Bruton Parish covered parts of James City and York Counties), who collected fines for non-attendance, etc.? Where did the money go?

The county court of the county in which the Sabbath-breaker or other offender lived ordered the fine which was then collected by the county sheriff or his fellow officers (undersheriff or constable) and turned over to the vestry of the parish in which the person lived to be applied to poor relief there.

If Bruton vestry made a decision and York officials agreed and James City County officials didn't, what happened?

This kind of conflict does not appear to have arisen. County courts could refuse to go forward with a case presented by the churchwardens if the grand jury thought the case was without merit. Sometimes boundary disputes erupted when old parishes were divided to make two new parishes, but these disputes were referred to the central government for resolution. Conflicts also arose between parishes. For instance, a question arose in 1660 about where the parish taxes of the family of Mrs. Elizabeth Jones should be paid. All members of the family resided in Hampton Parish, but some of them worked in another parish. These workers returned to the main family dwelling house at night. The county court directed that the whole amount of the parish tax levied against Mrs. Jones be paid to the vestry of Hampton Parish.

Was there a county board of supervisors or equivalent—or did the parish vestry serve this function?

There was no county board of supervisors in colonial Virginia. In the well-developed system of local courts, county justices of the peace (and members of the Williamsburg of Norfolk common halls) performed not only in a judicial capacity, but administratively as well. The administrative aspects of colonial justices' duties resemble in some respects the functions of modern boards of supervisors or city councils. For instance, they issued orders for construction or repair of roads, bridges, and landings; they saw to the construction and upkeep of the courthouse; regulated prices charged in taverns; issued yearly licenses to tavern keepers; delegated duties to an array of lesser officials; and figured a budget and levied taxes to defray county expenses. Justices and common councilmen also drew up regulations for dealing with smallpox epidemics and other public safety concerns.

Some of the social services provided by parish vestries also resemble those of modern boards of supervisors or city councils or state agencies. Vestries were authorized to draw up bylaws for regulation of their affairs.

What social services provided by the parish other than support of orphans and widows can be documented?

Let's be clear about this. The vestry assisted *poor* orphans and *poor* widows in very reduced circumstances. Keep in mind that many orphans and widows were left with substantial estates. Then it was the county courts to which guardians presented regular accounts of those estates for inspection. Guardians or trustees could be prosecuted in court if they were found to be "wasting" or otherwise mismanaging the estates entrusted to them.

It was the churchwardens' duty to report to the vestry all cases of extreme poverty in the parish. The ever-present poor without resources, the aged pauper, the wife and children refused maintenance by husband and father, and the physically and mentally disabled sought assistance from the parish. Funds were sometimes given directly to the needy person, but without a local almshouse, more often he or she was boarded in the home of another parishioner who was then paid at the time of the parish levy for expenses incurred in the previous twelve months. Sometimes parish aid consisted of payment for a specific service such as a physician's fee for treating a pauper's injured leg or a load of firewood.

Bruton Parish vestry eventually found that the burden of the poor so stretched the parish's resources that it petitioned the House of Burgesses in 1755 to be allowed to erect a "workhouse, where [able-bodied] Poor might be more cheaply maintained and usefully employed." An act was passed giving vestries the right to erect, purchase, or rent houses for the lodging, maintenance, and employment of the poor in their parishes. Bruton's workhouse was located near Capitol Landing on Queen's Creek. We do not know much about its operations because Bruton vestry records from the period do not survive.

Vestries sometimes suspended payment of parish taxes by paupers, the aged, or the physically disabled. County courts usually followed suit by suspending county taxes paid by these unfortunate persons. The position of sexton or sextonness (responsible for cleaning up around churches and chapels, laundering church linens, or perhaps digging graves if a man) was sometimes given to a parishioner (male or female) who needed additional income.

Children whose parents were living but unable or unwilling to provide decently for them could be bound out to learn a trade. If their masters mistreated any of these children, the churchwardens were authorized to inform the county court so that the child could be moved and the master punished (they could "present" the master to the county court in much the same way they would a Sabbath-breaker).

When did parishes stop being concerned with roads, bridges, etc.? What other responsibilities transferred from parish to county? When?

The county courts always had responsibility for roads and bridges in Virginia. In the early 1780s vestries of Rockbridge, Botetourt, Montgomery, Washington, Greenbrier, Augusta, and Frederick Counties and several other western counties were dissolved by the General Assembly and their duty to provide for the poor turned over to elected bodies thereafter called Overseers of the Poor. In 1785 legislation required all counties in Virginia to elect Overseers of the Poor.

What had processioning of the bounds become by the third quarter of the eighteenth century? Were individual's property lines processed or just overall parish boundaries?

Between 1662 and 1748, the General Assembly repeatedly passed laws that required "once in every four years, the bounds of every person's land shall be processioned, or gone round." In the summer of the appointed year, county courts ordered vestries to set a date between September 30 and March 31 following for all persons whose tracts of land touched each other's land to walk in procession around the boundaries of each tract, renewing blazes on trees and noting or replacing landmarks. Information gathered during these walk arounds and names of people taking part were recorded by clerks of the vestries in special books. Property lines processioned three times were "held, deemed, and taken, to be sufficient to settle the bounds, so as the same may never thereafter be altered."

Processioning was important in rural areas where trees, creeks, or other natural features served as boundary markers. So far as we know, processioning did not go on in towns where lot lines were well established and documented.

Surry County has processioning records at least as late as the 1760s. Even after post-revolutionary vestries were no longer responsible, processioning continued in new divisions called districts. For instance, processioning records exist for York County in the early nineteenth century and Southampton County has processioning records to 1854 at least. Processioning probably became obsolete as surveying and recording techniques improved.

Was there an official educational system in colonial Virginia? Was the Church of England in Virginia in charge of it?

In the Virginia colony, as in England of the time, education was a privilege provided at the appropriate level by parents and guardians, not a guaranteed right to standardized instruction for all children. That wide latitude in educating children was customary and expected in Virginia is borne out in statutory requirements designed to protect estates of propertied orphans. Virginia law stipulated that orphans with assets receive a literary education in line with what the income from their estates could sustain. In other words, propertied orphans received only that level of instruction that would not reduce the value of their estates. When an orphan had no estate, or one so small that it could not accommodate a "book education," churchwardens bound the child out to learn a trade. Free children from the bottom rungs of society were lucky if they were taught very basic skills in reading and writing; slaves rarely got that much. Moreover, it was not thought necessary or proper to educate girls, even the daughters of the gentry, to a level on par with their brothers.

The General Assembly of Virginia made rules about schooling only for free children who were without parents or whose parents were without resources and respectable morals. The only provision for elementary education at public expense in Virginia came about in 1755 when legislation permitted parishes to establish workhouses and required vestries that opted to do so to "levy a reasonable allowance in their parish levies, for the education of such poor children as shall be placed in the said house, or houses, until they shall be bound out according to law."

Although nothing resembling public education in the modern sense took root in colonial Virginia, there is plenty of evidence that parents and guardians as well as government and church officials knew the importance of schooling and its reciprocal, religious training, in preparing youngsters to become productive and upright members of society. For example, from the seventeenth century onwards, testators often spelled out in their wills how the sons and daughters they left behind were to be educated, reserving funds to that purpose. Virginia grandees strove to secure a classical education for their sons and appropriate, if less rigorous, instruction for their daughters. Parish vestries sometimes found themselves managing bequests from individuals who hoped to make it possible for poor children to be schooled without charge. Even the occasional slave owner saw to it that a favored slave child learned to read and write. A philanthropic organization in England, the Associates of Dr. Bray, established a school in Williamsburg (1760-1774) for slave children to which a few free black parents also sent a son or a daughter. A broad cross-section of masters in Williamsburg enrolled young slaves in the Bray school albeit for short periods of time.

Anglican clergymen or young men awaiting ordination often earned extra income by operating small schools for which they charged a fee for each student enrolled.

DISSENTERS IN VIRGINIA SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

In Thomas Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia he estimated, somewhat enthusiastically, that two-thirds of the people were dissenters in 1776. A dissenter was one who "dissented," or differed in opinion from the Established Church. In Virginia, as in England, the established religion was Anglican. Dissenting Protestants in Virginia were allowed to worship without molestation as long as they followed the terms of the Act of Toleration passed under William and Mary in 1689.

In the seventeenth century, the Virginia General Assembly took steps to limit dissenters in the colony, particularly Quakers, but religious life in the Virginia was never purely Anglican. Slaves, too, had some familiarity with dissenting groups from the seventeenth century onwards.

In spite of efforts to discourage dissenters, burgesses were practical and knew when to make allowances for peaceable coexistence with non-Anglicans, as the 1705 law below concerning Quakers indicates. By the 1730s, Presbyterians and other groups actually were encouraged by Virginia authorities to settle on the frontiers of the colony. It was not until the period from the 1740s through the Revolution that officials reexamined the Toleration Act and its application in Virginia in response to their alarm over Presbyterians like Samuel Davies who wanted to be licensed to serve several meeting houses and "new light" Baptist refusal to obtain licenses at all.

In response to growing demands from dissenters for the right to practice religion as they saw fit, burgesses formed a Committee for Religion in 1769 to develop a Virginia toleration bill. They fielded petitions from dissenters by the dozens, but the Revolution cut short their work on their primary assignment—a toleration bill for Virginia. That had to wait for George Mason's Declaration of Rights (1776) and passage of the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom (1786).

Society of Friends (Quakers)

Founded in England by George Fox about 1647, members of the Society of Friends had already settled in the Virginia colony, especially in Nansemond County, by the 1650s. A decade later, they were active in York County:

August 26, 1661

It appearing by two oaths taken in Court that Mary Chisman and two or three Negroes belonging to Edmond Chisman met with Quakers on 25th instant, ordered that Mary and Edmond Chisman have notice of the Governor's order concerning Quakers . . . and that if she continue after that then punishment to be carried out against her. Edmond Chisman to see that his Negroes and family keep away from unlawful assemblies.

Source: York County Records, Deeds, Orders, Wills 3, p. 125.

Friends commonly were called Quakers because of the spiritual "trembling" experienced during their meetings. Fox, who once told an English court to tremble at the

word of God, emphasized the immediacy of Christ's teachings. He described the effect as an inner light by which Christ illumined the believing soul. Quakers worshipped without a set liturgy or pre-arrangement of any kind. Fox subscribed to the Reformation idea of a universal priesthood of all believers (every person had direct access to God; no priest or other intermediary was required). Quakers, therefore, did not have appointed ministers. At Quaker meetings, any man or woman who was moved to speak did so.

Besides their manner of worship and rejection of the sacraments, Quakers also believed they ought not to be bound by any authority but God's. They therefore refused to bear arms or swear oaths. Their mode of worship, pacifism, and efforts to attract converts from the established church made Quakers the target of persecution in England and the colonies. In 1661 and 1663, the Virginia Assembly sought to suppress Quakers by an act which fined those attending unlawful assemblies 200 pounds of tobacco:

1663

An act prohibiting the unlawfull assembling of Quakers.

WHEREAS it is evident of late time that certaine persons under the names of Quakers and other names of separation have taken up and maintained sundry dangerous opinions and tenets, and whereas the said persons under the pretense of religious worship doe often assemble themselves in greate numbers in several parts of this colony to the greate endangering its publique peace and safety and to the terror of the people by maintayning a secrett and strict correspondency among themselves, and in the meane time separating and dividing themselves from the rest of his majesties good and loyall subjects, and from the publique congregations and usuall places of divine service, for redressing whereof and for better preventing the many mischeifes and dangers that may and doe arise by such dangerous tenets and such unlawful assemblies, Be it enacted by this present grand assembly and the authority thereof that if any person or commonly called Quakers, or any other seperatists whatsoever in this colony shall at any time after the publishing of this act in the severall respective counties departe from the place of their severall habitations and assemble themselves to the number of five or more of the age of sixteene yeares or upwards at any one tyme in any place under pretence of joyning in a religious worship not authorized by the laws of England nor this country that then in all and every such cases the party soe offending being thereof lawfully convict by the verdict of twelve men, or by his owne confession, or by notorious evidence of the fact, shall for the first offence forfeite and pay two hundred pounds of tobacco and for the second offence forfeite and pay five hundred pounds of tobacco to be levyed by distresse and sale of the goods of the party soe convicted and that then every person soe offending and convicted as aforesaid shall for his or her third offence be banished this colony of Virginia to the places the governor and councill shall appoint. . . .

In addition, shipmasters who brought Quakers to Virginia and persons allowing Quakers to hold meetings in their homes could be fined 5,000 pounds of tobacco:

And be it further enacted that any person or persons inhabitant of this country that shall entertaine any Quakers in or neare their houses, that is, to teach or preach shall likewise be fined five thousand pounds of tobacco for each time they do entertayne them, to be levyed by distresse and sale of the persons goods by order of the justices in the next county court held for that county where the fact was committed before whome the same shalbe by evidence proved.

Source: Hening, Statutes, Vol. 2, pp. 180-183.

Under terms of this act, Quakers were sometimes harassed by county authorities in Virginia, but real persecution of Quakers (including execution) was confined to New England. Quakers in Virginia gradually became less aggressive and were no longer looked upon as threats to the establishment. Over time, they came to be tolerated by custom, and in 1705 the Assembly granted them the right to abstain from taking oaths. Anglican ministers in the colony hoped to bring Quakers back into the established church, however, and some succeeded:

The Mr. Rev. Nicholas Moreau, Virginia

April 12, 1697

"I have brought to church again two families, who had gone to the Quakers' meeting for three years past...(they) were persuaded by me to receive the Holy Communion at Easter Day: which they did perform... with great piety and respect."

C.G. Chamberlayne, The Vestry Book and Register of St. Peter's Parish: New Kent and James City Counties, 1684-1786, Virginia States Library and Archives, Richmond, 1989, pp. 619-622.

1705

An Act for establishing the General Court

*That the people commonly called **quakers**, shall have the same liberty of giving their evidence, by way of solemn affirmation and declaration [as a matter of principal, Quakers did not swear oaths] as is presscribed by one act of parliament . . . in full force in this dominion.*

Source: Hening, Statutes, Vol. 3, p. 298.

In 1690, the famous English Quaker, Thomas Story, visited Virginia and came through York County. He noted in his journal that a meeting was held "at the House of Thomas Nichols, at a Place called Pocoson: where there had never been a Meeting before: It was large though the People, till my Companion began to speak, did not generally come in; but then crowded much, and a good Meeting we had."

Source: [Thomas Story], Extracts from a Journal of the Life of Thomas Story . . . (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1757), pp. 30-31.

By the 1730s, Quakers were less numerous in the eastern parts of Virginia, and Quakers from Pennsylvania and elsewhere had settled in northern Virginia and in the Shenandoah Valley. By the time of the Revolution there were Quakers scattered throughout the colony. Quakers such as the Bates family of York County continued to live near Williamsburg as well. See biography of Fleming Bates in this resource book.

During the Revolutionary War few Quakers took part in the fighting due to their pacifism. Always viewed with suspicion during times of war, a number of them were jailed and abused for aiding the enemy. A notable exception was Quaker Isaac Zane, who was elected to the House of Burgesses from Frederick County in 1773 and aided the cause through his iron works. Zane was excluded by the Quakers for his activities.

Presbyterians

Presbyterianism is a form of ecclesiastical polity wherein presbyters instead of a system of bishops govern the church. The pattern of government of the church is the particular congregation consisting of the minister and elders; the Presbytery consisting of ministers and representative elders of the churches within a prescribed area; Synods consisting of members of several presbyteries within a large area; and the General Assembly which is the supreme legislature and administrative court and which consists of ministers and elders commissioned by the presbyteries. Presbyterian doctrine is traditionally Calvinistic. Worship is simple, orderly, and dignified, with an emphasis upon the preaching of the word of God. Unlike the Separate Baptists, they put great stock in a well-educated ministry.

Presbyterians had appeared in eastern Virginia as early as 1683. Josias Mackie, pastor of the Elizabeth River Congregation, was the first known legal dissenting minister in Virginia under the Act of Toleration. However, the real founder of Presbyterianism in America was Francis Mackemie. Mackemie settled in Accomac County upon his arrival from Ireland and was licensed to preach there in 1699. A few years later he left for Philadelphia to establish the first American Presbytery in 1706. After the organization of presbyteries in other colonies, the Synod of Philadelphia was formed in 1716, and the Presbyterian Church thereby took its place as an independent, self-governing organization in America. Though Mackemie was the founder of American Presbyterianism, he was not responsible for its upsurge in Virginia. Presbyterianism, as a vital force in Virginia, had its beginnings from the Scots-Irish immigration to the west and from a spontaneous revival in the east about 1743.

Encouraged to immigrate to Virginia by Gov. Gooch, the Scotch-Irish began to arrive in large numbers to the Valley after 1730, in many cases establishing their Presbyterian congregations as soon as they arrived. A smaller stream of migration swung back across the mountains through Albemarle County, across the James River into the Southside. All of the congregations in Virginia were considered to be in the territory of Donegal Presbytery in Pennsylvania.

In 1741 there was an open break in the Presbyterian Church between the old and new-side preachers. The "Old-Side" was made up of conservative preachers who attacked the revivalistic and emotional style preaching of the "New-Side" preachers. The New-Side preachers withdrew from the Philadelphia Synod and formed their own synod called the Synod of New York. Among the New-Side preachers sent to Virginia as missionaries was Samuel Davies in 1747.

It was during Davies's stay in Virginia that the Great Awakening movement reached its height. Though Davies fueled the movement, the actual "Awakening" had begun about four years earlier in Hanover County by a group of men, led by Samuel Morris, who had become convinced that their Anglican minister was not teaching the true gospel and started holding prayer readings in their homes. As word of these readings spread, meeting houses soon had to be built to hold the congregations.

Davies's emotional, yet dignified, style of preaching attracted many followers, including Patrick Henry, and made Presbyterianism a reputable religion in conservative Virginia. This rapid period of growth led to the reformation of the New Side Presbytery of Hanover in 1755, and after the reunion of the two sides this presbytery encompassed all the ministerial workings in Virginia. Besides their hold in eastern Virginia, the Presbyterians claimed the religious allegiance of a large majority of settlers beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains and dominated that region's political and social life by 1776.

By continually challenging the narrow interpretation put on the Act of Toleration by those in power, Samuel Davies was able to broaden religious toleration in Virginia. Upon his departure in 1759, there was no one strong enough to take his lead, and the Presbyterians, with their natural conservatism, settled down to a quiet existence. They had paved the way, however, for other dissenters who would demand a further extent of liberty than mere toleration.

Williamsburg, of course, was an Anglican stronghold, but even in the capital city there were dissenters. On June 17, 1765, a group of tradesmen from Williamsburg and York County petitioned the York County court for permission to use a house in Williamsburg for occasional meetings. The justices granted their request.

Presbyterian Meeting House in Williamsburg

***These are to Certify the Worshipful Court of York that We intend to make use of a House in the City of Williamsburgh Situate on part of a Lott belonging to Mr. George Davenport as a place for the Public Worship of God according to the Practise of Protestant Dissenters of the Presbyterian denomination which we desire may be Registered in the Records of the Court and this Certification we make according to the direction of an Act of Parliament commonly called the Act of Toleration
P.S. As we are not able to obtain a Settled Minister we intend this Place at present only for occasional Worship when we have opportunity to hear any legally qualified Minister.***

William Smith

John Connelly [hatter, magazine guard]

Walter Lenox [barber/perukemaker, board. house keeper]

James Holdcroft [tailor]

Robt. Nicholson [tailor, merchant]

William Gemmell [shoemaker?]

Edward Cumins [printer/bookbinder]

Thomas Skinner [shoemaker]

Daniel Hoyle [wheelwright]

John Bell [blacksmith/whitesmith]

John Ormeston [cabinetmaker]
James Douglas [staymaker]
James Atherton [mag. guard, carpenter]

James Smith
William Brown
Jo. Morris
Charles Hankins

The above Certificate was proved in Court and on the Motion of the Persons subscribed thereto was Ordered to be recorded.

Source: York County Records, Judgments & Orders 4, p. 412.

* * *

Baptists

On the eve of the Revolution, the Baptists were the most rapidly growing dissenters in the colony. They were instrumental in the spread of evangelical religion and the push for disestablishment of the Anglican church in Virginia.

The first known record of a Baptist preacher in Virginia is known through the journal of Thomas Story, the noted Quaker. Story made a visit to Virginia in the 1690s and in his travels spent some time in York County and held a meeting in Yorktown. He reported that the meeting took place “at the home of one Thomas Bonger, a preacher among the General Baptists.” Nothing further is known of Bonger or his activities.

In 1714, a group of Baptists in Isle of Wight County petitioned the General Baptists in London for a peacher. Robert Nordin spent more than a decade in Virginia during which time he organized a congregation in Prince George County. He may have preached in Surry and Isle of Wight counties as well where by 1729 there were Baptist congregations. These two congregations dwindled as many of their number removed to North Carolina well before the influx of “new light” Separate Baptists in Virginia in the 1760s and ‘70s.

Baptists believed in the baptism of conscious believers as the basis of the fellowship of a gathered church. The early Baptists in Virginia noted above were General Baptists. They took their name from their belief in unlimited (general) atonement (Arminian) rather than the Calvinistic view that salvation was limited to the elect few.

Separate Baptists were mildly Calvinistic in theology and zealously revivalistic in practice. Separate Baptist Shubal Stearns from Connecticut first passed through Virginia and settled in North Carolina. Later, he returned to Southside Virginia about 1760. Arising from the Great Awakening, their emotional preaching style and itinerancy enabled them to touch Virginians from all walks of life. Separate Baptists believed in direct leadership of the Holy Spirit, which required immediate response and commitment under divine authority. True commitment required a person to be an evangelist for Christ. They renounced infant baptism and were fully immersed in water upon profession of faith.

The Separates based their platform on the Bible, and placed all authority in the hands of the local churches. They refused to apply for permits for meeting houses and

licenses to preach, believing that government had no right to meddle in religious affairs. They also made harsh attacks on the Anglican church and their democratic doctrines shook up the well-defined social order in Virginia. As a result, persecution of the Separate Baptists began in county courts in 1768. It was the sight of imprisoned Baptists preaching from their cells that galvanized James Madison's ideas about religious freedom. With the outbreak of War, they began a vigorous struggle for religious liberty, which did not stop until Church and State were totally separated.

Williamsburg did not see a Baptist congregation until Gowan Pamphlet organized his congregation of slaves and free blacks in the 1780s. In 1793, the black Baptist church in Williamsburg was accepted as an official member of the regional Dover Baptist Association. It was not until the 1820s that white Baptists organized a church in Williamsburg.

German Reformed

The great immigration of Germans into the American colonies during the colonial period had its inception when William Penn, after having received his charter of the province of Pennsylvania, visited the upper Rhine and, speaking to refugees from that war-devastated section in their own language, invited them to find new homes in America.

The German Reformed had its beginnings in the little group of German workmen whom Colonel Alexander Spotswood imported to develop and carry on his iron mines and furnace at Germanna. The founder of German Reformed in America was John Philip Boehm, who arrived in 1720. In 1747 a synod, called Coetus, was formed in Philadelphia to provide ministers and general supervision, but it had no authority to ordain without permission from Holland. The Reformed Churches in America held to the churchly and creedal traditions of the Old World that stressed Christianity as a life rather than a creed.

The German Reformed Church in Virginia can look back to the block house in the center of the fortifications at Germanna as its first place of worship. The first group of German Reformed to come to Germanna was in 1714. Explorer John Fontaine, who visited Germanna in 1716, wrote: "They go to prayer constantly once a day, and have two sermons on Sunday...They seemed to be very devout, and sang the Psalms well." Upon the end of their indenture they moved as a group to Germantown in Fauquier County. Up until the Revolution, Germantown was a prosperous farming community consisting of a village, church and school. The population gradually moved away and children intermarried with English families.

In 1733 a Reformed settlement had sprung up on the east side of the Blue Ridge Mountains in present-day Loudoun County. Settled by a colony of Germans from Pennsylvania, the Congregation still survives today at Lovettsville. The first known German Reformed settlement west of the Blue ridge was organized in 1740 at Kernstown.

Lutherans

Like the German Reformed, the roots of the first Lutherans in Virginia are found at Germanna. The first group of Lutherans to arrive at Spotswood's iron works was in 1714, followed by a second in 1720. When their indentures were up, both groups moved as a whole up the Rapidan River and settled in present-day Madison County, Virginia. In 1725 they organized Hebron Congregation, the first and oldest Lutheran congregation in America, which was assisted by financial aid from Germany.

"Within a circle of a few miles," wrote a visitor to Hebron in 1748, "80 families lived there together, Lutherans, mostly from Wurtemberg. They have a beautiful large church and school, also a parsonage and glebe of several hundred acres." In contrast to the well-organized Hebron community, the Lutherans who settled in the Shenandoah Valley and Hampshire County in 1727 worshipped in private houses and erected rude log buildings for schools. Up to three-quarters of the population in the Shenandoah Valley is believed to have been German. Due to convenience and common language, many Lutherans and Reformed Germans worshipped together. The sermon, which was set in a framework of a vernacular liturgy, was the main part of Lutheran worship. Communion was rarely given, and as they had no permanent Lutheran minister to administer the sacraments, they had to rely upon occasional visits of a minister of some acceptable denomination.

Martin Luther (1483-1546) originated Lutheranism in 1517, when he called for public examination of certain abuses of the Catholic Church. The principal Lutheran tenet is justification by faith alone. One becomes right with God (justified) by complete trust in God, not by trying to appease God with good works. God offers salvation as a gift, not a reward for good works. The all-pervasiveness of God was central.

The first settled Lutheran pastor to the Valley was Peter Muhlenburg, son of Henry Muhlenburg, the founder of Lutheranism in America. Muhlenburg arrived at Woodstock, Virginia in 1772 as parish minister. Remarkably, though schooled in Lutheranism, Peter was never ordained in that ministry. Instead, he was ordained in the Anglican Church so he could attend to the needs of both the Germans and English in his parish, as well as to gain the benefits of an Anglican minister. Muhlenburg was elected to the Virginia Legislature in 1774 and was present at St. John's Church when Patrick Henry gave his immortal cry of "Liberty or Death!" Returning home, Peter gave his final sermon in similar fashion. After reading from Ecclesiastes 3:1, Muhlenburg threw off his robes to reveal a military uniform underneath. He enlisted his congregation, known as "The German Regiment," and served as their commander during the Revolutionary War.

Mennonites

Mennonites received their name from their founder, Menno Simons. Simons had been a parish priest in Dutch Friesland before he renounced the Roman Catholic Church in 1536 and joined the Anabaptists. Denounced by Martin Luther and John Calvin, the Anabaptists refused to admit infant baptism and reinstated the baptism of believers. Simons further believed in a connexional type of church organization with an emphasis on the responsibilities and rights of the local congregation, and in non-resistance.

Common ground of the different Mennonite communities in Virginia was the rejection of Church organization, infant baptism, and the real presence in the Eucharist. Every congregation is independent and elders chosen by the community administer the Lord's Supper, and both men and women can preach. Most refuse military service and taking oaths. The belief in the necessity of separating from the world accounts for garb and forbidding of marriage outside the group. Mennonites follow the New Testament literally.

The first Mennonites to the Valley came by way of Pennsylvania and were the smallest of the groups of Germans. The majority of Mennonites settled in the Massanutten Valley. In doctrine they resembled Quakers, but did not attack the beliefs of other sects. Like the Quakers, the Mennonites sent petitions to the House of Burgesses asking to be absolved from the penalties incurred by declining military duty and to be given the same privilege of "affirming" instead of "swearing."

Journal of the House of Burgesses, Williamsburg, November 14, 1769

A petition of Jacob Stickor and Jacob Coughenor, on behalf of themselves and their Protestant Brethren of the sect called Mennonist...setting forth that the Petitioners have retired to this Colony in hopes of enjoying the free exercise of their religion, and are willing to contribute a proportionable part of their estates whenever the exigencies of Government require it...but that they are forbidden by the dictates of conscience to bear arms; and therefore praying that they may be exempt from the penalties they are subject to for declining Military duty.

George Maclaren Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, Vol.II (Philadelphia, 1952).

Moravians

Unlike the other German groups, the Moravians had little success in Virginia. Throughout the 1740s missionaries made frequent trips through Virginia, going to every section where German people lived.

The Moravians are the present-day descendants of what has been called the earliest "protestant church," which looked back to John Huss and Jerome of Prague as its early martyrs in the 15th century. In the centuries that followed, the Moravians, though scattered by persecution, continued in some sort of existence until they came to a modern revival under Count Zinzendorf at Herrnhut, in Saxony, in 1722. Arriving in Pennsylvania in 1741, Zinzendorf attempted to organize the scattered groups of different denominations into one United Church. At that time, the largest Moravian centers in America were in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Salem, North Carolina. After several years of effort along that line, the movement which he had started resulted in the organization of the Moravian Church as a separate and recognized denomination at Bethlehem. In 1744 Bishop Spangenburg put into effect sixteen rules known as The General Economy. Members were divided into groups called Choirs (one for single men, one for single women, etc.), each living together with strict rules. Marriage was encouraged and married couples in turn

were formed in Choirs. By 1762 the demand for family privacy led to the abolition of The General Economy.

In theology, the Moravians distrusted doctrinal formulae, the Easter Litany tending to take the place of a dogmatic creed; but they gave a limited recognition to the Augsburg Confession. They considered themselves a group of the Lutheran Church and under Zinzendorf's influence a Pietist element was found in the community. In general, they stood for a simple and unworldly form of Christianity. Strongly Christo-centric, their major emphasis was on Christ's sacrificial death. They also made no distinctions between secular and religious matters.

Looked upon as unwanted itinerants, they were not welcome with the Virginia government. In 1747 Governor Gooch issued a proclamation stating "all magistrates to discourage and prohibit itinerant . . . Moravian preachers from teaching, preaching or holding any meetings in this colony." By 1750 Moravians ceased coming into Virginia, and turned their attention to the Indian tribes living on the Ohio River. They were successful in bringing a number of villages to acceptance of the Christian faith. During the Revolution these tribes were massacred by expeditions of militia who were unable to tell them apart from the unconverted tribes.

Dunkers

The Dunkers (Tunkers) received their name from the German word tunken, "to dip." Their baptism consisted of being immersed or dipped three times face forward in a flowing stream. Dunkers were strictly congregational in church government and had no educated ministry. They rejected infant baptism and refused to take oaths or bear arms. They also discouraged litigation. In America Peter Becker was the head of the Dunkers, but the founder was Alexander Mack of Schwarzenau in 1708.

In 1719 there was immigration to America because of persecution. The first Dunker church was located in Germantown in 1723. By 1770 there were fourteen congregations. In Virginia there were settlements on Dunker Creek and Dunker Bottom. In 1749, Dr. Thomas Walker mentioned in his travels to southwestern Virginia a mill built by "a sect of people who called themselves the Brotherhood of Euphrates, and are commonly called Duncards, who are the upper inhabitants on the New River . . . The Duncards are an odd set of people who make it a matter of religion not to shave their beards, only on beds, or eat flesh . . . The Unmarried have no private property, but live on a common stock . . . They keep their Sabbath on saturday, and hold that all men shall be happy hereafter but must pass through punishment according to their Sins. They are very Hospitable." The Dunkers that Walker described are believed to have been almost entirely wiped out by Indian raids during the French and Indian War.

Huguenots

Huguenots were Calvinist French Protestants who fled France after 1685 when Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes (1598) under which Protestants had enjoyed a peaceful coexistence with Catholics and gained full civil rights in Catholic courts.

The first Huguenots arrived in Virginia in 1700 aboard the *Mary Ann*. The 207 refugees were greeted by Governor Nicholson and received with kindness by the Virginians. Despite this show of kindness, the colonial officials used the Huguenots as a means to clear land and act as a buffer between civilization and the Indians to the west. But instead of settling at the border of Virginia and North Carolina, as originally planned, they were relocated to Manakin, the site of an extinct Monacan Indian village near Richmond. Virginia officials did not want Huguenots to migrate into North Carolina and take their skills with them.

Over 400 followed the first settlers to Manakintowne within the same year settling in the 10,000 acre grant along the James River given to them by King William. Manakintowne became the largest French settlement in America. They soon conformed to the establishment and created no problems for the Anglican Church or government. In 1704 they petitioned and received naturalization by the Virginia Assembly.

Some of the later arrivals settled along the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers and near Jamestown and in Norfolk. There were also a few Huguenots to be found in the Upper Valley region in Page and Rockingham Counties. Locally, Williamsburg families such as the Pasteurs and Marots were of Huguenot descent.

Methodists

Methodism was an evangelical movement within the Church of England, and its followers counted themselves as members of the Anglican Church. Though they made no effort to oppose the establishment, their evangelical tenets and "awakenings" were very different from the spirit of the establishment, and they had much to do with promoting a change in the conception of religion, which was coming over Virginia.

The structure of the Methodist church consisted of the "Class," "Society," and "Conference." The societies were divided into classes and bands in which the members could be held to strict accountability. The class leaders were appointed and removed by the itinerants and governed by strict rules. Members were admitted to the classes by tickets that were issued quarterly by the preachers so that delinquent members could be easily dropped. The bands were smaller groups, all men or all women, married or single.

The Methodist movement began in England in 1738, after John and Charles Wesley accompanied James Oglethorpe to Georgia where the Moravians profoundly influenced John. As early as 1729 the Wesleys, ordained priests in the Church of England, experienced profound disquiet over Christianity that possessed the form but not "the power of godliness." John led a group at Oxford, among them George Whitefield, called Methodists for their methodical devotion to study and religious duty.

In 1739-1740 it was Whitefield who inaugurated the Great Awakening in the south on a tour of the eastern seaboard. The first Methodist society in Virginia began in Leesburg around 1766, having been influenced by Robert Strawbridge, an early Methodist preacher living in Maryland. The true beginnings of Methodism in Virginia began from the combined efforts of Reverend Devereux Jarratt and the Methodist missionaries sent by Wesley, such as Joseph Pilmore who was a familiar figure in many locales in Virginia. Jarratt, an Anglican minister who had been influenced by the New Light Presbyterians, brought the evangelical ideas of "guilt and sin" and the "depravity of Man" to the Anglicans starting in his home parish of Bath. By 1772, despite laws forbidding itinerancy, Jarratt had traveled throughout the southside spreading the gospel to twenty-four counties. It was not Jarratt's intention to divide the Anglican Church. He believed the Methodist movement would revitalize the Church and combat the rise of the Baptists.

Though felt in all ranks, Methodism appealed primarily to the humble and poor of Virginia. With its belief in universal redemption, easy to understand doctrines, and no strict requirement for admission, Methodist theology appealed to many Virginians. Unlike the Separate Baptists, there was little attempt by local officials to suppress Methodist preachers, as they did not attack the beliefs of others and were recognized as a movement within the Church of England.

Both Joseph Pilmore and Francis Asbury preached in Williamsburg on more than one occasion in the 1770s and 1780s. The Revolution placed Methodists throughout America in a difficult situation. John Wesley insisted his followers remain loyal to the crown, and most returned to England. Jarratt and Williams were known patriots. Francis Asbury also remained in America. Methodists broke from the Anglican (Episcopal) church and formed the Methodist Episcopal (later Methodist) Church in 1784 at the Christmas Conference in Baltimore.

See the chronology in the support section of this resource book for details of Pilmore's and Asbury's visits to Williamsburg.

Roman Catholics in Colonial Virginia

Throughout the colonial era the Catholic presence in Virginia was severely hindered by penal laws enforced in Great Britain and in the colony. Because of these laws the Catholic population in Virginia remained small throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By 1776 estimates place the Catholic population from 200 to 300 in Virginia. Unless new sources of information are discovered, we may never be able to determine an accurate census.

It is known that at the founding of Jamestown in 1607 a number of settlers were Catholics. This small group consisted of English, Irish, and Polish tradesmen. However, it was not until the founding of Maryland in 1634 that Catholics began to settle in the Virginia counties across the Potomac from Maryland. Of these Virginia Catholic

families, perhaps the best known was the Brent family. In 1686, George Brent, a lawyer, purchased thirty-thousand acres of land in Virginia, receiving from King James II the privilege that “he and all who settled on his lands was exempted from the Penal Laws of England.” Brent settled shortly thereafter in Stafford County, and he became the patriarch of one of Virginia’s most prosperous families. The family helped to establish Brenttown in Stafford, and became respected citizens of the colony. Although restricted from voting or holding public office, the Brents freely exercised their Catholic religious beliefs, often celebrating Mass in their homes with visiting Jesuit and Franciscan priests from Maryland. The Brents developed both a business and social friendship with Virginians such as Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, George Washington, George Mason (whose second wife was Sarah Brent), and Lord Fairfax. The Brent family name appears often in the records of Stafford, Westmoreland, and Prince William Counties.

Along with the Brents came other families into Virginia whose names were well established in Maryland. Catholic cousins of the Brents, the Carrolls and Darnells, settled in parts of Stafford and Fairfax Counties. By 1746 some of these Catholic families had settled on the southern shore of the Potomac at Aquia Creek and above it. In this same year of Catholic settlement, Governor William Gooch had declared rigid proclamations against Catholic priests settling in the colony. This came about as a result of the Jacobean revolt in Scotland. While Virginia’s penal laws strictly hindered the settlements of Catholics, it appears that a policy of benign neglect often existed in the colony. From the 1680s on to the Revolution Jesuit and Franciscan priests came into Virginia, sometimes in disguise, and at other times unhindered, as they ministered the sacraments to their small Catholic flock.

By the mid-eighteenth century, immigration brought a few Catholics to Virginia. Many Irish, Italian, and French Catholics came into the colony as servants. The Irish influx was the largest, perhaps several hundred if accounts are accurate, of which many would settle in the Shenandoah Valley, as did a small group of German Catholics by mid-century, although smaller numbers settled in towns such as Norfolk and Alexandria. In 1769 John Fitzgerald, the future secretary and aide-de-camp of General Washington, came from County Wicklow in Ireland and settled in Alexandria. At the beginning of hostilities with Great Britain he, along with eight others, the entire Catholic population of the town, joined the Continental Army.

Records from Williamsburg, James City, and York County show that Catholics were a rarity in the lower Tidewater, although we cannot determine accurately whether any actually lived in the Williamsburg area. It was not until the late nineteenth century that a Catholic presence of any significance appeared in Williamsburg. However, by the early 1790s the Catholic population of Norfolk had already established the parish of St. Mary’s.

David De Simone, Religious Studies

Jews In Colonial America

Although Jews have lived in the Western Hemisphere since the end of the fifteenth century -- the period of the Spanish Inquisition -- Jewish settlement of the North American mainland did not begin until 1654, when 23 refugees from Recife, Brazil, landed in New Amsterdam. Peter Stuyvesant, the governor of the colony, wanted the Dutch West India Company to deport this small group of men, women, and children, but his request was denied, in part because some of the Jewish investors in the company used their influence to prevent it. This small group established Kahal Kadosh Shearith Israel ("The Holy Congregation the Remnant of Israel"), the first Jewish congregation in what is now the United States. In time, New York's Jews won the right to buy property, hold private religious services, or engage in trade. It was the only permanent Jewish community in North America in the seventeenth century; by the eve of the American Revolution, as many as 400 Jews lived there. New York continued to be a center of Jewish life through the eighteenth century, a by-product of its coastal location and longevity. Other centers of Jewish population in the eighteenth century were Charleston, South Carolina, Newport in Rhode Island, Savannah, and Philadelphia. All of these cities had organized congregations (all of which exist today), and the communities maintained strong ties, both commercial and personal, with their co-religionists in other cities.

The Jews who settled in the English colonies came for much the same reasons as did their non Jewish neighbors. But added to the promise of economic opportunity was the lure of religious and social freedom, conditions that were virtually non-existent in most of Europe. They relied upon an extensive network of family and friends for mutual aid and economic advancement, and did not hesitate to call on each other for assistance of any kind when necessary. Jews practiced many trades in the colonies; they were merchants, teachers, silversmiths, embroiderers, and shopkeepers, to name just a few. Until 1740, when Parliament passed the Plantation Act naturalizing non-Christians, English law prevented Jews from participating fully in civic life.

There was no established Jewish community in Virginia until after the Revolution, when Jews in Richmond founded Congregation Beth Ahaba in 1789. Moses Myers, who arrived in Norfolk in 1787, was one of a handful of Jews who lived in the city well into the nineteenth century. The only known Jewish resident of Williamsburg in the eighteenth century was Dr. John de Sequeyra, who was born in London in 1712, studied medicine in Leyden, and became a doctor in 1739. He arrived in Williamsburg about 1745 and practiced medicine in the city until his death in 1795. His observations on the state of health of Williamsburg's citizens are more fully escribed in his account of Virginia diseases, 1745-1781, which was transcribed by Harold Gill in [The Apothecary in Colonial Virginia](#).

Martha Katz-Hyman, Department of Collections

* * *

Atheism/Unbelief

Disbelief in God in the eighteenth century remained scarcely plausible. Even so, an undercurrent of anxiety about unbelief marked many religious writers. The fear was that without belief in a God, the social consequences would be great. Since the world does not always reward virtue and punish vice, some future existence and a God to right the balance was a necessary sanction for morality and social order. "The habit of God," as one historian has phrased it, was not often abandoned, even by the most radical thinkers of the Enlightenment. Thomas Jefferson deemed it literally "impossible for the human mind not to perceive and feel a conviction of design, consummate skill, and indefinite power in every atom of [the universe's] composition." Fear of unbelief reached a peak in reaction to rational thinkers (deists) infused with Enlightenment ideas. Some historians speculate that atheism flourished underground, but known unbelievers in Europe and America before the French Revolution numbered fewer than a dozen or two.

Source: James Turner, Without God, Without Creed (Baltimore, 1985), pp. 44, 46-48.

The Virginia General Assembly was taking no chances, as this excerpt from a 1699 act reveals. Legislators continued to renew laws against unbelief in the eighteenth century.

WHEREAS notwithstanding many good and wholesome laws already made for the punishment and restraining of vice, many wicked blasphemous, dissolute and vicious persons doe still continue their unpious and abominable practices and avow their horrid and Atheisticall principles greatly tending to the dishonour of Almighty God, and may prove destructive to the peace and wellfaire of this his majesties collony

That if any person or persons . . . shall . . . deny the being of a God or the holy Trinity or shall assert or maintaine there are more Gods then [sic] one or shall deny the christian religion to be true, or the holy scriptures of Old and New Testament to be of divine authority and be lawfully convicted . . . in the general court . . . shall bee adjudged incapable . . . to hold any office or employment ecclesiasticall civill or military

Source: Hening, Statutes, Vol. 3, p. 168.

THE GREAT AWAKENING

Source: Wesley M. Gewehr, The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740- 1790 (Durham, 1930), p. 3-18

The eighteenth century was an epoch of vital importance in the history of religious movements. It was the period of a great evangelical revival which was international and interdenominational in its scope. In Germany this was manifested in Pietism, associated particularly with the names of Spener and Francke. In the British Isles it became identified with the great Methodist revival of the Wesleys and Whitefield, in which a number of subsidiary streams combined. In America, under the name of the

Great Awakening, it swept as a tidal wave of religious fervor over the colonies from New England to Georgia. Wherever it penetrated, the evangelical movement brought with it a revival of personal religion and was concerned little, if at all, with a reformation of doctrine. It represented an effort to establish piety and to awaken a spiritual life in believers everywhere. It found churches dying under the burden of cold formalism; it left them reinvigorated and glowing with a fresh spiritual zeal.

During the second quarter of the eighteenth century, sporadic revivals began to break out under the preaching of a number of evangelical pastors in various parts of the colonies. Theodorus Frelinghuysen, of the Dutch Reformed connection, landed in New York in January, 1720, and became the apostle of revivalism to that sect, which like every other had fallen into formalism. The field of his labors was among the Dutch settlements of the Raritan Valley in New Jersey. The earnestness and passion with which Frelinghuysen preached resulted in many conversions as well as much opposition. By 1726 the revival had not only gripped the Dutch churches of the Raritan region, but was spreading to the newly organized Presbyterian congregations in the valley. Significantly enough Frelinghuysen, the originator of the movement, was not a Hollander but a German who had come under pietistic influences in the fatherland. Frelinghuysen worked hand in hand with the young Gilbert Tennent, who was ordained at New Brunswick in the fall of 1726 and who became one of the principal promoters of the revival among the Presbyterians. In fact, the earliest beginnings of the Great Awakening in that denomination were evidenced at New Brunswick under Gilbert Tennent's preaching in 1727. That the latter was greatly impressed and influenced by Frelinghuysen's evangelical zeal is unquestioned. In 1730 John Tennent, brother of Gilbert, became pastor at Freehold, New Jersey. He served only eighteen months but during this time a remarkable revival occurred, albeit the congregation was in a most distracted condition at the time of his arrival. He preached with great emotion, frequently moving his hearers to tears, and before his death, in April, 1732, there had been many conversions. The work went on with even greater results under the ministry of his brother William, who filled the Freehold pulpit during the last six months of John Tennent's life and continued the work after the latter died.

In 1734 the Awakening was given fresh impetus by the outbreak of Edwards' revival in Northampton, Massachusetts. In the midst of spiritual deadness Edwards began to proclaim anew the evangelical doctrines. Remarkable conversions followed and Edwards soon had the entire community under the spell of his preaching. People became deeply concerned about eternal things and came in great throngs to hear him. They even met in private houses day and night to talk religion and to pray for pardon. In six months more than three hundred, or practically the entire population above sixteen years, were converted in Northampton. The revival spread from town to town through the whole Connecticut Valley until one hundred and fifty communities in Massachusetts and Connecticut were visited with scenes similar to those which took place in Northampton.

Through reports which were given to the public the Edwardian revival had widespread influence in America and gave fresh impetus to the work. Over in England the Narrative of Surprising Conversions was read with deep feeling by John Wesley, and it encouraged him to work zealously for like results. This was in October, 1738, a few months after Wesley's conversion, shortly after he had returned greatly depressed from America, and just before the beginning of his remarkable work in England. Wesley had Edwards' "Narrative" reprinted and gave it wide circulation. It was very influential in the spread of the revival spirit in the mother country.

John Wesley had been in Georgia in 1736-7 at the very time that Edwards' revival was in progress in New England. The work of the young missionary in the colony is often spoken of disparagingly and Wesley himself could not, at the time, see any particular results. He left Georgia depressed and discouraged. In the light of later events, however, we can see that his efforts contributed to the Great Awakening. Whitefield found that Wesley had accomplished much good during his short stay in America and had laid foundations which could not be destroyed. In his maturer judgment Wesley saw in his Georgia sojourn a period full of fruit both for himself and the people. "All in Georgia have heard the Word of God, and some have believed and begun to run well," was his later verdict. In his Account of the Late Work of God in North America, published in 1778, Wesley mentions his work in Georgia as one of the main sources of the Great Awakening. His carefully kept Journal for these months, in which items are recorded meticulously, shows that he was an indefatigable worker. On Sabbaths he held services through the day, beginning at five A.M. Here, too, the first classes and bands appeared in which the more seriously minded persons met once or twice a week to reprove, instruct and exhort one another, while from these a smaller number was chosen for more intensive spiritual cultivation. Significantly, too, while in Georgia Wesley was accustomed to attend the services of the Moravians "not as a teacher, but as a learner." While much of Wesley's usefulness in Georgia was destroyed by his rigid conformity to the ritual and narrow sacramentarian views, still his stay was an epoch of vital importance in the life of the man, and in the moulding of the rudiments of Methodism. For the colonies we may regard the Georgia sojourn as supplying one of the contributory elements in the Great Awakening. When Whitefield came he found the people in Savannah eager to hear him.

When Whitefield arrived at Lewes, Delaware, on October 30, 1739, Edwards' revival had generally subsided and reaction had set in. The evangelical spirit had been aroused in New England, the Middle Colonies, and in Georgia but someone was needed to restore and unify the work. This was Whitefield's great service. People were in an expectant attitude, for they had been reading of his notable work in the colonial newspapers. In 1739 Whitefield preached with remarkable success in the Middle and Southern Colonies and in the fall of 1740 he made his tour through New England.

It was in this year that the Great Awakening reached its high tide in the North. Edwards' revival was renewed on a much grander scale, being augmented by the

ministrations of Whitefield. Fifteen thousand in New England are said to have “experienced religion” under his influence within a few weeks. Edwards, too, preached with effect, and so vividly did he picture the torments of hell that people shrieked, cried, moaned and groveled on the floor or fell prostrate into a state of coma. In the Middle Colonies the revival broke out afresh among the Presbyterians, headed by the Tennents and the Log College group. Samuel Blair’s congregation at New Londonderry became the center of an extended awakening in Pennsylvania, and Samuel Davies, its greatest apostle in Virginia, received his training in Blair’s school at Fagg’s Manor. The Dutch of New Jersey and New York and the pietists of Pennsylvania were also stirred by the visits of Whitefield in 1739 and 1740. This was the time of Frelinghuysen’s greatest revival, and thousands of Germans flocked to hear Whitefield although they could not understand English.

Whitefield was the greatest single factor in the Awakening of 1740. He zealously carried the work up and down the colonies from New England to Georgia. Among the revivalists, his influence alone touched every section of the country and every denomination. Everywhere he supplemented and augmented the work with his wonderful eloquence. He literally preached to thousands and thousands as he passed from place to place. He was the one preacher to whom people everywhere listened—the great unifying agency in the Awakening, the great moulding force among the denominations.

One of the outstanding features of the great revivals which we have traced to their climax was that they increased dissent from the regular churches and either brought on or hastened many schisms and controversies. “Separatist” or Strict Congregational churches appeared in New England, the Baptists split into Regular and Separate, while the Old Side-New Side schism in the Presbyterian church lasted from 1741 to 1758. The Methodists, too, were the revivalist wing of the Anglican Church, and while they were not strong in the colonies before the Revolution, they represent a later phase of the Great Awakening which will demand our attention.

At this point we must take notice of the Presbyterian controversy, for the revival in Virginia cannot be understood apart from it. It was the New Side Presbyterian missionaries who followed upon the trail of Whitefield and whose work constituted the first phase of the Awakening in that colony.

We need not in this study discuss all the points of discipline and practice which led to the Presbyterian schism of 1741. It is sufficient to note that for some years differences in certain views between two groups in the Synod of Philadelphia had been growing more pronounced. One element which has been called the “strict Presbyterian,” was desirous of rigidly adhering to all the rigours of the Scottish Presbyterian system. They were the Scotch-Irish group, trained in the old-world universities and zealous for all the Westminster standards. As a class they attached much importance to academic learning and were opposed to too close an examination

of candidates for holy orders on the score of personal piety and experimental religion. The other faction in the Synod which, after the schism of 1741, became known as the New Side group, desired many modifications of the strict presbyterial order. While they believed thoroughly in an educated ministry, they did not set so high a value on human learning, provided the candidate satisfactorily met their requirement in personal piety. They placed much emphasis on the matter of conversion and one's religious experience. In short, they were the evangelical wing of the Synod. The outstanding men in it were the Tennents, the Blairs, Samuel Finley, and others in sympathy with the Log College principles. In 1738 they had secured the erection of the New Brunswick Presbytery.

Each of the rival groups in the Synod was strong enough to secure the adoption of its favorite measure. In 1729, after long debate, the "Adopting Act" was passed by which assent to the Westminster Confession of Faith was required of all members of the Synod, and of all candidates for admission to the presbyteries. This was a victory for the conservatives. In 1734 the New Side gained its main point by securing the adoption of an overture concerning the trials of candidates for the ministry. It was brought in by Gilbert Tennent and directed that all candidates for the ministry be examined diligently as to "their experiences of a work of sanctifying grace in their hearts," and that none be admitted who are not, "in the eye of charity, serious Christians." Each Presbytery was ordered to examine each year into the preaching and conduct of its ministers and "to take effectual care that each of their ministers are faithful in the discharge of their awful trust."

The acts of 1729 and 1734 embodied the principal objects of both the Old Side and the New Side. They were the source of much contention during the next few years and their enforcement depended upon the several Presbyteries that examined candidates. The one or the other was carried out diligently or indifferently, according to the party which happened to control the Presbytery, and the acts became the subject of heated debate when the Synod convened. Each found it easy to charge the other with some violation or other of its favorite rule.

Two things brought the dissensions to a climax, namely, rivalry over the matter of institutions of learning patronized by the two parties and, secondly, the coming of Whitefield. The Presbyterian Church considered a liberal education as an indispensable qualification for its ministers. The usual evidence of the literary qualifications of a candidate for orders was the possession of a diploma or degree from some College or University in Europe or in America. Many of the first ministers in this country had received their education in Scotland or Ireland, and some in the New England colleges. As there was no institution of higher learning in the Middle Colonies, the Presbyterian Church depended upon emigration from the Old World or from New England for its supply of ministers.

From these facts it is seen that there was a real need for a seminary conveniently located in the colonies and under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, where

candidates might secure the proper training for the ministry. It was to meet this demand that the Reverend William Tennent set up a school in his log house about twenty miles north of Philadelphia, on Nashaminy Creek. This school, designated the "Log College" by its opponents, has become famed in history as the forerunner of Princeton. It soon became "the most approved place of education, south of Yale College, and north of William and Mary; and with this last mentioned venerable institution, gave the youth of the middle and southern provinces their only chance for extensive and thorough training; and was the only one in all the South where Presbyterian discipline prevailed."

The Log College turned out a school of preachers who became noted for the fervency of their piety, their glowing zeal, their plain, exhortatory and impassioned gospel, their evangelical faith. Personal piety and experimental religion were nourished with exceeding care by the master of the Log College, and his students went out to become the great revivalists in the Presbyterian Church--the leaders in the Great Awakening. William Robinson, the younger Tennents, the Blairs and Samuel Finley, all received their training in the Nashaminy school. The preaching of the Log College men was well adapted to the demands of the time and they attained wide popularity. In this ardour for the great work which they set out to do, these men were apt to disregard the ecclesiastical rules and formal regulations of the Synod. No presbyterial boundaries limited their labours; they would preach far and wide wherever the harvest was ready and wherever people would listen to them; in their minds the preaching of the gospel should be restricted by no arbitrary rules of man.

From the list of celebrated men that it counted among its alumni, beyond a doubt the Log College performed its task well enough. But in the minds of the strict Presbyterians who were educated in the old universities it was preposterous to suppose that the paltry learning handed out in a log cabin, principally by one teacher, could be adequate preparation for the ministry. Although Mr. Tennent's classical scholarship was beyond question, his proficiency in the arts and sciences was considered inadequate. The Old Side party regarded a number from the Log College who had been examined and licensed by the Presbyteries as "without sufficient qualifications."

Source: Wesley M. Gewehr, The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790 (Durham, 1930), pp. 3-18.

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George Whitefield in Williamsburg and Virginia

The Reverend George Whitefield arrived in Lewis-Town, Pennsylvania on October 30, 1739 to begin his second missionary journey in the English colonies. The primary nature of this journey was to raise funds for an "Orphan House" he had founded in Georgia. Before traveling southward, vast crowds of people in Philadelphia, Wilmington, Delaware, and in many towns throughout New Jersey and Maryland, came out to greet the renowned preacher and many were transformed by his message.

On December 11, 1739, Whitefield crossed the Potomac River at Port Tobacco, Maryland and entered Virginia. He eventually reached the house of Colonel Whiting near Gloucester Town. Whiting's father was a good friend of the priest and Whitefield was delighted to meet the young man and accept his hospitality. Before his arrival in Williamsburg on December 14, Whitefield traveled through Gloucester and Yorktown.

Left Colonel Whiting's about seven in the Morning, and passed through Gloucester town, a very small place. Crossed a ferry a mile wide. Dined at York and reached Williamsburgh, the metropolis of Virginia, by the evening. The gentleman before mentioned kindly accompanied us; with him I discoursed much on the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God. He seemed to be one to whom God had given a hearing ear and an obedient heart. I have not met with a temper more resembling that of Nathan for a great while. Oh that the Lord may make him an Israelite indeed!

Source: William V. Davis, George Whitefield's Journals, 1737-1741 (Gainesville, Fla.), 1969, p. 368.

Whitefield arrives in Williamsburg

Williamsburg, Friday. December 14, 1739: We hear from Philadelphia that the Reverend Mr. Whitefield (the celebrated preacher) was arrived there from England and had preached in that City nineteen times and at New York eight times; that vast numbers of people flocked to hear him...last Friday he preached at Annapolis before the Governor several of the Council and a great number of people. This Evening the Rev. Mr. Whitefield arrived here, on his way to Georgia. We hear he is to preach at our Church on Sunday and on Monday goes on his Journey.

Source: Virginia Gazette, December 14, 1739

While in Williamsburg, George Whitefield was graciously received by Governor William Gooch and the Reverend James Blair. Whitefield visited Blair at the College of William and Mary and, in his short stay in town, he may have accepted an invitation to lodge at the President's House. In his diary entry for December 15, 1739, Whitefield recorded these impressions of Gooch, Blair, and the College:

Waited on, and afterwards (at his invitation) dined with the Governor, who received me most courteously. Paid my Respects to the Rev. Mr. Blair, the Commissary of Virginia, and by far the most worthy clergyman I have yet conversed with in all America. He received me with joy, asked me to preach, and Wished my Stay was to be longer. He has been chiefly instrumental in raising a beautiful College in Williamsburgh, in which is a Foundation for about eight Scholars, a President, two Masters, and Professors in the several Sciences. Here the Gentlemen of Virginia send their Children; and, as far as I could learn by enquiry, they are under the same Regulations and Discipline, as in our Universities at Home. The present Masters came from Oxford. Two of them I find were my contemporaries. I rejoice in seeing such a Place in America...

Source: William V. Davis, George Whitefield's Journals, 1737-1741 (Gainesville, Fla.), 1969, P. 368-69

Whitefield was asked by the commissary to preach in Bruton Parish Church on Sunday morning, December 16. Whitefield graciously accepted the aging clergyman's invitation to deliver a sermon in the royal chapel. The preacher's stay in Williamsburg was short, and he left town in the late afternoon of December 16 on his way to the Carolinas. He promised Commissary Blair that he would visit the town again, if possible, the following summer. Before his departure from town, Whitefield reflected on his stay and upon the people he had encountered in Virginia. He wrote in his journal:

Preached in the morning. Several gentlemen came from York, fourteen miles off, to hear me, and were desirous of my going back to preach at their town, on the morrow. A large audience I found, might have been expected, could timely notice have been given; but being in great haste, and there being no sermon customarily in the afternoon, I dined with the Commissary, and left Williamsburgh in the afternoon, promising, if possible, to visit these parts again some time in the summer. About three miles from the town we took leave of our friend from Gloucester, whose heart God has much melted by the foolishness of preaching. Here also, as well as at Williamsburgh, we left some letters to be sent to England. I could not but think, that God intended, in His own time, to work a good work in these southern parts of America. At present they seem more dead to God, but far less prejudiced than in the northern parts. At his request, I gave the printer leave to print my Journals and Sermons, and I trust that God Who loves to work by the meanest instruments, will be pleased to bless them to the conviction and edification of these His people. Visit them, O Lord, with Thy salvation.

Source: Davis, p. 369

A few days after Whitefield's departure from town, the newspaper ran this article on the preacher's sermon the previous Sunday:

Williamsburg, Friday, December 21, 1739: On Sunday Morning last, the Rev. Mr. Whitfield preached at our Church, on the Words, What think ye of Christ? There was a numerous Congregation, and 'tis thought there would have been many more, if timely

Notice had been given of his preaching. His extraordinary Manner of Preaching gains him the Admiration & Applause of most of his Hearers. He is gone to Carolina, on his way to Georgia – And 'tis said he intends to be here again next April or May.

Source: Virginia Gazette,

Although Whitefield visited Virginia again in 1745, 1755, and 1763, his visit in 1739 to Williamsburg appears to be his only sojourn to the capital. His reputation as an enthusiast and a dissenter spread quickly through the circles of the established church and it is highly doubtful that James Blair would have been as gracious to Whitefield had he returned to Williamsburg in April or May of 1740. A concerned Blair wrote to the Bishop of London on May 29, 1740:

Mr. Whitefield is going about North America. He preached here (Williamsburg) once on his way from Pennsylvania to Georgia. If he is under any censor or prohibition to preach in your [Lordship's] Diocese as there is a rumour here, your [Lordship's] Direction shall be followed.

Source: Lambeth Palace Manuscripts

In his subsequent visits to Virginia, George Whitefield preached primarily before congregations composed of Presbyterian dissenters. Although ordained a priest within the Anglican Church, his personal theology and spirituality reflected a far more Calvinistic approach as he matured as an evangelist. This made many people with the established church very uncomfortable. Enthusiastically received on his first visit to Virginia, he was cautiously examined by the established Virginia clergy in his second visit to the colony. Whitefield preached in Hanover County in the fall of 1745. Hanover was the center of an increasingly vocal Presbyterian community that was very excited about the prospect of hearing Whitefield preach. Concerned about Whitefield's orthodoxy, and the preacher's influence on the dissenters in his parish, the Reverend Patrick Henry (uncle of the famed statesman) confronted Whitefield outside the parish church of St. Paul's. In a letter dated October 14, 1745, Henry described the episode to Commissary William Dawson:

I was not able to write you concerning Mr. Whitefield, who made some stay among us in his way to Georgia, and preached in one of our churches in this Parish...I set out for Church and was told by the way that he was to preach either in the Church, or Churchyard. I found a great multitude waiting for him at Church, and after consulting some of my Friends, I thought it adviseable to give him leave to preach in the Church, on this condition – that he read the common prayer and collects before sermon, which when he came, he consented to do...Mr.Whitefield preached in private houses in this parish on the same day & Monday following...And both in his sermon in the Church (which I heard) and in the houses...he advised the dissenters to return to the Church, and some of the chief of 'em have declar'd that they will return.

Source: Dawson Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

Whitefield returned to Hanover County in January 1755. He found conditions for religious toleration had improved for dissenters, primarily through the efforts of the dynamic Presbyterian clergyman, Samuel Davies. He wrote favorably in his journal on January 13:

I have now been here a week, and have the comfort of seeing many impressed under the Word every day. Two churches have been opened, and a third I am to preach in tomorrow. I find prejudice subsides, and some of the rich and great begin to think favourably of the work of God. Several of the lower classes have been with me acknowledging what the Lord had done for them when I was here before.

Source: George MacLaren Brydon, Virginias Mother Church, Vol II (Philadelphia, 1952), p. 149

Whitefield's last known trip to Virginia occurred in 1763. For a period of almost two weeks, Whitefield preached before large crowds in Lancaster County, Virginia. A great portion of his audience were Presbyterian and Baptist dissenters and slaves. One of Whitefield's hosts in Lancaster County was Colonel James Gordon, a prosperous merchant and a leader among the Presbyterian community. Gordon's journal entries from August 26 to September 10 vividly describe the preacher's visit. A sample of Gordon's entries follow:

August 26, 1763: This evening I had the comfort of receiving a letter from Rev. George Whitefield, who landed this day at Urbana.

August 27: Mr. Waddel (the Rev. James) & I set off in our boat for Urbana – got there about 10 o'clock. Mr. Whitefield & Mr. Wright (The Rev. John), who came with him, readily agreed to come with us, so we got home about 2; very happy in the company of Mr. Whitefield.

August 28: Mr. Whitefield preached a most affecting sermon to a great number of people....

August 31: Went with Mr. Whitefield to meeting, where we had a fine discourse to a crowded assembly....

September 2: Sent for Col. Selden, & Bought his chair & horse for £47.10 for Mr. Whitefield, who seems much pleased with them, & proposes setting off tomorrow.

September 3: Have been much fatigued with fitting out Mr. Whitefield. Mr. Wright being so unwell & it raining, they could not set off today. Indeed, it requires much time to fit them out.

Dissent and Enlightenment

September 4: Mr. Whitefield preached to a crowded house. Mr. Wright was obliged to make the negroes go out to make room for the white people. Several, white and black, could not get room. We carried dinner with us, & dined in the old storehouse, much to the satisfaction of Mr. Whitefield....

Source: "Journal of James Gordon of Lancaster, Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, Series 1, Vol. 2.

Compiled by David De Simone, Religious Studies.

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RELIGIOUS DISSENT: SOURCE OF DISCORD

Source: Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill, 1982), p. 147-154

Social disquiet was arising in Virginia by mid-century from a variety of causes, but the most dramatic signs of change appeared in the sphere of religion. A movement of dissent from the Church of England itself was commencing in the 1740s. In some places common people were departing from the established churches into congregations of their own making. The parish community at the base of the barely consolidated traditional order was beginning to fracture. The rise of dissent represented a serious threat to the system of authority. The nature and extent of the anxiety produced in Virginia by the Great Awakening—that astonishing religious revival that reached every region of colonial America—must be examined before we can understand the sudden intensification of anticlericalism.

The first signs of the coming disturbance in traditionally Anglican parts of Virginia appeared in Hanover County in about 1743 when numbers of ordinary people led by Samuel Morris, a “Bricklayer,” began reading religious tracts and absenting themselves from church. The group grew, and was inspired by readings from George Whitefield’s sermons. (The great evangelical preacher, a breakaway assistant of John Wesley, had preached in Williamsburg in 1739, during his first tour of the colonies.) The pious gatherings soon reached such a size that a meeting house was built to accommodate them. Disaffection from the Church seems to have been sufficiently general that “when the Report of these Sermons and the Effects occasioned by reading them was spread Abroad,” Samuel Morris was invited to travel and conduct meetings “at a considerable Distance.” The movement took a new direction in the middle of 1743 when emissaries from Hanover persuaded the Reverend William Robinson, a New Side Presbyterian missionary among the Scotch-Irish in southwest Virginia, to come and preach. From then on the Hanover group identified themselves as Presbyterians, rather than Anglicans, and periodic visits from revivalist preachers occasioned mass meetings that created considerable commotion. At these gatherings the preachers reportedly had a way of “speaking pretty freely of the degeneracy of the [Church of England] clergy.” Their followers displayed similar disconcerting tendencies; one even suggested that the bishop of London might be “an unconverted man.”

While the Hanover group remained isolated, it evidently did not excite much attention, although the county court had called upon some of its members to give an account of themselves, and fines had been imposed for non-attendance at church. So uncertain were these “dissenters” of their own identity before they were enlisted as Presbyterians that when asked to declare to what denomination they belonged, they had hesitated, as Samuel Morris later recalled, until, “recollecting that Luther was a noted Reformer, and that his Doctrines were agreeable to our Sentiments, . . . we declared our selves Lutherans.”

When New Side preachers began attracting large crowds, however, the Reverend Mr. Patrick Henry, Sr., an Anglican rector of St. Paul’s Parish, Hanover

County, called on authorities in Williamsburg for aid. He denounced itinerancy and the subversive doctrine “that a true Christian may know whether a Minister be converted or not by hearing him preach or pray.” The Reverend Mr. William Dawson, as the bishop of London’s commissary, had already sought legal assistance from Benjamin Waller, clerk of the General Court. Waller had advised him in a letter of January 30, 1744/1745, that “rigor should be used, not so much to reclaim a persone Enthusiastic...as to deter other unthinking Mortals, whose strongest Passion is often Fear [of hellfire].” The gravest offense of which “those Simple Wretches” were guilty, “who vainly imagine they in their Folly have formed a new Light,” was the “depraving and despising [of] the Common Prayer.” As itinerants the preachers were “liable to be bound to their good Behaviour & treated as Vagabonds by a Justice of the Peace.” Waller pointed out that if the dissenting ministers wished to benefit from the Act of Toleration, they must seek licenses. His letter, although showing alarm at the appearance of the New Lights, was cautious concerning the possibilities of repression and concluded significantly by urging Dawson to put the Church’s own house in order.

Lieutenant Governor William Gooch, acting at the request of the Council, was more resolute. He denounced to the grand jury in April 1745 “certain false teachers that are lately crept into this government.” The grand jury indicted one of the preachers, the Reverend John Roan, for “vilifying the Established Religion,” but the charge was not sustained. Dissenting laymen were, however, called to Williamsburg for trial, and some were fined for unlawful assembly. The readiness of the grand jury to charge the dissenters with extravagant utterances indicates the manner in which alarm encouraged fantasy. On April 3, 1747, the governor and Council issued a stiff proclamation calling for “all Itinerant Preachers” to be restrained.

Few editions of the Virginia Gazette survive to give fuller evidence concerning opinion in a wider circle of the gentry, but the extant numbers and some direct evidence do show clearly that the elite were expressing alarm and indignation. On October 31, 1745, approving reference was made to a letter published in February, which exposed “our modern New Light, and the Propagators of it” and likened itinerants to “those who have turn’d the World upside down.” In 1748, Samuel Davies complained about satires in the newspaper against persons who abandoned vicious living to become “New Lights.”

The conduct of the dissenting preachers that the upholders of traditional order deplored most was their traveling about as “itinerants.” Encapsulated within this pejorative epithet was a whole view of authority and society. All members of the community were required to be under a spiritual guardian who needed proper authorization to exercise his function. Itinerancy was anathema because it negated these conditions. The preachers “who make it their Study to screw up the People to the greatest heights of religious Phrenzy, and then leave them in that wild state” removed persons from the control of the old authorities without bringing them under a new one. More subversive yet were “Assemblies, especially of the common People, upon a

pretended religious Account; convened sometimes by merely Lay Enthusiasts.” Governor Gooch took exception to “false teachers . . . who, without order or license, or producing any testimonial of their education or sect, . . . lead the innocent and ignorant people into all kinds of delusion.” The symbolic importance of the license is thus revealed. Self-appointed teachers were regarded with abhorrence, while a commission from some recognized sect, or a degree from a college, would confer a measure of the proper authority that the spiritual function required. In February 1745 the Reverend Mr. Patrick Henry, contemplating the impending arrival in Hanover County of a new contingent of preachers, exclaimed, “I wish they could be prevented, or, at least be oblig’d to show their credentials.”

Reactions were conditioned by considerations of social authority rather than religious doctrine as such. It would be hard to find any more striking evidence of contrasting perceptions of the varieties of dissenters than the markedly different attitude that leading Anglican churchmen expressed toward settled communities of foreign Protestants from that expressed toward “itinerants.” Only a few months after he wrote a letter denouncing the New Light missionary Samuel Davies as an avaricious upstart, Thomas Lee sent a letter to the Board of Trade advocating that exemptions from Church taxes be granted to foreign Protestants who might settle in the west. Thus the formation of Lutheran and Reformed Church communities under their own framework of authority encountered little opposition in Virginia. Governor Gooch’s assurances of toleration to the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in 1738 must be seen as part of the same policy. The difference between such readily accommodated autonomous religious societies and the spirit of the Great Awakening in the 1740s is made even clearer by the behavior of certain settled dissenting ministers when they found themselves challenged by New Light or Moravian preachers. A few of them appealed to the Anglican central authorities, asking that the intruding itinerants be suppressed.

The advent of Samuel Davies as settled minister to the congregation of Presbyterians in Hanover County hardly improved the situation. He was sent because the New York Synod recognized that the converts would be given no peace “till they were an organized Congregation, and had a Minister qualified, and their Meeting-Houses licens’d, according to Law.” Yet the regularization that the new minister did achieve in April 1747 by securing a license for himself and four meeting houses in Hanover and neighboring counties was soon offset by the alarm that his success as a preacher aroused. After granting licenses for three additional meeting houses in Goochland, Caroline, and Louisa counties, the Council determined to check the progress of disaffection by curbing Davies’s activities. A license for a meeting house granted by the New Kent County court on April 12, 1750, was soon revoked by the General Court. It is noteworthy that the move toward greater restraint came at a time when the provincial government, headed by Thomas Lee, president of the Council, temporarily lacked an English governor and was entirely in the hands of Virginians.

A long struggle ensued over the issue of licenses, and it became clear that the Council was determined to confine the dissenters within bounds. Immediately after the New Kent license had been annulled, President Lee informed the Board of Trade that he thought the liberty sought by Davies to extend his preaching activities was “not within the words or intent of the Toleration [Act], and gives great uneasiness to the Clergy and the people.” While the Bishop of London supported the Council’s endeavors, the Lords of Trade, never very sensitive to the needs of uneasy colonial ruling groups, gave cold comfort. They advised that “a free Exercise of Religion is so valuable a branch of true liberty, and so essential to the enriching and improving of a Trading Nation, it should ever be held sacred in His Majesty’s Colonies.” They urged the Council to do nothing which can in the least affect that great point, “although they might admonish Mr. Davies to make a proper use of that indulgence which our Laws so wisely grant.” The Council placed its own interpretation on these seemingly unambiguous instructions and continued to refuse new licenses to Samuel Davies pending further advice from England. In the meantime Peyton Randolph, the Virginia attorney general, prepared a statement that revealed a determination to retain restrictions.

Toleration was a shibboleth in the eighteenth-century Anglo-American world; it was unthinkable to question it in the open. Virginia traditionalists such as the attorney general, however, took the view that toleration implied only a respect for the status quo—a right of persons to continue practicing the doctrine with which they had been nurtured, not a right to disturb existing social arrangements by embracing and propagating new beliefs. Peyton Randolph made this clear when he advised that “there ought not to be more than one House licensed for one Preacher . . . [since] the People within the Bounds of a County, will sufficiently employ a Preacher, and it will give great Encouragement to fall off f[ro]m the established Church if they [the preachers] are permitted to range and raise Contributions over the whole Country. . . . Besides it tends to sow Dissention & Confusion among the People, & can only be calculated to put Money into the Pocket of the Teacher, whose Interest does not deserve so much Respect.”

Samuel Davies, being aware of the forces arrayed against him, moved cautiously. He advised against fruitless petitioning and even withdrew from precarious positions under threat. He too appealed overseas, calling on the Dissenting Deputies in London for help. They advised him that the Act of Toleration placed no restriction on the number of meeting houses that could be licensed, or on the movement of preachers from meeting house to meeting house; but in common with many in Virginia, the deputies doubted whether the act was in force in the colony beyond the clauses enumerated in the Virginia law of 1699.

Prevailing uncertainty concerning the law undoubtedly contributed to the anxiety surrounding the rise of dissent in the 1750s. If the Act of Toleration was not binding in the colony, then questions of acute public concern seemed to be effectively outside the law. Indeed, the opinion of the Attorney General quoted above, although given as legal

advice, consisted of policy recommendations turning on consideration of expediency. Here is another instance of the helplessness of colonial elites threatened as a result of the ill-defined outlines of their incomplete institutions. The legal status of toleration in Virginia remained uncertain until resolved by the revolutionary Declaration of Rights in 1776. Although official attempts to restrict the Presbyterians seem to have been abandoned after 1759, no formal ruling was made in their favor, and the Baptists, whose spectacular rise came in the 1760s, had to face yet more intense harassment.

The House of Burgesses was largely inactive on the question of dissent, making it difficult to ascertain the attitudes of the leading country gentlemen. It seems probable that the lower house, like the county courts, was more permissive than the Council. Yet the House was not unconcerned. In 1752 it ruled that the two members returned for Hanover County had not been duly elected because they had given bonds (written guarantees with a monetary penalty attached) to voters not to create a new Anglican parish in the county. It appears from Landon Carter's diary that it was not the giving of bonds that was the principal source of offense, but the intervention of "dissenters" in Church affairs. Carter recorded that "Mr. Waller argued that the bonds given to Church of England men would be of no consequence but to new Light men they were." The House went on to order "That the said Writing and Bond, . . . given by the sitting Members, be immediately torn, and thrown under the Table." Another sign of the House's concern at the spread of religious dissent occurred the following year when the Burgesses voted their thanks to the Reverend Mr. William Stith for a sermon he had preached before them and ordered that the sermon be printed. Since the House did not often give such an order, it is notable that Stith's sermon was directed against the New Lights and was a pointed statement of "rational" (as opposed to "enthusiastic") religion and social conservatism. It was a direct rebuttal of propositions supposedly held by Samuel Davies concerning the small number of the elect destined for salvation. The explicit purpose of Stith's sermon was "to vindicate GOD'S Ways to Man, . . . and to reconcile the Gospel to the Dictates of national Justice," by showing that not only the virtuous pagans but also the ignorant poor who did their duty in their station would be saved.

The legend of Samuel Davies has come to include the belief that his outspoken patriotism during the French and Indian War transformed attitudes toward Presbyterians. No positive evidence supports this interpretation, and in view of the known prejudices of the Virginia gentry against New Lights, it seems most improbable. The initial reverses of the war produced signs of a crisis of morale among Virginians---a loss of confidence in their own virtue and martial prowess. Although colonial authorities themselves issued public reproaches in an attempt to arouse a new spirit, it must be supposed that such denunciations of prevailing apathy and irreligion when coming from a dissenting minister served mainly to increase resentment toward the New Lights. When Peyton Randolph finally raised a company of gentlemen volunteers and marched them to the frontier in order to set an example for the common people, we may be sure that he was attempting to offset rather than to emulate the actions of the volunteer

companies from Louisa and Hanover counties, whose Christian piety Presbyterian preachers had so pointedly contrasted with the shortcomings of recruits from traditional Anglican society. Samuel Davies was becoming a figure of some eminence in the Anglo-American world of dissenters, but since he was known for his perseverance under persecution and for his missionary work among the unconverted slaves, Davies's fame was Virginia's notoriety.

The spread of New Side Presbyterianism and the defection of the common people from the Established Church in settled parts of Virginia evidently continued to arouse anxiety throughout the 1750s and on into the early 1760s. As late as 1764 the rector of a parish in the Northern Neck, to which the movement had spread, was moved to preach a sermon exposing "the tenets of the Seceders...called New-lights, or Moon-lights." The evidence suggest that Presbyterianism only came to acquire a measure of respectability in the eyes of the gentry when its role as the vehicle of popular disaffection was overtaken (as will be described in the next chapter) by the Separate Baptists.

Source: Rhys Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790 (Chapel Hill, 1982), pp. 147-154.

* * *

AFRICAN-AMERICANS AND EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY

Between 1750 and the Revolution, evangelical denominations such as new side Presbyterian, new light Baptist, and Methodist grew steadily larger. From Whitefield and Samuel Davies in the 1740s to Methodist Francis Asbury in the 1780s, African-Americans responded to the evangelical message of a personal God before whom all were equal. They came into the Christian fold in much larger numbers during this period than they had under Anglican missionary efforts. In the last decade of the eighteenth century, slaves and free blacks in Williamsburg formed an all-black Baptist congregation that survives to this day.

New Side Presbyterian Samuel Davies Ministers to Slaves

Every new benefaction of Books sets hundreds upon attempting to read with fresh eagerness. Such of them as had already learned, I furnish with Bibles, Testaments, Psalms Books, Catechisms, &c. immediately upon their first application to me. Many come to me, who have not yet learned, but tell me, they are eager to make trial, and want books for that purpose: among these I have divided the Spelling Books, which were sent to me from private hands, and I beg them come to me when they have learned them, and let me see they can read, and then I shall furnish them with other books.

For some time after this, the poor Slaves, whenever they could get an hour's leisure from their masters, would hurry away to my house; and received the Charity with all the genuine indications of passionate gratitude, which unpolished nature could give; and which affection and grimace would mimic in vain. The books were all very

acceptable; but none more so than the Psalms and Hymns, which enabled them to gratify their peculiar taste for Psalmody. Sundry of them have lodged all night in my kitchen; and, sometimes, when I have awaked about two or three a-clock in the morning, a torrent of sacred harmony poured into my chamber, and carried my mind away to Heaven. In this seraphic exercise, some of them spend almost the whole night.
Source: George William Pilcher, Samuel Davies, Apostle of Dissent in Colonial Virginia, The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 1971, p. 112.

* * *

African-Americans in Williamsburg Hear the Gospel from Runaway Slaves

Runaway slaves harbored in and around Williamsburg probably shared their evangelical Christianity with local blacks who gave them shelter. They included one Jemmy or James Williams who was *very fond of singing hymns and preaching* (April 1775) and James Traveller *who pretends to be a Baptist preacher* (October 1783). Jack or Free Jack, *remarkable for affecting religious conversation*, was known to have been through Williamsburg in August 1785. Another slave, Tom, *who pretends to be religious* was reportedly seen in Williamsburg in June 1778 after running away from his master, as was Harry in January 1783, who *pretends to be very religious* according to the notice in the newspaper.

Source: Virginia Gazette.

* * *

Slaves and Free Blacks Found the Earliest Baptist Church in Williamsburg

HISTORICAL MARKER
NASSAU STREET

Site of First Baptist Church

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, two black preachers—first Moses, then Gowan Pamphlet—began holding religious services out of doors for free blacks and slaves in the Williamsburg area. Although identified as an organized Baptist church by 1781, the earliest in Williamsburg, reluctance to recognize an all-black congregation postponed its official acceptance by the regional Baptist association until 1793. By 1818, and perhaps earlier, the "African Church," as it was called, met here in a wooden building on land given to the church by Jesse Cole. The wooden structure was replaced shortly before the Civil War by a brick church, in use until 1955. By then known as "The First Baptist Church," the congregation moved into new facilities on Scotland Street where it continues today.

For further information about First Baptist Church, see biographies of Moses and Gowan Pamphlet and the chronology in the story line support section of this manual.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Religion in all of northern Europe, including England, was scrutinized by leading thinkers of the Enlightenment. Just as the Reformation had challenged the external forms of the church and caused it to rethink the way it expressed its doctrines, the Enlightenment questioned the intellectual credentials of Christianity itself. Religion was regarded as an essentially rational and moral entity, which had become distorted to various degrees by its early interpreters. Six areas of conflict between the rational religion of the Enlightenment and traditional Christian theology were: miracles, revelation, original sin, the problem of evil, the status and interpretation of Scripture, and the identity and significance of Jesus Christ. (See Glossary for four leading thinkers of the Enlightenment: Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Isaac Newton.)
Freeing Religion Team

Enlightenment Thinking and Religion

Source: David L. Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church* (Valley Forge, Pa.), 1993, pp. 39-40.

As the eighteenth century went on, the theology of most Christian Churches came to be affected by the many-sided trans-European movement called in English “the Enlightenment” or “the Age of Reason.” A period of essentially optimistic confidence that human reason and science could enlighten what dogma and superstition had obscured, it lasted from approximately 1650 to 1800. In colonial America, Anglicans of the high church persuasion as well as those in the incipient evangelical movement resisted this influence. Especially from the middle colonies south, however, many other Anglicans came to be influenced by what one scholar has labeled the “moderate Enlightenment.”

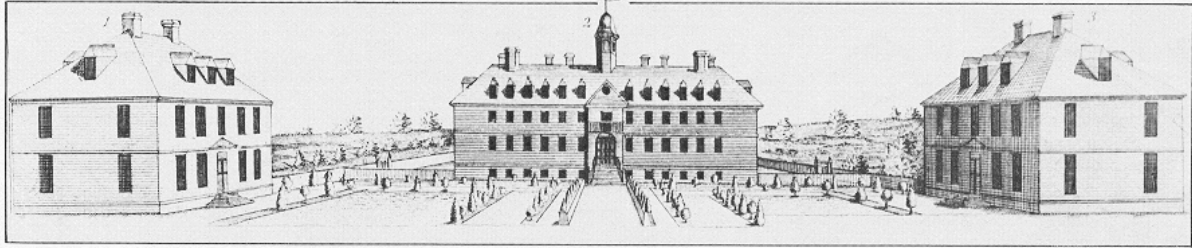
Within the Church of England the moderate Enlightenment infused Anglicanism with a desire for reasonableness, a concern for simplicity, an opposition to emotionalism, and an emphasis on morality. It viewed the teachings of the Bible, the historic Christian creeds, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Thirty-Nine Articles through the prism of rationality, order, balance, and moderation. It disdained irrationality, overly precise formulations of dogma, and “unseemly” zeal in religious matters. Varying from person to person and from colony to colony, the moderate Enlightenment influenced the religious views of Anglican clergy and laity throughout the eighteenth century. Anglicans in eighteenth-century America, as one writer has declared, “considered themselves modern, rational, moderate, enlightened---in a word, English.”

Although these moderates believed in human reason as a means of discovering religious truth, they also believed that reason needed to be supplemented by the divine revelation recorded in Scripture. But by the later colonial period, the equation had

simplified for some Anglicans. Following the lead of the left wing of the Enlightenment (of which Benjamin Franklin represents a prime American example), large numbers of Anglican gentry came to believe that reason and science provided all-sufficient guides for believing in God and behaving morally; any special revelation that occurred through Scripture, they decided, was superfluous or in need of radical pruning. They were intent on returning humanity to a primitive natural religion consisting of belief in the existence of God and a simple morality. Called the “Deists,” and divided into wings ranging from supernaturalist Christian to rationalist anti-Christian, their effect on the church has been described above.

Transplanted to late twentieth-century America with their views intact, most Deists of the eighteenth century would be considered optimistic, religious people; virtually all who remained nominal Anglicans were more certain of the existence of God than many orthodox Christians who sit in church pews today. Nothing could be further from the truth than Theodore Roosevelt’s description of the anti-Christian Deist Thomas Paine as a “filthy little atheist.” But in the eighteenth century the movement undercut organized religion, for its suspicion of special revelation and supernaturalism made Scripture, liturgy, sacraments, clergy, and churches unnecessary. As Jon Butler has observed, Deism “masqueraded as religion but was thoroughly irreligious.” The number of Deists within the ranks of the laity represented one reason that the Anglican tradition in the south, despite its support of the patriot cause, almost failed to survive the Revolution.

Source: David L. Holmes, *A Brief History of the Episcopal Church* (Valley Forge, Pa.), 1993, pp. 39-40.



THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

Few things influenced Enlightenment thinking in Virginia more than the establishment of the College of William and Mary. Like the Church, it was the transmitter of English culture. The ideals of the Enlightenment communicated to students such as Thomas Jefferson by professors like William Small helped fuel the movement to disestablish the Anglican Church in Virginia.

Portions of the Charter of the College FEBRUARY 8, 1693

WILLIAM AND MARY, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, etc. To all to whom these Our present Letters shall come, greeting: Forasmuch as our well-beloved and trusty Subjects, constituting the General Assembly of our Colony of Virginia, have had it in their Minds, and have proposed to themselves, to the end that the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a Seminary of Ministers of the Gospel, and that the Youth may be piously educated in good Letters and Manners, and that the Christian Faith may be propagated amongst the Western Indians, to the Glory of Almighty God, to make, found, and establish a certain Place of universal Study, or perpetual College of Divinity, Philosophy, Languages and other good Arts and Sciences, consisting of one President, six Masters or Professors, and an hundred Scholars, more or less, according to the Ability of the said College. . .

And further, we will, and for us, our Heirs and Successors, by these presents do grant, That when the said College shall be so erected, made, founded, and established, it shall be called and denominated for ever, The College of William and Mary in Virginia.

The Schools of the College

The structure of the College is clearly defined in the Statutes of the College of William and Mary in Virginia (dated at London in 1727 and signed by Stephen Fouace and James Blair) clearly define the structure of the College as it was originally designed. The following portions of the Statutes describe the four schools of the College.

The Divinity School

IN THIS School let there be Two Professors with a Salary of One Hundred and Fifty Pounds Sterling to each; they are to have nothing from the Students or Candidates of Theology.

Let one of these Professors teach the Hebrew Tongue, and critically expound the literal Sense of the Holy Scripture both of the Old and New Testament.

Let the other explain the common Places of Divinity, and the Controversies with Hereticks; and let them have Prelections and Disputations on those Subjects.

And let the Students of Divinity divide their Time betwixt those Two Professors.

The Grammar School

TO this School belongs a School-Master; and if the Number of Scholars requires it, an Usher. The School-Master is One of the Six Masters, of whom, with the President, and Scholars, the College consists. But the Usher is not reckoned a Member of that Body. Let there be paid in yearly Salary to the School-Master, One Hundred and Fifty Pounds Sterling, and Twenty Shillings Sterling. But from each Scholar, by the Year, when there is no Usher. But if there be an Usher too in that School, let Fifteen Shillings be paid to the Master, and Five to the Usher; and for a yearly Salary, let there be paid to the Usher, Seventy-five Pounds Sterling. But from the poor Scholars, who are upon any charitable College Foundation, neither the Master, nor Usher, are to take any School Wages; but they are to be taught Gratis.

In this Grammar School let the Latin and Greek Tongues be well taught. As for Rudiments and Grammars, and Classick Authors of each Tongue, let them teach the same Books which by Law or Custom are used in the Schools of England. Nevertheless, we allow the School-master the Liberty, if he has any Observations on the Latin or Greek Grammars, or any of the Authors that are taught in his School, that with the Approbation of the President, he may dictate them to the Scholars. Let the Master take special Care, that if the Author is never so well approved on other Accounts, he teach no such Part of him to his Scholars, as insinuates anything against Religion and good Morals.

Special Care likewise must be taken of their Morals, that none of the Scholars presume to tell a Lie, or curse or swear, or talk or do any Thing obscene, or quarrel and fight, or play at Cards or Dice, or set in to Drinking, or do any Thing else that is contrary

to good Manners. And that all such Faults may be so much the more easily detected, the Master shall chuse some of the most trusty Scholars for public Observators, to give him an Account of all such Transgressions, and according to the Degrees of Heinousness of the Crime, let the Discipline be used without Respect of Persons.

As to the Method of teaching, and of the Government of the School, let the Usher be obedient to the Master in every Thing, as to his Superior.

On Saturdays and the Eves of Holidays, let a sacred Lesson be prescribed out of Castalio's Dialogues, or Buchanan's Paraphrase of the Psalms, or any other good Book which the President and Master shall approve of, according to the Capacity of the Boys, of which an Account is to be taken on Monday, and the next Day after the Holidays.

The Master shall likewise take Care that all the Scholars learn the Church of England Catechism in the vulgar Tongue; and that they who are further advanced learn it likewise in Latin.

Before they are promoted to the Philosophy School, they who aim at the Privileges and Revenues of a Foundation Scholar, must first undergo an Examination before the President and Masters, and Ministers skilful in the learned Languages; whether they have made due progress in their Latin and Greek. And let the same Examination be undergone concerning their Progress in the Study of Philosophy, before they are promoted to the Divinity School. And let no Blockhead or lazy Fellow in his Studies be elected.

If the Revenues of the College for the Scholars, are so well before-hand, that they are more than will serve Three Candidates in Philosophy, and as many in Divinity, then what is left let it be bestowed on Beginners in the Grammar School.

The Philosophy School

FOR as much as we see now daily a further Progress in Philosophy, than could be made by Aristotle's Logick and Physics, which reigned so long alone in the Schools, and shut out all other; therefore we leave it to the President and Masters, by the Advice of the Chancellor, to teach what Systems of Logick, Physicks, Ethicks, and Mathematicks, they think fit in their Schools. Further we judge it requisite, that besides Disputations, the studious Youth be exercised in Declamations and Themes on various Subjects, but not any taken out of the Bible. Those we leave to the Divinity School.

In the Philosophy School we appoint Two Masters or Professors, who for their yearly Salary shall each of them receive Eighty Pounds Sterling, and Twenty Shillings Sterling a Year from each Scholar, except such poor Ones as are entertained at the College Charge, upon the Foundation; for they are to be taught Gratis.

One of these Masters shall teach Rhetorick, Logick, and Ethicks. The other Physicks, Metaphysicks, and Mathematicks.

And that the Youth of the College may the more chearfully apply themselves to these Studies, and endeavour to rise to the Academic Degrees, we do, according to the Form and Institution of the Two famous Universities in England, allot Four Years before they attain to the Degree of Batchelor, and Seven Years before they attain the Degree of Master of Arts.

The Indian School

THERE is but One Master in this School who is to teach the Indian Boys to read, and write, and vulgar Arithmetick. And especially he is to teach them thoroughly the Catechism and the Principles of the Christian Religion. For a yearly Salary, let him have Forty or Fifty Pounds Sterling, according to the Ability of that School, appointed by the Honorable Robert Boyle, or to be further appointed by other Benefactors. And in the same School the Master may be permitted to teach other scholars from the Town, for which he is to take the usual Wages of Twenty Shillings a Year.

Source: William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Series, Vol. XVI (1908).

* * *

Thomas Jefferson and Rational Religion

When it came to religion, Thomas Jefferson chose to listen much more to reason than to revelation or dogma, or powerful church leaders. Though he remained within the Anglican church all his life, Jefferson rejected both the doctrine and the authority of the Church of England. He did not reject Christianity, but he believed that this religion had been distorted during the centuries since Jesus. The moral system of Jesus, Jefferson declared in 1803, “was the most benevolent and sublime probably that has been ever taught.” The problem, he felt, was that this moral teaching had been so encumbered and garbled by churches and priests that no one knew what Jesus had really said. Jefferson determined to correct that situation, spent many hours with his New Testaments in Greek, French, Latin, and English so that he could present “The Life and Morals of Jesus” in uncorrupted form. “The sum of all religion,” Jefferson wrote in 1816, was expressed by its best preacher: “Fear God and love thy neighbor.”

Like his fellow deists, Jefferson believed that God spoke to His creatures not in Hebrew or Greek but in the language of nature. We know who or what God is, the deists argued, by observing closely the world that He made. Reason, not revelation, was for all deists the only possible path to truth. And the truly religious life had far more to do with morality and virtue than with theology and dogma. Jefferson declared that if he were to found a new sect, his fundamental principle “would be the reverse of Calvin’s that we are saved by our good works which are within our power, and not by our faith which is not within our power.” So confident was Jefferson in the power of reason and of rational religion that he predicted that all Americans, within a generation or two, would turn to Unitarianism.

Though at one point Jefferson observed that he was “of a sect by myself, as far as I know,” at other times he was willing to call himself a Christian, “that is to say, a disciple of the doctrines of Jesus, very different from the Platonists.” Christian theology in the third and fourth centuries, Jefferson believed, had taken on too much Greek philosophy, thereby exchanging simplicity for mystery. Jesus, in Jefferson’s view, was

not divine, nor did he ever claim divinity for himself. The idea of Jesus as the Son of God was, for Jefferson, another of those Platonic mysteries that orthodox Christianity had promoted for centuries. He called the doctrine of the Trinity “mere Abacadabra.” The religion of Jesus himself, Jefferson noted in 1820, “is founded on the unity of God.” Jefferson’s hostility to institutional religion, as opposed to rational religion, led him to the great achievement of his final years—the founding of an educational institution free of all sectarian control.

Source: Edwin S. Gaustad, The Foundations of America, Revival, Revolution, and Religion in Early Virginia (Williamsburg, Va., 1994), pp. 38-40.

Statement of Belief from Sir John Randolph’s Will (1737)

I contemplate and adore the Supreme Being the first cause of all things whose infinite power and wisdom is manifested throughout all his works of which none can entertain the least doubt by fools or madmen. I do sincerely believe from the evidence of the sacred writings as well as of prophane authors that Jesus was the Messiah who came into the world in a miraculous manner to give light to mankind at that time lost and wandering in miserable darkness and abandoned to horrid superstitions and ignorance of the true religion to destroy all factions and parties about it to persuade us to love one another which comprehends the whole moral law as the only way to eternal life and to establish peace and liberty among all nations. I am also thoroughly persuaded by the authority of his work that the dead shall rise at God's appointed time which is my greatest hope and comfort and that we shall then be judged not for any errors or mistakes in matters of speculation but for the immorality of our lives and above all for that fierceness with which mankind is inspired in religious disputes despising reviling and hating one another about trifling and insignificant opinions. That we shall be rewarded in the corrupt state of human nature can merit anything only according to the degree of virtue which we have practiced in this life wherein I am assured mankind have a perfect liberty and are undoubtedly exempted from fate and necessity. This is the religion I have learned from the gospel and do believe it to be truly christian as it is suited [to] the weak capacities of men easy to be understood and needing none of the explanations and comments of learned Doctors whose labors seem to be in vain because while by their reasoning they confute the gross errors of others they have not sense or courage enough to establish a true uniform consistent system of their own but strive to make the religion of Christ a science of mighty difficulty and mystery against his own authority and by the weight of their great learning and abilities have only made their adherents more fierce and obstinate fixing irreconcilable animosities among them about unintelligible propositions and senseless doctrines having no tendency to influence mens minds to amend their lives but weakening the eternal obligations of morality whereby the true christian unity is destroyed which cannot be founded but in a strict obedience to the precepts of the gospel. And it is upon this account that my veneration to the ways and means publicly established for the reformation of our lives and turning us from our vicious courses is quite worn out. And I beseech God the father almighty if these opinions are erroneus that I may be enlightened with better thoughts. That he will direct my steps in the ways of truth honestly and charity and that I may be always

ready to resign this life with patience and cheerfulness; retraining a firm confidence in his mercy that I shall not be dealt with according to the errors and frailties of my life but may be admitted to some degree of that everlasting peace which his son has promised to those that believed in him.

Source: Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 36, pp. 376-377.

George Wythe (1726-1806)

Why, sir, as to religion, I have ever considered it as our best and greatest friend. Those glorious views which it gives of our relation to God, and of our destination to heaven, of the easy terms of a good life, unquestionably furnish the best of all motives to virtue, the strongest dissuasives from vice, and the richest cordial under trouble. Thus far, I suppose, we are all agreed; but not, perhaps, so entirely in another opinion, which is, that in the sight of God moral character is the main point. This opinion, very clearly taught by reason, is as fully confirmed by religion, which everywhere teaches that the tree will be valued only for its good fruit; and that in the last day, according to our works of love or of hatred, of mercy or of cruelty, we shall sing with angels or weep with devils. In short, the Christian religion -- the sweetest and sublimist in the world, -- labors throughout to infix in our hearts this great truth, that God is love, and that in exact proportion as we grow in love we grow in his likeness, and consequently shall partake of his friendship and felicity forever. While others, therefore, have been beating their heads or embittering their hearts with disputes about forms of baptism and modes of faith, it has always, thank God, struck me as my great duty instantly to think of this: "God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him."

Source: Alonzo T. Dill, George Wythe, Teacher of Liberty (Williamsburg, Va., 1979), p. 80-81.

* * *

FREEMASONRY IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA AND WILLILAMSBURG

Masonic processions in Williamsburg, replete with special dress and other regalia, would have sent a more equalitarian democratic message than did the deferential hierarchical relationships that were an important element in the civic displays arranged by local magistrates around important events.

The origin of the Freemasons goes back probably to eighth-century England, when the stonemasons established a religious fraternity under the protection of St. John the Baptist, to guard the secrets of their craft. By the late Middle Ages the brotherhood, in the form of the trade guilds, came to be concerned almost exclusively with the moral and religious education of its members. These fraternities of masons were abolished by an edict of King Edward VI in 1547, but later they re-organized for social and educational purposes, and masonic lodges spread quickly throughout Great Britain in the eighteenth century.

Eighteenth-century freemasonry, as practiced in the English world, though often undogmatic, demanded a belief in God from its members, and was not hostile to organized religious institutions. It was in light of the English phenomenon that lodges of freemasons were rapidly being established in the English colonies during the eighteenth century. Williamsburg's Lodge was already established by 1751, the first date that can be documented in the primary sources. Its membership represented a cross-section of colonial society: gentry, professionals and public officials, clergymen, tradesmen, and shopkeepers. From 1773 to 1780, some 215 to 220 masons were registered as members of the Williamsburg Lodge of Freemasons. In 1773 the lodge moved into a new building on Francis Street, where they held meetings throughout the year. The surviving minutes of the lodge indicate an active schedule for the masons, particularly in social and humanitarian activities in the town during the period 1762-1780. Two major celebrations occurred during the year for the masons: the festivals of their patrons, St. John the Baptist (June 24) and St. John the Evangelist (December 27). The eighteenth-century minutes indicate that the latter festival held special significance in the town. The day called for a full procession of the masons from their lodge to Bruton Parish Church, where they attended a special liturgical service and heard a sermon preached on the virtues of freemasonry. This was often followed by a grand ball or supper held in one of the taverns in town.

The lodge hierarchy of officers generally consisted of a worshipful master, deputy master, senior and junior wardens, treasurer, secretary, and stewards. Membership was extended by invitation only to interested parties and full acceptance in the lodge came after a period of evaluation. Among Williamsburg's colonial masons were the "big names" and lesser known: Peyton Randolph, Peter Pelham, Gabriel Maupin, William Rind, John Blair, Benjamin Bucktrout, James Galt, Richard Charlton, William Waddill, and the Reverends John Dixon and James Madison. A number of men from the local area who held no public offices or only minor public office number among the membership of the Williamsburg lodge such as John Lockley, James Douglas, and Jesse Cole. Other notable Virginians who were masons include George Washington, the Reverend Abner Waugh, and John Burwell.



Masonic Master's Chair, Benjamin Bucktrout, Colonial Williamsburg

By the time of the American Revolution, lodges of freemasons in Virginia had been established not only in Williamsburg, but in such towns as Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Hobbs Hole, Norfolk, Port Royal, and in Bedford, Botetourt, and Pittsylvania counties.

Masonic Processions in Williamsburg

Masonic parading, funeral corteges, and social gathering in which association among men of high and middle rank was the norm occurred regularly on the streets of Williamsburg. These rituals confirmed mutual support based on principles of brotherhood and toleration. Minutes of the Williamsburg Lodge of Masons indicate that anywhere from 18 to 45 Masons took part in funeral processions. A similarly numerous company probably took part in other celebrations and parades.

On the feast day of St. John the Evangelist, December 27, 1773 the ancient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, all habited alike, and in the proper Insignia of their Order, went in Procession from their Lodge in this City to Bruton Church, where an excellent Discourse, delivered by the reverend Mr Andrews, a Brother Mason, was preached from Hebrews xiii.1. Let brotherly Love continue.

Source: Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon) 30 December 1773.

Yesterday the Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the City went in Procession, in the proper Insignia of their Order, to the Capitol Landing The design of the Meeting to lay the Foundation Stone of the stone Bridge to be built at the Capitol Landing—the Lodge accordingly repaired thereto and after the Usual Libations and having placed a medal under the cornerstone and laid the same in due form.

Source: Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon) 6 October 1774; George Kidd, Early Freemasonry, p. 30.

William Rind Williamsburg Lodge of Freemasons



Masonic Procession for the Funeral of William Rind

At a Lodge held August 21, 5773 (1773):

Met and agreed on the form of the procession to be observed in paying the last respect to our deceased, Brother Will: Rind and then repaired to his late Dwelling House from thence proceeded to the Church and after the usual service attended the Corps to the grave, saw him interned, returned to the Lodge, and then adjourned till Lodge in Course.

At a Lodge held at Williamsburg on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist 1773 (December 27, 1773):

Ordered: That the proceedings of this day as far as relates to the procession to be published in Mr. Rind's Gazette this week...

December 21, 1775:

Ordered: Brother Rind's Children be supported by the Lodge. Brothers Harwood, Randolph, Bland and Dixon, appointed a Committee for the Management of Brother Rind's Children.

January 2, 1776:

Ordered: That this Lodge take under their care Brother Rind's two Eldest Boys. (William & John) That the Rt. Worshipful Master provide for the Education and support of the said children, that he do of in the most frugal and advantageous Manner and that this Lodge will abide by any agreement by him made for this purpose.

November 5, 1776:

Ordered: That the treasurer to pay Mr. Dudley Williams his Account for Boarding and Schooling of Brother Rind's children.

December 2, 1777:

On a motion: "Tis ordered that Brother John Minson Galt shall continue to provide for, and otherwise take care of the Children of Brother Rind Deceased the ensuing year, in such manner as he hath hitherto proceeded, agreeable to a former resolution of this Lodge.

December 1, 1778:

On motion made Brother Treasurer was proposed for the purpose of taking care of the children of Brother Rind deceased which Business he accordingly undertook...

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

The road to religious freedom in Virginia was not just the struggle of the rational mind. Both evangelicals and rationalists sought the same goal and walked the same road but not hand in hand. The writing was that of Jefferson but historians debate which group played the larger part. It was Thomas Jefferson's radical bill for religious freedom. He first stated publicly this principle in 1776 and introduced it in Virginia Assembly in 1779, but it was not enacted until seven years later. The key provision holds "that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities." This statute dissolved forever the ancient practice of state support for Christianity and penalization of non-conformism.

The disestablishment of Virginia's Anglican church began in Williamsburg in 1776 with the adoption of Article 16 of the Virginia Declaration of Rights. Drafted by George Mason and amended by James Madison, this article declares that "all men are equally entitled to the full and free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience."

Dismantling the complicated scaffolding of church establishment, however, required an equally complicated process of revision and enactment of statute law. In October 1776 the Virginia Assembly enacted a bill for the wholesale revision of the state's laws and named Thomas Jefferson along with four others to undertake the revision. From this effort came an entire new code of laws, first debated in 1779. Bill number 82 in the proposed new code was Jefferson's bill for religious freedom.

The Assembly's enactment of the bill for religious freedom seven years later marked a revolutionary change in Virginia society and prefigured the creation of a national policy on religious freedom embodied in the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights.

An act for establishing religious freedom
June 1779 (introduced)
October 1785 (passed)
January 16, 1786 (in effect)

Well aware that the opinions and belief of men depend not on their own will but follow involuntarily the evidence proposed to their minds; that Almighty God has created the mind free, and manifested His supreme will that free it shall remain by making it altogether insusceptible of restraint; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments, or burdens, or by civil incapacitations tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness and are a departure from the plan of the holy Author of our religion, who being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in His almighty power to do, but to extend it by its influence on reason alone; that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavoring to impose them on others, has established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world and through all time; that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves and abhors is sinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contribution to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness, and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporal rewards which, proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labors for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; that therefore the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of the being called to offices of trust and emolument unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow citizens, he has a natural right; that it tends also to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments those who will externally profess and conform to it; that though indeed these are criminal who do not withstand such temptation, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way; that the opinions of men are not the object of civil government, nor under its jurisdiction; that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency is a dangerous fallacy which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he, being of course judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgment and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own; that it is time enough, for the rightful purpose of civil government, for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order; and, finally, that truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; that she is the proper and

sufficient antagonist to error and has nothing to fear from the conflict unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

We, the General Assembly of Virginia, do enact that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

And though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding Assemblies constituted with powers equal to their own, and that therefore to declare this act irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that, if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present resolution or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right.

Source: Hening, Statutes, Vol. 12, pp. 84–86

PATRICK HENRY SUPPORTED AN ALTERNATIVE TO DISESTABLISHMENT

Opposition to Jefferson's bill, led by Patrick Henry, came from those who believed that even independent, republican states needed healthy religious organization to be stable and free. Their efforts were buried beneath the petitions of Virginia Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, and Presbyterians and the skillful political maneuvering of James Madison.

A Bill "Establishing a Provision for Teachers of the Christian Religion" 1784

WHEREAS the general diffusion of Christian knowledge hath a natural tendency to correct the morals of men, restrain their vices, and preserve the peace of society, which cannot be effected without a competent provision for learned teachers, who may be thereby enabled to devote their time and attention to their duty of instructing such citizens, as from their circumstances and want of education, cannot otherwise attain such knowledge; and it is judged that such provision may be made by the Legislature, without counteracting the liberal principle heretofore adopted and intended to be preserved by abolishing all distinctions of preeminence amongst the different societies or communities of Christians;

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, That for the support of Christian teachers, _____ per centum on the amount, or ____ in the pound on the amount, or _____

in the pound on the sum payable for tax on the property within this Commonwealth, is hereby assessed, and shall be paid by every person chargeable with the said tax at the time the same shall become due; and the Sheriffs of the several Counties shall have power to levy and collect the same in the same manner and under the like restrictions and limitations, as are or may be prescribed by the laws for raising the revenues of this State.

And be it enacted, That for every sum so paid, the Sheriff or Collector shall give a receipt, expressing therein to what society of Christians the person from whom he may receive the same shall direct the money to be paid, keeping a distinct account thereof in his books. The Sheriff of every County, shall, on or before the ___ day of ___ in every year, return to the Court upon oath, two alphabetical lists of the payments to him made, distinguishing in columns opposite to the names of the persons who shall have paid the same, the society to which the money so paid was by them appropriated; and one column for the names where no appropriation shall be made. One of which lists, after being recorded in a book to be kept for the purpose, shall be filed by the Clerk in his office; and the other shall by the Sheriff be fixed up in the Court-house, there to remain for the inspection of all concerned. And the Sheriff, after deducting a five per centum for the collection, shall forthwith pay to such person or persons as shall be appointed to receive the same by the Vestry, Elders, or Directors, however denominated of each such society, the sum so stated to be due to that society; or in default thereof, upon the motion of such person or persons to the next or any succeeding Court, execution shall be awarded for the same against the Sheriff and his security, his and their executors or administrators; provided that ten days previous notice be given of such motion. And upon every such execution, the Officer serving the same shall proceed to immediate sale of the estate taken, and shall not accept of security for payment at the end of three months, nor to have the goods forthcoming at the day of sale, for his better direction wherein, the Clerk shall endorse upon every such execution that no security of any kind shall be taken.

And be it further enacted, That the money to be raised by virtue of this act, shall be by the Vestries, Elders, or Directors of each religious society, appropriated to a provision for a Minister or Teacher of the Gospel of their denomination, or the providing places of divine worship, and to none other use whatsoever; except in the denominations of Quakers and Menonists, who may receive what is collected from their members, and place it in their general fund, to be disposed of in a manner which they shall think best calculated to promote their particular mode of worship.

And be it enacted, That all sums which at the time of payment to the Sheriff or Collector may not be appropriated by the person paying the same, shall be accounted for with the Court in manner as by this Act is directed; and after deducting for his collection, the Sheriff shall pay the amount thereof (upon account certified by the Court to the Auditors of Public Accounts, and by them to the Treasurer) into the Public Treasury, to be disposed of under the direction of the General Assembly, for the encouragement of seminaries of learning within the Counties whence such sums shall arise, and to no other use or purpose whatsoever.

Source: Thomas E. Buckley, S.J., Church and State in Revolutionary Virginia, 1776-1787 (Charlottesville, 1977), pp. 188-189.

* * *

Dissenters Petition for Change

In the ten years between 1776 and 1786 (the year the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom became law), dissenters in Virginia never let the General Assembly forget that they took article sixteen of the Virginia Declaration of Rights at face value—"free exercise of religion." A steady stream of petitions from Baptists and other denominations of dissenters demanded that they be relieved of paying taxes to Anglican parishes. In response, the General Assembly began to dismantle the establishment by degrees. In 1776, and annually thereafter, they suspended Anglican church taxes for dissenters. Non-Anglicans were not satisfied, though. During and after the Revolution, support for the poor and disadvantaged gradually passed into the hands of "overseers of the poor" named in place of church vestries which had been the welfare agency of colonial times. Dissenters also demanded that marriages performed by their ministers be made legal.

May 1780

An act for dissolving several vestries, and electing overseers of the poor.

WHEREAS great inconveniences have arisen from the mode prescribed for making provision for the poor and other duties of the vestries, as by law now directed in the counties of Rockingham, Botetourt, Montgomery, Washington, Greenbrier, Augusta, and Frederick, **Be it enacted by the General Assembly**, That where any of the above enumerated counties have vestries, or other bodies vested with powers to provide for the poor, the same are hereby dissolved. And for providing for the poor, and such Other parochial duties as have heretofore been exercised by the vestries, churchwardens, or other bodies of the respective parishes, **Be it enacted**, That the sheriffs of the said counties shall, at their respective courts to be held in the month of **October** next (first giving twenty days previous notice thereof) proceed to elect five freeholders, resident in their said counties, to serve for three years, and be known by the name of Overseers of the Poor; in which election the said sheriffs shall observe the same rules, regulations, and rights of suffrage as were formerly used in the election of vestrymen; saving and reserving to the church now, and at all times hereafter, every right, title, or claim appertained thereto, as formerly reserved by an act entitled "an act for exempting the different societies of dissenters from contributing to the support and maintenance of the church of England, as by law established, and its ministers, and for other purposes therein mentioned."

And be it further enacted, That the overseers of the poor, so to be chosen, or a majority of them, having first taken an oath in their respective counties, well and truly to execute the duties of their office, as well as the oath of fidelity to the state, shall be deemed a body politick and corporate, to sue and be sued, and be invested with all the powers, and subject to the same penalties that the vestries or church wardens formerly were liable to, and vested with, before the passing of this act. And in case of the death, resignation, removal, or refusal to act of any such overseer or overseers, the court of the county shall appoint some other person or persons in the room of such who shall so die, resign, remove, or refuse to act, who having taken the oaths as before directed, shall continue in office until the next general election of overseers. Twenty days before the October court, triannually, the sheriffs of the said counties respectively, shall in like manner give notice to the freeholders and housekeepers of each county, to meet at the courthouse, on the first day of the succeeding court, for the election of overseers of the poor, to act for other three years, and so from time to time, that a perpetual succession of such overseers may be kept up by triennial elections.

Source: Hening, Statutes, Vol. 10, pp. 288-290.

* * *

OCTOBER 1780

An act declaring what shall be a lawful marriage

FOR encouraging marriages and for removing doubts concerning the validity of marriages celebrated by ministers, other than the church of England, **Be it enacted** by the General Assembly, That it shall and may be lawful for any minister of any society or congregation of christians, and for the society of christians called quakers and menonists, to celebrate the rights of matrimony, and to join together as man and wife, those who may apply to them agreeable to the rules and usage of the respective societies to which the parties to be married respectively belong, and such marriage as well as those heretofore celebrated by dissenting ministers, shall be, and they are hereby declared good and valid in law.

Provided always, and it is the true intent and meaning of this act that nothing herein before contained shall entend or be construed to extend to confirm any marriages heretofore celebrated, or hereafter to be celebrated between parties within the degrees of affinity or consanguinity forbidden by law. **Provided also,** that no persons except the people called quakers and menonists, shall hereafter be joined together as man and wife, without lawful license first had, or thrice publication of banns in the respective parishes, or congregations where the parties to be married may severally reside, agreeable to the directions of an act of assembly passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty eight, entitled, "An act concerning marriages." **Provided,** That the license so obtained may be directed to any regular minister that the parties to be married may require. Every minister of any society or congregation, not of the church of England, offending against the directions of the said act concerning marriages, shall be

subject to the same pains and penalties in cases of omission or neglect as by the said recited act are imposed upon ministers of the church of England. . . .

*For carrying this act into execution, **Be it further enacted**, That the courts of the different counties shall and are hereby authorized on recommendation from the elders of the several religious sects, to grant license to dissenting ministers of the gospel, not exceeding the number of four of each sect in any one county, to join together in holy matrimony, any persons within their counties only; which license shall be signed by the judge or elder magistrate under his hand and seal.*

Source: Hening, Statutes, Vol. 10, pp. 361-363.

* * *

THE DECLINE OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN VIRGINIA

David L. Holmes, A Brief History of the Episcopal Church (Valley Forge, Pa., 1993), pp. 23-28.

First, the established church fell because of the problems of the vestry system.

Second, the rise of anti-English feeling in Virginia during and after the American Revolution boomeranged on the Church of England in Virginia.

Third, the parish clergy of Virginia seem to have sunk steadily in public estimation from the 1740s on. The parsons not only got involved in a famous lawsuit demanding higher salaries—but they also lost it. More than that, in the minds of the common people of the colony, the Anglican clergy apparently came to be indistinguishable from the planter aristocracy. Many of the planter aristocracy wore periwigs, played cards, drank heavily, raced horses, and attended cockfights—and so apparently did numerous parish clergy of the established church. This kind of parson made the ascetic evangelicals who emerged in the Baptist, the Presbyterian, and the Methodist ministries look attractive indeed to the average Virginian.

Fourth, other Protestant denominations moved aggressively into Virginia in the decades prior to the Revolution. Dissent was nothing new in the colony, but aggressive and vociferous dissent was. In the 1740s and 1750s, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, and later the Methodists came into Virginia and presented an appealingly fresh interpretation of Christianity. The Baptists and the Presbyterians also offered a representative form of church government, with no self-perpetuating aristocratic vestries. In addition, the Methodist and the Baptist clergy, who were generally men of the people, proclaimed an emotional, extemporaneous gospel. Although Virginia allowed religious toleration from 1699 on, the terms of toleration favored the established church. When the Anglican-dominated political establishment imprisoned some of these dissenting preachers on technicalities, defections to the Baptists and Presbyterians occurred throughout Virginia. In some areas, dissenters came to outnumber Anglicans—all of which had political consequences.

Finally, Thomas Paine's religion of natural reason and moral precepts, Deism, which will be described below, began to infiltrate the male aristocracy of Virginia both before and after the Revolution. Deism seems to have influenced women less than men. As husbands ceased attending church, the phenomenon of the "believing wife" began to appear in Virginia parishes. As a rule, women and children significantly outnumbered men in the pews of Anglican and Episcopal services (and those of many other denominations) in the decades just before and after the Revolution. Episcopal women of Virginia continued to go to church, but many of the colony's men did not. With its very pillars now weakened, the established church began first to sag and then to collapse.

And thus the story moves through the Revolutionary War to the last act. During the Revolution, most of the Anglicans of Virginia were patriots. The newest research indicates that seventy to eighty percent of the clergy of the established church of Virginia supported the American side. Tory sympathies, therefore, played little role in the Church's post-Revolutionary collapse. Nor did disestablishment—removal of state support—cause the fall. In 1784, the General Assembly disestablished the Episcopal Church and placed it on the same level as all other denominations in the Commonwealth. Yet every southern colony disestablished the Church of England, and none collapsed like the church of Virginia.

What was special in Virginia was that the clamor for laws against the Episcopal Church continued for two decades following the Revolution. From 1784 to 1802, the Presbyterians and especially the Baptists of Virginia flooded the General Assembly with petitions and lobbyists urging that the Commonwealth confiscate the property of those Episcopal parishes that dated from the colonial period. These groups argued that a general taxation on all Virginians during the colonial period had purchased, built, and maintained the Episcopal churches and glebe farms. Now that the majority of Virginians were no longer Episcopalians, the argument continued, the church's buildings and land should revert to the public domain, so that Anglicanism would not retain an unfair advantage over other denominations.

In the years after 1786, the General Assembly gradually yielded to the petitions and lobbyists, and in 1802 it passed the Glebe Act. This act directed that groups in each county, called the Overseers of the Poor, seize all farms that Episcopal parishes had purchased prior to 1777 upon the death or resignation of the parish's present rector. The affected property involved all but a handful of the Episcopal Church's glebes. The act also directed the overseers to sell the glebes and use the proceeds for the public benefit. The Glebe Act further allowed Virginians to view all Episcopal churches erected prior to 1777 (again, the overwhelming majority of Virginia's Episcopal Churches) as public property whenever any Episcopal parish could not maintain regular services in them.

Why were the glebes important? During the colonial period, virtually every parish in Virginia had a glebe house and a glebe farm of two hundred or more acres. The rector of the parish lived on the glebe and either rented its land out, farmed it himself, or ran a school on part of the land. In this way the rectors supplemented their salaries. Hence even when the General Assembly terminated their salaries at the start of the Revolution, Episcopal clergy still had their glebes, and the parishes still had a means of attracting and supporting clergy. But with the passage of the Glebe Act in 1802, all of this ended.

The Episcopal Church tried to fight the Glebe Act. Some of the most prominent lawyers in Virginia supported the church's right to keep its colonial property;. The test case came in 1802 in Chesterfield County, where the vestry of Manchester Parish challenged the right of the county's Overseers of the Poor to seize their vacant glebe. In the chancery court, George Wythe (under whom Bishop Madison had earlier studied law at William and Mary) ruled in favor of the state.

The vestry then appealed their case to Virginia's highest court, the five-member court of appeals. Even when Justice William Fleming, an Episcopalian and a resident of the county of question, disqualified himself, the Episcopal Church still expected the court of appeals to invalidate the Glebe Act. Three of the court's remaining four members were Episcopalians of conservative legal views. Its president, for example, was the eighty-one-year-old Edmund Pendleton, who had proved an uncompromising champion of the property rights of the Episcopal Church during his years in the General Assembly.

Then the story took a strange turn. In October of 1803, just before he was to deliver the ruling of the four-member court, Judge Pendleton died in his lodgings in Richmond's Swan Tavern. In his room at the tavern searchers found, ready for delivery, the three-to-one decree of the court declaring the Glebe Act unconstitutional. But Pendleton's death rendered that decision null and void.

Appointed to Pendleton's seat on the court of appeals was St. George Tucker, a notable resident of Williamsburg and childhood friend of Bishop Madison. After hearing arguments, Tucker voted for the constitutionality of the Glebe Act. The court of appeals—with Justice Fleming still disqualifying himself—divided two to two. Under Virginia law, the tie upheld the lower court.

Disheartened and already disorganized, the Episcopal Church in Virginia failed to continue the litigation. From the Chesapeake to the Alleghenies, the Episcopal glebes now became the property of the state. Historians have difficulty exaggerating the consequences of the seizure of the glebes for the Episcopal Church. Because of anti-English animus, the rise of Deism, the departure of the Methodist from its ranks in 1784, the loss of other members to the Baptists and Presbyterians, and a heavy postwar emigration of Episcopal families to Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, the former

established Church of Virginia had been steadily declining since the start of the Revolution. Following the Glebe Act, it utterly collapsed.

The collapse took only a brief time. Shortly after the passage of the Glebe Act, the Overseers of the Poor in each county began to confiscate the glebes of those parishes that had either failed to survive the Revolutionary War or that currently lacked ministers. Approximately sixty-seven parishes fell into this category. As other parishes one by one lost their rectors to death or resignation after 1802, the overseers seized additional glebes. Consequently, having lost their only assured support for a rector and lacking experience in supporting a church through voluntary contributions, many vestries gave up the struggle and dissolved. At that point their parish churches, now viewed as public property, were left to the plunder of neighboring landowners or turned over to any denomination that could supply a minister and congregation. In parish after parish throughout Virginia, the Episcopal Church died out.

The devastation was immense. Of the seven colonial churches in Isle of Wight and Southampton counties, six disappeared. Of the three colonial churches in Portsmouth Parish, two fell into ruin. In Hungars Church on the Eastern Shore, when Episcopalians were unable to continue services following the Glebe Act, fishermen seized the organ and melted it into sinkers. In Essex County, along the Rappahannock River, vandals completely destroyed the parish church, turning even its tombstones into grindstones. Near the Tidewater town of Smithfield, the bricks and pews of the church on Burwell's Bay were used to construct a kitchen and a stable. In Prince Edward County, the Baptists and Methodists argued for years over the rights to the parish church. In Christ Church, Middlesex County, the pews crumbled, the roof fell in, and a large sycamore tree sprang up between the walls.

The effect of the Glebe Act is amply displayed by the fact that out of approximately two hundred fifty churches belonging to the established Church of Virginia at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, fewer than thirty-five (or only about thirteen percent) remain in use today as Episcopal churches. Throughout the newly independent Commonwealth there were spoons and bullets made out of pewter communion sets, chalices taken from deserted parish churches and used on family tables, baptismal fonts employed as flower bowls and horse troughs, and colonial churches crumbling into ruin. Virginia lore contains many such stories from this period, and most seem to be not apocryphal but true. If St. Paul visited Virginia, Bishop Madison told one of his diocesan conventions, he would consider its Episcopal churches "as dedicated, or rather devoted, to the demon of ruin." The former established church had fallen in a post-Revolutionary atmosphere of anti-Episcopalianism and anti-establishmentarianism that is almost impossible to comprehend in the United States of today.

As the Episcopal Church of Virginia declined, a parallel decline occurred in James Madison's activities as its bishop. Although the national Episcopal Church held

General Conventions every three years, Madison attended none after 1795. After 1801, he was unable to provide the General Convention with the required lists of active clergy in his diocese. His congregation at Jamestown stopped meeting after 1802. Though he published annual calls in the *Virginia Gazette*, he was able to assemble only two conventions of Virginia Episcopalians between 1800 and 1811. In the decade from 1801 to 1810, he ordained only one deacon. By 1811, a committee of the General Convention had reported that the venerable Episcopal tradition appeared likely to die out in Virginia. Although rumors spread throughout the Commonwealth that Madison had become a skeptic and a Deist, the evidence indicates that he remained an orthodox Christian for the time and had grown skeptical only of the future of the church in which he had been baptized and ordained.

As college president, teacher, counselor, administrator, scientist, pastor, parent, and bishop, Madison had been doing the work of several men for decades. It is also now clear that he was dying of dropsy from approximately 1807 on. This knowledge makes all the more poignant a letter the bishop wrote on October 7, 1807. Declaring that he had previously labored for others but that he must now think of himself and of his family, James Madison--bishop of Virginia, president and professor of the College of William and Mary, and rector of James City Parish--applied to his Deistic friend President Thomas Jefferson for the post of Port Collector of Norfolk.

David L. Holmes, A Brief History of the Episcopal Church (Valley Forge, Pa., 1993), pp. 23-28.

RELIGION IN DAILY LIFE

Diaries and Journals

Philip Fithian was a tutor for Robert Carter at Nomini Hall in Virginia from 1773-1774. His viewpoint is unique in that he comments on Virginia society from the more strict Presbyterian background of Princeton, New Jersey. Some of his thoughts about the religion in Virginia are reflected in the following statements.

October 8, 1773

To Day is the Fast before our Sacrament--O that the mighty God would teach me true Humiliation for my many Sin's, & give me Grace that shall enable me to hate & forsake them!--Grace to keep me right in the Path of Life, & to guide me to his heavenly Kingdom--Mr Hunter preached two useful Sermons, describing worthy, & unworthy Communicants--

December 13, 1773

I observe it is a general custom on Sundays here, with Gentlemen to invite one another home to dine, after Church; and to consult about, determine their common business, either before or after Service--It is the Custom for Gentlemen not to go into Church till service is beginning, when they enter in a Body, in the same manner as they come out; I have known the Clerk to come out and call them into prayers. They stay also after the Service is over, usually as long, sometimes longer, than the Parson was preaching.

Sunday, December 26, 1773

I rose at eight--The morning is fair; all seem quiet--I went to the window before I was drest, having only a Gown thrown about me & enjoy'd a beautiful Prospect of the high Banks of the River Nomini gilded by the morning Sun--I could not help casting my Eyes with eagerness over the blue Potowmack and look homewards.--After having paid my morning secret Devotion to the King of Kings, I sat myself to the correcting and transcribing my Sermon--I had the pleasure to wait on Mrs Carter to Church She rode in the Chariot, & Miss Prissy and Nancy; Mr Carter chose to stay at Home--The Sacrament was to have been administered but there were so few people that he thought it improper, and put of til Sunday fortnight. He preached from Isaiah 9.6. For unto us a child is Born &c. His Sermon was fifteen Minutes long! very fashionable--He invited me very civilly to Dine & spend the Evening with him, but I could not leave the Ladies! He made me almost promise, however to call some Day this Week.

At the Church to day I heard an impious Expression from a young Scotch-Man, Tutor in Mr Washingtons Family; he meant it for a Satire upon the neglect of the people in suffering their Grave Yard to lie common--He saw some Cattle & Hogs feeding &

rooting in the yard; "Why, says he, if I was buried here it would grieve me to look up and see Swine feeding over me"!--But I understand only the lower sort of People are buried at the Church; for the Gentleman have private burying-Yards.

Sunday January 2, 1774

The weather warm and Damp--The Family rode to Church today and are to dine out. Mr Carter at my request, gave me the Keys of his Book-Cases and allowed me to spend the Day alone in his Library. The place seems suitable for Study, & the Day ought to be spent in serious contemplation. . . .

I was solicited by Dr Witherspoon to go into Virginia & teach in a Gentlemans Family--The Offer seem'd profitable; I was encouraged by the Dr and was to have his Recommendation--I had likewise myself a strong inclination to go--Yet I was in great Doubt, & Wholly undetermined for some Weeks, because many of my friends, and some of my near Relations opposed my leaving Home, and all seem'd utterly unwilling to advise to go--It is time, according to the Course of my Life they said that I was settling to some constant Employment, and they told me I ought especially to enter with as great speed as convenient into that plan of Life for which I have in particular had my Education--That Virginia is sickly--That the People there are profane, and exceeding wicked--That I shall read there no Calvinistic Books, nor hear any Presbyterian Sermons.

March 6, 1774

Mr Lane the other Day informed me that the Anabaptists in Louden County are growing very numerous; & seem to be increasing in affluence; and as he thinks quite destroying pleasure in the Country; for they encourage ardent Prayer; strong & constant faith, & an intire Banishment of Gaming, Dancing, & Sabbath-Day Diversions. I have also before understood that they are numerous in many County's in this Province & are Generally accounted troublesome - Parson Gibbern has preached several Sermons in opposition to them...

Source: Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774. Edited by Hunter Dickinson Farish (Charlottesville, 1965).

* * *

Joseph Pilmore (1739-1825) was born in England where his parents were members of the Church of England. At the age of sixteen, Pilmore became acquainted with John Wesley. Under Wesley's influence he was converted and guided into Methodist work. He came to America and preached throughout the colonies, including Virginia. In Williamsburg, he preached in the playhouse and in the Capitol yard. Methodism was a reform movement within the Church of England. The separate Methodist denomination in America was founded in 1784.

Philadelphia, August 9, 1770

Having a special regard for the Quakers, I went with a Friend to Meeting. We waited long for the word of God, but alas! Alas! How much we were disappointed.

Though there were eight Public Friends present in the Assembly, not one of them opened his mouth! What strange religious worship is this! Surely those that have the life of God in their souls, will have something to say for their Master. That Christians should wait inwardly upon the Lord, is plain and clear as the light; but, for Ministers to sit silent when the people are perishing for lack of knowledge, is certainly wrong.

Philadelphia, September 6, 1771

After Intercession, I went to visit the poor Prisoners in the Gaol, where I preached to a great number of poor distressed creatures, with much freedom of mind, and most of them seemed greatly affected...Some even of these may rise to the Paradise of God, and eternally adore the sinners Friend.

Manheim, Pennsylvania, June 2, 1772

Took leave of the dear people of Lebanon, and set forward with two or three friends from Lancaster...In our way, we dined at a little town called Mannam, where a gentleman has built a very large Glass-house, and they have brought their manufactory to great perfection. The Proprietor lives in a fine large house, and has a large Chapel upstairs, with Pews and Pulpit and Organ in it. We joined in singing an Hymn and Prayer, and our heavenly father gave us his blessing.

Norfolk, Virginia, August 2, 1772

After preaching two poor slaves came to me and begged I would instruct them in the way of salvation so I gave them a short and plain account of the Plan of the Gospel, and shewed them how sinners may come to God and be saved. We then joined in singing and prayer, and they expressed great thankfulness for what they had heard, and seemed determined to be Christians.

Williamsburg, August 20, 1772

I prepared for my journey to Williamsburgh . . . The Captain went ashore with us where we breakfasted together, and then went forward towards the City. I found Mr. Dean, A Coach maker from New York, who lately settled here, and he entertained me very kindly. We sent word through the town, and in the evening I preached in the Play-house to a small but serious congregation with much freedom.

Williamsburg, August 23, 1772 (Sunday)

The morning was so exceedingly hot, that we had but few people at seven oClock: afterwards I heard a useful sermon at the Church [Bruton Parish] on the great duty of searching the Scriptures and in the evening, I intended to have preached in the Play-house, but it was so full, and the weather so very hot, it was feared the people would not be able to bear the heat. As I was going the Rector sent to entreat me to preach in the State House Yard, which I gladly complied with, and had a vast multitude of hearers who behaved remarkably well. When I had done the Minister spoke to me very kindly, and gave me an invitation to dine. The next morning I was taken so ill that I could not fulfill my promise to wait on the Rector, but in the afternoon was so much

better that I ventured to preach in the evening to a vast crowd of people in the Play-house, & the Lord gave his word success. Tis surprising to see what a change there is in this place in a few days: when I came, but few cared anything about the preaching, now abundance of people are not only glad to hear it, but also seem willing to receive it.

[Virginia, October 10, 1772]

*Had some friends from **Williamsburgh** to see me, who strongly solicited me to go thither again to preach the everlasting Gospel of God's dear son—so I hope my labor there was not in vain.*

Norfolk, October 11, 1772

"This day has been truly blessed. In the morning, we had a time of refreshing in the Play-house; at ten, a vast multitude both of white and black, attended at Captain Goods, where the Great Physician was present to heal, and in the evening I preached to the great congregation in Norfolk with very much freedom of mind."

Edenton, North Carolina, December 21, 1772

After dinner I took leave of my kind Host and his dear wife; they would not take anything for what I had received, but told me they wished they could do more for me! I then went to the man who keeps the Ferry and paid for my Horse and Chaise...The Sound is twelve miles over...but I got safe over...I intended to go forward about ten miles, but the night came on, and I concluded to stay at the Ferry where I spent the evening very comfortable in conversation, singing, and prayer, with the family.

Newburn, North Carolina, January 1, 1773

I rose pretty early and devoted the first fruits of the day, and the beginning of the Year unto God...I then took leave of my dear Newburn friends, and the family, and went forward about seventeen miles to Foxs Tavern, where I stopped to bait (old form meaning to partake of refreshment or food). As there were many people walking about, I spoke to several of them about the salvation of their Souls, and proposed to join in singing a Psalm and prayer, to which they readily consented.

Dumfries, Virginia, May 14, 1773

"...We set off pretty early, and travelled over a very mountainous Country to Dumfrees, a small town situate on a Branch of the Potowmack, chiefly inhabited by the Scotch, who carry on a very great trade in Virginia. Having obtained liberty to preach at the Inn, we sent word through the Town, and at six oClock, had a fine congregation to hear that word, which, through the blessing of God, is able to save their Souls."

Source: Frederick E. Maser, Howard T. Maag, eds., The Journal of Joseph Pilmore, Methodist Itinerant (Philadelphia, 1969).

* * *

Landon Carter (1710-1778) was the son of Robert "King" Carter of The Northern Neck in Virginia. He was a devoted public servant and inveterate diarist. Though his

diary is full of bitter disappointment, it provides insight into the mind of one member of Virginia's plantation gentry class, including some of his views on religion.

Sabine Hall, August 18, 1770

This day it seems I am 60 years of age. I thank God that he has suffered me to see the day another, although according to the common run of man's age, I may say my days are full. I cannot say they have been attended with more than uncommon misfortunes and, as I plead no preference about the rest of the world, I do with an unfeigned heart return thanks for this and all other the mercies of heaven.

Sabine Hall, July 20, 1775

This is a fast day [St. Margaret, Virgin and Martyr] and most Popishly is it kept here, no one eats breakfast; but for my part I hope I worship a being that would rather delight in our subduing by humiliation and sorrow for our transgressions, that in doing anything which may injure our Corporeal frames;...however I do conform to the practice of all around me...I give leave to all to go to Church who are so inclined, those who are not so inclined will do less injury to religion if they are kept at work at home; for with what are called holidays they run into great mischiefs and drunkenness.

Source: Jack P. Greene, ed., The Diary of Col. Landon Carter of Sabine Hall (Charlottesville, 1987), pp. 468, 924.

* * *

Col. James Gordon (ca 1714-1768) came to Virginia in 1738 from Newry, County Down, Ireland. He and his brother settled in Lancaster County and became wealthy and influential merchants. They were Presbyterians and helped build a strong Presbyterian settlement in the Northern Neck.

Lancaster County, Virginia, January 9, 1759

Mr. Crisewell joined us. This gentleman has now fully dropped opposing the meetinghouse, which is mostly occasioned by a letter he lately received from Mr. Ben Waller, who advises that the Dissenters have power to build a house and enjoy their religion by act of Toleration. Complains very much of The Church of England for petitioning the King about a law that was lately passed in this Colony, that set their salaries at 16/8 per cwt. Which they call the two penny act."

Lancaster County, Virginia, March 12, 1761

"Heard the disagreeable news of the death of the Rev. Samuel Davies. Never was a man in America, I imagine, more lamented. The Christian, the gentleman & the scholar appeared conspicuous in him. Virginia, & even Lancaster has, I hope, great reason to bless God for sending him among us."

Source: "Journal of James Gordon of Lancaster, Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, Series I, Vol. 2.

* * *

Rev. Samuel Davies brought evangelical Presbyterianism to Hanover County, Virginia and helped spark the Great Awakening in Virginia. For Davies's biography, see p. 373.

Philadelphia, Sept. 17, 1753

How pleasing it is to see the Religion of Jesus appear undisguised in Foreigners! I am so charmed with it, that I forget all national and religious Differences; and my very Heart is intimately united to them.

Source: George William Pilcher, The Reverend Samuel Davies Abroad—The Diary of a Journey to England and Scotland (Chicago, 1967).

* * *

John Harrower came to Virginia from Scotland as an indentured servant in hopes of acquiring land and money enabling him to bring his wife and children to the new world. What is unique about his experience is that he kept a journal. Upon arrival in Virginia, he became a tutor to Colonel Daingerfield's children, and it is from his journal that we quote passages concerning his religious life.

Fredericksburg, June 26, 1774

"After Breakfast I took a walk 3 Miles to Mr. Edge's...where I dined and drank some grogg and returned home in the afternoon. At night I had a small Congregation of Negroes, learning their Catechism and hearing me read to them."

Fredericksburg, October 16, 1774

"This day Mrs. Daingerfield was Church'd at Fredericksburgh."

Fredericksburg, October 23

"At church but there was no sermon only prayers."

Sunday, March 26, 1775

At 9 AM set out on horseback for Mount Church in Caroline County in Company with Mr. Richards, Mrs. Richards, Mr. Martin Heely, Mr. Anthony Frazer and Miss Lucy Gaines. And heard Mr. Waugh preach his text being the 1st V. Of the 12th Chapter of Ecclesiastes. After which we all returned to Mr. Richards before 3 pm where we Dined & spent the afternoon. From Belvidera to Mount Churches is 10 Miles.

Sunday, March 17, 1776

I went to Church & heard prayers but no parson came to preach; I Bott. At Mr. Porters a Tin Tea Kettle one pint & one half pint stone mugg. Dined in Town & returned home in the afternoon notwithstanding a very [hard?] rain.

Source: The Journal of John Harrower, An Indentured Servant in the Colony of Virginia 1773-1776, edited by Edward Miles Riley (Williamsburg, Va., 1963).

* * *

Daniel Fristoe was a Baptist minister associated with Chappawamsick Church in the Ketocton Association (Prince William and Stafford counties). He and his brother William Fristoe preached widely in that area in the 1770s. Daniel Fristoe's comment about an outdoor dissenting service is compelling.

Daniel Fristoe, 1771

*"Being Sunday... about 2000 people came together, after preaching, (I) heard others that proposed to be baptized...Then went to the water where I preached and baptized 29 persons. When I had finished we went to a field and making a circle in the center, there laid hands on persons baptized. The multitude stood around weeping, but when we sang **Come we that love the Lord** & they were so affected that they lifted up their hands and faces toward heaven and discovered such chearful countenance in the midst of flowing tears as I had never seen before."*

Source: Rhys Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790 (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1982), p. 166.

* * *

Devereaux Jarratt's autobiography Life; . . . Written by Himself gives us great insight into eighteenth-century Virginia life, especially about the church. Being ordained a clergyman in the established Church allowed him to cross the gulf separating the middling sort from the gentry. He urged a new birth in the church in Virginia and in doing so worked against the grain of Virginia's aristocratic society. He does try to picture himself as coming from more humble beginnings than the facts actually bear out and one must keep that in mind when reading his autobiography.

My parents neither sought nor expected any titles, honors, or great things, either for themselves or children. Their highest ambition was to teach their children to read, write, and understand the fundamental rules of arithmetic. I remember also, they taught us short prayers, and made us very perfect in repeating the Church Catechism (p. 361).

The Lord relieved me at last, I well remember the time and place, when and where, I was sitting, with a good book in my hand. . . At last I cast my eye on Isaiah 62, 12--Thou shalt be called, sought out, a city not forsaken. These words appeared very applicable to a nameless case, and I was enabled to apply them as such, to the great comfort of my soul. . . I was blessed with faith to believe not just one promise only, but all the promises of the gospel with joy unspeakable and full of glory--I saw such a fullness in Christ, to save to the uttermost, that, had I ten thousand souls as wretched and guilty as mine was, I could venture all on his blood and righteousness without one doubt, or fear. The comforts I then felt, were beyond expression, and far superior to any thing I had ever known before that memorable hour (pp. 377-378).

It was in the spring, 1762, when I quit my school, and began to prepare for an immediate entrance into Holy Orders. Not in the Presbyterian, as first intended, but in the Church of England--I first obtained a title to a parish--next waited on the Governor of Virginia [Francis Fauquier], and then on the Rev. Mr. William Robinson, the Bishop of London's Commissary. From both I obtained such papers as were necessary to carry to the Bishop - I had all things ready in May, and agreed for my passage with a William Ashburn, Captain of a Ship, called the Everton - but, by one hindrance and another, I did not sail for England till some time in the October following....I was ordained deacon, in the King's chapel, at Christmas, in the year 1762, after I had staid in London about four weeks...The bishop of Chester was to hold an ordination, in the city, the Sunday following, and I requested and obtained from my lord of London, letters dismissory to him. And, having passed my trials before his chaplain, I was ordained priest, by the bishop of Chester, just one week after I had been ordained a deacon... (p. 381).

By the 10th of January, 1763, I had all my letters of ordination, etc. ready for returning back to Virginia, but was detained in London, for more than three months after this. At first, a hard frost blocked up the river Thames, that no ship could sail out for many weeks. This detention, however, contrary to my wish, gave me an opportunity of preaching several sermons in the churches of that great city....I preached in a manner, so different from what was customary with the clergy, that it was strongly suspected I was a Methodist, or something else besides a churchman. Though, at that time, I had never seen, or conversed with a Methodist in all my life, nor did I know what the principles of the Methodist were. True, while I staid in London, I heard both Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitefield, and also one of the lay-preachers of the latter. But I got little edification from either of the three, though the two first spoke well, and to the purpose... (p. 389).

Source: The Life of the Reverend Devereux Jarratt, Written By Himself (Baltimore, 1806).

* * *

<p>Nicholas Cresswell (1750-1804) kept a journal of his time in Virginia (1774-1777). He had to take care what he wrote, being a Tory. His descriptions of Virginia life are enlightening. Of special interest to us are his comments on religion which follow.</p>
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He seems at many times indifferent, even hostile to the “hypocrites” (as he sees them) of his time.

November 7, 1774

Went to a Presbyterian meeting. These are a set of rebellious scoundrels, nothing but political discourses instead of Religious Lectures.

Alexandria Virginia, October 20th, 1776

No service at Church to-day. Religion is almost forgotten or most basely neglected. In short, the Parsons are not willing to expound the Gospel to people without being paid for it, and there is no provision made for the Episcopal Clergy by this new code of Laws, therefore Religion as well as Commerce is at a stand. Indeed, the few that pretend to preach are mere retailers of politics, sowers of sedition and rebellion, serve to blow the cole of discord and excite the people to arms. The Presbyterian Clergy are particularly active in supporting the measures of Congress from the Rostrum, gaining proselytes, persecuting the unbelievers, preaching up the righteousness of their cause and persuading the unthinking populace of the infallibility of success. Some of these religious rascals assert that the Lord will send his Angels to assist the injured Americans. They gain great numbers of converts and I am convinced if they establish their Independence that Presbyty will be the established religion on this Continent.

Loudon County, Virginia, February 25, 1777

Expected to have a Methodist meeting here to-day. The Company, or Congregation, of Canting, Whining Hypocrites met, but the Parson disappointed them. I am sorry that Captn. Douglas should be such a dupe to these religious quacks. He keeps a good table, is a good-natured man, easily led, and rather unsteady in his religious principles, always glad to see or converse with these Fag-end-of-the-Scripture mongers, and as long as his house is open to them they will haunt him as bad as they tell us the Devil haunts their meetings.

Williamsburg, 1777

Here is only one Church, none of the grandest, and I suppose there may be about 250 houses in town. Lodged at Anderson's Tavern.

Source: Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1744-1777 (New York, 1928).

Disasters Reported in the Virginia Gazette

Disaster Strikes Montreal

The President [Rev. James Horrocks] begs that the remaining Clergymen would hasten their collections for the sufferers by fire at Montreal.

Source: Virginia Gazette, October 27, 1768

* * *

Miraculous Escape

*On Saturday the 14th of June a very gloomy cloud suddenly arose, and violent lightning and thunder immediately ensued. It passed over several large houses with brick chimnies (belonging to Mr. James French, a merchant in Prince Edward county) without affecting any thing; and a small house (**the residence of James Smith a tailor**) on lower ground, at 30 or 40 yards distance, with a wooden chimney at the further end, was struck with lightning. The lightning entered at the upper shingle on the end of this cottage, next to Mr. French's houses. It shivered to pieces a stud below, and made some part of it appear as if gunpowder had been burned on it. In the two upper studs were a couple of nails, on which, by the stirrups, was suspended a saddle. The tin on the stirrup irons was melted off, the stirrup leathers were burned, and the saddle was torn to pieces. More than a hundred nails were drawn in the end of this small house, and several clapboards were drove to a considerable distance. Some of the shingle nails were started, and some were drawn half out; and it was the same in regard to several clapboard nails at the end. In the room below the lightning passed along a shelf covered with pewter, where it melted part of some basins and spoons, and many plates. A looking-glass on that end was broke into pieces, and some part of the frame dashed against the back of the chimney at the opposite end. The lightning also went through a cask of beer, and tore out on each side part of a stave about twelve inches long and two inches broad. The hoops were iron, and one of them was broke, but showed no particular mark of the cause. Mary Smith, wife of the above mentioned James Smith, stood ironing some clothes at a table near the end which was struck, with her back toward the chimney, and a box iron in her hand. She was knocked down, and for half an hour after showed no sign of life. . . The box iron she was using showed no mark of lightning, but a pair of sleeve buttons were no where to be found. James Smith himself, sitting on the work board, was struck across his thighs, but no mark appeared. He felt he says as if ham strung. . . A young man who was lolling on a feather bed near the wall where the lightning struck, with his legs resting on the work board, got a pretty large mark above one of his knees, like a bruse. A boy about 12 or 13 years of age, standing near the table above mentioned, sifting meal, was knocked down, and appeared lifeless for at least a quarter of an hour. . . He wore at the time a pair of breeches of green plains, the left thigh of which was torn into pieces by the lightning; and two metal buttons, which were on the waistband, were torn off, and only a small part of one of*

them could afterwards be found; the other entirely disappeared. This day James Smith and his wife, like pious Christians, publickly returned thanks to the Supreme Being for their wonderful escape.

Source: Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), July 18, 1765, p. 1.

* * *

Letters and Recollections

Charles Hansford, blacksmith and poet, lived in York County, Virginia until his death at seventy-seven years of age in 1762. Benjamin Waller of Williamsburg preserved Hansford's poetry and remembered him as an admirable person.

He was bred a blacksmith, and worked at his trade as long as his strength would permit. Several years before his death he was chose clerk, or reader, at Chiscake [sic] Church, in Yorkhampton Parish, and, latterly, a vestryman of that parish . . . His life was innocent, his conversation cheerful, his manners modest and obliging. But his picture may be best seen in his works. He died regretted by [all of] his acquaintance. B. Waller

* * *

Verse from Hansford's lengthy poem, "Some Reflections on My Past Life and the Numberless Mercies Receiv'd from My Maker":

*And now, O God, my gracious God, let me
With all my soul and strength give thanks to Thee
For that unspeakable and boundless love
Bestow'd on me, Thy Creature, from above—
On me, I say, a worthless lump of clay
Made out of nothing but Thy hand. O, may
Thy grace assist me worthily to give
Due thanks to Thee by whom alone I live.*

Source: The Poems of Charles Hansford, James A. Servies and Carl R. Dolmetsch, eds. (Chapel Hill, 1961), pp. 73, 15.

Women in white colonial Virginia households often had considerable influence over religious practice and observance in their families. The Church of England had no official roles for women, but religious piety in women was admired. Women also often had an important role in their children's early education, teaching them the rudiments of reading from the Bible or children's catechisms. Religion also offered women from all walks of life support in times of tribulation, especially in the face the dangers associated with childbirth, in times of sickness, separation, and the death of friends and family. Selected obituaries, and excerpts from letters and family memoirs highlight the role of religion in women's lives.

Williamsburg

August 21, 1769 (Monday)

If there is no Cotton to be had, must let my intentions drop till next Year, when my sister Blair promises me some from her Crop. Oh! What an awfull sound! [in the midst of writing her letter, Anne hears the bell at Bruton Parish Church tolling] some Soul has made its exit—am just inform'd it is an Infant—not of my acqua[inta]nce.

Source: Ann Blair of Williamsburg to [Mrs. Mary Braxton, Blair, Banister, Braxton, Horner, and Whiting Papers, 1765-1890. Orig. Swem Lib., photocopies in Rockefeller Library Special Collections.

* * *

Ann Nicholas, wife of Robert Carter Nicholas, was a devout Anglican. Writing to her son who had just been elected to the General Assembly for the first time, she had words of advice for him as a young legislator that included a passionate appeal for retaining the Anglican (Episcopal) church establishment. See biography, p. 391.

Ann (Cary) Nicholas to Wilson Cary Nicholas, 1784

Dear Wilson: I congratulate you on the honour your country has done you in choosing you their representative with so large a vote. I hope you are come into the Assembly without those trammels which some people submit to wear for a seat in the House -- I mean, unbound by promises, to perform this or that job which the many-headed monster may think proper to chalk out for you: especially that you have not engaged to lend a last hand to pulling down the Church, which, by some impertinent questions in the last paper, I suspect will be attempted. Never, my dear Wilson, let me hear that by that sacrilegious act you have furnished yourself with materials to erect a scaffold by which you may climb to the summit of popularity; rather remain in the lowest obscurity.

Source: Louise Pecquet Du Bellet, Some Prominent Virginia Families, pp. 311-312.

* * *

15 March 1766

This morning Old Monimia died a faithfull honest slave; & as far as she knew I believe a good Christian—

Source: Robert Wormeley Carter Diary, TR08, CWF.

* * *

On the eve of his daughter's wedding in 1811, **Bishop James Madison** wrote her a letter of advice and support. In it, Madison stressed the role religion would play in her married life.

My dear

You have just entered into that state which is replete with happiness or misery. The issue depends upon that prudent, amiable, uniform conduct, which wisdom and virtue so strongly recommend, on the one hand, or on that imprudence which want of reflection of passion may prompt, on the other.

You are allied to a man of honor, of talents, and of an open and generous disposition. You have, therefore, in your power, all the essential ingredients of domestic happiness; it cannot be marred if you now reflect upon that system of conduct which you ought invariably to pursue -- if you now see clearly, the path from which you will resolve never to deviate. Our conduct is often the result of whim or caprice, often such as will give us many a pang, unless we see before hand, what is always the most praiseworthy, and the most essential to happiness...

Cultivate your mind by the perusal of those books which instruct while they amuse. Do not devote much of your time to novels, there are a few which may be useful in improving and in giving a higher tone to our moral sensibility; but they tend to vitiate the taste, and to produce a disrelish for substantial intellectual food. Most plays are of the same cast; they are not friendly to delicacy which is one of the ornaments of the female character. History, Geography, Poetry, Moral Essays, Biography, Travels, Sermons, and other well written religious productions, will not fail to enlarge your understanding, to render you a more agreeable companion, and to exalt your virtue. A woman devoid of rational ideas of religion, has no security for her virtue; it is sacrificed to her passions, whose voice, not that of God, is her only governing principle. Besides, in those hours of calamity to which families are exposed, where will she find support if it be not in her just reflections upon that all-ruling Providence which governs the universe, whether animate or inanimate.

Mutual politeness between the most intimate friends, is essential to that harmony, which should never be once broken or interrupted. How important then it is between man and wife! The more warm the attachment, the less will either partner bear to be slighted, or treated with the smallest degree of rudeness or inattention. This politeness then, if it be not in itself a virtue, is at least the means of preventing discontent, and even quarrels; it is the oil of intercourse, it removes asperities, and gives to every thing a smooth, an even, and a pleasing movement.

I will only add, that matrimonial happiness does not depend upon wealth, but on minds properly tempered and united to our respective situations. Competency is necessary, all beyond that point is ideal. Do not suppose, however, that I would not advise your husband to augment his property by all honest and commendable means. I would wish to see him actively engaged in such a pursuit, because engagement, a sedulous employment in obtaining some laudable end, is essential to happiness. In the attainment, of a fortune, by honorable means, and particularly by professional exertion, a man derives particular satisfaction, in self applause, as well as from the increasing estimation in which he is held by those around him.

In the management of your domestic concerns, let prudence and wise economy prevail. Let neatness, order, and judgment be seen in all your different departments. Unite liberality with a just frugality; always reserve something for the hand of charity; and never let your door be closed to the voice of suffering humanity. Your servants, in particular, will have the strongest claim on your charity; let them be well fed, well clothed, nursed in sickness, and never unjustly treated.

Father

Source: Thomas E. Buckley, S. J., "The Duties of a Wife: Bishop James Madison to his Daughter, 1811." The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 91 (1983), pp. 100-104.

* * *

Betsy (Nicholas) Randolph, daughter of the devout Robert Carter Nicholas and Anne Nicholas, married Edmund Randolph. After her death, Randolph described his wife in a letter addressed to his children in which he credited her with bringing him back to the established church (Anglican) from the deistic ideas he had picked up during his schooling. Betsy instituted family prayers and even disapproved when Edmund played chess with George Wythe and Thomas Jefferson on a Sunday. Betsy was also known for her charitable works and care for the poor.

March 1810

We were both born in the city of Williamsburg within twelve hours of each other; myself on the 10th of August 1753 and she on the 11th....In childhood we were taught the elements of reading at the same school, where the vivacity of our tempers produced many of those... to an assemblage... and I conjecture that she too had entertained some early partiality. However, this might have been, she won me by the best of all graces, cheerfulness good sense, and benevolence. I do not recollect, that I reflected much upon that range of qualities which I afterwards found to be constituents of nuptial happiness; but providence seemed to be kinder to me in my choice than my most deliberate judgment could have been I never indulged the romantic idea that security against miscarriages in the expectations of a husband depended upon an exclusive preference being given to him ever before all other men, and I desired nothing more than that she should sincerely persuade herself, that she could be happy with me. This persuasion she could easily have affected, conscious as she must have been, of her power to soothe and please.

On applications for charity I sometimes fancied, that she measured the title of relief in distress by too precise rules, but the value of them will stand the test of the most critical reasoning and the most philanthropic feeling. She would not bestow it at random, but inquired into the reality and extent of the misery, proportioned her contribution to her means, and the expectations which other wretchedness might reasonably form: -- let the tears of the poor who now lament her speak the rest.

From various causes she visited few but the sick and needy for many years but she had a levee of affection. Some of the gay world even courted her by visits, which it was known she would never pay, and altho' she was not courted as having any connection with it, her name was circulated in it with homage and veneration. And no wonder, when for upwards of thirty three years, she did not utter a single word which malice could torture, or ignorance could misinterpret into offence.

Up to the commencement of the revolution, the church of England was the established religion, in which we had been educated with strictness if not bigotry. From the strength of parental example, her attendance on public worship was unremitted, except when insuperable obstacles occurred; [] administration of the sacrament was never without a justifying cause pa[ssed] by; in her closet prayer was uni[] addressed to the throne of mercy; and the questioning of sacred truths she never permitted to herself, nor heard without abhorrence from others. When we were united I was a deist; made so by my confidence in some, whom I revered and by the labours of two of my preceptors who tho' of the Ministry, poisoned me with books of infidelity. I cannot answer for myself that I should have been brought to examine the genuineness of holy writ if I had not observed the consolatory influence which it brought upon the life of my dearest Betsey. But I recollect well it was not long before I accepted a principle which I have never relinquished, that a woman in the present state of our society without religion is a monster. While my opinions were unsettled Mr. Wythe and Mr. Jefferson came to my house on a Sun[day] evening to play with me at chess. She did not appear in the room; and her repr[oof] which from its mildness was like the manna of heaven has operated perpetually as an injection from above. For several years since I detected the vanity of sublunary things I knew that the great good of man consisted in christianity alone, I have often hinted a wish, that we had instituted a course of family prayer for the benefit of our children, on whose minds while most pliant the habit might be fixed. But I know now how, the plan was not enforced until during her last illness she and I frequently joined in prayer. She always thanked me after it was finished; and it grieved me to think that she should suppose, that this enlivening inducement was necessary to excite me to this duty. It was injustice however to her sweetness of manner to attribute this sting, inflicted on my conscience to design. No: bear in mind my dear children that her effort was to pour oil into my wounds, not to irritate them. I must have been a brute not to have been bound in soul to her and her alone... But thou O! Lord to whom her heart was open, thou knewest it to be spotless, except with inseparable human frailty, protect our family-affection; that neither misconduct, nor dissension may render this agonizing event a source of disunion or the cause of our falling off from each other; but teach us to consider every breach of family harmony, as it would have been considered by her while living, an interruption to that heavenly peace of soul which she enjoyed.

Source: Edmund Randolph, MS Letter to his children. Alderman Library Deposit Ms #4263

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Susanna Nelson Page recalled her mother **Lucy Grymes Nelson** of Yorktown in a memoir. We learn of a mother who regularly tutored her children in reading the Bible and coached them in learning the Anglican catechism; of a woman who insisted that no work be done on Sundays and that only religious books be read on that day; and of a woman who took time for herself to read the Bible and pray.

April 10th 1835

My Beloved Mother was born August 23 OS 1743 . . . My Beloved Mother on her marriage entered into the most remarkably religious family in the world. President Nelson, the father of her husband and his Mother were the most uncommon people then known, they were strict Episcopalians—and my dearest Mother never heard a Baptist or a Methodist preach in her life, and indeed the only dissenter she ever heard was the famous Dr. Witherspoon of Philadelphia, a Presbyterian, and then she was carried to hear him by Mrs. Dr. Shippen when she went to Philadelphia with my father during the session of the Old Congress in 17[7]76. She also at the same time went to the Roman Catholic Chapel. . . . She brought up her children in the nurture and admonition of the Lore, they were brought into her chamber every morning whilst she was dressing, and said their prayers and a short Catechism, such as (who made you) who redeemed you &c, and then read the Psalms for the day and the Collect Epistle and Gospel, thro' the week, for the succeeding Sunday, and the writer of this does not remember when these exercises began with her. [While sh]e was dressed her children and servants were sent out of the room, and she was locked up as was the term thro' the house, for her being at her prayers, where she continued nearly an hour every day. I suppose I need hardly say she read her Bible daily. Being once asked if she prayed a great deal for her sons she replied "yes my dear that I did" and she continued to do so as long as she lived. She was very remarkable in her attention to the Holy Sabbath, for she never permitted a piece of work or any thing that belonged to weekly business to lay about the house on the sabbath day, and she never in her life read or permitted one of her children to read any other book on the Lords day, than a Holy Book, and her children, have continued as far as they are able to instruct their children in the same way, and you may hear her Grand children, and great grand Children asking on the Sabbath day for a Sunday book to read . . . After her blindness one of her children or Grand children read the Psalms Collect epistle and gospel, also the lessons for the day, and after them come. . . Reflections on the Bible, and the prayers for the day our of an old book, called A New Manuel of Devotions, which she had been in the habit of reading herself when she could see.

Source: Dr. Augustine Smith Papers, 1779-1843. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

**On Mrs. Lucy Nelson (the General's
Widow) Attending the Communion
Table at Church on a Very Cold Day**

Jan. 4 1818

Though cold the day, yon aged breast
Is warm with pious zeal:
Though blind those eyes, religion's light
The Christian still can feel.

A life in virtuous actions spent,
Its sacred influence shows:
And pious hopes with age increase,
Like wheat beneath the snows.

Nor Doubt it will, in God's good time,
A heavenly harvest yield,
Abundant, as the fruits of Nile,
To Pharaoh's dreams revealed.

Source: "The Poems of St. George Tucker of Williamsburg, Virginia 1752-1827, collected and edited by William S. Prince, p. 74.

The Reverend Henry Fry (son of Col. Joshua Fry of Fry-Jefferson map fame) was sent to Williamsburg in about 1752 to live with his aunt and uncle. He was about 14 years old at that time. From the York County Project and Daniel Fisher's diary, we know the aunt and uncle to be Thomas and Margaret Hornsby. Thomas was a Williamsburg merchant. Thomas died in 1772 and Margaret in 1766. **Margaret Hornsby** was a devout Anglican who tried her best to impress upon her family and friends the importance of storing up treasures in heaven. Though the populace of Williamsburg seems to have regarded her effort with some amusement, she nevertheless had an influence on young Henry—he became a minister.

I, (Henry Fry), was born October 30, 1738, (old stile) of Joshua and Mary Fry, and from the time I was able to discern between good and evil, had good impressions, desires and respect for such whom I looked upon, as qualified and set apart to instruct us in the good and the right way, the parsons who were frequently at my fathers.

At about eight years old I was boarded out to school where was little to be seen but pomp and vanity—at fourteen, I was removed to Williamsburg, to live with an uncle and aunt, (as an assistant in his store), here were all things convenient for life and godliness, the old gentleman careful for the present, and my aunt for the future life; wealth poured in, and the more it increased, the more capacious appeared his desires and assiduity to business, so that my hands were fully employed from morning till night. My aunt appeared as diligent in laying up treasure above—this was her one design, (although not negligent of her domestic concerns,) these must give way. Whenever an opportunity offered, she recommended to all the benefit of laying a good foundation for the world to come—and when any visited her (which was but rare) who could converse with heartfelt knowledge of the operation and fruits of the spirit—how would she enjoy herself? It appeared to me as if she was like a person cast among a people of a strange country and language, and that when she could perchance meet with one of her own country, but little would pass between them, but what was relative to their own country. How frequently have I heard her lament the inattention and neglect of others in preparing to meet God. She conceived if she made a better appearance it might have more influence and prevail with some to seek the better country—and from this motive dressed in rich though not gaudy apparel, but to her mortification, found her subject but little more regarded in her fine than common clothing. . . .

I now recollected what I had often heard my good old aunt insist upon, respecting the unction from above and the perfect love of God. I regretted I had not taken care of a letter she wrote me soon after I was married, and I said to my wife, if I now had it, I thought I should understand it better than I did, and set more store by it. Whereupon, the dear creature without saying a word, goes to a drawer and brought it; wherein I read as follows: "I wish you and your wife all joy and peace in believing, so as to abound in hope through the power of the Holy Ghost; in order thereto, let there be prayer in your family at least twice a day—so may you expect others to follow your steps into everlasting happiness, through the strength of the spirit of Christ, which never faileth them that seek Him. Be sure, both of you to follow my example of "searching the scriptures." Begin the Bible, and before morning and evening prayer, let at least one chapter be read. The first of our acquaintance with God is fear of everlasting punishment, because of conviction of sin, by the spirit of truth, showing our lost state by nature—lost in Adam, as being flesh of his flesh—under sentence of death of body, and through our own transgression, become subject to the second death, Rev. 21st; we are brought to see that we have Righteousness—even the Lord our righteousness, who in the gift of faith, hath manifested himself to us. The language of the soul then is, "Thy will be done." (See Margaret Hornsby's obituary on p. 276 and her biography on page 380.)

Source: Rev. P. Slaughter, D.D., Memoir of Col. Joshua Fry, sometime Professor in William and Mary College, Virginia, and Washington's Senior in Command of Virginia Forces, 1754, etc., etc., with an Autobiography of his son Rev. Henry Fry, and a Census of Their Descendants.

* * *

A devout Christian, **Patrick Henry** grew up in the cradle of the Great Awakening movement in Hanover County, Virginia. At a young age he began to attend the services of Samuel Davies with his mother, who had converted to Presbyterianism. Although Henry remained a member of the Episcopal Church throughout his life, his exposure to Presbyterianism led him to be very sympathetic to other sects. Starting with his role in the Parson's Cause in 1763, Henry led the fight for religious freedom in Virginia for dissenters. Unlike Jefferson and Madison, however, he did not want complete separation of Church and State. Believing that a republic could not survive without a virtuous people, Henry pushed to make Christianity the "established" religion in Virginia by taxing individuals to support the church of their choice.

Patrick Henry to Henry Lee June, 1795

"The American revolution was the grand operation, which seemed to be assigned by the Deity to the men of this age in our country, over and above the common duties of life. I ever prized at a high rate the superior privilege of being one in that chosen age, to which providence entrusted its favorite work."

Patrick Henry to Elizabeth Aylett August 20, 1796

"...the view which the rising greatness of our country presents to my eye is greatly tarnished by the general prevalence of deism; which with me, is but another name for vice and depravity. I am, however, much consoled by reflecting, that the religion of Christ has, from its first appearance in the world, been attacked in vain by all the wits, philosophers, and wise ones aided by every power of man, and its triumph has been complete." . . . "Amongst other strange things said of me, I hear it said by the deists that I am one of their number; and indeed, that some good people think I am no Christian. This thought gives me much more pain than the appellation of tory: Because I think religion infinitely higher importance than politics."

Patrick Henry to Archibald Blair January 8, 1799

"The Great Pillars of all government and social life; I mean virtue, morality, and religion. This is the armor, my friend, and this alone that renders us invincible. If we lose these, we are conquered, fallen indeed."

Patrick Henry to Samuel Hopkins November 29, 1796

"Vice and Depravity must be suppressed & become unfashionable or they will undo us."

Source: William Wirt Henry, Patrick Henry, New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1891.

Robert Carter Nicholas was distinguished at the bar in Williamsburg, in the House of Burgesses, as Treasurer of the colony, and as a patriot during the Revolution. He was a sincere Christian and zealous defender of the Church of his fathers, when he believed her rights were assailed. See biography, page 393.

He loved, indeed, a particular form of religion, but he loved more dearly religion itself. In peace or war, at the fireside, or on the floor of the House of Burgesses, a strong sense of moral responsibility was seen through all his actions. If a resolution appointing a day of fasting and prayer, or acknowledging the providence of God in crowning our arms with victory, though drawn by worldly men and worldly views, was to be, it was from his hands that it was to be presented to the House, and from his lips came the persuasive words which fell not in vain on the coldest ears. Indeed, such was the impression which his sincere piety -- embellishing as it did the sterling virtues of his character -- made upon his own generation, that its influence was felt upon that which succeeded it; and when his youngest son, near a quarter of a century after his death, became a candidate for the office of Attorney General of the Commonwealth, a political opponent, who knew neither father nor son, gave him his support, declaring that no son of the old Treasurer could be unfaithful to his country. Nor was his piety less conspicuous in a private sphere. Visiting, on one occasion, Lord Botetourt, with whom he lived in the strictest friendship, he observed to that nobleman, "My lord, I think you will be very unwilling to die!" And when asked what gave rise to that remark: "Because," said he, "you are so social in your nature, and so much loved, and have so many good things around you, that you must be loath to leave them." His lordship made no reply; but a short time after, being in his death-bed, he sent in haste for Colonel Nicholas, who lived near the palace, and who instantly repaired thither to receive the last sighs of his dying friend. On entering his chamber, he asked his commands. "Nothing," replied his lordship, "but to let you see that I resign these good things, of which you formerly spoke, with as much composure as I enjoyed them." After which he grasped his hand with warmth and instantly expired.

Source: Louise Pecquet Du Bellet, Some Prominent Virginia Families, pp. 311-312.

Letters about Slaves and Religion

The Reverend Mr. William Willie was the rector of Albemarle parish from 1738 until his death in 1776. For a short while he was acting commissary of the Bishop of London (1771). The following letter reflects his concerns over the spiritual welfare of his parishioners' slaves.

Rev. William Willie to Dr. Cartwright of the Bray Society, 1749

...As for the Negro Children, them I baptize after the Congregation is dismiss'd (that I may give no offence). . . .

I take some pains to compare their State and Condition, in their native Country, with that here, in the clearest Terms I can; & determine in favour of the latter; their perpetual Bondage I likewise put the best face upon. –But you know, Sir, that he who loses his Liberty, loses half his Virtue. Some time ago I brought back to the Church two Anabaptists; & last Winter I baptiz'd one man and two women, who had been brought up Quakers. I am, Sir, a true and strict son of the Church of England; but I should think myself much happier in convincing an Infidel, or reclaiming one notorious Sinner, than in reconciling to our Church all the Sectaries in the Christian World.

I make no doubt, but that the Distribution and Reading of these books and tracts from the Society will be attended with the Divine Blessing. This I can say, that those I have given, with what I say upon giving, have had that happy Effect, as to encrease the number of Communicants at several of the Churches in my Parish (and there are four) from thirty (the number that us'd to be, when I came into the Parish) to one hundred and twenty, and one hundred and thirty at a time. And that God will be pleas'd to give a Blessing to the good Work, we are all engaged in, of promoting true Religion and Piety in the World, is the Hearty Prayer of him who is, with humble Duty to the Society,
Source: Library of Congress, Dawson Papers, Miscellaneous Manuscripts.

* * *

“Dear Tom

I was sorry to find by your Letter that you disapproved so much of my putting Watt to Davis nay it even made so great an impression on me, that I had almost resolved to send him back to you again, but on consideration that he was very young: and that while I live I should be very watchful of there [their] corrupting him with there [their] new Light principals: and if I die I hop you'l take him entirely under your care and direction which is what I shall earnestly desire but I think he would not be safe there, for they are a [subtle crew] and when they find he has quick parts a good membor and a glib Tongue which are all necessary qualification for an Itenerant preacher, they will leave no stone unturned to bring him over....”

Source: Elizabeth Jones to Thomas Jones, Jr., 8 January 1758, Roger Jones Family Papers, Library of Congress, reel 3, frame 1501.
King George County Virginia, 1764

I have employ'd a very sensible, well-dispos'd Negro belonging to a Gentleman who lives about a Mile from Me, to endeavour at instructing his poor fellow Slaves in Reading & some of the first Principles of Religion, with which, I have taken Care, that He should not be totally unacquainted. Saturday's & Sunday's Afternoons He employs

to this Purpose; and He has, I believe, at this Time betwixt Twenty & Thirty who constantly attend Him. And that He maybe the better qualified for his Office, I oblige Him to visit me two or three Times every Week, when either Myself or Some young Gentlemen who live with Me, as Pupils, give Him Lessons: and Once at least in every month He brings his Scholars before Me that I may examine what Progress They have made... I find Them in Books, & endeavour too to encourage the industrious by allotting Them some small Rewards for Extraordinary Diligence, as well as to their Master.

Caroline County, Virginia, 1767

The Box of Books You shipp'd for Me in 1765, came into Potomac, & by that Means were difficultly heard of or come at. Yet, at length, I received Them all safe, & agreeable to your List: for which I again return You & The Associates my sincerest Thanks. I have already distributed many of Them amongst the poor Slaves who are very numerous in this Parish. In many of my former letters I have told You of the Difficulties Ministers are under to reconcile the Owners of Slaves to their being instructed....The Method I take I hope They will think is not misapplying it: I generally find out an old Negro, or a conscientious Overseer, able to read, to whom I give Books, with an Injunction to Them to instruct such & such Slaves in their respective Neighbourhoods. This, I own, coinsides not exactly with your Plans; but as I am

convinc'd it is the only practicable Method of accomplishing the End You have in View, in parishes where there are no Towns, I hope You will excuse Me for presuming to Judge for You.

Source: Rev. Jonathan Boucher to Rev. John Waring, 28 April 1764 and 9 March 1767 as quoted in John C. Van Horne, Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717-1777 (Urbana, ca. 1985), pp. 206, 255.

Wills

Excerpt from the will of Patrick Henry

"This is all the inheritance I can give to my dear family. The religion of Christ can give them one in which will make them rich indeed.

"Whether this Independence will prove a blessing or a curse, will depend upon the use our people make of the blessings which a gracious God hath bestowed on us. If they are wise, they will be great and happy. If they are of a contrary character, they will be miserable. Righteousness alone can exalt them as a Nation. Reader! Whoever thou art, remember this; and in thy sphere practice Virtue thyself, and encourage it in others"

Source: William Wirt Henry, Patrick Henry, New York, Charles Scribner & Sons 1891

Excerpt from the will of William Fairfax, 1755

I likewise give and bequeath unto Sara the wife of my Said Son George Wm. my negro Girl named Sukey and her Issue, my said Daughter-in-Law [Sara] standing as Godmother to the said Negro Girl [Sukey], therefore and for other affectionate Motives desire She may have the Property and Disposal thereof.

Source: Virginia Magazine of History & Biography, 4(1897), 103.

Excerpt from the will of Thomas Curtis, 1723

In the name of God Amen I Thomas Curtis being sick & weak but thanks be to God in perfect mind & Memory Do make & ordain this my last will & testament in manner & form following first I bequeath my Soul unto Almighty God from whom I first drew breath trusting & assuredly believing that in & through the merits of my blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ I shal inherit Everlasting Life & my body to the Ground to be decently buried according to the Discretion of my Execrs hereafter named & as for that temporal Estate which God far beyond my deserts hath been pleased to bestow upon me I Give & bequeath in manner & form following...

Source: York County Records , Orders & Wills 16, pp. 233-34.

Excerpt from the will of John Coke, 1764

In the name of God Amen I John Coke of the County of York in Virginia being in perfect Health and of sound Memory I bless God for it Do make this my last Will and Testament in manner and form as follows. Imprimis I recommend my Soul to Almighty God my Maker and my Body to the Dust to be Buried in a decent manner at the descretion of my Executors hereafter named nothing Doubting but at the General Resurrection I shall receive the same again by the mighty Power of God and as to what Worldly Estate God has blessed me with I Dispose of it as follows...

Source: York County Records, Wills and Inventories 21, pp. 366-68.

Obituaries

Williamsburg Area Women

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) June 13, 1766

On Monday last died at York, in the 84th year of her age, Mrs. Frances Nelson, relict of Thomas Nelson, Esq; late of York County;. She was a Lady endowed with many amiable qualities, which makes her death much regretted by all who had the pleasure of her acquaintance; and particularly by the poor and needy, whose wants she often supplied with a liberal hand.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) January 21, 1768

Yesterday morning died at her house in this city, after a tedious illness, Mrs. Mary Grymes, relict of the Hon. Philip Grymes, deceased. She was a lady remarkable for her benevolent and charitable disposition, as well as many other amiable qualities.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) August 25, 1768

LAST Saturday died at York, in the 97th year of her age, Mrs. Anne Gibbons, who has left behind her children, grand children, great grand children, and great great grandchildren.

Virginia Gazette (Rind) November 30, 1769

On Monday the 20th of November, Mrs. JUDITH GRIFFIN, daughter of Carter Burwell, Esq; was snatched away by a sudden and violent illness. She was the most affectionate and dutiful wife that ever blessed the marriage state, as pious and devout a spirit as ever was received into Christianity and performed every social call and duty in life with the greatest pleasure and sweetness; the best of women and the best of wives.

Virginia Gazette (Rind) March 1, 1770

Last Sunday morning died Mrs. Margaret Hornsby, the spouse of Mr. Thomas Hornsby, of this City, merchant. Her illness was short; but her life (not in the number of years, but in the discharge of every moral and religious duty) may truly said to have been long. To the most exemplary piety she joined the most extensive chaity, wherever she found an object deserving it. Her death is sincerely regretted by all who had the happiness of her acquaintance, and her loss will be severely felt by the poor. Her remains were accompanied by all the principle inhabitants of this city.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) November 12, 1772

Last Monday morning died, in the 47th year of her age, Mrs. SARAH PITT, whose many virtues through every varied scene of private life did honour to the principles she professed. Taught, by early experience, that afflictions and disappointments were the lot of humanity, her constant study was to rise superior to them by a humble acquiescence to the dispensations of Providence. Her bosom "trembling alive" to every tender sentiment of connubial and maternal affection, she discharged the duties of the w[ife] and mother in such a distinguished manner as must make her memory revered, and her loss forever regretted, by each of those relations. Prudence guided every action of her life.

Williamsburg Area Men

Colonial Virginians of both sexes strove to live up to the Christian ideal of piety, charity toward others, and clean living. Devout gentlemen such as Robert Carter Nicholas were known far and wide for their moral rectitude. Others such as William Byrd II regularly gave in to temptation, even as they measured themselves against that ideal. In Byrd's case, he was genuinely repentant and began each new day in the hope of improving himself. The following obituaries describe the most desirable qualities.

Virginia Gazette (Rind) 16 May 1766

On Saturday Night last, the Hon. John Robinson, Esq, in the 63rd year of his age, Speaker to the Honourable House of Burgesses, and Treasurer of this Colony, paid the last debt to nature, after labouring some days with the most excruciating torments of the Stone, which he bore with that Christian fortitude and Resignation to the Divine Will, which had ever dignified his actions. To say only that he was a good Man, would not be doing Justice to his Excellence; for he was an affectionate Husband, a tender Father, and an universal friend to mankind. In a word, his soul was animated with every social virtue, which, from every honest heart, must draw a tear of sympathy to the memory of such a worthy member of society. (Poem follows)

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) 9 July 1767

On Wednesday the 1st instant died at Norfolk, after a lingering illness, Colonel Robert Tucker, who for these many years has carried on a very extensive trade in that place, with the greatest credit and honour. He was a Gentleman eminently distinguished for the Christian and social virtues, which makes his death universally regretted.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) 23 July 1767

Lately died at his house in Smithfield, after a short illness, Capt. Samuel Wentworth, merchant there for many years. He was a Gentleman much esteemed for his benevolent and charitable disposition, he was an indulgent husband, a tender parent, and a kind master; qualifications which will render his memory dear to his family, and respected by all who had the pleasure of knowing him.

Virginia Gazette (Rind) 30 June 1768

Williamsburg, June 30

On Sunday the 19th of this instant, after a short illness, departed this life, much lamented, the Hon. BENJAMIN TASKER, Esq; President of the Council in the Province of Maryland; and office, which he discharged many years with the greatest prudence and integrity, having adorned it with every private, as well as public, virtue.

If an unremitted exercise of a sincere and unfeigned piety; if to feed the hungry, and cloath the naked; if to be a father to the fatherless, and a protector of distressed innocence; if a diffusive charity, and universal benevolence to mankind, are the genuine characteristicks of a good christian, and truly good man, by all these was this worthy Gentleman most eminently distinguished.

He hath left to the world, as his last legacy, an example highly worthy of imitation; and the only consolation remaining to his dear and tender relations, is a full persuasion, and well grounded hope, that he is gone to reap the glorious fruits of a virtuous and well spent life.

Virginia Gazette (Rind) 28 July 1768

Williamsburg, July 28

On Monday the 18th instant, died CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON, Esq; of Middlesex; a man possessed of all those good qualities that perfect humanity. In the characters of father, husband, and friend, he was excellent; for affection, tenderness, and benevolence, were the ruling passions of his breast. Few equaled him in virtue, fewer in piety. His time was spent in the uniform practice of doing good. The sick he administered to, the needy he assisted, and the poor he fed. Thus living, he was by all esteemed, and is now by all lamented.

Virginia Gazette (Rind) 13 September 1770

Edward (Son of John and Elizabeth) Bolling, born at Cobb's in Chesterfield, September 9 MDCCXLVI, happy in his circumstances, happy in the Esteem of his Acquaintance, and in the more flattering testimony of his own conscience, with as many reasons to value life as too many have to dread the loss of it, beheld the approach of death as that of a stranger, whose presence he neither sought nor avoided. Pleasing prospects, innocent pursuits, endearing connexions, were, by him, relinquished with Magnanimity. Just, generous, amiable, benevolent----Sed quid nitar in ordua? He expired at his plantation, in Amherst, August 18, MDCCLXX.

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) 18 October 1770

ON Monday the 15th instant, about one o'clock in the morning, departed this life, universally lamented throughout this colony, his Excellency the Right Hon. NORBORNE Baron De BOTETOURT, his majesty's Lieutenant, Governor General and Commander in Chief of the colony and dominion of Virginia, and Commander in Chief of the colony and dominion of Virginia, and Vice Admiral of the same.

Truly and justly to express the many great virtues and amiable qualities which adorned this noble Lord, as well in his publick as private character, would demand the skill of the ablest penman. Suffice it then to inform such parts of the world as were strangers to his transcendent merits that Virginia, in his fall, sorely laments the loss of the best of Governors and the best of men. Let his distant relations and friends be told that we have all anticipated, and shall, to the latest period, share their griefs and deep afflictions; and that we condole with them, with the warmth of the most tender affection.

<p>Governor Botetourt's funeral was one of the biggest public events in Williamsburg in the colonial period. The governor was well loved and respected. His elaborate funeral is testimony to that affection.</p>
--

Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon) 18 October 1770

FRIDAY, October 19

This being the day appointed for interring the remains of our last beloved Governor, at one o'clock the Church, College, and Capitol bells, began tolling; and the

company repaired to the Palace, according to the invitation, precisely at two. At three, the corpse being placed on the hearse, the procession began to move, in the following order, to the church both sides of Palace Street being lined with the city militia, and those of York and James City counties.

THE HEARSE

*Preceded by two mutes, and three on each side the hearse
Outward of whom walked the pall bearers
Composed of six of his Majesty's Council
and the Hon. The Speaker, and Richard Bland, Esq.
Of the House of Burgesses
His Excellency's servants, in deep mourning.
The Gentlemen of the Clergy, and
Professors of the College,
Clerk of the church, and Organists.
Immediately followed the hearse the Chief Mourners.
Gentlemen of the Faculty.
Mayor, Recorder, Alderman, and
Common Council, of the city,
With the mace born before them.
Gentlemen of the Law, and Clerk of the General Court
Ushers, Students, and Scholars of
William and Mary College,
All having white hatbands and gloves
And then the company, which was very numerous
Two by Two*

At the western gate the corpse was removed from the hearse, and, Carried by eight bearers, the Gentlemen appointed supporting the pall, placed in the center of the church, on a carpet of black. The altar, pulpit, and his excellency's seat, were likewise hung with black. Then the service began; and an anthem, accompanied by the organ, was sung, conducted by Mr. Wools. The Rev. and Hon., the Commissary then delivered a discourse from Psalm XLII part of the 7th verse. Put thy trust in God; which, joined to the deep affliction felt by the whole audience for the loss of such an excellent man, and so good a Governor, drew tears from many. Sermon being ended, the corpse was again placed on the hearse, and the company moved in the same order to the College entering at the front gate, and so proceeding through the College to the chapel, where the corpse was deposited in a vault, the militia firing three vollies at the interment. The coffin was lead, with a cover of crimson velvet, adorned with silver handles, and a large silver plate, on which was this inscription.

*Norborne Baron de Botetourt
ob. XV Oct MDCCLXX
Aetat LIII*

* * *

Persons from the lower ranks of Virginia society were not accorded recognition in finely phrased obituaries in the pages of the Virginia Gazette. Editor William Parks described the miserable deaths of “Drunken Frank” and Williamsburg tailor, William Hunt, to warn readers to mend their ways

Virginia Gazette (October 27, 1738)

We hear from York, of another unfortunate Accident: A poor unhappy Woman of that Town, know by the name of Drunken Frank, who too often diguis'd herself in liquor, about a Fortnight ago, was so far overcome that way, that she lost her life by it: 'Tis suppos'd she set fire to her cloaths by Accident. . . so miserably burnt, that she died last Thursday, a most melancholly object. We hope this dreadful example may be a Means to deter others too much addicted to excessive Drinking, from pursuing that pernicious practice.

Virginia Gazette (April 8, 1737)

Whatever good reputation William Hunt had for being diligent in his business, and [maintaining] his Wife and Children decently was compromised by these revelations: Hunt would now and then take a Frolick, and get drunk 3 or 4 Days together: In one of these Fits he happened to be last Week, and continued much disguis'd in Liquor 'til Sunday Morning, when he stagger'd to a Neighbour's House, who . . . prevail'd on him to lie down and Sleep. The People having Occasion to go out, lock'd the Door, and left him asleep. Some Time after he awoke, and finding himself lock'd up had no Patience to wait, but rashly jump'd out at the Window, (in Church-Time) and broke his leg, . . . and this Morning he died in a most lamentable Condition.

* * *

Figures of Speech

The Bible and Anglican prayer book provided common sources for the many religious and biblical expressions commonly used and understood in everyday speech and writing in colonial times.

- 1703 (Francis Nicholson): “. . . my meeting of you in **Abraham’s Bosom**, being I’m debarred by your father the honor & happiness of meeting you in this world.”
- 1720 (William Byrd): “. . . and saluted them with a **Judas’s kiss**.”
- 1737 (John Custis): “A man had need to have the **patience of Job and the life of Methusala** to wait upon them.”
- 1778 (Lee Papers): “The calumny . . . would make **Job** himself swear like a Virginia Colonel.”
- 1783 (G. Washington): “The speech of his Britainic Majesty is strongly indicative of the **Olive branch**.”
- *I am as poor as **Job**, my lord, but not so patient.* Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*

Conversational Use Of God’s Name

In the colonial period, the conversational use of the Deity’s name was considered acceptable in most genteel circles, though actual swearing by God’s name was usually confined to men, and they swore in this way only in a group of men. If such an oath slipped out in the company of ladies, the offending gentleman apologized for it.

- *You have used me ill, **by God!***
(It is worth noting that evangelicals seldom took the Lord’s name in vain.)

Some conversational references to God were used by both men and women:

- *How it can have got about, **God knows**, but everybody speaks of it as certain.*
- ***God forbid** I should not be with you!*
- ***Lord**, I wish I could remember it!*
- ***For God’s sake**, give him fair play.*
- ***God, no!** The library is quite superb to the study.*

At least one phrase appears to have been used mostly by women:

- *Ⓢ She sang out of tune at times, though, **thank God**, not always.*

HYMN SINGING

Singing hymns was a popular form of entertainment and certainly worship in the 18th century. The "liturgy" (act of public worship) of the Anglican Church called for the lining out of David's Psalms in the church. A clerk would "line out" a psalm (sing one line at a time) and the congregation would follow. The hymns of Watts, Wesley, and Newton were not sung at church, but were sung in private homes. Watts' hymnal was the third most common book in 18th-century Virginia inventories, third only to the Bible and Book of Common Prayer. People enjoyed singing while working and traveling. The following quotes are taken from several diaries and illustrate the importance of singing hymns in colonial Virginia.

Philip Fithian: *September 25, 1774: Nomini Hall*

I was surprised when the Psalm began to hear a large collection of voices singing at the same time, from a Gallery, entirely contrary to what I have seen before in the Colony, for it is seldom in the fullest Congregations, that more sing than the Clerk, and about two others. I am told that a singing Master of good abilities had been among this society lately & put them on the respectable Method which they, at present pursue.

Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774.
Edited by Hunter Dickenson Farish, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1965.

Philip Fithian: *August 28, 1775: Near Fort Loudon, Pennsylvania*

Musick, how soft thy Charms! - It is thy special Property, to exercise, & not fatigue the Mind. Two young Misses were singing at their Wheels. They sung well. In perfect Unison. They sung deliberately. Not one long Note or Pause did either of them hurry over. They moved me. I am easily moved with Musick. I was writing when they begun & stopped. Unable to sit, I rose & walked the Room. I went to them. They were young. Both were handsome. They were singing Hymns too. I loved them. There is something harmonious in a well-tuned Face. But when it is improved by real Sound, surely there is then intrinsic Harmony. They were bashful, & with much Pursuation sung when I was present. I talked steadily & familiarly with them. They grew social, & we spent the rainy gloomy Evening much to my Satisfaction.

Philip Fithian: *December 17, 1775: Staunton, Virginia*

Monday I rode again to Mr. Browns - He is from Home. We were entertained however highly with his Wife & Daughter. Both intelligent. Both Chatful - For Entertainment we convers'd; we sung Hymns - All cheerful, I believe, all were amused.

Philip Fithian: *December 24, 1775: Staunton, Virginia*

The Evening I spent at Mr. Guy's - I sung for an Hour, at the good Peoples Desire,

Mr. Watt's admirable Hymns - I myself was entertain'd; I felt myself improv'd; so much Love to Jesus is set forth - So much divine Exercise.

Phillip Vickers Fithian Journal, 1775-1776. Edited by Robert Greenhalgh and Leonidas Dodson, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1934.

Joseph Pilmore: June 2, 1772: Manheim, Pennsylvania

Took leave of the dear people of Lebanon, and set forward with two or three friends from Lancaster...In our way, we dined at a little town called Mannam, where a gentleman has built a very large Glass-house, and they have brought their manufactory to great perfection. The Proprietor lives in a fine large house, and has a large Chapel upstairs, with Pews and Pulpit and Organ in it. We joined in singing an Hymn and Prayer, and our heavenly father gave us his blessing.

Joseph Pilmore: August 2, 1772: Norfolk, Virginia

After preaching two poor slaves came to me and begged I would instruct them in the way of salvation so I gave them a short and plain account of the Plan of the Gospel, and shewed them how sinners may come to God and be saved. We then joined in singing and prayer, and they expressed great thankfulness for what they had heard, and seemed determined to be Christians.

Joseph Pilmore: December 21, 1772: Edenton, North Carolina

After dinner I took leave of my kind Host and his dear wife; they would not take anything for what I had received, but told me they wished they could do more for me! I then went to the man who keeps the Ferry and paid for my Horse and Chaise...The Sound is twelve miles over...but I got safe over...I intended to go forward about ten miles, but the night came on, and I concluded to stay at the Ferry where I spent the evening very comfortably in conversation, singing, and prayer, with the family.

Frederick E. Maser, Howard T. Marg, editors, The Journal of Joseph Pilmore, Methodist Itinerant, Message Publishing Co.,

Samuel Davies: 1756: Hanover County, Virginia

The books were all very acceptable; but none more so than the Psalms & hymns, which enabled (the slaves) to gratify their peculiar taste for Psalmody. Sundry of them have lodged all night in my kitchen; and sometimes, when I have awakened about two or three o'clock in the morning, a torrent of sacred harmony poured into my chamber, and carried my mind away to Heaven. In this seraphic exercise, some of them spend almost the whole night. I wish, Sir, you...could hear one of these sacred concerts. I am persuaded it would please and surprize you more than an Oratorio and a St. Cecilia's Day.

George William Pilcher, *Samuel Davies: Apostle of Dissent in Colonial Virginia*, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 1971, p. 113.

George Whitefield: *November 27, 1739: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

About eight in the evening we reached Philadelphia, and found great numbers waiting round my door to hear the Word of life. After I paid a visit, and talked closely to two persons, who were doubtful of the principles of the Quakers, I returned home, and though I was weak, I could not bear to let so many go away without a spiritual morsel; I therefore gave them a word of exhortation, sang a hymn; and prayed and dismissed them with a blessing.

George Whitefield: *December 21, 1739: Bell's Ferry, North Carolina*

Was much refreshed both in body and spirit; and the weather being too hazy to pass over the sound, I had an opportunity of writing. I intended, had I stayed, to preach to those few people who were in the town; but, about noon, the sun shining bright and dispelling the mist, at three o'clock we went in a pettiagua over the sound, and were nearly seven hours in our passage. It was about twelve miles across. God favoured us with a calm and pleasant night, and we praised Him as we went over by singing hymns, and met with a convenient ordinary when we got on the other side.

George Whitefield: *March 11, 1740: Savannah, Georgia*

Buried this evening one of the women who came over with me, whom I trust, died in the Lord. The orphans sung before the corpse, from our house to the Court House, where I preached; and I afterwards gave another word of exhortation at the grave. My soul was much affected with the awfulness of the solemnity.

George Whitefield: *April 21, 1740: Gloucester, New Jersey*

Rode back to Gloucester; where I took horse in the morning, and preached to about fifteen hundred people. It being but four miles distant from Philadelphia, many came in boats from thence. The moon shining very bright, we went back to town very pleasantly. We sung hymns good part of the way. About eight at night we reached Philadelphia, with satisfaction in my soul...

George Whitefield: *May 10, 1740: Pennytack, Pennsylvania*

Though God has shewn me great things already in this place, yet today, I have seen greater. I preached twice, and to larger congregations than ever. In the evening, I went to settle a Society of young women, who, I hope will prove wise virgins. As soon as I entered the room, and heard them singing, my soul was delighted. When the hymn was over, I desired to pray before I began to converse; but, my soul was carried out, that I had not time to talk at all.

William V. Davis, *George Whitefield's Journals, 1737-1741, Scholars' Facsimiles Reprints & Reprints, Gainesville, Florida, 1969.*

Charles Wesley (1707-1788) and his brother, John, were English evangelists and founders of Methodism. In 1729, as students at Oxford University, they formed a religious society devoted to Bible study and prayer and the promotion of piety and morality.

Religion in Daily Life

Though ordained in the Anglican church, disapproval of their methods of preaching closed pulpits to John and Charles, but they continued their ministry in the itinerant style of the Great Awakening. John Wesley assumed the role of preacher and Charles that of hymn writer. Some of his more familiar hymns include "O for a Thousand Tongues to Sing" and "Love Divine, All Love Excelling."

Both John and Charles were concerned with their own salvation and had conversion experiences. throughout their ministry, salvation by faith, social consciousness, and repentance were prominent themes in their preaching. George Whitefield wrote in 1768, "Of you desire...a definition of Methodism...it is no more nor less than "faith working by love."

Rejoice, the Lord is King
Charles Wesley, 1746 John Darwell, 1710

Re - joice, the Lord is King: Your Lord and King a -
dore! Re - joice, give thanks, and sing, And tri - umphant
ev - er - more: Lift up your
heart, lift up your voice! Re - joice, a - gain I
say, re - joice!

2. The Kingdom cannot fail, The ruler o'er earth and heaven;
The keys of death and hell are to our souls given:
Lift up your heart, lift up your voice! Rejoice again I say rejoice!

3. The all the foes shall quell, O' shall all our sins destroy,
And every brow shall With pure seraphic joy:
Lift up your heart, lift up your voice! Rejoice again I say rejoice!

John Newton (1725-1807) One of the most prolific hymn writers of the eighteenth century, was born in London on July 24, 1725. His mother, a devout woman, died when he was seven years old, and he received a basic education from his eighth to tenth year of age. In his twenties, Newton engaged in the African slave trade for several years, and was himself held as a slave for a time in Sierra Leone. This experience, coupled with surviving a raging storm at sea off the west coast of Africa, left a deep impression on him, and he transformed his way of life by becoming a devout Christian. In 1750, Newton married a noble and pious woman, Mary Catlett of Chatham, Kent, and shortly thereafter, he desired to become a priest of the Church of England. He entered ministry studies in 1758 and was ordained in 1764. After ordination, Newton obtained the curacy of Olney Parish, near Cambridge. Here he remained for nearly sixteen years. While at Olney, Newton became closely associated with the noted English poet, William Cowper, and this collaboration produced a successful collection of hymns that were published in 1779 (*The Olney Hymns*). Perhaps the most famous hymn from the collection is "Faith's Review and Expectation" ("Amazing Grace"). Soon after the collection of hymns was published, Newton moved to London, where he became curate of St. Mary Wollnoth Parish. He died on December 21, 1807.

Isaac Watts (1674-1748) English clergyman and nonconformist theologian was one of the most popular hymn writers of his day. He made hymn singing a strong, devotional

Faith's Review and Expectation
John Newton 1765

A - may - ing grace how sweet the sound That
 saved a wretch like me, I once was lost but
 now am found, was blind but now I see.

2. 'Twas grace that taught my heart to fear,
 And grace my fears relieved;
 How precious did that grace appear,
 The hour I first believed.

3. Through many dangers, toils, and snares,
 I have already come;
 'Tis grace has brought me safe thus far,
 And grace will lead me home.

4. The Lord has promised good to me,
 His word my hope secures;
 He will my shield and portion be,
 As long as life endures.

force quite unlike the stern, unemotional canticles of Calvinism. Watt's hymns dealt with tender faith, serene piety, and joyousness.

Before Watt's works were published, the hymns circulated in manuscript and were given out line by line to the congregations. When they appeared in print, they were immediately successful, reaching an annual output of 500,000 copies. His major collections were *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1706) and *Psalms of David* (1719), together containing approximately 600 tunes. He was also responsible for the first children's hymn book, *Divine and Moral Songs* (1720). Many of his hymns are still in use, such as "Joy to the World," "O God Our Help in Ages Past," and "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross."

The Propagation of the Gospel
Isaac Watts

Je - sus shall reign who is the son,
Dath his ac - ces sine per - sons son;
His King - dom stretch from shore to shore,
Till none shall war and none no more.

2. To him shall praises forever be made,
and praise thro' to whom his head;
His Name like sweet perfume shall rise
With every morning sacrifice.
3. People and realms of every tongue
Shall on his love with sweetest song;
And infant voices shall proclaim
Their early blessings on his Name.
4. Blessings abound whar'er he reigns,
The prisoner leaps to lose his chains,
The weary find eternal rest,
And all the sons of want are blest.
5. Let every creature rise and bring
Obedient honore to our King;
Angels descend with songs again,
And earth repeat the loud Amen.

Religious Works Sold at the Printing Office, Williamsburg, 1750-52 and 1764-65

If an eighteenth-century estate inventory contains a list of books, a Bible and Anglican Book of Common Prayer are almost certain to be on it. Bibles, prayer books, printed sermons, catechisms, and religious tracts also made up the largest category of books in private colonial libraries. The following list of religious works purchased at the Printing Office was taken from surviving journals of printers William Hunter and Joseph Royle. Purchasers included tradesmen, planters, ministers, lawyers, and teachers. A few women were among the buyers; purchases made for women by others are also evident.

- 1750/7/28 Alexander Craig [**saddler**] "1 Folio Bible £2. 0. 0"
 1750/8/2 Joseph Bishop "To a Gilt Prayer Book £0. 6. 0"
 1750/8/3 Col. Littleton Eyre "To 1 Com. Prayer Book 0. 6. 0"
 Estate of Hon. John Grymes "To 1 Com. Prayer Book bound in Turkey £0. 6. 0"
 1750/8/4 Samuel Wallace "To the Bp. Of London Letter £0. 0. 7½"
 1750/8/7 Bath Parish [Dinwiddie Co.] "For 1 Large Folio Bible £4.10. 0
 "For Com. Prayer Book Do. £1. 5. 9"
 1750/8/10 William and Mary College "For 1 Folio Prayer Book £1. 1. 8
 "1 Quarto Bible £1. 1. 8"
 Col. Thomas Jones [**planter**] "For Binding a Prayer Book £ 0. 2. 6"
 1750/ 8/13 Rev. Wm. Preston "To 1 Gilt Prayer Book £0. 8. 6"
 Joseph Davenport [**mantuamaker, town clerk**] "To the Bp. Of Lond. Letter £0.
 0. 7½"
 1750/8/15 Jno. Shelton, Hanover "For 3 Gilt Prayer Books £1. 2. 9"
 1750/8/17 Estate of Colo. George Braxton "To Binding a Quarto Bible £0. 6. 0"
 . . .
 1750/8/22 Rev. Saml. Davies, Hanover [**dissenter**] "To 2 Doz. Bp. Lond. Letter £0.10. 0"
 1750/8/25 James Taylor, Wmsburg [**shoemaker**] "For 1 large Folio Bible £2.10. 0"
 1750/8/27 Dr. Geo. Ramsay, Norfolk "For 1 large gilt Prayer Book neatly
 bound in Turkey. £0.13. 0"
 . . .
 1750/9/12 Joseph James "1 Quarto Bible £1.10. 0"
 Col. William Fitzhugh "for 1 Co. Prayer Book £0. 6. 0"
 1750/9/26 Madam Bassett "For 1 Common Prayer Book Turkey £0. 7. 0"
 1750/9/28 Capt. Gwyn Reade [**planter**] "For 1 Prayer Book 5/"
 1750/10/2 Joseph Davenport " [**mantuamaker, town clerk**] To Binding a Prayer Book 1/3"
 1750/10/3 Revd. William Preston "To Bp. Of London's Letter £0. 0. 7½"
 1750/10/6 Matthew Pierce "To Binding a Prayer book 2/6"
 1750/10/16 Dr. Peter Hay [**apothecary**] "For 1 Gilt Prayer Book Turkey £0. 9. 0"
 John Mercer Esqr. [**lawyer**] "For 1 Gilt Prayer Book 9/"
 1750/10/20 Dr. William Dawson [**commissary**] "To 100 Bishop of Londons Letters..."
 1750/10/23 William Parry "For 1 large Folio Bible £4.10. 0 "a large Gilt Prayer book 0.13.
 0 "Drelincourt on Death
 . . .

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1750/12/5	Revd. Thos. Dawson [master, Indian School] "To a Quarto Bible	£1. 1. 8"
1750/12/10	David Middleton "a Prayer Book £0. 4. 6"	
1750/12/11	Benjamin Weldon [teacher] "For 2 Prayer Books 10/6"	
1750/12/15	John Lane [public jailer] "For 1 Prayer Book £0. 6. 0"	
1751/1/17	Benja. Bryan "to a Bible £0. 7. 6"	
1751/2/1	Robert Carter Nicholas [lawyer] "Prayer Book 8/6"	
1751/2/4	Major John Powers "To a neat Gilt Prayer Book £0.10. 0"	
. . .		
1751/2/13	Joseph Davenport [mantuamaker, town clerk] "To binding a Bible . . .	
. . .		
1751/3/19	Wm. Russell, Culpeper "To a Bible 0. 6. 6"	
1751/3/29	Robert Bolling "a Prayer Book 10/" . . .	
1751/3/30	Hon. John Blair [Council] "To Wilson on the Sacrament £0. 2. 6"	
1751/4/2	Dr. Peter Hay [apothecary] "For Wilson on the Sacrament £0. 2. 6"	
1751/4/12	Hon. Philip Grymes [planter] "For a gilt Prayer Book with Cuts £0.10. 0"	
1751/4/15	Edward Tarpley "To 1 Common Prayer Book £o. 6. 0"	
1751/4/16	Robert Martindale "For 1 Common Prayer Book Oct[avo]. 12/ "For 2 Bp. Of Man on the Sac't 5/"	
1751/4/17	Revd. Mr. Thacker "For Wilson on the Sacrament 2/6 "Lewis's Catechism 1/"	
1751/4/20	John Mercer [lawyer] "To a Prayer Book letter'd 9/" Estate of Col. Benjamin Harrison "For 2 Lewis's Catechism £0. 2. 6" Hon. William Nelson [merchant, Council] "For Thos a Kempis 7/6 For Sherlock on Death 4/"	
1751/4/26	Col. Carter Burwell "To Binding a Prayer Book £0. 1. 3."	
1751/4/29	Capt. Gwyn Reade [planter] "For the Bp. Of Man on the Sacrament £0. 2. 0" "To a Prayer Book £0. 7. 0"	
1751/5/1	Capt. William Russell "For Lewis's Catechism £0.1. 0"	
1751/5/2	John Mercer Esqr. [lawyer] "Stanhope's Epistles & Gospels 36/" David Hunter "1 Latin Testament "	
1751/5/6	Revd. William Yates "To a neat Gilt Prayer Book 8/6"	
1751/5/7	Hon. Philip Grymes [planter] "For 1 Testament £0. 1. 8"	
1751/5/9	John Lane [public jailer] "To a Prayer Book £0. 6. 0"	
1751/5/10	Major Bowler Cocke "To Binding a Prayer Book in Turkey Gilt £0. 5. 0"	
. . .		
1751/6/3	John Gilmett "For 6 Companion to the Altar 6/ "6 Precious Blood 6/ "6 Chapman's Books 6/ "6 present for an Apprentice 6/ "6 Lewis's Catechism 4/6"	
1751/6/4	Col. William Randolph "For Spincke's Devotion £0. 5. 6"	
1751/6/5	John Mercer Esqr. [lawyer] "To Binding 3 Vols. Bp. of London's Letters 5/"	
1751/6/8	Revd. William Preston "To Binding For 12 Sermon Books £0. 6. 0"	
. . .		
1751/6/15	John Gilmett "For 3 Testaments 3/9 3 Psalters 2/4"	

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- Col. John Chiswell "For Pearson on the Creed 11/3
"Spincke's Devotions 5/6"
- 1751/6/17 John Stretch [**bookbinder**] "To 25 Bishop of Man @ 9d £0.18. 9
25 Sherlock on Death 1/6 1.17. 6
25 Duty of Man @ 9d. 1.18. 9
- 1751/6/22 Hon'ble John Grymes Estate "To a 4to. Bible—neatly Bound in
Turkey & gilt £2.10. 0"
- 1751/6/24 John Mercer Esqr. [**lawyer**] "For 1 Latin Prayer Book £0. 3. 0"
"Sherlock on Judgment 0. 7. 0"
"Religion of Nature delin'td 0. 7. 6"
- 1751/7/1 Joseph Baker "To Binding a Bible £0. 6. 0"
- 1751/7/4 Dr. Alexander Jameson "Leusden's Greek Testament £0. 1. 0"
Nathaniel Walthoe [**clerk of Council**] "Ecclesiastical Antiquities £0. 6. 0"
Col. John Chiswell "New Testment [sic] with Annot'n £0. 7. 6"
Samuel Wallace "Prayer Book French and Eng. £0. 7. 6"
Revd. Thomas Dawson [**master, Indian School**] "Piggott's Sermons £0. 4. 0"
- 1751/7/6 Philip Johnson Esqr. "For 1 Bp. of Man on the Sacraments £0. 2. 6"
- 1751/7/8 Joseph Davenport [**mantuamaker, town clerk**] "For a Prayer Book £0. 3. 6"
Col. William Digges "To a Quarto Bible neatly bound in Turkey
£2.10. 0"
- 1751/7/10 Joseph Davenport [**mantuamaker, town clerk**] "To Binding a Prayer Bk £0. 1. 6"
James Pasteur [**barber/perukemaker, later minister**] "Lewis's Catechism 1"
- 1751/7/20 Clement Reade "Greek Testament £0. 4. 6"
- 1751/7/22 John Martin Esqr. "For Watts's Hymns 3/6"
- 1751/7/26 Col. Benjamin Harrison's Estate "For Lewis's Catechism £0. 1. 0"
- 1751/7/29 John Gilmett "To a Bible 6/6"
Joseph Johnson, Jr. "For Wilson on the Sacrament £0. 2. 6"
- 1751/8/3 Col. William Fitzhugh "To a Gilt Prayer Book 7/"
- 1751/8/7 Col. Benjamin Harrison, Berkeley "To a Prayer Book £0. 3. 6"
Mrs. Bassett "a Prayer Book 10/"
- 1751/8/9 John Thornton "For 3 Lewis's Catechism @ 9d. £0. 2. 3
"3 Psalters @ 1/ £0. 3. 0
"3 Stith's Sermons @ 6d. £0. 1. 6
"3 Christian Monitor @ 9d. £0. 2. 3
"6 Seaman's Monitor @ 9d. £0. 4. 6"
- 1751/8/13 Dr. James Carter [**doctor, apoth., surgeon**] "For Whitfield's Sermons £0. 4. 6"
Revd. Thomas Dawson [**master, Indian School**] "To a Prayer Book £0. 3. 6"
Robert Nicolson [**tailor**] "For lettering a Prayer Book £0. 2. 0"
- 1751/8/14 William Hubbard "For a Testament 20d."
- 1751/8/22 Edward Cumins [**printer, bookbinder**] "To a Bible 6/6"
- 1751/8/27 Col. Benjamin Harrison's Estate "For Lewis's Catechism £0. 1. 0"
- 1751/9/10 Philip Johnson [**planter**] "For 1 Wilson on the Sacraments 2/6
"1 Psalter 1/6"
- 1751/9/11 William Armistead, Esqr. "For 4 Testaments @ 20d. £0. 6. 8"
- 1751/9/26 William Prentis [**mercant**] "For 1 Psalter £0. 1. 3."
- 1751/9/28 William Byrd Esqr. [**planter**] "To Binding an 8vo. [octavo] Prayer Book,
Gilt edges £0. 4. 6"
- 1751/10/10 Thomas Lewis, Augusta "For Spincke's Devotions £0. 5. 6"

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- 1751/10/15 James Power "For 1 Psalter £0. 1. 6"
 1751/12/5 Richard Child "For 3 Bp. of Man 4/6 2 Comp[anion] to the Altar 1/8"
 1751/12/10 Revd. James Maury "For 3 Wilson on the Sacrament £0. 6. 0"
 1751/10/22 Dr. George Riddell **[apothecary]** "For 1 Bp. of Man on the Testament £0. 2. 0"
 1751/10/28 Col. John Chiswell "To a Prayer Book £0. 3. 6"
 1751/11/1 Capt. William Meredith "To a Bible £0. 9. 0"
 1751/11/5 Col. Carter Burwell **[planter]** "To two gilt Bibles @ 10/ £1. 0. 0"
 1751/11/23 Capt. Thomas Price "For a Prayer Book £0. 3. 6"
 1751/11/25 John Thornton "a Prayer Book 3/6"
 1751/12/11 John Mercer Esqr. **[lawyer]** "To a Prayer Book 9/"
 1751/12/13 Col. William Randolph "To 2 gilt Prayer Books £0.18. 0"
 1751/12/21 Hugh Orr **[blacksmith]** "To a large gilt Prayer Book £0.13. 0"
 1751/12/26 Revd. Thomas Dawson **[master, Indian School]** "To a large gilt Prayer Book £0.13.0"
 1752/1/27 Capt. Gwyn Reade **[planter]** "To a Bible and Prayer Book 7/6"
 . . .
 1752/2/8 Col. George Braxton's Estate "To a gilt Prayer Book £0. 9. 0"
 1752/2/10 Col. Richard Cocke "To binding a Prayer Book £0. 2. 6"
 Revd. William Preston "To Binding For 2 Sermon Books £0. 1. 0"
 1752/2/26 Hon. John Blair **[Council]** "Whole Duty of Man £0. 3. 6"
 1752/2/27 John Martin Pr. Son "To a Bible £0. 6. 0"
 Wood Jones "For 2 Companion to the Altar £0. 3. 0"
 1752/3/2 Joseph Bishop "1 Davies' Poems 2/ 1 Sherlock on Death 4/"
 1752/3/3 Colo. Richd. Kennon "To a Bible 6/"
 "Prayer Book 3/6 [subtotal] £0. 9. 6"
 1752/3/17 Clement Reade "To Bibles [account].
 "For 1 large Folio Do. [Bible] £3. 0. 0"
 "1 8vo. [octavo] Prayer Book with Cuts £0.16. 0"
 1752/3/21 George Wm. Fairfax Esqr. **[planter]** "1 gilt Prayer Book 9/"
 Francis Eppes, Jr. "To Binding a Bible for Mrs. Fitzgerald £0. 9. 0"
 . . .
 1752/3/27 Col. Dudley Digges "For 1 Sherlock on Death 4/"
 "To 2 Stith's Sermons 2/6 [subtotal] £0. 6. 6"
 1752/3/28 Rice Curtis "To 5 Stith's Sermons £0. 5. 0"
 1752/3/30 Edmund Pendleton **[lawyer]** "To 6 Stith's Sermons £0. 6. 0"
 Revd. William Preston "To 2 Stith's Sermons £0. 2. 6"
 1752/3/31 "Sundry Accts. Drs. To Stith's Sermons, viz.
 "George Wythe **[lawyer]** 1/3
 "Roger Dixon 1/3
 "Hon. John Grymes's Estate 1/3 [subtotal] £0. 3. 9"
 1752/4/2 "Sundry Accts. Drs. To Stith's Sermons, viz.
 . . .
 1752/4/4 Col. Lunsford Lomax "To 1 Stith's Sermon £0. 1. 3"
 George Braxton's Estate "To 1 Stith's Sermon £0. 1. 3"
 . . .
 1752/4/16 Rev. Thomas Robinson "For 1 Gentle Shepherd £0. 1. 0"

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- Col. Lewis Burwell, James City **[planter]**
 "For Stackhouses Divinity £1. 5. 0
- 1752/4/18 Col. John Willis "For 1 neat Prayer Book gilt £0. 9. 0"
 1752/4/20 John Mercer **[lawyer]** "To 1 [Rev. Samuel] Davies's Poems £0. 2. 6"
 "To 1 Stith's Sermons £0. 2. 3"
- 1752/4/21 Philip Johnson **[planter]** "To 6 Stith's Sermons £0. 6. 0"
 1752/4/22 Col. Benjamin Harrison's Estate "for 1 Prayer Book 6/"
 "Lewis's Catechism 1/"
- 1752/4/24 Charles King "1 Stith's Sermon £0. 1. 3"
- . . .
- 1752/5/5 Col. Richard Bland "To 12 Stith's Sermons £0.12. 0"
 Roger Dixon "To 12 Stith's Sermons £0.12. 0"
- 1752/5/6 Harry Gaines "Lewis's Catechism £0. 1. 0"
- 1752/5/7 John Mercer **[lawyer]** "For a gilt Prayer Book £0.11.0"
 1752/5/9 Starkey Robinson "For 1 gilt 8vo.[octavo] Prayer Book £0.13.0"
 1752/5/21 Thomas Edwards, Sr. "For 2 Bp. of Man on the Sacraments £0. 5. 0"
 1752/6/1 Col. Benjamin Harrison's Estate "For Lewis's Catechism £0. 1. 0"
 1752/6/3 Revd. Thomas Dawson **[master, Indian School]** "For a Bible and Prayer Book
 £0. 7. 6"
- 1752/6/4 David Hunter "To binding a prayer Book £0. 1. 0"
 1752/6/9 Capt. Gwyn Reade "for 1 Stanhope's a Kempis £0. 9. 0
 "1 Greek Testament 0. 5. 0"
- . . .
- 1752/6/13 Revd. William Smith "For 1 Sherlock on Death 4/
 "Whitfield's sermons 4/6"
- . . .
- 1752/6/29 Robert Carter Nicholas **[lawyer]** "For 1 new Manual of Devotions £0. 8.0"
 "1 Psalter 1/3"
- 1752/7/4 Col. John Chiswell "For Pearson on the Creed £0. 6. 0
 "New Testament with Annot'n £0. 7. 6"
- 1764/1/24 Edward Hack Moseley "Prayer Book 3/9"
 1764/2/6 James Milner "Yorrick's Sermons 2 V[ol]s. £0.10. 0"
 1764/2/9 Christopher Ayscough **[gardener, tavern keeper]** "Bible mo[rocco]. gilt 2 V[ol]s.
 £0.13. 0" "Prayer Book Mo. Gilt 0. 7. 6"
- 1764/2/14 William Hunter Inf[an]t. "1 Common Prayer Book mo. Gilt £0. 7. 6"
 1764/2/16 Josiah Chowning **[tavern keeper, planter]** Pr. Self "1 Small Bible £0. 4."
 1764/2/18 Robert Nicolson **[tailor]** "Spinkes Devotions £0. 6. 3."
 1764/3/8 Revd. John Camm "Horrock's Sermon £0. 1. -"
 1764/3/14 Colo. Philip Johnson **[planter]** "Bindg. Jo. Bible £0.17. 6"
 1764/3/17 Thos. Hornsby **[tailor, merchant]** Pr. Will. Taylor "A Bible £0.5.6"
 1764/3/24 Bowles Armistead Pr. Self "A Bible £0. 5. 6"
 1764/3/28 Catherine Blaikley **[midwife]** "Binding & Lettering a Prayer Book £0. 3. 9"
 1764/3/30 Dr. Matthew Pope Pr. Self "1 Bible 4to.[quarto] £1. 6. 0"
 1764/4/7 Dr. Peter Hay **[apoth]** P[er] Lady "1 Prayer Book morocco gilt £0.15. 0"
- . . .
- 1764/4/9 Mrs. Pracilla [sic] Dawson **[widow, pres. W&M]** "Prayer Book £0. 5. 0"
 1764/4/21 Matthew Davenport **[teacher]** "Testament £0. 2. 0"

Religion in Daily Life

- 1764/4/23 John Mercer Esqr. **[lawyer]** "Moro[cco]. Prayer Book Gilt
- . . .
- 1764/5/16 John Willis, Brunswick "1 New Whole Duty of Man £0.13. 0
"3 Whole Duty of Man £0.10. 6"
- 1764/5/22 Hugh Walker "Binding a Bible for Wm. Gardner £0. 3. 9"
- 1764/5/23 Hon. Robert Carter Esqr. **[planter]** "A Prayer Book £0. 5. 0"
William Cabell Junr. **[planter]** "3 Folio Church Prayer Books for the Use of
Amherst Parish £5. 5. 0"
- . . .
- 1764/9/19 James Cocke "1 Testament £0. 2. 0"
John Robinson, College "Morocco Prayer Book £0.10. 0"
Walter Jones, College "Morocco Prayer Book £0. 6. 3"
William Prentis **[merchant]** "1 Lewis Catechism £0. 1. 3"
- 1764/10/9 John Coke **[lawyer]** "Binding folio Bible, ruff Calf £0.17. 6"
William Griffin "Do. [binding] Hammond's New Testament 17/6"
- 1764/10/11 George Powell, Gloucester "Binding Bible £0. 3. 9"
- 1764/10/13 Anthony Hay **[cabinetmaker]** "1 Lewis' Catechism £0. 1. 3"
- 1764/10/18 James Curtis, attorney, New Kent "1 Red morocco Prayer Book gilt £0.17. 6"
- 1764/10/31 Revd. Joseph Davenport **[minister]** "1 Quarto Bible £1.10. 0"
- 1764/11/1 Charles Neilson "James's Presages of Life & Death £0. 1. 0"
- 1764/11/4 Revd. David Currie "Willimot's Devotions 2 Vols. £0.12. 6"
- 1764/11/9 Anthony Hay **[cabinetmaker]** "1 Lewis' Catechism £0. 1. 3"
- 1764/11/16 Joseph Hutchings "1 Morocco Prayer Book gilt £0.12.6"
- 1764/11/18 Revd. William Mackay "1 Lewis' Catechism £0. 1. 3"
- 1764/11/26 Rev. John Camm "1 Horrock's Sermon £0. 7. 6"
- 1764/12/5 Charles Taliaferro **[coachmaker]** "1 Bible £0. 5. 6"
- 1764/12/7 David Greenhill "Sherlock on Death £0. 5. 0"
- 1764/12/15 Col. William Cabell "2 Bibles 8vo.[octavo] 1/3 £1.12. 6"
"5 Prayer Books 8vo. mo. Gilt, 13/9 £3. 1. 9"
- . . .
- 1765/4/15 Edward Champion Travis **[planter]** "1 New Whole Duty of Man £0.13. 0"
- 1765/5/4 William Kennon "1 Morocco Prayer Book, gilt £0.15. 0"
- 1765/5/13 Col. James Bridger "1 Comon. Prayer Books folio £3.10. 0"
for the use of Newport Parish in Isle White [sic]
Edward Champion Travis **[planter]** "Sherlock on Providence £0. 6. 3"
- 1765/6/8 Philip Johnson **[planter]** "Binding a Prayer Book in morocco, 8vo. gilt £0. 7. 6"
- 1765/6/27 George Davenport **[lawyer]** "Binding Mrs. Ballard's Prayer Bk. £0. 3. 9"
- . . .
- 1765/8/28 Revd. David Mossom "Binding a Bible £0. 5. 0"
- 1765/8/30 Anthony Hay **[cabinetmaker]** "1 comon Prayer Book 5/ 1 Ditto Bible 5/"
- 1765/9/10 Col. Thomas Bolling "1 Comon Prayer Book 7/6"
- 1765/10/3 Revd. William Robinson "1 Greek Testament £0. 6. 3"
Col. Dudley Digges "1 Greek Testament £0. 1. 3"
- 1765/10/9 Robert Nicolson **[tailor]** "Burkette on the New Testament, folio £2.10. 0"
- 1765/10/18 Thomas Griffin Peachey "Mrs. Rowe's Devotions £0. 2. 0"
- 1765/10/28 Edward Hawtry "1 Comon Prayer Book £0. 7. 6"
- 1765/11/12 Thomas Hornsby **[tailor, merchant]** P[er] Mrs. Hornsby

Religion in Daily Life

“Companion for the Penitent £0. 5. 0

“Scougel’s Life of God 1/10½

“Rowe’s Devotions 1/10½”

1765/11/28 Mann Page **[planter]** “Yorricks Sermons 2 vols. £0.12. 6”

Source: Virginia Gazette Journals (Hunter, 1750-52; Royle, 1764-65); orig.: Alderman Library, Univ. of Va.; compiled from Social History Database, Historical Research, CWF.

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EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SERMONS

Colonial Virginians of all ranks heard sermons in Anglican parish churches or in dissenting meeting houses. Ministers such as Commissary James Blair of Williamsburg, Bishop John Tillotson, and Reverend Samuel Davies prepared texts of their sermons for publication. Virginians regularly purchased collections of sermons (See record of purchases from the *Virginia Gazette Journals*, above.)

OUR SAVIOUR'S DIVINE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

A Sermon by James Blair

One of a series of sermons by Blair on this subject.

Blessed Are They Which Do Hunger and Thirst after Righteousness

Our Saviour's Disciples and Followers had now their expectations mightily raised with the news of the approaching Kingdom of the Messiah; with which both John the Baptist and He himself began to acquaint them in their sermons but having withal very carnal notions of that Kingdom, as if by violence and conquest they were to acquire great wealth and honour, and to live merry sensual lives in the Messiah's service; they flocked after him with their minds full of covetousness, oppression, cruelty, injustice, and the thoughts of conquest; the unfittest temper of mind for his service that could possibly be imagined. And therefore it is very observable that just simul et semel, so soon as John Baptist and he communicated the good news of the Messiah's Kingdom being at hand they preached up likewise the necessity of a new disposition of mind, or a change of heart and life, which we call repentance. Repent said they, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand. and not contented with preaching the doctrine of repentance in general, they descended to the particulars, and told their hearers what new dispositions of heart, and the amendments of life were necessary for all men in general; and for the diverse ranks and

stations of men in particular, as they had occasion to address them.

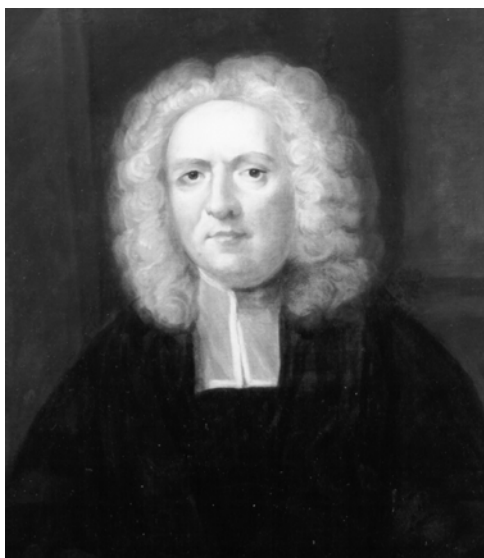
This Sermon on the Mount seems to be particularly levelled against the common indispositions of heart, and errors of life, which they were guilty of who looked for the Kingdom of the Messiah; for in it our Saviour acquaints the people and his disciples who are the blessed persons who shall be admitted to that Kingdom; namely not the covetous and ambitious; but the poor in spirit: not the luxurious and licentious, but the serious, penitent mourners: not the fierce and haughty but the meek and lowly: not they who gaped after and hoped to possess themselves of their neighbors estates by unjust conquest; but they who studied an exact honesty and uprightness in all their dealings: not the cruel and hard hearted, but the merciful and charitable; not the leud and unclean, but the pure in heart: not the fighting and contentious, but the quiet and peaceable; not the persecuters, but the persecuted for Christ's sake and their duty. So that all the Beatitudes are the setting up of so many quite contrary dispositions of mind to those they were prepossessed with: and only more particular instances of the general doctrine, that they were to repent, because the Kingdom of Heaven or the Kingdom of the Messiah was at hand.

But now to come to this particular beatitude, Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled. In these words we have two things distinctly proposed to our consideration.

1. *A virtue recommended. Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness.*
2. *The particular felicity promised to the practicers of this virtue; for they shall be filled.*

Neither of them is without its difficulty; and because I apprehend this text is not rightly understood, neither by the generality of readers nor interpreters, I must request your more unprejudicate and serious attention, while I open up what seems to me to be the true sense and meaning of it.

1. *To begin with the virtue recommended which is the hungering and thirsting after righteousness; The word Righteousness is used in several senses in the New Testament, which has occasioned some variety of interpretations concerning the meaning of it in this place. I shall consider them distinctly, that we may the better weigh them one against the other.*



Reverend James Blair by Charles Bridges, Muscarelle Museum, College of William and Mary

2. *First then, righteousness is sometimes used in a borrowed law sense, not for real but imputed righteousness; when a man*

is cleared in judgment, whether by standing upon his justification, or by pleading his pardon. This last is the Righteousness of Faith in Christ, by which we are justified before God; and though it is not used in this sense in the Gospels, nor anywhere else in the New Testament, except in St. Paul's Epistles' yet because this is a very desirable thing and therefore a proper object for our spiritual hunger and thirst, it has been pitched upon as the sense by sundry well meaning interpreters. But for two or three reasons I think it can't be the Righteousness here meant. For 1. We may observe that when Righteousness is to be understood in this borrowed law sense the Apostle generally adds some words for the explication of it; calling it the righteousness of faith, or the righteousness of God, or righteousness imputed; but uses not the word alone, without some addition, or previous or concomitant description, from which we may know that it is to be determined to that sense. 2. It is not very probable that before the Doctrine of Justification by Faith in Christ was as yet preached or taught, our Saviour would have used the word righteousness in this borrowed sense, as knowing it must needs at that time too altogether unintelligible to his hearers. 3. I think it will appear plain to any attentive reader, that it is not the Doctrine of Justification, but the Doctrine of Santification or New Life, which our Lord in these Beatitudes is endeavouring to inculcate upon his Disciples and Auditory, as a necessary prerequisite, or disposition for the evangelical state. And therefore it seems no way agreeable to the scope of the place to recommend as yet that Doctrine of Christ's imputed Righteousness.

The word righteousness then I judge must be taken here in a moral sense. But even thus, it is used wider or narrower in the Holy Scriptures. For sometimes by

Righteousness is meant that universal righteousness, consisting in a sincere endeavour to comply with the whole Duty of Man: And sometimes the particular Virtue of Justice, which gives every man his due. Now it is the first of these which interpreters most commonly take to be meant in this place. And according to them the meaning of the words Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after Righteousnes; for they shall be filled; is as if our Lord had said; Blessed are they who have an earnest desire after holiness, for they shall not miss of their aim; but shall certainly attain what they so earnestly long for. But though this is true doctrine, and a very pious sense, yet when I consider the scope of the place and the context, must be of opinion against the greater number of interpreters, that by justice of Righteousness here is meant the particular virtue of justice or honesty; and that by being filled or satisfied is meant their having enough for their enjoying a good competency of the blessings of this world; or in short that their honesty shall not impoverish them; but that it shall prove the best way to increase these three. 1. All the other beatitudes are particular virtues; and therefore it is most probable that this [Greek word], which may very properly be rendered justice, is a particular virtue too. 2. This better answers our Saviour's scope and intent, which was to correct the bad dispositions of the mind his hearers were under with relation to the Evangelical state. Now one notorious bad disposition of mind they were under was, that they expected by the way of fighting and conquest to invade other mens possessions; The covetousness of this temper our Saviour has corrected in another beatitude, where he recommends poverty in Spirit; and the injustice of it he reprehends here. 3. Here is a great catalogue of Christian Virtues enumerated in these eight beatitudes; Now how improbable is it that one of the eight should comprehend the whole? Besides, let it be tried in other places of the New Testament, where there is any enumeration of particular virtues; and it

will be found that wherever [Greek word], the word here rendered righteousness, is brought in, it is by common consent of interpreters understood to be the particular virtue of justice. I shall quote two or three catalogues, besides this of my text, where this of justice or righteousness makes a part; and in both these it is the particular virtue of justice, that is meant and recommended. The first is I Tim. vi., 11. But thou O man of God flee these things, (He had been speaking of the Sins of Covetousness) and then he adds, and follow after Righteousness, Godliness, Faith, Love, Patience, Meekness. Where we see he recommends to Timothy six virtues, as opposite to covetousness; and righteousness, (that is justice) at the head of them. The second is 2 Tim. ii, 22, where dissuading from youthful lusts, among some others he recommends this virtue. Flee also youthful lusts, says he, but follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call on the Lord as of a pure heart, I might observe the same of the word [Greek] which is rendered righteous or just in Tit. i, 8. Among the qualifications of a Christian Bishop it is required that he be sober, just, holy and temperate. Now is there not in these eight beatitudes as great a catalogue of virtues as enumerated in any of the other passages, of which catalogue this is but one? In these other passages it is understood in the sense of the particular virtue of justice; and why not in this for the same reasons? I conclude then, that when our Saviour saith here, Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, or justice, the sense is, as if he had said, Ye imagine the followers of the Messiah shall conquer great cities and countries, and that by no other right or title, besides that of the sword, they shall invade the wealth and possessions of other men; and ye are pusht on with as eager desires after these things, as an hungry man hath after meat, or a thirsty man after drink, but ye are under a great mistake; The Kingdom of the Messiah abhors every thing that is wrongful or unjust, and therefore if ye design

to be good subjects of that kingdom, instead longing after your neighbours goods and possessions, desire above all things honest hearts and souls, free from all sinister byass and affection; and that ye may have both the judgment to know and the inclination to do right and justice to all mankind. this I take to be the right meaning of the virtue recommended. And now since I am upon paraphrasing our Saviour's meaning of the virtue, I will add too the meaning of the promise annexed; for they shall be filled: which after St. Chrysostome upon the place, I take to be, as if he had said, in walking justly and honestly, ye shall be sufficiently provided for as to all worldly necessities: Your honesty shall not impoverish you; but ye shall have sufficient and enough to supply all your temporal wants; besides the affluence of all blessings in Heaven.

The duty then here recommended I take to be a great love of justice; the hungering and thirsting after righteousness. I purposely choose to call after the name of justice, for, though the word righteousness sometimes may comprehend all that is any way due to our neighbour, even relief in his wants, as well as his legal just demands, yet here I judge it must be interpreted in a more limited sense, only for the duty of justice, and that because mercy, the other great branch of our duty to our neighbour, has a distinct consideration in the very next beatitude. And I call it a great love of justice; because it is here resembled to those most quick and pungent desires of hunger and thirst, which have a vehement tendency to Satisfaction.

But that I may afford this Virtue a clearer consideration, I shall distinctly, but as briefly as such an ample Subject will admit, consider both the object Justice and the Act of Hungering and Thirsting after it.

As to the object, justice or righteousness, it is of a very large extent, as reaching to all these virtues, by which our neighbour has any right to claim from us, or not to be injured by us. And this in some respects will reach further than even the large

duties of the whole second table of the law. For by giving a bad example in transgressing the duties of the first table of the law, which relate to our duty to God, we may be guilty of a great piece of injustice to our neighbour, in seducing him from his duty, and so in ruining his soul to all eternity. The same may be said of our duty to ourselves; for though every transgression of that is not directly an injustice to our neighbour, yet if by so doing we either give our neighbour a bad example, or by disordering ourselves, we unfit and indispose ourselves for discharging our duty to our neighbour, we become guilty of injustice toward him.

But more particularly the duty of justice relates to those large duties of the second table of the law, wherein we stand bound to our neighbour in several capacities; whether we come to the knowledge of them by the light and law of nature, (which is not so much blinded as to them, as it is in the duty of piety relating to Almighty God) or by the Law of Moses with the explications of the Prophets in the Old Testament or by the more perfect laws of Christ, and the explications of the Apostles in the New: Or even by the laws and constitutions of the Kingdoms and Commonwealths, and other legal societies or authority, whether Civil or Ecclesiastical. For all these, in so far as they are not contrary to the laws of God, are approved and commanded to be observed by the Christian Institution; as did Peter observe 1 Pet. ii., 13. Submit yourselves to every ordinance of Man for the Lords sake. And further, all good, laudable and friendly customs and practices are in general recommended. Ph. iv., 8. Finally Brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, (that is decent or honorable) whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely (or friendly [Greek word]), whatsoever things are of good report; if these be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things. So that there is nothing due to our neighbour, either by the law of nature, or by the positive laws of God, or by the laws

of the land, or by any friendly laudable custom of practice, but this virtue of justice or righteousness, as explained by the Christian Religion, requires it to be payed him; For it would not have us fall short in anything, which by any of these titles is justly our neighbours due. Render therefore to all their dues; Tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour. Owe no man anything but to love one another; For he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law. Rom. xiii. 7 & 8.

I should much exceed the bounds of a sermon if I went about to describe to you all the particular branches of this duty of justice, as it relates to the soul and body, the goods and good names of our neighbour, nay, if I did but describe what is due to all Men in general, without entering into that great body of duty resulting from the particular relations of magistrates and subjects, husbands and wives, parents and children; masters and servants; pastors and people; creditors and debtors; buyers and sellers; those that commit a trust and those who receive it; those that oblige others and those who are obliged by them; and all the other numerous relations of life. I shall only tell you that the Christian Religion is so far from discouraging or even from neglecting and overlooking the matters of morality and common justice and honesty, that it carefully recommends them in the amplest manner; that is, not only as the best legislators and best magistrates, and best neighbours would require; but as we ourselves would wish to be dealt by ourselves in the like circumstances; which will certainly take in the utmost, that not only law and strict justice, but what the largest equity and good conscience would dictate to be due to our neighbour.

I shall add but one thing more relating to this justice or righteousness; which is, that perhaps it is not only our own justice, as it is a virtue in ourselves, which we are to understand here to be aimed at, and so ardently wished for; but likewise the justice or righteousness of others. We are to be so

great lovers of justice, as not only to abstain from all acts of injustice ourselves, but to wish and endeavour to the utmost of our power to promote justice and righteousness among others; and in our several stations to prevent or remedy all frauds and oppressions, and all manner of injustice, extortion, or exaction in the world.

So much for justice or righteousness; which is the object of this duty in my text. I proceed next to consider the act of hungering and thirsting. Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness. by this hungering and thirsting I understand a high degree of love and desire; as if he had said, Blessed are they who have a prevalent love and desire after justice or honesty and all actions, dealings, laws, judgments, decrees and transactions whatsoever. But perhaps this may be thought an unsuitable expression, if apply'd to this particular virtue; justice and honesty in our actions not being a virtue so hard to learn, that we need to have such longing desires after it. For answering this doubt, and to clear the propriety of the phrase in the text, I desire these few things may be considered. 1. That as for the propriety of the expression of hungering and thirsting after justice, it seems to me to be chosen from, and levelled at that wicked and unjust inclinations of mind, they had after other men's estates, of which they expected the Kingdom of the Messiah would put them in possession, which covetous inclination is well described by hungering and thirsting. As if he had said, Blessed are they who instead of being hungry and thirsty after their neighbours estates, by the way of fraud and unjust conquest, desire above all things to wrong no body; but what they get, to get it fairly and honestly. So that the phrase of hungering and thirsting being transferred from the unjust and oppressive desire and pursuit of our neighbours wealth, (of which it is a very lively description) to the direct opposite of it, the love of justice, is very proper and significant; and such elegant antitheses between virtue and vice the scripture

frequently uses, as Jer. ix 3. where having said that they bent their tongues like their bow for lies; he adds, but they are not valiant for the truth. So (a) fear not them who kill the body, but I will forwarn you whom you shall fear. So (b) Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, but lay up treasures in Heaven. So here, as if he had said, Do not thirst after other men's estates, which ye must very wrongfully come at; but hunger and thirst after an honest heart and soul, which will keep you from all such unjust courses. 2. Consider that though justice and honesty seems an easy virtue, and one of the things which are in our own power; and therefore not so properly the object of our earnest desires, yet there are really considerable difficulties in it, the overcoming of which it may be very reasonable to wish for, such as these following. (1) Truth and Justice is often difficult to discern, which side it lies on. And we want a great deal of knowledge and consideration, and freedom from prejudice and partiality, and a great deal of God's good conduct and direction, to find it out; and therefore it may properly be the object of our desire. (2) Even when we have knowledge and consideration enough, to discern truth from falsehood, and right from wrong; we are often insensibly carried by so strong byasses of worldly interest, self love, and urgent necessity, that we cannot easily incline our wills to follow the rectitude of our judgements; and in the case with the hardened Jews having eyes we see not, and having ears we hear not, and having hearts we understand not; and if there is not then a superior inclination to justice, to conquer all those prejudices and byasses of self love and worldly interest, our understandings, like a bribed judge, will be apt to give sentence on the wrong side. And therefore we have great reason to wish for this strong propensity and superior inclination to justice, which like hunger and thirst may give us no rest, till we satisfy it. (3) Consider that if it is not only our own justice we are to desire, but a general prevalency of justice and righteousness in the

world, this is most properly a thing to be longed for, as being exceedingly wanted in the world, and not easily in the power of any man to compass. So that the expression of hungering and thirsting after justice is still very proper, and upon all these accounts we have reason to believe, that this prevailing love and regard to justice both in ourselves and others is the virtue to which we are here exhorted.

So much for explication of the first part of my text which recommend the virtue of justice. Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness. I find time will not allow my entering on the second part, which describes the felicity of such persons that They shall be filled or satisfied. I must wait for a further opportunity for affording it a due consideration.

I shall only add a short word by way of exhortation to three sorts of persons for the more effectual securing the duty of justice or honesty that I have been describing.

1. My first advice is to some who neglect the study of justice, as if there were little or nothing in it, as if it were a thing too low for the high dispensation of the Gospel; a meer matter of form; or a thing that is to be made subservient to our worldly interest. For if we had not such a mean party and interest, and selfish and partial considerations, as it is in the world? Surely we either fancy justice to be nothing antecedently to our sentences; or we take not sufficient pains to find it out; or if we have any notions of it, they are quickly drowned in the more prevalent consideration of party, or interest and by aims and advantages for ourselves and our friends and families. Now what I offer is, that Justice is a noble virtue, and ought to be set above all these be-regards. And it is a virtue, which the Christian Religion always recommends in the most honourable manner.

Here we see it is assumed into the number of the beatitudes, which are the chief Christian Graces and Virtues. And in many

passages of St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus, it is recommended as a principal virtue necessary for their function. I have already in the discourse quoted three several places out of those epistles, where righteousness or justice is recommended to them: St. Paul thought it necessary to insist on this even to so good men that (a) Nothing should be done by partiality. Let us not imagine, because justice is a virtue which the very Light of Nature teaches a Turk or a Heathen, that therefore it is below the regard of a Christian. He knows but little of Christianity, who knows not that it establishes, and advances toward greater perfection, all good morals; and censures and condemns those who neglecting these would place religion in matters of form and ceremony. (b) So to you scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, says our Saviour, for ye pay tythe of mint, anise, and cummin, and have omitted the more weighty matters of the law, judgment, mercy and faith. Let us assure ourselves then, that he is but a very sorry Christian, and deserves not the name, who has not the moral honesty and justice of a heathen. He that cannot be depended on for the truth of his words, nor for the fidelity of his oaths and promises, nor for the fairness of his accounts, nor for the uprightness of his votes, nor for the honesty of his work, nor for the faithful discharge of a trust; he that will lie, cheat, equivocate, oppress, exact, or forswear, and contrive snares to entrap his honest neighbour for a little gain; how will he ever come up to the higher precepts of doing by others, as we would be done by ourselves.

2. My second advice shall be to them who are so far convinced of the duty of justice and honesty, that they are resolved to set about it. And to them I must recommend the practice of several other Christian virtues, without which it will be very hard, if not impossible, to preserve their honesty. I shall but just name the chief of those that are necessary to this end; because I have not time to inflict upon them. (a) If ye intend to be just and

honest, study *The Fear of God*; for if ye are honest only out of regard to human laws, or reputation this is no honesty at all, but the *Fear of Men* and *Self-love*; and besides, without the *Fear of God* ye will find abundance of opportunities for dishonesty, which either *Human Laws* have not provided against, or *Human Care and Authority* can not, or is not willing to discover. (2) If we would be honest, it is necessary to avoid covetousness and ambition, and as we are often advised by our Religion, not to aim at *Great Things in the World*, but *Having Food and Raiment*, that is the necessaries of life, let us be therewith content; that so we may lie under no temptation from a boundless love of wealth or greatness, to do unjust or dishonest things. Not but that if God adds wealth to our honest endeavours, we are thankfully to accept it, and to make good use of it; but never to covet it, or to be byassed from the straight rule of honesty from the consideration of it. (3) He that would be just and honest, should be diligent in the business of his lawful calling; for idleness brings want, and want is a great temptation to injustice and dishonesty. (4) If ye would be honest, let me recommend another virtue very friendly to honesty; that is frugality; avoiding carefully drunkenness, luxury, prodigality, too high living, deep gaming, and all other wasteful not only vices, but fashions and customs, which engage you in a higher expense, than your calling and income, and the necessary provision for your families with honesty can afford. (5) Beware of litigiousness, which is a great enemy to justice and honesty, both as it drives us upon taking all advantages of our neighbour; and as it brings ourselves to Poverty, and so tempts to dishonesty. (6) There is another much better natured qualification, but very dangerous on the same account; and that is suretyship; of which we ought all of us to be at least so

far cautious, as not to venture upon it to that degree, as to incapacitate ourselves to pay our own just debts; and to defray our own necessary expences.

3. The last advice I have to offer on this subject is to them who are conscious to themselves of having dealt unjustly or dishonestly by their neighbours in any matter; And it is in short that in the first place they repent of the sin before God; and in the next place they make reparation and restitution to their neighbour to the utmost of their power. We ought to have such a prevalent propensity to justice, expressed here by hungering and thirsting after it, that no consideration either of shame or poverty should keep us from doing right to those we have injured.

Several of these things are of that importance, that they deserve to have been more fully prosecuted, if I had not already too much trespassed on your patience. Now God give us all grace, that denying ungodliness and worldly lust we may live soberly, righteously, etc.

Source: James Blair, Our Saviour's Divine Sermon on the Mount, 5 vols. (London, 1722-1723). Rockefeller Lib., Special Collections.

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WHAT THINK YE OF CHRIST?
A Sermon by George Whitefield

Excerpts from the sermon preached in Bruton Parish Church, December 16, 1739.

Matthew XXII, 42

When it pleased the eternal Son of God to tabernacle among us, and preach the glad tidings of salvation to a fallen world, different opinions were entertained by different parties concerning him. As to his person, some said he was Moses; others, that he was Elias, Jeremias, or one of the ancient prophets; few acknowledged him to be what he really was, God blessed for

evermore. And as to his doctrine, though the common people, being free from prejudice, were persuaded of the heavenly tendency of his going about to do good, and for the generality, heard him gladly, and said he was a good man; yet the envious, worldly-minded, self-righteous governors and teachers of the Jewish church, being grieved at his success on the one hand, and unable (having never been taught of God) to understand the purity of his doctrine, on the other; notwithstanding our Lord spake as never man spake, and did such miracles which no man could possibly do, unless God was with him; yet they not only were so infatuated, as to say, that he deceived the people, but also were so blasphemous as to affirm, that he was in league with the devil himself, and cast out devils by Beelzebub the prince of devils. Nay our Lord's own brethren and kinsmen, according to the flesh, were so blinded by prejudice and unbelief, that on a certain day, when he went out to teach the multitudes in the fields, they sent to take hold on him, urging this as a reason for their conduct, "That he was besides himself."

Thus was the King and the Lord of glory judged by man's judgment, when manifest in flesh: far be it from any of his ministers to expect better treatment. No, if we come in the spirit and power of our Master, in this, as in every other part of his sufferings, we must follow his steps. The like reproaches which were cast on him, will be thrown on us also. Those that received our Lord and his doctrine, will receive and hear us for his name's sake. The poor, blessed by God, as our present meeting abundantly testifies, receive the gospel, and the common people hear us gladly; whilst those who are sitting in Moses' chair, and love to wear long robes, being ignorant of the righteousness which is of God by faith in Christ Jesus, and having never felt the power of God upon their hearts, will be continually crying out against us, as madmen, deceivers of the people, and as acting under the influence of evil spirits.

But he is unworthy the name of a minister of the gospel of peace, who is unwilling, not only to have his name cast out as evil, but also to die for the truths of the Lord Jesus. It is the character of hirelings and false prophets, who care not for the sheep, to have all men speak well of them. "Blessed are you, (says our Lord to his first apostles, and in them to all succeeding ministers) when men speak all manner of evil against you falsely for my name's sake." And indeed it is impossible but such offences must come: for men will always judge of others, according to the principles from which they act themselves. and if they care not to yield obedience to the doctrines which we deliver, they must necessarily, in self-defence, speak against the preachers, lest they should be asked that question, which the Pharisees of old feared to have retorted on them, if they confessed that John was a prophet, "Why then did ye not believe on him?" In all such cases, we have nothing to do but to search our own hearts, and if we can assure our consciences, before God, that we act with a single eye to his glory, we are cheerfully to go on in our work, and not in the least to regard what men or devils can say against, or do unto us.

But to return. You have heard that various thoughts there were concerning Jesus Christ, whilst here on earth: nor is he otherwise treated even now he is exalted to sit down at the right hand of his Father in heaven. A stranger to christianity, was he to hear, that we all profess to hold one Lord, would naturally infer, that we all thought and spoke one and the same thing about him. But, alas! To our shame be it mentioned, though Christ be not divided in himself, yet professors are sadly divided in their thoughts about him; and that not only as to the circumstances of his religion, but also of those essential truths which must necessarily be believed and received by us, if ever we hope to be heirs of eternal salvation.

Some, and I fear a multitude which no man can easily number, there are amongst

us, who call themselves christians, and yet seldom or never seriously think of Jesus Christ at all. They can think of their shops and their farms, their plays, their balls, their assemblies, and horse-races, (entertainment's which directly tend to exclude religion out of the world); but as for Christ, the author and finisher of faith, the Lord who has brought poor sinners with his precious blood, and who is the only thing worth thinking of, alas! he is not in all, or at most in very few of their thoughts. But believe me, O ye earthly, sensual, carnally-minded professors, however little you may think of Christ now, or however industriously you may strive to keep him out of your thoughts, by pursuing the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, yet there is a time coming, when you will wish you had thought of Christ more, and of your profits and pleasures less. For the gay, the polite, the rich also must die as well as others, and leave their pomps and vanities, and all their wealth, behind him. And O! what thoughts will you entertain concerning Jesus Christ in that hour?

But I must not pursue these reflections: they would carry me too far from the main design of this discourse, which is to shew, what those who are truly desirous to know how to worship god in spirit and in truth, ought to think concerning Jesus Christ, whom God hath sent to be the end of the law for righteousness to all them that shall believe.

I trust, my brethren, you are more noble than to think me too strict or scrupulous, in this attempting to regulate your thoughts about Jesus Christ: for by our thoughts, as well as our words and actions, are we to be judged at the great day, and in vain do we hope to believe in, or worship Christ aright, unless our principles, on which our faith and practice are founded, are agreeable to the form of sound words delivered to us in the scriptures of the truth.



ligion in Daily Life

Besides, many deceivers are gone abroad into the world. Mere heathen morality, and not Jesus Christ, is preached in most of our churches. And how should people think rightly of Christ, of whom they have scarcely heard? Bear with me a little then, whilst, to inform your consciences, I ask you a few questions concerning Jesus Christ: For there is no other name given under heaven, whereby we can be saved, but his.

First, What think you about the person of Christ? "Whose Son is he?" This is the question our Lord put to the Pharisees in the words following the text; and never was it more necessary to repeat this question than in these last days. For numbers that are called after the name of Christ, and, I fear, many that pretend to preach him, are so far advanced in the blasphemous chair, as openly to deny his being really, truly, and properly God. But no one that ever was partaker of his Spirit, will speak thus lightly of him. No; if they be asked, as Peter and his brethren were, "But whom say ye that I am?"

George Whitefield, English engraving, 1768, Colonial Williamsburg

They will reply without hesitation, "Thou art Christ, the Son of the everliving God." For the confession of our Lord's divinity, is the rock upon which he builds his church. Was it possible to take this away, the gates of hell would quickly prevail against it. My brethren,

if Jesus Christ be not very God of very God, I would never preach the gospel of Christ again. For it would not be gospel; it would be only a system of moral ethics: Seneca, Cicero, or any of the Gentile philosophers, would be as good a Saviour as Jesus of Nazareth. It is the divinity of our Lord that gives sanction to his death, and makes him such a high-priest as became us, one who by the infinite merits of his suffering would make a full, perfect, sufficient sacrifice, satisfaction, and oblation, to infinitely offended justice. And whatsoever minister of the church of England makes use of her forms, and eats of her bread, and yet holds not this doctrine (as I fear too many such are crept in amongst us) such a one belongs only to the synagogue of Satan. He is not a child or minister of God: no; he is a wolf in sheep's cloathing; he is a child and minister of that wicked one the devil.

Many will think these hard sayings: But I think it no breach of charity to affirm, that an Arian or Socinian cannot be a christian. The one would make us believe Jesus Christ is only a created God, which is a self-contradiction: and the other would have us look on him only as a good man; and instead of owning his death to be an atonement for the sins of the world, would persuade us, that Christ died only to seal the truth of his doctrine with his blood. But if Jesus Christ be no more than a mere man, if he be not truly God, he was the vilest sinner that ever appeared in the world. For he accepted the divine adoration from the man who had been born blind, as we read John ix. 38. "and he said, Lord, I believe; and worshipped him." Besides, if Christ be not properly God, our faith is vain, we are yet in our sins: for no created being, though of the highest order, could possibly merit any thing at God's hands: it was our Lord's divinity, that alone qualified him to take away the sins of the world; and therefore we hear St. John pronouncing so positively. That "the Word (Jesus Christ) was not only with God, but was God." For the like reason, St. Paul says, "that he was in the form of God: That in him dwelt

all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.” Nay, Jesus Christ assumed the title which God gave to himself, when he sent Moses to deliver his people Israel. “Before Abraham was, I AM.” And again, I and my Father are one. Which last words, though our modern infidels would evade and wrest, as they do other scriptures, to their own damnation, yet it is evident that the Jews understood our Lord when he spake thus, as making himself equal with God; otherwise, why did they stome him as a blasphemer? And now, why should it be thought a breach of charity, to affirm, that those who deny the divinity of Jesus Christ, in the strictest sense of the word, cannot be christians? For they are greater infidels than the devils themselves, who confessed that they knew who he was, “even the holy one of God.” They not only believe, but, which is more than the unbelievers of this generation do, they tremble. And was it possible for arch-hereticks to be released from their chains of darkness, under which (unless they altered their principles before they died) they are now reserved to the judgment of the great day, I am persuaded they would inform us, how hell had convinced them of the divinity of Jesus Christ, and that they would advise their followers to abhor their principles, lest they should come into the same place, and thereby increase each other’s torments.

But, Secondly, What think you of the manhood or incarnation of Jesus Christ? For Christ was not only God, but he was God and man in one person. Thus runs the text and context “When the Pharisees were gathered together, Jesus asked them, saying, What think ye of Christ? Whose son is he? They say unto him, the son of David. How then, says our divine master, does David in spirit call him Lord?” From which passage it is evident, that we do not think rightly of the person of Jesus Christ, unless we believe him to be perfect God and perfect man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting.

For it is on this account that he is called Christ, or the anointed one, who through his own voluntary offer was set apart

by the Father, and strengthened and qualified by the anointing or communication of the Holy Ghost, to be a mediator between him and offending man.

The reason why the Son of God took upon him our nature, was the fall of our first parents. I hope there is no one present so atheistical, as to think, that man made himself: no, it was God that made us, and not we ourselves. And I would willingly think, that no person is so blasphemous as to suppose, that if God did make us, he made us such creatures as we now find ourselves to be. For this would be giving God’s word the lie, which tells us, that “in the image of God (not in the image which we now bear on our souls) made he man.” As God made man, so God condescended to enter into a covenant with him, promising him eternal life upon condition of unsinning obedience; and threatening eternal death, if he broke his law, and did eat the forbidden fruit.

Man did eat; and herein acting as our representative, thereby involved both himself and us in that curse, which God, the righteous judge, had said should be the consequence of his disobedience in the flesh. For (sing, O heavens, and rejoice, O earth!) the eternal Father, foreseeing how Satan would bruise the heel of man, had in his eternal counsel provided a means whereby he might bruise that accursed Serpent’s head. Man is permitted to fall, and become subject to death; but Jesus, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds, Light of Light, very God of very God, offers to die to make an atonement for his transgression, and to fulfil all righteousness in his stead. And because it was impossible for him to do this as he was God, and yet since man had offended, it was necessary it should be done in the person of man; rather than we should perish, this everlasting God, this Prince of Peace, this antient of Days, in the fulness of time, had a body prepared for him by the Holy Ghost, and became an infant. In this body he performed a compleat obedience to the law of God; whereby he in our stead

fulfilled the covenant of works, and at last became subject to death, even death upon the cross; that as God he might satisfy, as man he might obey and suffer; and being God and man in one person, might once more procure a union between God and our souls.

And now, what think you of this love of Christ? Do not you think it was wondrous great? Especially when you consider, that we were Christ's bitter enemies, and that he would have been infinitely happy in himself, notwithstanding we had perished for ever. Whatever you may think of it, I know the blessed angels, who are not so much concerned in this mystery of godliness as we, think most highly of it. They do, they will desire to look into, and admire it, through all eternity. Why, why, O ye sinners, will you not think of this love of Christ? Surely it must melt down the most hardened heart. Whilst I am speaking, the thought of this infinite and condescending love fires and warms my soul. I could dwell on it for ever. But it is expedient for you, that I should ask you another question concerning Jesus Christ.

Thirdly, What think you about being justified by Christ? I believe I can answer for some of you: for many, I fear, think to be justified or looked upon as righteous in God's sight, without Jesus Christ. But such will find themselves dreadfully mistaken: for out of Christ, "God is a consuming fire." Others satisfy themselves, with believing that Christ was God and man, and that he came into the world to save sinners in general: whereas, their chief concern ought to be, how they may be assured that Jesus Christ came into the world to save them particular. "The life that I now live in the flesh, (says the Apostle) is by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me." Observe, for me: it is this immediate application of Jesus Christ to our own hearts, that renders his merits effectual to our eternal salvation. An unapplied Christ will do us no service at all. Others there are who go still father: for they think that Jesus Christ is God-man; that he is to be applied to their hearts; and that they can

be justified in God's sight, only in or through him: but then they make him only in part a Saviour: they are for doing what they can themselves, and then Jesus Christ is to make up the deficiencies of their righteousness. This is the sum and substance of our modern divinity. And was it possible for me to know the thoughts of most that hear me this day, I believe they would tell me, this was the scheme they had laid, and perhaps depended on for some years, for their eternal salvation. Is it not then high time, my brethren, for you to entertain quite different thoughts concerning justification by Jesus Christ? For if you think thus, you are in the case of those unhappy Jews, who went about to establish their own righteousness, and would not submit to, and consequently missed of that righteousness which is of God by faith in Christ Jesus our Lord. What think you them, if I tell you that you are to be justified freely through faith in Jesus Christ, without any regard to any work or fitness foreseen in us at all? For salvation is the free gift of God. I know no fitness in man, but a fitness to be cast into the lake of fire and brimstone for ever. Our righteousness, in God's sight, are but as filthy rags; he cannot away with them. Our holiness, if we have any, is not the cause, but the effect of our justification in God's sight. "We love God, because he first loved us." We must not come to God as the proud Pharisee did, bringing in as it were a reckoning of our services; we must come in the temper and language of the poor publican, smiting upon our breasts, and saying, "God be merciful to me a sinner:" for Jesus Christ justifies us whilst we are ungodly. He came not to call the righteous, but sinner to repentance. The poor in spirit only, they who are willing to go out of themselves, and rely wholly on the righteousness of another, are so blessed as to be members of his kingdom. The righteousness, the whole righteousness of Jesus Christ is to be imputed to us, instead of our own: "For we are not under the law, but under grace: and to as many as walk after

this rule, peace be on them:" for they, and they only are the true Israel of God. In the great work of man's redemption, boasting is entirely excluded: which could not be, if only one of our works were to be joined with the merits of Christ. Our salvation is all of God, from the beginning to the end: it is not of works, lest any man should boast: man has no hand in it: it is Christ who is to be made to us of God the Father, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and eternal redemption. His active as well as his passive obedience, is to be applied to poor sinners. He has fulfilled all righteousness in our stead, that we might become the righteousness of God in him. All we have to do, is to lay hold on this righteousness by faith: and the very moment we do apprehend it by a lively faith, that very moment we may be assured, that the blood of Jesus Christ has cleansed us from all sin: "For the promise is to us and to our children, and to as many as the Lord our God shall call." If we and our whole houses believe, we shall be saved as well as the Jaylor and his house: for the righteousness of Jesus Christ is an everlasting, as well as a perfect righteousness. It is as effectual to all who believe in him now, as formerly; and so it will be, till time shall be no more. Search the scriptures, as the Bereans did, and see whether these things are not so. Search St. Paul's epistle to the Romans and Galatians, and there you will find this doctrine so plainly taught you, that, unless you have eyes and see not, he that runs may read. Search the Eleventh Article of our Church: "We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings."

This doctrine of our free justification by faith in Christ Jesus, however censured and evil spoken of by our present Masters in Israel, was highly esteemed by our wise forefathers: for in the subsequent words of the forementioned article, it is called a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort: and so it is to all that are weary and heavy

laden, and are truly willing to find rest in Jesus Christ.

The works of the Reverend George Whitefield...To which is prefixed, an account of his life, compiled from his original papers and letters [by J. Gillies], (London, 1771-2), pp 353-372.

A SERMON

by Samuel Henley

Preached at Williamsburg on May 5, 1771 for the benefit of a fund to support the poor widows and orphans of clergymen in Virginia.

HEBREWS XIII. 16

To do good and to communicate, forget not, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.

The duty which our text enjoins, may be considered as including, not only every gift of liberality, but also, every office of humanity -- all those services to friends, acquaintances, country and even, enemies -- which the several abilities, of mind, body and fortune enable us to perform. . . .

How painful are the perceptions of the inimical passions! The misery which results from them, must greatly exceed any pleasures they afford. On the contrary, there arises from deeds, and even, dispositions of humanity, an honest glow of pure delight. The pleasure also which flows from the gratitude of a beneficiary, more than repays the benefactor's expence. The blessings of the poor and the esteem of the good, are the constant attendants on acts of benevolence.

Since from others we have received the blessings we enjoy, to do good in return, is a duty we owe. We are all made subservient to each other's well being. If we attend not then, to the calls of the needy, how can we discharge this obligation? Or, shall we alone frustrate the ends of creation, by remaining useless to fellow-creatures, the mutual ties of whose nature are weaknesses

and wants? --There can be no severer reproach to the dignity of man!

The advantages which arise from the performance of this duty render it, at present, an interesting object. The noblest virtues produce the happiest effects. They procure to their possessor, in proportion to their value, the approbation of the worthy, and the applause of the wise. Even, from the worst of men, they extort respect, and this prove a security against evil; for, who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good? In the government of this world, it hath often been seen, that all things happen, alike, to all; --should distress overtake the beneficent man, it is more than probably that his former kindnesses will revert into his own bosom. but, let it be otherwise, he hath laid up for himself a good foundation for the time to come -- a treasure in the Heavens. Such a conduct is the best preparative for death: --It will gild, with the richest splendours, the clouds that attend on the sun-set of life, and forbode a glorious morning.

For, lastly, the practice of this duty is acceptable to our Maker: --With such sacrifices God is well pleased. One deed of liberality, in the eye of the Deity, is of infinitely more value than an hecatomb. Neither the orthodoxy of our faith, nor the ceremonies of our worship, but our endeavours to promote the happiness of mankind, will be the rules to determine our future condition. They that have done good, saith the Judge of the world, shall come forth to the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil, to the resurrection of condemnation. . . . Were it not for the imputation of practising upon your passions, I might attempt to describe their feelings: Your own sensibility, however, will suggest them, more "tremblingly alive," than words can express, or colours paint. Visit, though in idea, the Widow and the Fatherless, when thus overwhelmed by affliction. Behold the amiable Matron, with a downcast look, absorbed in a reverie of silent woe; the pensiveness of her features marks the melancholy of her soul. Him she hath lossed,

who was not only her stay, but whole name comprized all that is tender and endearing -- her husband! Her Children, the pledges of his affection, -- every fiber of which is fresh torn from her heart -- with their tears and intreaties administer consolation, but vary her grief, by calling home upon themselves, her attention. With what recollection does she dwell on each countenance, and revive, in every lineament, the paternal resemblance -- Perhaps, they augment her misery by bringing back to her imagination, those moments, when the innocence of their revelry and a sportive contest for her favour, thrilled through her fond bosom with rapture, and drew a gleam of transport from a father's eye -- a father, now, no more! --Perhaps, ignorance of their own misfortune, the simplicity of their manners, the tenderness of their passions, or the loveliness of their forms, make her shudder at the apprehension of evils in prospect. O thou Father of the fatherless, God of the widow, bind up the broken in heart: --In this divine service, make us thine instruments!

Source: S. Henley, Prof. Of Moral Philosophy, In William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia, Sermon Preached at Williamsburg, May 5, 1771 . . . (London, 1771).

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**THE DISTINCT CLAIMS OF
GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION**
A Sermon by Samuel Henlely

Preached before the House of Burgesses
in Williamsburg on March 1, 1772.

I DEDICATE this Discourse to [the Rev. Mr. Jebb], not as a Patron, but a Friend, and therefore ask no permission. . . . Those studies which LOCKE and NEWTON, towards the close of life, regretted they had not earlier begun, you entered upon at first; and the ardor with which you have prosecuted them entitles you to universal respect. It is much to be lamented that the

glorious effort of LORD VERULAM to strike off the shackles from the human mind hath succeeded only in the science of Nature. You, my Friend, have attempted it in the study of Revelation; and I doubt not that future ages will do justice to your memory, though your enemies, of the present, would as gladly hunt you out of Cambridge, as the persecutors of GALILEO hunted him out of Padua and Pisa. . . . To investigate the divine will and declare it to mankind is the noblest of employments. Though the malignity of your enemies may retard your advancement, yet the consciousness of having aspired to the worthiest object of the human mind will afford you ample satisfaction.

It is on account of the subject, and not the execution, that I present to you the following Sermon. . . . Your affectionate Friend, S. Henley.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following Discourse would never have been published had it not exposed its Author to obloquy. . . .

Some Gentleman have taken offense at the subject. --Till now, the Author hath been ignorant that any man was acting out of his province who interfered in matters of universal concern; much less, when a question was agitating which involved in it the most valuable rights of mankind. But, perhaps, the guilt consists in his being a Clergyman of the established Church; . . . Zealously, however, as he espouses her interests, and highly as he venerates her doctrines, never will he consent, that the latter shall be forced upon any; nor, believe that the former could be promoted by compulsion. Whatever tends to subvert the principles of christianity and the rights of conscience must be equally subversive of Her: They are lovely in their lives, and, in their deaths, cannot be divided.

Another objection is, that such discourses are unfit for the pulpit. Unfortunately for the Author, when this was composed, and delivered, he thought it

peculiarly suitable, since at that time the Committee for Religion was preparing the Act for Toleration which is still depending. As to the propriety of preaching, in general upon this subject, let us consult the incomparable LOCKE. "It is not enough that ecclesiastical men abstain from violence and rapine, and all manner of persecution. He that pretends to be a successor of the Apostles, and takes upon him the office of teaching, is obliged also to admonish his hearers of the duties of peace, and good will towards all men; as well towards the erroneous as the orthodox; towards those that differ from them in faith and worship, as well as towards those that agree with them therein; and he ought industriously to exhort all men, whether private persons or magistrates, if any such there be in his church, to charity, meekness, and toleration; and diligently endeavour to allay and temper all that heat, and unreasonable averseness of mind, which either any man's fiery zeal of his own sect, or the craft of others has kindled against dissenters. I will not undertake to represent how happy and how great would be the fruit, both in church and state, if the pulpits every where sounded with this doctrine of peace and toleration; lest I should seem to reflect too severely upon those men whose dignity I desire not to retract from, nor would have it diminished either by others or themselves. But this I say, that thus it ought to be. And if any one that professes himself to be a minister of the word of God, a preacher of the gospel of peace, teach other wise; he either understands not, or neglects the business of his calling, and shall one day give account thereof unto the Prince of peace." LOCKE'S Works II Vol. 4 to p. 358.

However the doctrine, advanced in this Sermon, may be regarded, by the intriguing, self-interested politician, or the gloomy and narrow-hearted bigot, the Author avows it as the doctrine of Jesus; and hopes that he should not want fortitude to maintain it at the stake.

MARK XII. 17.

Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.

Though it be universally admitted, that the happiness of mankind is the end of all government, notwithstanding, a melancholy reflexion, that this end hath never been persued by the most direct means. In some states, opposite institutions have been established for effecting this purpose; and, in all, those have approached the nearest to perfection, in which the general good hath been least counteracted. Where power is limited but by few restrictions, the interest of many will be subject to the caprice of one: And though laws be enacted to circumscribe its extent there will much still remain in the executive hands; while even the laws themselves, through the ignorance, prejudice or malignity of their authors, may rather augment, than diminish, the evil. when individuals of ability rectitude and resolution arise to assert the rights of mankind, they must, always, expect opposition. Innovations will be inveighed against by the interested, and the proposers of them branded with infamy. Such treatment did the Author and finisher of our faith experience from his flagitious Countrymen. Enemies of a design most propitious to the happiness of man, they fought to wreak their vengeance on its founder. Various were their artifices to undermine his reputation and endanger his life, the most subtile of which he defeated by the reply in our text. Having just delivered a parable to the Chief-priests, the Scribes and the Elders, which forceably exhibited their tyranny and oppresion, he, by it, so far irritated their resentment, that had it not been for feat of the people, they would, instantly, have apprehended him. What force could not effect must, therefore, by fraud be accomplished. A party, composed of persons whose principles contradicted each other, could unite in act of injustice: -- Pharisees and Herodians were employed to inveigle him. In conformity with the prevalent prejudice, that their Messiah would restore, to Israel, the

kingdom, the former denied the claim of our Lord to that title, as he attempted not to deliver them from the yoke of Romans; while the latter, contending also for a temporal favour, pretended that Herod was their Messiah, who, though tributary to Rome, was however born in Judea. These were fitly selected by the Jewish rulers to execute their project, which they attempted to effect by a casuistical question. More skilfully to disguise their real intention, the proposition was introduced by an insinuating preface: Master, we know that thou art true and carest for no man: For thou regardest not the person of men, but teachest the way of God in truth; is it lawful to give tribute to Caesar, or not? Shall we give, or shall we not give? By reducing him to this dilemma they were confident it would be impossible for him to avoid their snare. For, had he asserted the lawfulness of tribute to the Emperor, it would have rendered him obnoxious to the Pharisees; while, if he had denied that tribute was lawful, the Herodians would have apprehended him, not only, as an impostor, but also, as an enemy to the Roman supremacy. Jesus, immediately penetrated their stratagem, and knowing their hypocrisy, said unto them, why tempt ye me? Bring me a penny that I may see it, and they brought it: and he said unto them whose is this image and superscription? and they said unto him, Caesar's. and Jesus, answering, said unto them, render to Caesar, the things that are Caesars, and to God the things that are God's. This reply, than which none could have been more pertinent to the question proposed, may lead us to inquire wherein the claims of Government and Religion are distinct from each other.

It needs but a little reflection to discover, that Society is founded upon motives purely human. The security of possession and injoyment of property are the grounds of alliance between man and man....

In the compacted strength of its members, Society found, both, a guard against external assault, and a remedy for

intestine disorder. Each, according to his ability or property, contributing towards the support of the whole, force and supplies would be accumulated, sufficient, to secure them against outward hostility; while laws, founded on general consent, would correct the evils within.

Hence, and not from personal qualities, is derived to Magistracy all its authority; and the Magistrate's duty consisteth, in opposing the united strength of the State against those who should attempt to subvert or subject it -- in preserving the peace and property of its members, by inflicting the penalties which the law denounces against such as might disturb the one, or infringe the other.

If this account of the origin and nature of Government be just, it is a consequence, deductible from the premises, that any crime committed in Society can be punished as a crime against Society, alone. It is only in a social capacity that man is amenable to man.

Though the breach of a law enacted by the State should involve in it a violation of the law of God, it is cognizable before the Magistrate in no other light than as a civil offence, since in no other view can it be injurious to Society.

The guilt of the offender as a subject of moral government is determinable by Him, alone, who can never alienate his prerogative; and any attempt to arrogate such a jurisdiction would be an effort to "snatch from his hand the balance and the rod."

The want of an accurate distinction upon this head hath been the cause of infinite mischief. Laws both human and divine having prohibited the same crimes, the Magistrate hath assumed the exercise of both; whereas the security and peace of Society are the sole objects of legislative attention. . . . If, therefore, any sin can exist, by which the State is in no respect injured, such a sin belongs not to the jurisdiction of the State. Thus, evil thoughts and pernicious projects, however malignant, if they proceed not into action, can never be provided against by the most perfect human code, nor

punished by the Magistrate's power. Far different are the sanctions of the divine law. Not only crimes within the Magistrate's jurisdiction, but those to which conscience, only, is privy, will receive their just punishment from the moral Governor of mankind. He judges all our words, and all our actions. His eye pervades the inmost recesses of the heart. . . . Offenses before human courts, of a trivial nature, may, at the divine tribunal, appear of aggravated guilt. As an infringement of social order they are criminal, before Caesar, in one proportion, but, as violations of moral economy, before God, in another.

From the preceding view of Society and Government, it is evident, Religion had no part in the formation of either. that it looks with a benign aspect upon civil polity cannot be doubted, since the conduct it enjoins tends greatly to advance men's secular welfare. This, however, is not its primary design. Obedience to human and divine laws arises from distinct motives. A man may be a worthy member of Society, observant of all its prohibitions, obedient to all its injunctions, and yet, in his religious capacity, guilty of many transgressions.

The obligations to a community, and those to our Maker are founded on considerations different in their nature. As men, when a social union was first formed, had civil purposes solely in prospect, it could not include the practice of Religion. Previous to every political establishment, its authority extended over all mankind; and its obligation being personal, not social, human law could not more give it effect than extent. Every essential of it is exempt from the inspection of man. It is, a divine philosophy in the mind. God must be worshipped in spirit and truth, and who, but He, can judge the mind, and the heart? Our duty to our Maker is coeval with our being, and every man must perform it as conscience shall dictate. In this respect, all men yet are in their natural condition: --This "state of nature" is "the reign of God." Their rights, possessive and personal, in part they

might alienate. Certain portions were relinquished for advantages in return; but they were advantages of a similar kind. The rights of conscience are unlike the claims of Society, and cannot therefore be submitted to its direction. . . . However desirous we may be of a general conformity in religious opinions, yet to make nonconformity criminal, would in any Legislature be highly impious.

The farther we investigate the essentials of Religion this truth will be still more clearly evinced.

Uniform obedience to the laws of the State is properly denominated probity; something more is necessary to constitute Religion. Other laws must be obeyed, and this obedience must be of a different kind. Whether we place the foundation of virtue in, a conduct agreeable to nature or reason, -- the fitness of things -- conformity to truth -- the common good -- or -- the will of our Creator, the conclusion will, from each, be the same: For since that which is most agreeable to nature and reason, will be best adapted to the fitness of things, intirely conformable to truth, and productive of the greatest good, it must necessarily be what God hath appointed. . . .

He requires us to obey, not with eye-service, as men pleasing, but with singleness of heart serving the Lord; and enjoins us, whatever we do, to do it heartily, as unto the Lord, and not unto man. If it proceed from any other principle our conduct cannot be religious. Should the laws, therefore, of any State command what is contrary to the conviction of the mind, submission, in such an instance, would be sinful; for, whether it be better to obey man rather than God, judge ye? . . .

If by Religion be meant the establishment of certain doctrines on the authority of the State; such doctrines, it is evident, can produce no good effect, unless they are actually believed. In vain, saith our Lord, do they worship me, teaching for

doctrine the commandments of men. In reality, the most sacred dogmas would be but human prescriptions to him who had no conviction of their being divine. The capacities of men are dissimilar in their original constitution, and this diversity is increased by prejudice and education. If reason cannot produce assent, all other efforts must fail. There can be no greater solecism than to suppose the possibility of forcing a belief. . . .

As to the external homage of the Deity: --Can a legal injunction excite the spirit of devotion? If the mode which the Rubric prescribes be not the best in the worshipper's opinion, he will offer only the sacrifice of fools.

Respecting the sentiments of any individual, these are no less free from the Magistrate's inspection. The only standard, by which we can judge them, is the consequences they produce when carried into practice. These alone can ascertain the tendencies of opinion. If religious speculations be subjected to the Magistrate's judgment so also must be sentiments on all other topics. . . . Nor let it be said that opinions of this sort are indifferent in their nature, and, therefore, can never be punished: For, if actions be not founded upon them, all opinions, so far as Society is concerned, are of equal indifference. . . . As Society cannot be injured but by actions which violate its property or peace, those who demean themselves honestly and orderly ought not to be molested, on account either of their sentiments, of worship. If these sentiments and this worship be the efflux of sincerity and devotion, absurd as they may be, God will approve them. The more such persons abound in every community, the better will that community become; yea, blessed is that people who have the Lord for their God!

If it be objected that unless Government interest itself in behalf of Religion it will soon be excluded the world. May we not ask, whether it be in obedience to the laws of the State that the sun ariseth, or that the moon walketh in brightness? –Hath the Deity need of human intervention to uphold his empire? How arrogant a worm is man! Yet in consequence of this presumption what havoc have massacres made! Would Legislators maintain the cause of Religion, let them shew its influence on their conduct.

It is a fundamental principle of legislation that good Government can never exist where, under the connexion of the same laws, every citizen is not equally protected. This give them but one interest to support. This makes every man respect his neighbour.

Viewing man in his religious capacity we consider him as related to his Maker. This relation can never be altered by any change of his being. Society is but of temporary duration: With the present life terminates the penalties of its laws; while the sanctions of Religion are durable as our existence. As these are, to us, of the highest importance, let us, first, seek the kingdom of god and his righteousness; and, in subordination to this end, let us render to Caesar, the things that are Caesar's. By such a conduct, and such alone, can we hope to enjoy, in this world, the advantages of good Government; and, in the next, the blessed consequences which will result from obedience to Him, whose kingdom ruleth over all.

Source: Samuel Henley, Dinstinct Claims of Government and Religion . . . (Cambridge, 1772).

**THE LOVE OF GOD TO MEN
IN THE INCARNATION OF CHRIST**
A Sermon by Dr. John Tillotson, Late
Archbishop of Canterbury



Preached on Christmas Day in the chapel at Lambeth Palace.

In this was manifested the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. 1 John iv. 9.

It is a great evidence of the love of God to mankind, that he was pleased to take our case into consideration, and to concern himself for happiness. Nothing does more commend an act of kindness, than if there be great condescension in it. We use to value a small favour, if it be done to us by one that is far above us, more than a far greater done to us by a mean and inconsiderable person. This made David to break out into such admiration, when he considered the ordinary providence of God towards mankind. "Lord, what is man, that thou are mindful of him; or the son of man, that thou shouldst consider him!" This is a wonderful condescension, indeed, for God to be mindful of man!

At the best we are but his creatures, and upon that very account at an infinite distance from him; so that were not he infinitely good, he would not be concerned for us, who are so infinitely beneath the consideration of his love and pity. Neither are we of the highest rank of creatures; we are much below the angels, as to the excellency

and perfection of our beings; so that if God had not had a peculiar pity and regard to the sons of men, he might have placed his affection and care upon a much nobler order of creatures than we are, and so much the more miserable, because they fell from a higher step of happiness -- I mean the lost angels; but yet, for reasons best known to his infinite wisdom, God passed by them, and was pleased to consider us.

Now that he, who is far above us, and after that we by wilful transgression had lost ourselves, had no obligation to take care of us, but what his own goodness laid upon him; that he should concern himself so much for us, and be so solicitous for our recovery, this is a great evidence of his kindness and goodwill to us, and cannot be imagined to proceed from any other cause.

Another evidence of God's great love to us is, that he was pleased to design so great a benefit for us. This the Scripture expresseth to us by "life;" and it is usual in Scripture to express the best and most desirable things in "life:" because, as it is one of the greatest blessings, so it is the foundation of all other enjoyments: and therefore this one word expresseth to us all the blessings and benefits of Christ's coming into the world; "God sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him."

And this expression is very proper to our case; because life signifies the reparation of all that which was lost by the fall of man. For man, by his wilful degeneracy and apostasy from God, is sunk into a state of sin and misery, both which the Scripture is wont to express by "death." In respect of our sinful state we are spiritually dead; and in respect of the punishment and misery due to us for our sins, we are judicially dead, dead in law; for "the wages of sin is death." Now God hath sent his Son into the world, that in both these respects "we might live through him."

Every wicked man, though in a natural sense he be alive, yet in a moral sense he is dead. What corrupt humours are to the body,

that sin is to the soul -- their disease and their death. Now God sent his Son to deliver us from their death, by renewing our nature, and mortifying our lusts; by restoring us to the life of grace and holiness, and "destroying the body of sin in us, that henceforth we should not serve sin. It is an argument of the riches of God's mercy, and of his great love to us, to recover us out of this sad and deplorable case. It is a kindness infinitely greater than to redeem us from the most wretched slavery, or to rescue us from the most dreadful and cruel temporal death; and yet we should value this as a favour and benefit, that could never be sufficiently acknowledged: but God hath sent his Son to deliver us from a worse bondage, and a more dreadful kind of death. When our case was as desperate as could be imagined, then was God pleased to undertake this great cure, and to provide such a remedy, as cannot fail to be effectual for our recovery, if we will but make use of it. . . . And was not this great love, to design and provide so great a benefit and blessing for us; "to send his Son Jesus to bless us, in turning away every one of us from our iniquities?" Our blessed Saviour, who came from the bosom of his Father, and knew his tender affection and compassion to mankind, speaks of this as a most wonderful and unparalleled expression of his love to us: (John iii.16) "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son." "God so loved the world," so greatly, so strangely, so beyond our biggest hopes, nay, so contrary to all reasonable expectations, as to send his only-begotten Son to seek and to save the sinful sons of men.

If it had only in general been declared to us, that God was about to send his Son into the world upon some great design, and been left to us to conjecture what his errand and business should be; how would this have alarmed the guilty consciences of sinful men, and filled them with infinite jealousies and suspicion, with fearful expectations of wrath and fiery indignation to consume them? For considering the great wickedness and

degeneracy of mankind, what could we have thought, but that surely God was sending his Son upon a design of vengeance to chastise a sinful world, to vindicate the honour of his despised laws, and to revenge the multiplied affronts which had been offered to the highest Majesty of heaven, by his pitiful and ungrateful creatures? Our own guilt would have been very apt to have filled us with such imaginations as these, that in all likelihood the Son of God was coming to judgment, to call the wicked world to an account, to proceed against the Father's rebels, to pass sentence upon them, and to execute the vengeance which they had deserved. This we might justly have dreaded; and, indeed, considering our case, how ill we have deserved at God's hands, and how highly we have provoked him; what other weighty matter could we hope for?

But the goodness of God hath strangely outdone our hopes, and deceived our expectation; so it follows in the next words, "God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world" (intimating that this we might justly have imagined and feared), but upon a quite contrary design, "that through him the world might be saved." What a surprise of kindness is here! that, instead of "sending his Son to condemn us," he should "send him into the world to save us;" to rescue us from the jaws of death and of hell, from that eternal and intolerable misery which we had incurred and deserved!

And if he had proceeded no farther, this had been wonderful mercy and kindness: but his love stopped not here: it was not contented to spare us and free us from misery, but was restless till it had found out a way to bring us to happiness; for "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son," not only, "that whosoever believes in him might not perish," but "might have everlasting life." This is the second evidence of God's great love to us, the greatness of the blessing and benefit which he hath designed and provided for us, "that we might live through him:" not only be

delivered from spiritual and eternal death, but be made partakers of eternal life.

Let us now consider the person whom God was pleased to employ in this design, no less person than his own Son, and no less dear to him than "his only-begotten Son."

The dignity of the person that was employed in our behalf, doth strangely heighten and set off the kindness. What an endearment is it of the mercy of our redemption, that God was pleased to employ upon this design no meaner person than his own Son, his begotten Son; so he is called in the text, "his Son," in so peculiar a manner as no creature is, or can be; the creatures below man are called the works of God, but never his children; the angels are in Scripture the son of God; and Adam likewise is called the son of God, because God made him after his own image and likeness in holiness and righteousness, and in his dominion and sovereignty over the creatures below him; but this title of "begotten Son of God" was never given to any of the creatures, man or angel; "for unto which of the angels said he, at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?" He must be a great person indeed to whom this title belongs, of "the begotten Son of God;" and it must be a mighty love indeed which moved God to employ so great a person, on the behalf of so pitiful and wretched creatures as we are. It had been a mighty condescension for God to treat with us at all; but that no less person than his own Son should be the ambassador, is astonishing regard of Heaven to poor sinful dust and ashes.

The person was as dear to God as he was great; he was "his only-begotten Son." It had been a great instance of Abraham's love and obedience to God, to have sacrificed a son at his command; but this circumstance makes it much greater, that it was his only son: "Hereby I know that thou fearest God (says the angel), since thou has not withheld thy son, thine only son from me." This is a demonstration that God loved us at a

stupendous rate, when he would send "his only-begotten Son" into the world for us.

Before this, God had tried several ways with mankind, and employed several messengers to us; sometimes he sent his angels, and many times his servants the prophets; but in these last days he hath sent his Son. He had many more servants to have employed upon this message, but he had but one Son; and rather than mankind should be ruined and lost, he would send him. Such was the love of God towards us, rather than our recovery should not be effected, he would employ in this work the greatest and dearest person to him both in heaven and earth, "in this was the love of God manifested, that we might live through him."

Let us consider, how much this glorious and excellent person was abased in order to the effecting and accomplishing of this design, which is here expressed by sending him into the world; and this comprehends his incarnation, which all the mean and abasing circumstances of it. That he was contented to be strangely lessened and diminished, and took upon him the form of a servant, or slave, and was made in the likeness of men; that is, did really assume human nature. Here was an abasement, indeed, for God to be come man; for "the only-begotten Son of God to take upon him the form of a servant, and to become obedient to death, even the death of the cross," which was the death of slaves and infamous malefactors! Here was love, indeed, that god was willing that his own dear Son should be thus obscured and diminished, and become so mean and so miserable for our sakes: that he should not only stoop to be made man and dwell among us, but that he should likewise submit to the infirmities of our nature, and to be made in all things like unto us, sin only expected; that he should be contented to bear so many affronts and indignities from perverse and unthankful men, and to endure such contradiction of sinners against himself; that "he, who was the brightness of this Father's glory," should be

despised and rejected of men, "a man of sorrows, and acquainted with griefs," and rather than we should perish, should put himself into our place and be contented to suffer and die for us: and that God should be willing that all this should be done to his only Son to save sinners. What greater testimony could he give of his love to us?

Let us consider, farther, to whom he was sent, which is also implied in these words: "he sent his Son into the world," into a wicked world, that was altogether unworthy of him; and an ungrateful world, that did not unworthily use him.

For what were we, that God should send such a person amongst us, that he should make his Son stoop so low, as to dwell in our nature and to become one of us?

We were rebels and enemies, enemies to God by evil works, up in arms against heaven, and at open defiance with God our Maker. when the world was in this posture of enmity and hostility against God; then he sent his Son to treat with us, and to offer us peace.

What can more commend the love of God than this, that he should shew such kindness to us when we were sinners and enemies?

Into an ungrateful world that did not unworthily use him, that gave no becoming entertainment to him, that heaped all manner of indignities upon him, that persecuted him all his life, and at last put him to a most painful and shameful death; in a word, that was so far from receiving him as the Son of God, that they did not treat him with common humanity, and like one of the sons of men.

He did all this voluntarily and freely: God sent his Son unto the world of his own mere grace and goodness, moved by nothing but his own bowels, and the consideration of our misery; not overpowered by any force; (for what could offer violence to him "to whom all power belongs?") not constrained by an necessity for he had been happy, though we had remained for ever miserable; he might have chosen other objects of his love and pity, and have left us involved in that misery which we had wilfully brought upon ourselves.

Nor was he prevailed upon by any application from us, or importunity of ours to do this for us. Had we been left to have contrived the way of our recovery, this which God hath done for us could never have entered into the heart of man to have imagined, much less to have desired it at his hands. If the way of our salvation had been put into the hands of our own counsel and choice, how could we have been so impudent as to have begged of God that his only Son might descend from heaven and "become man" be poor, despised, and miserable for our sakes? God may stoop as low as he pleaseth, being secure of his own majesty and greatness; but it had been a boldness in his, not far from blasphemy, to have desired of him to condescend to such a submission.

Nor, lastly, was he pre-obliged by any kindness or benefit from us; so far from that, that we had given him all possible provocation to the contrary, and had reason to expect the effect of his heaviest displeasure; and yet, though he was the party that had been disobliged and injured; though we were first in the offence and provocation, he was pleased to make the first overtures of peace and reconciliation; and though it was wholly our concernment and not his, yet he was pleased to condescend so far, to our perverseness and obstinacy, as to send his Son to us, and to beseech us to be reconciled.

What now remains but to apply to ourselves? Let us propound to ourselves the love of God for our pattern and example. "Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another." One would have thought the inference should have been, if God so loved us, that we ought also to love him. but this doth not speak so much of the affection as the effect of love; and the meaning is, if God hath bestowed such benefits upon us, we ought, in imitation of him, to be kind and beneficial one to another. Not but that we ought to "love God with all our hearts, and souls, and strength;" but in this sense we are not capable of it. We cannot be beneficial to

him; because he is self-sufficient, and stands in need of nothing. but he hath friends and relations here in the world, who are capable of the sensible effects of our love, and to whom we may shew kindness for his sake; we cannot be beneficial to God, but we may testify our love to him, by our kindness and charity to men, who are made after the image of God; and if we see any one miserable, that is consideration enough to move our charity.

God is a pattern of the most generous kindness and charity. Though he be infinitely above us, yet he thought it not below him to consider our case, and to employ his only Son to save us; he had no obligation to us, no expectation of advantage from us, and can never be in a possibility to stand in need of us; and yet he loved us, and hath conferred the greatest benefits upon us: so that no man can have deserved so ill at our hands, but that, if he be in want, and we in a condition to help him, he ought to come within the compass and consideration of our charity.

And this is the proper season for it, when we commemorate the greatest blessing and benefit that was ever conferred on mankind: "the Son of God sent into the world, on purpose to redeem and save us." And therefore I cannot but very much commend the custom of feeding and relieving the poor, more especially at this time, when the poor do usually stand most in need of it, and when we commemorate "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who being rich become poor for our sakes, that we through his poverty might be made rich."

Let us readily comply with the great design of this great love of God to mankind. He hath sent his Son, "that we may live through him." But though he hath done all this for us, though he hath purchased so great blessings for us, as the pardon of our sins, and power against them, and eternal life and happiness; yet there is something to be done on our parts, to make us partakers of these benefits. God hath not so loved us, as to send his Son into the world, to carry men to heaven whether they will or no; and to rescue

those from the slavery of the devil, and the damnation of hell, who are fond of their fetters, and wilfully run themselves upon ruin and destruction. But the Son of God came to offer happiness to us, upon certain terms and conditions, such as are fit for God to propound, and necessary for us to perform, to make us capable of the blessedness which he offers; as namely, "repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ:" a sincere and constant endeavor of obedience to the laws and precepts of our holy religion.

These are the terms of the gospel; and "the grace of God which brings salvation," offers it only upon these terms, that we "deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world:" then we may expect the blessed hope. But if we will not submit to these conditions, the Son of God will be no Saviour to us; for he is the author of eternal salvation only to them that obey him. If men will continue in their sins, the redemption wrought by Christ will be of no advantage to them; such as obstinately persist in an impenitent course, "salvation itself cannot save them."

These are the conditions of our happiness, and if we submit to them we are "heirs of eternal life;" if we refuse, we are "sons of perdition," eternally lost and undone; for we may assure ourselves, that these are the best and easiest terms that can ever be offered to us, because God sent them by his Son. This is the last effort of the Divine love and goodness, towards the recovery and salvation of men; and if we refuse to hear him, he will speak no more. After this it is not to be expected, that God should make any farther attempts for our recovery; for he can send no greater nor dearer person to us than his own Son; and if we refuse him, whom will we reverence? If after this we still wilfully go on in our sins, "there remains no more sacrifice for sin; but a fearful looking for of judgment, and fiery indignation to consume us."

With what joy and thankfulness should we commemorate this great love to God to mankind, in sending "his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him! AMEN."

Source: Works of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson . . . (London, 1701). Rockefeller Library, Special Collections.

UPON THE PEACE

A Sermon by James Horrocks

Preached at the church of Petsworth Parish in Gloucester County on August 25, 1763.

Psalm CXLVII. v 14.

He maketh Peace in thy Borders, and filleth Thee with the Flower of Wheat.

A LONG, dangerous, and expensive War now closes with an honorable Peace; and for this we are ordered to a most reasonable, pious Duty, to return our solemn Thanks to that great and good God, who hath taught our Hands to war and our Fingers to fight so very successfully. 'Tis this at last that completes our Joy by stopping the further Progress of War with her cruel and inseparable Attendants, Misery and Horror: For Conquerors themselves must own it is ever accompanied by those ghastly Furies: The finest and most brilliant Victories cost many Tears: The most blooming and verdant Laurels are ever stain'd with Blood, and even in the Day of Triumph the Cries of Bitterness and Sorrow mix themselves with the Shouts of Joy and Gladness. We may with Truth say, we have had enough of Victory, we have had enough of military Glory, and the Trophies and the Spoils of War; or rather, enough of human Blood has been pour'd upon the Earth even to glut the ravenous Jaws of Death: We have had enough of that Success, which cannot be enjoy'd but at the Expence of the Lives of our Fellow-Creatures, and those oft the bravest and the best of

Men. Therefore let us with Hearts unfeign'd and Gratitude sincere return our Thanks to Almighty GOD for restoring Peace to these Dominions, Security to Trade and Commerce, and Stability to our Religion and Church.

I shall not here take up your time in giving you a Detail of the many and great Advantages we have gain'd, the important Acquisitions made, or the signal Victories obtain'd by Sea and Land in the Course of this War, tho' such indeed might be entertaining, and agreeable enough, but better seen in the Annals of the times, and I think with much more propriety read there than heard here. I shall therefore beg your Attention to what more nearly concerns you not only as a Community but as Individuals, and while I endeavour to shew you what good Use you shou'd make of these peaceable Times. I conceive I shall be offering some Things worthy your Consideration and which, if regarded, may prove of solid and lasting Benefit to you all.

The first Thing that will naturally present itself to us in our reflecting upon the happy Consequences resulting from the Blessing now given us, is the Security of our Civil Liberty, a Happiness we justly glory in; For Britons have preserv'd it pure and uncorrupted thro' all the Struggles of Ambition and the most dangerous Attacks of Power: They have set the World a fair Example that the highest Ambition of Princes shou'd be to govern a free People, and that no People can be great or happy but such as are so; whilst other Nations have bow'd their Necks to the Yoke of Power and have basely given up this indisputable Right of Man deriv'd to Him from the first Law of Nature, and daily fell that Misery, which ever waits on Slaves. Oh Liberty! Thou are the Author of every good and perfect Gift, the inexhaustible Fountain, from whence all Blessings flow. Without Thee, what avails the Sweetness of Climate, or the most delightful Situation in the World? what avail all the Riches of Nature, the various Production of the Earth, the Mine bringing forth a thousand Treasures, the Olive

and the Vine blooming upon the Mountains, if Tyranny usurps the happy Plains, and proud Oppression deforms the gay-smiling face of Nature.

Here the feeling Heart will naturally reflect on and lament the Fate of those who are doom'd to Slavery, eternal Slavery. Unhappy Creatures destin'd to submit to it, and perhaps no less so are those Countries which are oblig'd to practice it! Respecting this particular, and the manner in which it is Here conducted, it may be said it loses much of its Horror, when compar'd with that of other Places. This perhaps is true, and I am likewise fully persuaded, that in some of those Families which properly respect Humanity, the State of Servitude approaches to the Condition of an easy Dependence, and thro' the Consideration and mildness of the Master the very Name of Slave is oft forgotten. But of these how few! Whilst the grasping Avarice of some, the unfeeling hard-heartedness, the very monstrous Disposition of others, which seems to delight in acts of Cruelty, are known to be exercised daily in producing such Scenes of Misery and Wretchedness, as cannot but be in the highest Degree shocking to those, who know how to think properly of the Condition of Human Nature.

But to return from this Digression. Amiable as Liberty is, we must not persue it with blind Enthusiasm, and ungovern'd Zeal: We ought ever to remember, that this very precious Liberty is no other way to be secur'd to us, but by a dutiful Obedience to the Laws of our Country, and those our Superiors, who have the Care of them. It is Folly, nay it is madness to suppose that that is true Liberty, which allows Men to act as they please, just as their inflam'd Brains, or wild Imagination may urge them on: For soon, full soon by this means Liberty and public Safety wou'd become Enemies to each other, and fall together. When Liberty and public Safety wou'd become Enemies to each other, and fall together. When Liberty becomes so licentious, as to be free from the Check and

Controul of just Laws, when it transgresses the Bounds prescrib'd by Nature, numerous and those the worst of Evils will immediately follow: Thus the River, which whilst confin'd in its proper Channel, carried Riches and Plenteousness along with it, gladdening the Lands it flow'd thro'; when it has burst thro' its Barrier and overflow'd its Banks, brings Terror and Desolation, the produce of the Earth, Cattle and Men are swept away, and lost in the Deluge of its Waters. Exactly similar is the Case, when Laws have not their proper Course, or not obey'd, as they ought to be, and Evil which tho' free Governments may be the aptest to fall into, is so great a one, that every true Friend to Liberty wou'd study to prevent it; for, as it has been well observ'd, there is no greater Tyranny upon the Face of the Earth, than that, where those who shou'd obey, are become our Masters: So very necessary is it that we shou'd faithfully adhere to that Principle I mention'd a little before, that we shou'd always be ready and willing to pay a cheerful Obedience to the Laws of our Country, to the King, and all that are put in Authority under Him, as this is not only acting according to the Precepts of our holy Religion, but the only way to secure to us the Blessings we are now so thankful for, and which you wou'd do well seriously to consider.

In Respect to our private Conduct, our just Sense of the many and various good Things of this Life which we enjoy, will best appear in the Use we shall make of them. In Consequence of a good Peace may naturally be expected a greater Plenty of every thing, and if you apply your Affluence and Abundance to the Purposes Providence design'd, they become real Blessings. Reason in this Case evidently points out to you, that you ought to have your Hearts open to acts of Charity and Humanity, and to hold in the greatest Abhorrence sordid Avarice. Above all things, not only that you may have it in your Power to do good to others, but on your own account, you shou'd be sober and moderate in your Pleasures, not dissolving in Luxury and Excess, things so extremely

prejudicial to your own Health and Fortune, and which will infallibly involve your Families in Hardships and Misfortunes. And may it not here be ask'd, is there not already too great a Tendency amongst us to Extravagance and Luxury? Some time ago was it not justly observ'd to you, and this by the Highest Authority here, that some of the Evils this Country labours under, were to be imputed to Excesses of this Nature? Supposing the common Articles of domestic Expense are not carried too far, why are you beholden to our Mother-Country for so many things you wou'd do very well without, which the insignificant Pride of Dress, the empty Ambition of gaudy Furniture, or a splendid Equipage lead you into, and which most undoubtedly serve more for Ostentation and Parade, than any real Use or valuable Purpose in Life. You may imitate other Countries in their Virtues, if they have any, as fast as you please, but believe me, you imitate them too soon, much too soon in their Vices. But what can be said in Defense of that prevailing Passion and Taste for Gaming? Racing, Cards, Dice and all such Diversions, where they are persu'd with that Eagerness as a Business or Occupation, have that fatal Tendency, that they never will permit that Country long to maintain the Character of a well moraliz'd People. . . .

I dare say you all know, and even feel the Necessity of a good Education, and I imagine wou'd look upon it as no small Degree of Felicity, if you cou'd be sure of making your Sons hereafter in Life serviceable to your Country, useful to their own Families, and happy in Themselves.

It shou'd ever be remember'd that the Children of the present Generation will be the Men that are to govern in the next, and such as they are train'd up now, will they be afterwards throughout Life, when left to themselves. The now full-grown and exalted Oak, which has always undeviating risen in Rectitude, is not to be forc'd from its Uprightness by Violence very cogent and oppressive; and likewise fruitless wou'd be the Attempt to unbend the same from that

Crookedness, and Perverseness it was fix'd in, ever since it was a tender Plant. A Circumstance which makes it of the utmost Importance in every Sense both with Regard to the Public and Private Interest, in what manner Youth is prepar'd to appear hereafter on the Stage of Life. In respect of the present Method of Education persu'd by far the greater Part amongst us, will it not appear to be thoughtful Person likely to take an unhappy Turn? The Attention of the Generality seems particularly directed to those parts of useful Knowledge, as they may be call'd, which will turn out to some immediate Account of Profit, and Advantage, which will make some quick Return of a solid, lucrative Nature to their Possessor, whilst those more truly useful Arts, and valuable Studies, which polish, and humanize Mankind, which raise the Genius, and which mend the Heart, which inspire the noble Principle of Probity and Honour, which in short lay the Foundation of every private, and public Virtue, whilst these, I say, lie neglected and overlook'd, as altogether unnecessary to a Youth's future Advancement, and Success in the World. Instead of this what is there substituted? Perhaps I am not far from the Truth, as it is not my Design to be so, when I observe that a little Knowledge in Figures and Accounts, a Smattering of the Mathematics, and a tolerable Acquaintance with the peculiar Business of the Country, make up the Sum total of the Learning of I know not how many. On such Things as these then your Minds must always be employ'd, or Time will hang extremely heavy on your hands, except when you are engag'd in some of those Amusements and Diversions, that of a Pursuit after Money and Pleasure, yet such is frequently the Case, and this in such a manner, as shall leave no Room (if you had the Disposition) for any Improvement in any thing more commendable. In consequence of all this your Care of your Descendants must be expected to be similar, and proportionably Defective; and accordingly we may observe you are much more intent upon cultivating a

few dirty Acres of Land, than the improving and polishing a Youth's mind, which left wild to itself, like the Woods we live in, is seldom seen to produce any thing fair, lovely, or elegant. For it is an uncommon thing, (I heartily wish it was so) to see the hopeful Heir to a large Estate brought up in a manner by no means answerable to it, and who, when in Possession of it, either knowing now how to use it very stupidly hoards it up, or profusely squanders it away, without Judgement, Taste, or Reputation.

'Tis most certain, that in the Treasures of Ancient Learning are to be sought for all those excellent Precepts, which improve and mend the Heart, which as it is the source of every Virtue and every Vice cannot be tended with too much Diligence and Care, 'tis I say, in those valuable Stores of Knowledge, where we are to receive such Rules, as shall lay the Passions under the Restraint of just Laws, that shall teach us each virtuous and generous Principle of Justice, Integrity, and Honor; 'Tis there, and there only we shall meet with painted in the liveliest Colors the most shining Examples of the bravest and the best of Men, not to be gaz'd at, but to be imitate: 'Tis from the Contemplation of those amiable Pictures, 'tis by the lovely Ideas we draw in from the Excellence, that we may learn to regulate and form our Manners, learn to transplant into our own Breasts their bright Perfections, till we shine like Them. Upon this noble and broad Foundation let us erect the glorious Superstructure of our Holy Religion, whence we shall see arise that fair Edifice at one complete in every Point of Utility and Convenience, and adorn'd with all the Elegance and Simplicity of Nature; which at once shall stand firm and unshaken on its proper basis, and the Ornament and Honor of all the Country round.

After having thus dwelt more largely, than I at first intended, on the foregoing Subject, I shall add the following Exhortation, which tho' it only touches upon those Particulars, which might very properly be drawn out into a greater Length, yet may

have a good Effect, if duly attended to and regarded.

The most unfeeling, adamant Heart cannot but swell with Thanks and Praise to Almighty God for these invaluable Blessings, the Peace and Security we now enjoy; but to testify properly this our Gratitude to the Supreme Being, let us all for the future (and this is the only way to do it) observe the most pious and religious Deportment, let us by the strictest Regard to the Precepts of that Religion with which we are blessed, the purest upon the Face of the Earth, be so very prudent, and so very circumspect, that if possible, we may never do amiss: Thus we may hope to appear in the Presence of Almighty God, not as the most unworthy of his Creatures, upon whom he has been graciously pleased to pour down his Blessings.

Next to our this conscientiously discharging our Duty to God, let us study to express our Loyalty, Affection, and Fidelity to the best and most beneficent King by a steady and due Obedience to his Laws, and Government, for this is the only kind Return we can make him, and this may much contribute towards making him sit easy, and happy on the Throne of his Ancestors, and sweeten the Toils and Pains of Royalty. As it will not a little serve to this good Purpose, let every one as much as lies in his Power discourage, and discountenance every insolent Attempt to disturb the public Tranquility, curb every Appearance of Disorder and Discontent, and promote by all possible means the utmost Peace, Friendship, and Brotherly Love amongst one another.

If we entertain a just Sense of our Happiness at this Time, we shall shew our Pleasure and Satisfaction in it with Propriety and Decency; Let us therefore by no means indulge in wild Intemperance, Riot, or Luxury, not express a rational and becoming Joy for our present Welfare and Prosperity, and study to render permanent the inestimable Benefits resulting from so glorious a Peace.

On this happy and joyful Occasion I think the most Scrupulous Hearer cannot be offended, that I conclude in a manner somewhat unusual indeed, yet I hope not improper or unsuitable tho' in the Language of Poetry,

Oh, Peace! Thou Source and Soul of Social Bliss,

Beneath whose calm, inspiring Influence
Science her View enlarges, Art refines,
And swelling Commerce opens all her Ports:

Blest be the Man Divine, who gives us Thee.

Source: James Horrocks, Upon the Peace (Williamsburg, 1763).

**The Mediatorial Kingdom
and Glories of
Jesus Christ**

A Sermon by Samuel Davies

Preached in Hanover County on May 9, 1756 and published posthumously in London.

Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a King then? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a King. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. John xviii. 37.

Kings and kingdoms are the most majestic sounds in the language of mortals, and have filled the world with noise, confusions, and blood, since mankind first left the state of nature, and formed themselves into societies. The disputes of kingdoms for

superiority have set the world in arms from age to age, and destroyed or enslaved a considerable part of the human race; and the contest is not yet decided. Our country has been a region of peace and tranquillity for a long time, but it has not been because the lust of power and riches is extinct in the world, but because we had no near neighbours, whose interest might clash with ours, or who were able to disturb us. The absence of an enemy was our sole defence. But now, when the colonies of the sundry European nations on this continent begin to enlarge, and approach towards each other, the scene is changed: now encroachments, depredations, barbarities, and all the terrors of war begin to surround and alarm us. Now our country is invaded and ravaged, and bleeds in a thousand veins. We have already, so early in the year, received alarm upon alarm: and we may expect the alarms to grow louder and louder as the season advances.

These commotions and perturbations have had one good effect upon me, and that is, they have carried away my thoughts of late into a serene and peaceful region, a region beyond the reach of confusion and violence; I mean the kingdom of the Prince of Peace. And thither my brethren, I would also transport your minds this day, as the best refuge from this boisterous world, and the most agreeable mansion for the lovers of peace and tranquillity. I find it advantageous both to you and myself, to entertain you with those subjects that have made the deepest impression upon my own mind: and this is the reason why I choose the present subject. In my text you hear one entering a claim to a kingdom, whom you would conclude, if you regarded only his outward appearance, to be the meanest and vilest of mankind. To hear a powerful prince, at the head of a victorious army, attended with all the royalties of his character, to hear such an one claim the kingdom he had acquired by force of arms, would not be strange. But here the despised Nazarene, rejected by his nation, forsaken by his followers, accused as the worst of

criminals, standing defenceless at Pilate's bar, just about to be condemned and hung on a cross, like a malefactor and a slave, here he speaks in a royal stile, even to his judge, I am a King: for this purpose was I born; and for this cause came I into the world. Strange language indeed to proceed from his lips in these circumstances! But the truth is, a great, a divine personage is concealed under this disguise: and his kingdom is of such a nature, that his abasement and crucifixion were so far from being a hindrance to it, that they were the only way to acquire it. These sufferings were meritorious; and by these he purchased his subjects, and a right to rule them. . . .

The kingdoms of the world have their rise, their progress, perfection, declension, and ruin. And in these things, the kingdom of Christ bears some resemblance to them, excepting that it shall never have an end.

Its rise was small at first, and it has passed through many revolutions in various ages. It was first founded in the family of Adam, but in about 1600 years, the space between the creation and the flood, it was almost demolished by the wickedness of the world; and at length confined to the little family of Noah. After the flood, the world soon fell into idolatry, but, that this kingdom of Christ might not be destroyed quite, it was erected in the family of Abraham; and among the Jews it continued until the coming of Christ in the flesh. This was indeed but the infancy of his kingdom, and indeed is seldom called by that name. It is the gospel constitution that is represented as the kingdom of Christ, in a special sense. This was but very small and unpromising at first. When its founder was dying upon Calvary, and all his followers had forsaken him and fled, who would have thought it would ever have come to any thing, ever have recovered? But it revived with him; and, when he furnished his apostles with gifts and graces for their mission, and sent them forth to increase his kingdom, it made its progress through the world with amazing rapidity, notwithstanding it met with very early and

powerful opposition. The Jews set themselves against it, and raised persecutions against its ministers, wherever they went. And presently the tyrant Nero employed all the power of the Roman empire to crush them. Peter, Paul, and thousands of the christians fell a prey to his rage, like sheep for the slaughter. This persecution was continued under his successors, with but little interruption, for about two hundred years.

But, under all these pressures, the church bore up her head; yea, the more she was trodden, the more she spread and flourished; and at length she was delivered from oppression by Constantine the Great, about the year 320. but now she had a more dangerous enemy to encounter. I mean prosperity: and this did her much more injury than all the persecutions of her enemies. Now the kingdom of Christ began to be corrupted with heresies: the ministry of the gospel, formerly the most dangerous posts in the world, now became a place of honour and profit, and men began to thrust themselves into it from principles of avarice and ambition; superstition and corruption of morals increased; and at length the bishop of Rome set up for universal head of the church in the year 606, and gradually the whole monstrous system of popery was formed and established, and continued in force for near a thousand years. The kingdom of Christ was now at a low ebb; and tyranny and superstition reigned under that name over the greatest part of the christian world. Nevertheless our Lord still had his witnesses. The Waldenses and Albigenses, John Hus, and Jerome of Prague, and Wickliffe in England, opposed the torrent of corruption; until at length, Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, and several others, were made the honoured instruments of introducing the Reformation from popery; when sundry whole kingdoms, which had given their power to the beast, and particularly our mother-country, shook off the papal authority, and admitted the pure light of the gospel. Since that time the kingdom of Christ has struggled hard, and it has lost

ground in several countries; particularly in France, Poland, Bohemia, &c. where there once were many Protestant churches; but they are now in ruins. And, alas! those countries that still retain the reformed religion have too generally reduced it into a mere formality; and it has but little influence upon the hearts and lives even of its professors. Thus we find the case remarkably among us.

This gracious kingdom make but little way in Virginia. The calamities of war and famine cannot, alas! draw subjects to it; but we seem generally determined to perish in our rebellion rather than submit. Thus it has been in this country from its first settlement; and how long it will continue in this situation is unknown to mortals: however, this we may know, it will not be so always. We have the strongest assurances that Jesus will yet take to him his great power, and reign in a more extensive and illustrious manner than he has ever yet done; and that the kingdoms of the earth shall yet become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ. There are various parts of the heathen world where the gospel has never yet been; and the Jews have never yet been converted as a nation; but both the calling of the Jews and the fulness of the gentiles, you will find plainly foretold in the 11th chapter to the Romans; and it is, no doubt, to render the accomplishment of this event the more conspicuous, that the Jews, who are dispersed all over the world, have, by a strange, unprecedented, and singular providence, been kept a distinct people to this day, for 1700 years; though all other nations have been so mixt and blended together, who were not half so much dispersed into different countries, that their distinct original cannot be traced. Posterity shall see this glorious events in some happy future period. How far it is from us, I will not determine: though, upon some grounds, I apprehend it is not very remote. I shall live and die in the unshaken belief that our guilty world shall yet see glorious days. Yes, my brethren, this despised gospel, that has so little effect in our age and country, shall yet shine like lightning,

or like the sun, through all the dark regions of the earth. It shall triumph over heathenism, Mahometism, Judaism, popery, and all those dangerous errors that have infected the christian church. This gospel, poor negroes, shall yet reach your countrymen, whom you left behind you in Africa, in darkness and the shadow of death, and bless your eyes with the light of salvation: and the Indian savages, that are now ravaging our country, shall yet be transformed into lambs and doves by the gospel of peace. The scheme of Providence is not yet completed, and much remains to be accomplished of what God has spoken by his prophets, to ripen the world for the universal judgment; but when all these things are finished, then proclamation shall be made through all nature, "The Time shall be no more": then the Supreme Judge, the same Jesus that ascended the cross, will ascent the throne, and review the affairs of time: then will he put an end to the present course of nature, and the present form of administration. Then shall heaven and hell be filled with their respective inhabitants: then will time close, and eternity run on in one uniform tenor, without end. but the kingdom of Christ, though altered in its situation and form of government, will not then come to a conclusion. His kingdom is strictly the kingdom of heaven; and at the end of this world, his subjects will only be removed from these lower regions into a more glorious country, where they and their King shall live together for ever in the most endearing intimacy; where the noise and commotions of this restless world, the revolutions and perturbations of kingdoms, the terrors of war and persecution, shall no more reach them, but all will be in perfect peace, love, and happiness, through immeasurable duration. This is the last and most illustrious state of the kingdom of Christ, now so small and weak in appearance: this is the final grand result of his administration; and it will appear to admiring worlds wisely planned, gloriously executed, and perfectly finished.

What conqueror ever erected such a kingdom! What subjects so completely, so lastingly happy, as those of the blessed Jesus!

Political Sermons of the American Founding Era 1730-1805, edited by Ellis Sandoz, Liberty Fund, Indianapolis, 1990, pp. 183-206.

On Female Piety

A Sermon by James Fordyce

From a book of sermons addressed to young women.

Which becometh women professing Godliness. 1 Tim. ii. 10. Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain; but a woman that feareth the Lord, She shall be praised. Prov. xxxi. 30.

The frailty of women has been frequently a topic of triumphant declamation. On this subject much unkind wit has been displayed; and many a dull sarcasm is daily added, and circulated with an air of conscious satisfaction. Hardly can one go into a company of men, where licentiousness of tongue passes for freedom of conversation, without hearing the poor women abused for their worthlessness, or weakness, or both. But supposing them particularly frail, is it noble to exult over them on that account, and in their absence too, when they have not an opportunity of defending themselves? Should not the strong rather pity and support the weak? Yet after all, how does it appear that, any singular strength of resolution belongs to our sex, or that yours stand chargeable with peculiar infirmity?

The loss of virtue is, no doubt, often followed with extreme depravity in women. But is not the same thing to be seen among men; although it is not remarked with the same attention, or censured with equal rigour? If many unhappy females run into such "excess of riot, and superfluity of

naughtiness," as seems to justify the observation, that there is nothing so profligate as a vicious woman; may it not be frequently imputed to their being driven almost to a state of despair? Forsaken as they are by the wretches that ruined them, abandoned by their relations, if any they have, commonly dreading the scorn of their own sex, and often too little considered by the virtuous part of ours; what can be expected in general, from creatures who have put off the modesty of nature, and are propelled by evil habits, co-operating often with base associates, and bitter poverty? Do I then plead the cause of vice? God forbid. But I cannot endure that want of candour which would aggravate the guilt and misery of beings, who to us should be objects of so much compassion; I say to Us, of whom many are the first authors of this very guilt and misery, while the rest are all likewise subject to go astray.

Here I shall probably be asked, Does not the apostle Peter expressly style the woman the weaker vessel? He does; but in the same sense that those vessels are so styled, which being of finer materials, or more delicate construction, and therefore easily broken or hurt, are for that reason, and for the regard also which people have for them, used with particular tenderness. That this is his meaning is manifest from the passage referred to, where he says, "Give honour unto the wife as unto the weaker vessel." Why honour on that score, if the epithet Weaker is not to be understood, as I have now, according to the best interpreters, explained it?

But does not St. Paul, some verses after the text from Timothy, observe, that "Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression?" True: it does appear from the history, that "the serpent," as our apostle says elsewhere, "beguiled Eve through his subtilty;" and that the man, though aware of the deceit, was by his fondness for his deluded yet still lovely partner drawn into

the same transgression. But what was it that exposed the woman to that snare by which she was seduced? Passions, it must be owned, extremely culpable in their nature, and fatal in their consequences; but not the passions for which her daughters have been indiscriminately blamed. In reality, the resolute spirit and perserving vigilance, with which great numbers of women preserve their honour, while so few men in comparison are restrained by the laws of continence, seem to me no slight proof that the former possess a degree of fortitude well worthy of praise.

But what is all this to the purpose of our present meditation? Much every way. I meant it as my first argument in behalf of female Piety; and on what footing it stands I will proceed to show, after remarking that the persons to whom our text from St. Paul is addressed are by him supposed to profess a respect for religion -- "As becometh women professing Godliness:" a supposition we are willing to make in your favour, my beloved hearers; so far, I mean, as to render it unnecessary to inculcate that profession from those general notions of truth and duty, which with a few exceptions, I do hope you readily acknowledge. Instead of this, our reasoning and exhortations will turn chiefly on such principles and facts as relate more immediately to your sex, situation, and time of life, considered in conjunction with the character and manners of the age.

And now for the argument already suggested, you will be more sensible of its force by attending to the following observations; that the firmness with which so many of you guard your virtue, being transferred to the practice of Piety at large, will, by God's assistance, contribute to render it easy and delightful; that the considerations of Religion will, in their turn, support and cheer you under the restraints of conscience and decorum; that you will hence derive the mighty satisfaction of the divine approbation amidst the censures of

the uncharitable and the divine protection against the machinations of the ungodly; and, in the last place, that the injustice, the unkindness, and treachery of the world, should engage you to greater prudence, purity, and devotion.

As to the first, it is certain that the practice of real Piety requires no small resolution and perseverance. It is not likewise certain that in what concerns their reputation, many young women possess a large share of these? Let them but apply this to the discharge of their duty as christians and the happiest effects will ensue; uniformity, facility, and joy in religion. In the point to which I allude you are often heroines. Your life is a series of self-denial. But self-denial from right principles is the perfection of christianity. Do but act on these principles throughout, and you shall one day walk with your Saviour in white: he will confess your name as worthy before his Father, and before his angels; you shall follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, singing to your golden harps a new song, expressive of signal triumph and praise.

It has been said of women, and I believe with truth, that they are remarkably steady to their purpose. Let it be seen that you are so in what is good. And "let not your good be evil spoken of," on account of any thing that might give ground to suspect you control your passions in one way only, and that too from no higher principle than the fear of shame. By a noble command of yourselves in other points, where this consideration cannot be supposed to operate so strongly, make it appear that you are governed by religion as well as prudential motives.

We would not lessen the influence of any one wise, or useful consideration, from the side of this world: but we wish your minds to lie more open to the efficacy of the next. So far as mere reputation goes, it is much the same to a woman, whether the regularity of her conduct be the result of pious or of political maxims. But in the sight

of God, and at the bar of conscience, how vast the difference! In that day when the secrets of all hearts shall be laid open, what will it avail you, if the decency of your behaviour should be found to have proceeded from no nobler spring than the desire of saving appearances? Who can express the horror of a female hypocrite at that all-revealing period, when, stript of every disguise, she shall be pointed out to the congregated universe as an infamous creature, whose soul was enslaved to sensuality, at the very time she affected the strictest virtue, treated indiscretion in others with the severity due to vice alone, had no other allowances to make with human frailty, and with supercilious disdain look down on many of her sex not half so wicked as herself?

Let it be carefully remembered, that as, in what regards outward trials, the gospel is literally the doctrine of the cross; so, with respect to inward conflicts, it is properly the discipline of the passions. Here, in truth, the religion of a christian must begin and end. What pity, my honoured pupils, if you who have that amazing power over the exterior of your deportment, if you who offer to a spotless name those continual sacrifices which your greatest enemies cannot deny, should after all lose the reward of undissembled sanctity by being excluded from that vision of God, which Jesus has promised to the pure in heart! What pity, in the mean while, that such power is not more generally allowed to exert itself on the ample theatre of a life truly virtuous; and that such sacrifices should not be the consolations of devotion, be sweetened, consecrated, and turned into so many sources of sublime enjoyment!

But this reminds me of having likewise said, that the considerations of Religion will conduce mightily to support and cheer you under the restraints of sobriety and decorum. In proportion as those considerations are made more familiar, will these restraints become less

painful, till at length they in a manner change their nature, and seem like silken bands, that even while they confine you, are as easy as they are ornamental.

Between all other philosophy and the philosophy of Jesus, one glorious distinction is this; that the latter not only displays a higher standard of moral excellence, but also communicates superior powers of virtuous action. To the fainter conclusions of Reason it superadds the bright discoveries of Faith. The future world, with the great transactions of the supreme administration, which are introductory to it, are there unveiled. There the vanity, and withal the importance of the present state is unfolded. There divine pardon and eternal life, as "the gift of God through Jesus Christ," are ensured and ascertained to obedient believers. The history of the Redeemer is there exhibited with all the beauty of simplicity, and energy of truth; a history, my dear hearers, equally important to all that read it, and to those that read it with a serious unprejudiced disposition, unspeakably affecting; a history which involves the most extensive and lasting interests of human nature, and to such as view it, in that light carries with it, beyond all other writings, a vital, home-felt, and heart-awakening influence. The ingenuous breast, inflamed by the friendship, and penetrated by the spirit of Jesus, burns with the love of virtue, and heaves with the hope of salvation. Jesus is the pattern of virtue: gratitude is one of its worthiest incentives, and faith, which is the fundamental principle of the whole system, faith in the mercy and acceptance of the Universal Father, through the mediation of his meritorious Son, by whom he is carrying on a scheme of grace, that comprehends all sincere penitents of whatever name or nation, throughout all successive ages -- this Faith, I say, imparts to feeble and desponding creatures a strength and encouragement that no other system could ever inspire.

Nor are these ideas beyond the ordinary reach of female understanding. They depend not on a nice chain of reasoning, nor on the abstruse researches of science. How much soever they may have been disguised by the dreams of the schools, to conceive them as they are set forth in scripture, masculine intellects are by no means necessary. Connected with Facts the most astonishing to the imagination, and Sentiments the most touching to the heart, they seem to lie particularly level to the best characters among your sex. In short, to feel their tendency, and experience their operation, a modest, susceptible, and affectionate mind is chiefly required. . . .

Wisdom and virtue are beautiful forms, and for their own intrinsic worth unquestionably entitled to all possible love and veneration. But little acquainted with the human heart are they, who would build the morals of mankind on this single basis. Decency of character, dignity of conduct, the honours due to temperance, integrity, benevolence, magnanimity, and other qualities of that order, are ideas as solid as they are refined, and which ought certainly to be cherished by all who are capable of comprehending their moment. To offer to depreciate them is vile, and not more repugnant to reason than to scripture, where the beauties of holiness are expressly named, and "whatsoever things are venerable, lovely, and of good report," are, as mentioned in a former discourse, recommended in so many words. But, yet, on the other hand, considering the passions, disorders, and debility of beings, situated as we are; to trust the cause of righteousness and truth to the sole strength of such arguments -- what is it, but hazarding the most valuable interests in the world on a bottom utterly unequal to so precious a freight? . . .

If women will marry men of bad morals, if from whatever motive they will manifestly endanger their own salvation, by

forming so intimate a connexion with those who betray a total neglect of theirs; what can we say, either for religion or the sex, that will make any impression on those who are prejudiced against both? What can she plead that accepts without scruple the hand of a man, who is seldom or ever seen in a place of worship, and whose companions are known to be profane or licentious? Is this to act, in the greatest concern of life, like a person of principle?

It is a common complaint, nor can the fact be denied, that most of our young gentlemen now a days entirely disregard religious institutions. But how can it be expected they should do otherwise, so long as they find themselves, in general, no way the less acceptable to the ladies, for such fashionable impiety? What a scandal in "women professing Godliness!"

Amidst so much disorder, and so many snares on all hands, what can be so wise for you, my christian friends, as to take refuge more and more in the sanctuary of Devotion? -- Let us not dissemble the truth. The greater part of either sex study to prey on one another. The world, in too many instances, is a theatre of war between men and women. Every stratagem is tried, and every advantage taken, on the side of both. On the side of the former, strength and daring, are joined to art and ambition, in which the latter abound. To make a truce they often meet. Even preliminaries towards a peace are often proposed. Individuals pass over to the camp of the enemy, and are reconciled. But what shall we say of the contending powers at large? Methinks they resemble this and a neighbouring kingdom, between which a general truce is always short, and a national peace never secure.

To many young women the preacher will seem as one that mocks. The men they consider as their best friends; and a lasting union is what they long for as the height of happiness. A union, by some means or other, will probably take place. And if it

shall, to know that it proved lasting, entire, and happy, as happy as the present state permits, would, you may be well assured, give the preacher pleasure. But if from this, or any imaginable connexion upon earth, you hope for complete felicity; your hopes will be vain. Imperfect yourselves, you have no right to expect perfection from men. In the most agreeable attachments, you will still find a mixture. The best characters will sometimes say, or do that, which shall occasion pain; daily intercourse will dull the relish of delight; and disagreeable accidents, but especially severe distress, will not improve the taste for it. Devotion, dearly beloved, Devotion will ever be your surest and sweetest resource. "Acquaint yourselves therefore now with God, and be at peace."

Even now, I doubt not, some of you perceive that all besides is uncertain and unsatisfactory. Your father and mother have forsaken you by death; or, which is far worse, by unnatural cruelty, or horrible selfishness. You have not perhaps in the world a friend to supply your place: Or if you have, you cannot but know that human friendships are often fallacious, and like other human comforts always precarious. Every thing in nature is subject to vicissitude; and nothing more usual than for men to adopt a different deportment as their circumstances or interest, their opinions or humours, vary. There is but one immutable friend, "a friend that sticks closer than a brother, a lover, or a parent. He is the same yesterday, and today, and for ever. He will never leave you: he will never forsake you." He has engaged himself by his promise; and "he is not man that he should lie, neither the son of man that he should repent."

I have often thought that, in some respects, there is not any creature so forlorn or exposed, as a young woman, beautiful, unexperienced, single, almost wholly friendless, bred to affluence, left in dependence, perhaps in indigence, of which

some wretch curst with wealth is willing to avail himself for the vilest ends. While I paint such a situation, who does not see the need of piety? what remains for this pretty sufferer, but to hold fast her innocence at all adventures, and look up to him with whom the fatherless find mercy. -- "Protect me, O my heavenly Father, my only sure and never-failing friend; protect thy poor, dependent, helpless creature. From this wilderness of life I lift up my eyes to Thee; to thy throne of pity I stretch out my arms for succour. Behold, I am needy, and feeble, and full of affliction. I tread among snares; I tremble for fear, But Thou art merciful. Save me, O Lord, most mighty; save me from evil men, from vain companions, from folly, from myself. My wants supply, most gracious: my weakness strengthen; for ever guard the virtue by Thee implanted. Thou are the guide of my youth; lead me in a plain path, because of my enemies. Let none have power to hurt me; may some have the goodness to support my steps. Send down wisdom from thy holy heavens that she may labour with me continually, and sweetly counsel me in all my doings. In Thee, O God, in Thee alone have I put my trust: let me never be confounded. Be my god for ever and ever, and my guide even unto death. I ask it for the sake of my divine Redeemer. Amen."

Sermons to Young Women, James Fordyce, D.D. Third American from the Twelfth London Edition (Philadelphia & New York, 1809), pp. 25-47.

ADVICE TO APPRENTICES

A Sermon by [William Dodd]

From a book of sermons addressed to young men.

EPHESIANS vi. 6, 7, 8.

Not with eye-service, as menpleasers, but as the servants of Christ; doing the

will of God from the heart: With good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men. Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free.

With respect to "Time" in the first place, consider, that this now is no longer your own, but your master's, therefore be careful not to idle or squander it away, but to improve every moment of it, that so you may not fulfill the duties of your station, but gain such allowed hours, as may be properly employed to your own emolument and satisfaction. There is nothing so valuable and important as Time; the flying moments of it, once passed, are never to be retrieved: Ever mindful hereof, delay not the immediate performance of that, which, the occasion slipped, you may perhaps never have it in your power to perform at all. Be assured, there is nothing that will so much recommend you to an observing master, as a regular distribution, and exact improvement of time.

As of your Time, so must you be particularly careful of your "Trust." Your master's interests are become yours; you owe him the strictest fidelity; and if you are found deficient herein, you must never expect either confidence or character. Fidelity shews itself in words and actions, and may be distinguished into Truth in words, and Integrity in deeds. Nothing is so dishonorable and disgraceful, as lying or a deviation from the truth. It is always the mark of a mean and worthless spirit; a vice, GOD knows, which too early destroys itself in the human mind; and to discourage and eradicate which, no caution or attention can be too great or severe. As it is founded in the worst principles, so is to productive of the greatest evils; not only extremely vicious and faulty in itself; but generally the introduction to and cloke for other faults and vices. Simply to lie, is an offense; to lie in order to conceal a fault, is a double offense; but to lie with a malicious purpose, with a

view to injure or prejudice others, is an offense aggravated tenfold, and truly diabolical; an indication of the most corrupt and abandoned heart: And the mischief of it is, that they, who indulge themselves in the practice at all, generally are led on by the father of lies to the very excess of it. Never, therefore, in a smaller or greater matter, suffer your lips to deviate from the truth: Speak it honestly, openly, and without reserve: You cannot conceive how easily the mind is corrupted by the slightest indulgence in falsehood, by the least license given to little mean reservations, equivocations, and mental chicaneries. Be assured, a fault is always doubled by denying it; an open, frank concession disarms resentment, and conciliates affection: Such a regard to truth will gain you credit, and give you dignity. It is an [sic] high, it is an amiable character of any man, of a young man more especially, to say, that his veracity is always to be depended upon; whereas the contrary is just as low and despicable. And if you accustom yourself to falsehood such will be Your character; for the natural consequence of being caught in one lie, is in future Doubt of whatever you shall say: And I would ask, Can there be any thing more disgraceful than to stand in such a light among your fellow creatures, as to have your words despised and unregarded, and even the truth you speak disbelieved?

I might urge many religious motives to deter from this infamous practice; its contrariety to Christ and his Gospel, which is Truth; is agreement with the devil, who is father of lies; the signal punishment which God hath sometimes thought fit to inflict upon it; (as in the remarkable case of Ananias and Sapphira,) and the future and fearful punishment which is denounced upon all liars, that "they shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone." I might urge there and many other arguments to shew the sinfulness of this practice: But I write not professedly on

the subject; meaning only, my young friends, to shew you the great importance and necessity of a strict adherence to truth, if you would recommend yourselves to your matters, and indeed, to mankind in general.

There is great reason to believe, that those who are conscientious in their words, will be so in their actions; that they will shew the same regard to truth in the one as in the other: This is indispensably requisite. The least temptation to fraud must never be suffered to remain a moment in your hearts; dishonesty will blast your reputation, and all your hopes; and it will still be the worst in you, to whom your master entrusts the care of his property; for a breach of truth is ever the highest aggravation of an offence. Always therefore consider yourself as entrusted with the charge of your master's property; consider it as most sacred; and while you never allow in yourself a single thought of embezzling or injuring it, never permit yourself to connive at such practices in others. Next to the being vicious ourselves, is the consenting to, or conniving at vice in others; and he is not far from falling into the same sin, who can see it with unconcern, or without reproof in another. Not that I would have you busy and pragmatical; ready at all turns to whisper idle stories in the ears of your superiors. This will certainly render you extremely odious and disgusting to those who are upon a level with you: Your life will become uneasy; and your own conduct will be most scrupulously examined. But this avoided, no fear or favour should ever influence your honest heart to see your matter injured, and to pass by that injury unnoticed. If gentle and reasonable remonstrances will not avail with the injurer, you are bound by all the ties of duty and of honour to give information, lest your connivance at guilt should be judged, whit it is disclosed, an actual participation of it (*The example of Joseph, as a faithful servant, is too well known to need more than just mentioning in this place.)

Let me finish this head with briefly hinting to you, that there is a duty which you owe to your master and his family out of doors, as well as within, and a duty of great importance; the neglect of which will tend greatly to deprive you of confidence and esteem; and that is, a caution never to disclose the secrets of your master's family; never to talk unseasonably and improperly of his affairs; much less to whisper any thing which may tend to depreciate his reputation. Indeed, your master's reputation should be dear as you as your own, and you should as carefully vindicate and defend it, if you hear it maligned and aspersed, as you would your own. But it is not merely Reputation whereof you are to be thus cautious: There are a thousand little transactions in every family which you never transpire through the walls, and which bear, in the relation, a very difference appearance from the reality. These it should be your care never to disclose; and though I would advise you, not to desire by any means the trust of other people's secrets, yet, if intrusted, be sure to keep them as religiously as you do your own. One powerful means of enabling you to attain this fidelity will be a firm resolution to place a bridle on your tongue; to check a forward, prating humour, which is always offensive in young men, and generally prejudicial: For it is not to be questioned, but that the unguarded tongue, which is suffered to run at all adventures, will frequently supply the want of sense with folly, and of truth with falsehood.

But besides this strict Fidelity in words and actions, you owe to your master, and indeed to yourself, "Industry," and close application to business. He expect it from you as his right; and you will do well to give it, as for, that reason, so for your own sake also; because thus you will not only improve in the proper knowledge of that business which you are apprenticed to learn, but will preserve yourself from the numberless dangers attendant upon idleness. Every thing is possible to industry; and it will be

very difficult to produce any instances of men, who, joining strict honesty to continue industry, have failed of their due success in this world.

Well husbanding your time; nicely observant of truth, in words and in actions; industrious and punctual in business, you will necessarily be esteemed. But there is a certain Something in behaviour, a certain Manner, which is, as it were, the polishing to the diamond, and highly require to render you beloved. Some worthy persons do even the best actions in an ungraceful manner; they have not, and they do not study the art to please: You should make this your endeavour. Mild, gentle, and affable in your conversation; easy, and even "attentive" to the wishes of your master, in your actions; studying every little office which may render you acceptable, and striving to do whatever you do with grace and good nature: Industriously avoiding at the same time every thing which may have the appearance of the least officiousness, or of a busy intrusion where you have no concern.

In short, in this and in all the other instances of your duty to your master, let one general rule ever have its due influence on your conduct, and it will always direct you right: "Consider His interests and welfare as your own." Thus, as a son with a father, you will never injure or see him injured: On the contrary, sensible of your duty to Him, and to your all-seeing master in heaven, you will study to do your part with all fidelity; thus recommending yourself at once to your earthly and your heavenly master.

I have thus far considered your duty in apprenticeship, only as it relates to your Superiors: It will require some care and attention to conduct yourself properly towards your Equals and Inferiors. Your Equals I call your fellow-apprentices, from whose acquaintance, if virtuous and good, you will reap great advantages and comforts, and which you can never be too

careful to cultivate and cement in a proper manner, as perhaps you may derive from thence through life the highest emolument and satisfaction. If they are vicious and unworthy, the utmost caution will scarce be sufficient, to guard you from the infection of their ill advice and worse example. You must not only let your face like a rock against them; but strengthening your mind every day more and more with religious and virtuous principles, must both repel their noxious persuasions, and at the same time do your utmost to advise and reclaim them from their ruinous principles and practices.

But I dwell not on this subject, as proposing to set forth at large in a future discourse the Dangers of Evil Company, and the proper method of avoiding it. I must not however fail just to advise, that you treat your Inferiors with great courtesy and humanity, at the same time avoiding most carefully all undue freedom and familiarity, especially with the female servants; and more particularly, if you are so unhappy as to be placed with a master, who, according to the prevalent, but destructive mode of modern times, thinks himself excused from all care of his family in town, while he flies to indulgence and a country seat: In this case, much prudence and vigilance will on your side be necessary, lest you be enticed into snares, which you may find cause ever to lament, or allow yourself in freedoms, which may imbitter the whole stream of your future life.

To prevent this, and other evils of the like kind, labour to maintain the strictest Self-government, and seek, through Gods grace, for a dominion over your passions. Temperance in Meat and Drink is to be maintained invariably:—but this too, is a matter of so great consequence, that we shall afford it a separate discourse. Nor is temperance in Dress of much less consequence. Solomon has well observed “that a man’s character may be known by his apparel:” And though certainly different stations not only allow, but even, demand

different and more elegant modes of dress; yet a foppish attention to it, in every sphere of life, is a mark of imbecility of understanding, and effeminacy of mind. But in Your sphere of life, where dress, to far from being requisite, (See the Beauties of Shakespeare. Vol. I, p. 220, Hamlet, Act I. Scene 5.) is in a degree reproachful, such an attention will betray much want of prudence indeed; not to say that it will very probably plunge you into expences greater than you are able to bear, and at the same time lead you to shew yourself at such places and in such company, as will prove extremely pernicious to your morals. Neatness, cleanliness and simplicity in apparel are proper to your sphere of life, they are in character; and be assured, throughout your life, whatever is so, will always be found right, and will recommend you to the judicious and discerning.

Cautious of your company, temperate in meat and drink, neat and simple in your dress, you will have no temptation to those expensive pleasures, which too often involve odious Vice: I mean Gaming; which, however common, is so pernicious in its effects, that it also may well claim a separate discourse, to set forth those effects in their proper colours, and to dissuade you, my young friends, from the least approach to so hazardous a precipice.

Think not, however, that while I warn you from such as are false and destructive, I would rigidly have you debarred from all Pleasures. Enjoy such as are consistent with virtue and your station; and of these there are sufficient, cheap, allowable, and highly refreshing; such as will neither injure your virtue, your pocket, or your health. Indeed it is observable that the most exquisite, as well as the most innocent of all enjoyments, are those which cost us least, such as that Reading which I mentioned, though somewhat out of place, at the beginning of this discourse; the enjoyment of agreeable and sensible Conversation; the pleasures of Walking, and contemplating

the high Beauties of Nature. These pleasures will supply all the relaxation you will need; and, to their great commendation, they afford a quick relish while they last, and leave no remorse when they are over.

But can we say this, of the fashionable pleasures of the town? Ah! My young friends, how I tremble for you, on account of these! Syrens they are, that soothe to destruction: They allure but to spoil, and present the bowl of joy but to intoxicate and position! Beware of, and fly from them, as you value your own present peace and future felicity in life; nor dare,—till firmly rooted in right principles, till established like a rock in virtue,—dare not to look, left, enticed by their false beauty, you admire, and are undone.

It is, I will know, extremely difficult for a young man to withstand the artful sneer of ridicule, and the delusive sophistry of persuasion. You must, however, exert all your fortitude; but be sure, if you are ever induced to attend the playhouse, or other places of the like kind, that you never do so out of the company of your master or mistress, or some other grave and respectful person: A thousand perils await you, if alone, or attended by the young, the giddy, and inconsiderate. . . .

Religion, teaching you to look up to the magnificent eye of an Almighty Master, will supersede a thousand other rules; will prevent all eye-service, all man-pleasing; will lead you, as the servants of Christ, to do the will of God from an obedient and conscientious heart. For, whatever men may say or urge (fools and blind!) to loosen the bonds of this divine principle, Religion is that alone, which gives a man a sure and certain government over himself; and consequently, is that alone which can assure others of a good government over him. Suffer not, therefore, your religious principles to be shaken by the sophistry of infidels, or the scoff of sneerers. Suffer not your religious practice to be debauched by the delusions of immorality, or the enticing

lure of pleasure; and, as one certain method to preserve you steadfast, let no arguments or considerations ever prevail upon you to profane the Sabbath. If you do it once, you will find yourself more easily induced to do so a second time; and thus you will fall insensibly into a habit. There is not a better rule for the prevention of virtue than to 'resist beginnings;' for no man can tell to what lengths he shall be carried, who suffers vice of any kind to gain the least ascendancy over him. Let nothing therefore persuade you once to profane the Sabbath (See a Sermon entitled, "A Sabbath Day well Spent." Printed for Faden in Fleet Street.). Depend upon it, the consequences of such, profanation are ruinous; and we generally find, in the wretched confessions of those who conclude their lives ignominiously, that this was the first error



which introduced them to a life of profligacy, and a death of shame.

Reverence therefore, and hallow in the strictest manner, God's holy Sabbath. Attend the divine worship regularly each part of the day: Pass the rest either in reading or meditation, or in innocent and amusing walks with such, as you are sure will lead you into no evil, but instruct to improve you by their friendly and rational conversation. If you are so happy as to be placed in the house of a religious master, comply invariably with the rules of his

family, and think yourself peculiarly fortunate in so chosen a lot (Need I recommend, to enforce the subject of this discourse, the admirable and instructive prints of Mr. Hogarth, called "The good and bad Apprentice?"). If it be otherwise, as there is too much reason to fear in the present dissipated mode of life; if you are left to yourself, or with your fellow-servants, to pass the sabbath, without the careful inspection of a master's eye, Remember always that you have a Master in heaven, and that no neglect of your superiors can ever dispense with your neglect of duty to Him and to them.

But, alas! Let me refer it to the just decision of your hearts, who thus neglect the young men committed to their trust.—How, O ye Masters! Can you expect that young people placed in your families should discharge their duty to God, to you, and to themselves, when they see you so shamefully neglect your own duty; leaving them to chance and temptation; and pursuing your pleasures, on that Sabbath especially, which ought to be dedicated to the exercises of religion, and the duties of good example? Who knows not the prevalence of example in every respect? Can it be wondered that young men (especially if of fortune) think themselves intitled to assume the same licence, and to pass their Sundays in riding, dissipation, and riot? Indeed, the greatest corrupters of youth, in the trading world, next to the evil of country houses and separate families, are the large Premiums given with, and, consequently, the very large liberties given to young men, who yet are supposed to be engaged for a life of servitude, industry, and application. It is, I fear, too common for many to take those large premiums, who very little concern themselves with the morals and virtues of such, as tender parents, with the best hopes, have committed to their trust. It is not easy to say how they can answer to their consciences so gross a neglect. If the necessary

management and restraint be more difficult, as probably it may, in proportion to the largeness of the premium, the master should certainly consider himself as engaged to superior care and attention: And it is a truth which none can deny, however strangely they may contradict it in practice, that the higher and more important the charge, the more the master is obliged to abound in instruction, diligent inspection, and good example. But whatever the charge nothing can, nothing ever will, excuse an honest and good master from the discharge of these duties. Attentive to the

Hogarth Print, *The INDUSTRIOUS' PRENTICE performing the Duty of a Christian, Colonial Williamsburg.*

importance whereof, these parents, who are [what?] of their children's good; will make it their first care, not to look out for a master, who, most eminent in his station, will possibly prove most negligent of their children, and for whom they may purchase the greatest indulgences; that it, the most certain ruin, at the highest rate; as if the virtue and future well-being of their children was not of more consequence, than the gratifying a poor temporary vanity.—But they will make it their first care to place them with a master, who like Abraham, fears God, and serves him with all his house; whose honestly and good character, founded on this basis, are irreproachable; and from whose virtuous example, the most lively and constant motives will arise to a similarity of conduct.

Happy parents, who thus prudently and wisely chuse! Happy masters, who thus excellently, and conscientiously rule their families! Happy youths, committed to such faithful and worthy directors! Established in good principles, you will enter upon life with the best hopes; will become an ornament and a blessing to society, and meet the future reward of your

*good conduct in a kingdom of peace and
glory. Amen!*

Source: William Dodd, Sermons to Young
Men (London, 1771), Vol. 1, pp. 177-215.

CHRONOLOGY FOR FREEING RELIGION STORY LINE

1509-1547

Reign of Henry VIII.

1517

Martin Luther (1483-1546) posted his 95 theses on the door of the Catholic church in Wittenberg, Germany; generally considered the beginning of the Protestant Reformation.

1522

Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531), Swiss religious reformer, published *Archeteles* and *Sixty-seven Conclusions* advocating radical reforms in Catholic church practices.

1529-1536

Henry VIII, vexed at the refusal of Pope Clement VII to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragón, induced Parliament to enact a series of statutes denying the pope any power or jurisdiction over the Church of England. In 1534, the Act of Supremacy declared the monarch the head of Church of England. As head of the English church, though, Henry VIII made no drastic change in the Catholic faith and practices to which England was accustomed. His children, Edward and Elizabeth, however, had Protestant tutors.

1534

Luther completed translation of Bible into German.

1536

John Calvin (1509-1564) published *Institutes of the Christian Religion* after he broke ties with the Roman Catholic Church. The work thrust him to the fore as the leading thinker and spokesman of Protestant reform.

1541

John Knox (1505-1572) led Calvinist Reformation in Scotland.

1547-1553

Reign of Edward VI (son of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour). During Edward's short reign, Reformation in England reached its peak. Edward and the Protestant-leaning archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, moved the Church of England firmly into the Reformation camp as influence from the Continent (Calvin, Luther, and Zwingli) introduced true Protestantism in England.

1549

Archbishop Cranmer issued the first Book of Common Prayer. Worship in England was now in English (not Latin), a sure sign of Protestantism. This simplified equivalent of Roman Catholic liturgical books provided the formularies for Anglican worship including

Chronology

the services of morning and evening prayer and Holy communion, the sacraments (baptism, etc.), and visitation of the sick. A revised even more Protestant version of the Anglican prayer book appeared in 1552 in which many ceremonies were eliminated and vestments worn by clergy simplified. Parliament made use of the Book of Common Prayer compulsory.

1553-1558

Reign of Mary I (“Bloody Mary”, daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon). Like her Spanish mother, Mary I was a devout Catholic. Under an aggressive religious policy, she set about reversing the Protestant tide in England, suppressing the Book of Common Prayer and reintroducing Latin liturgy. She officially reconciled England to Rome and earned her nickname for her execution of more than 300 Protestants including Cranmer. A number of Protestant English bishops and other clergy fled to the Continent, where they came under the influence of Protestant leaders such as John Calvin in Geneva, among others.

1558-1603

Reign of Elizabeth I (daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn). An opponent of religious extremism, Elizabeth set about restoring moderate Anglicanism. The Book of Common Prayer was restored to use. The “Elizabethan settlement” was designed to include as many Protestants and Catholics under one church as possible. In general, the Church of England was regarded as Protestant, but it retained Catholic characteristics such as episcopal organization and elaborate ritual. Uncompromising Catholics were dissatisfied because the Church of England denied transubstantiation (Catholic view that elements of the Eucharist become the blood and body of Christ) and the authority of the Pope; extreme Protestants (Puritans) were also displeased and wished to “purify” the Anglican church still further from Romish influence, particularly in regard to vestments and ritual.

1560

Scottish Parliament abolished Roman Catholic Church.

1570

Jesuit Mission on Chesapeake Bay.

1592

Presbyterianism established in Scotland under James VI (later James I of England). Attempts to restore episcopacy by later Stuarts was not resolved until Act of Settlement (1690) and Act of Union of England and Scotland (1707).

1598

The Edict of Nantes guaranteed French Protestants (Huguenots) full civil rights in Catholic courts.

1603-1625

Chronology

Reign of James I in England (he had been James VI of Scotland since 1567). Religious extremists (Catholic and Protestant) were either quiet or in hiding during Elizabeth's reign and now both hoped for recognition from James I. It was not to be, for James made it clear that there was to be no fundamental change in the Elizabethan settlement, and that he regarded the monarchy and the Anglican church to be interdependent. One manifestation of the frustration of religious minorities in England was the Roman Catholic inspired Gunpowder Plot to blow up Parliament and James I on November 5, 1605 (unsuccessful).

1607

First colonists offered thanks for safe arrival in Virginia.

1611

King James version of Bible published.

1619

First Africans arrived in Virginia.

1620

Pilgrims arrived in New England. They were Separatists.

1624

William, son of Anthony and Isabella (two blacks from the 1619 group), baptized at Jamestown.

Anglican Church established in Virginia by act of assembly.

1625-1649

Reign of Charles I (son of James I). Charles' reign was dominated by his struggle with Parliament, culminating in the English Civil War. The conflict was complex but basic issues were constitutional (over the royal prerogative) and religious. The king opposed attempts of Puritans (see **Glossary**), strongly represented in Parliament, to purge the Anglican Church of what they considered its Roman Catholic tendencies. Tension heightened when Charles married a Roman Catholic. Charles and Archbishop Laud acted vigorously against the Puritans intending to maintain High Church established Anglicanism. An ill-advised attempt to impose the new Anglican prayer book and episcopacy on the Scots in the name of religious uniformity led to two wars between Charles and the Scottish Presbyterians. Charles' open breach with Parliament came to a head in 1642 when the two sides went to war. Charles was captured by the Scots in 1646 and later agreed with them to accept the Presbyterian religion in Scotland and to establish Presbyterianism in England within three years. After the defeat of Charles' Scottish supporters in 1648, the English army demanded his death. He was executed in 1649.

1629-1630

Chronology

Massachusetts Bay Company landed settlers in Boston. Puritan church members dominated the colony and its numerous towns even though they were in the minority. There were a few Puritans in Virginia. John Winthrop, English Puritan leader, founded Boston.

1636

Roger Williams established Providence, Rhode Island and proclaimed religious freedom.

Harvard College founded.

1648

George Fox (1624-1691) founded Society of Friends (Quakers) in England.

1649-1660

Period of republican government falling between the reigns of Charles I and Charles II (Interregnum). During the Commonwealth and Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, Presbyterianism was established and the Book of Common Prayer suppressed.

During Interregnum, according to terms, Virginia was able to continue to use the Church of England prayer book uninterrupted.

1650s

First Quakers arrived in Virginia.

1655

(September 2) William, son of "Negro Prosta" baptized in York County.

1660-1685

The monarchy was restored with Charles II on the throne. Parliament reestablished the position of the Anglican church following the Restoration through a series of measures known as the Clarendon Code that excluded non-Anglicans from municipal office, mandated that church services be conducted according to the Book of Common Prayer, and imposed penalties on those who refused to attend the Anglican church. As a result, a permanent breach between Anglicanism and non-conformity came into being. Charles II's marriage to the Catholic Catherine of Braganza raised fears of a Catholic succession to the throne. Charles himself died a Catholic.

1660

"Act for Suppressing Quakers" passed by Virginia General Assembly.

1661

Mary Chisman, wife of Edmond Chisman of Charles Parish, York County "and 2 or 3 Negroes belonging to [him] met with Quakers." The county court ordered Chisman to "see that his Negroes and family keep away from unlawful assemblies."

Chronology

1662

The English Book of Common Prayer revised.

1667

Act passed in Virginia guaranteeing slave owners that Baptism did not confer temporal freedom on slaves.

1671

George Fox (1624-1691), English founder of Quaker Movement, visited Quakers in Virginia.

1674

Isaac Watts, English cleric and hymn writer, born.

Bruton Parish formed from Marston and Middletown parishes.

1680

A goodly number of Presbyterians already in Norfolk and Princess Anne counties.

1682

William Penn founded Pennsylvania on the basis of religious toleration.

1683

First church for Bruton Parish built near site of present church was completed.

1685

Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes causing large numbers of Huguenots to flee France for Geneva, Amsterdam, London, and eventually the New World.

1685-1688

Reign of James II, brother of Charles II. James' marriage to a Catholic in 1673 (and his own conversion to Roman Catholicism in the same year) had intensified fears of a Catholic succession. In 1687, James' Declaration of Indulgence granted toleration to both Catholics and Protestant non-conformists. Protestant succession to the English throne seemed further in doubt with the birth of James II's son Charles Edward Stuart.

1688-1702

Glorious Revolution; invited by several prominent persons in England to lead an army to England, the Protestant William of Orange landed in November, and James II, deserted by most of his officers, fled to France. William III and Mary ascended throne, guaranteeing Protestant succession forever.

1689

Chronology

Act of Toleration in England allowed non-conformists (dissenters) from the Church of England their own preachers and places of worship under certain restrictions. Dissenters were excluded from public office and suffered other civil disabilities because of their religious non-conformity to the established Anglican church.

(December 15) James Blair (1655-1743) commissioned as Commissary of Bishop of London. Probably the commission was brought to Virginia by Nicholson in 1690 when he arrived as new Lt. Governor of Virginia.

1691

John Tilotson (1630-1694) appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.

1693

Increase Mather (1639-1723) *Cases of Conscience Concerning Evil Spirits* (credited with ending execution for witchcraft in Massachusetts).

College of William and Mary chartered; included Indian School (Brafferton). The Rev. Mr. James Blair named president of the College.

1695

John Locke, (1632-1704), *The Reasonableness of Christianity*.

1698

Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge founded by Dr. Thomas Bray (1658-1730).

1699

Act of Toleration of 1689 (England) is referred in a Virginia law of this date implying but not overtly stating that the English Toleration Act was in effect in the colony. The 1699 Virginia act required attendance at the parish church at least once in two months or face charges and a fine.

Williamsburg established as capital of Colony.

1700

General Baptist minister in Yorktown.

1700-1701

Huguenot refugees from France began arriving in Virginia; settled at Manakin Town. General Assembly formed King William Parish; their pastor had been ordained by the Bishop of London. A few families in Williamsburg; undoubtedly attended Bruton.

1701

Chronology

The Society For Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts founded by Dr. Thomas Bray in England.

Yale College founded in Connecticut (Congregational).

1707

Isaac Watts (1674-1748), *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*.

1710

Cotton Mather (1663-1728), *Essays To Do Good*.

1711

William Fleetwood, English bishop and reformer, delivered sermon to the SPG in London in which he accepted the full humanity of Africans, but argues that because slaves were necessary for "Trade," the idea of slave obedience and planter authority should be reinforced by the Church.

1715

Present Bruton Parish Church completed. General Assembly voted funds to assist vestry for the church was to be for Burgesses and the Governor as well as regular parishioners.

1717

Grand Lodge of Free Masons established in London.

1722

James Blair (1655-1743) published a collection of his sermons under the title *Our Savior's Divine Sermon on the Mount*.

1723

General Assembly passed an act declaring that "no meetings of negros, or other slaves, be allowed, on any pretence whatsoever" except that slaves belonging to one owner could meet with permission on the owner's lands but even then "not in the night, or on a Sunday." This law did not prohibit "any slaves repairing to and meeting at church to attend divine service, on the lord's day, or at any other time set apart by lawful authority, for public worship."

Brafferton Building erected at the College with funds from estate of Robert Boyle to house the Indian School founded about 1700.

1724

Associates of Dr. Bray founded.

Chronology

Bishop of London sent questionnaire to colonial clergy asking about conditions in the parishes.

Commissary James Blair, rector of Bruton Parish Church, responded to inquiries from the Bishop of London.

1729

John (1703-1791) and Charles (1702-1788) Wesley founded Methodist sect at Oxford.

Commissary James Blair wrote the Bishop of London: “And the Negroes themselves in our Neighbourhood are very desirous to become Christians.” Blair did not doubt that “some of the Negroes are sincere Converts” though a number only hoped “that they shall meet with so much the more respect” and that “Christianity will help them to their freedom.”

1730

Blair reported to the Bishop that “a very great number of Negroes lately instructed in the Church-catechism; at least the Lords prayer, the Apostles Creed and the ten Commandments, and baptized and great numbers of them frequent the Church. Some allege it makes them prouder, and inspires them with thoughts of freedom” but Blair felt that view was merely a “common prejudice among white people.”

1731

Suspected uprising of slaves in Virginia quelled. Leaders executed. Thought to be tied to persistent belief that Christian baptism would set them free.

1734

Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) began preaching series of stirring sermons: initiates Great Awakening in New England.

1736

William Tennent (1673-1746) (Presbyterian minister) established Log College at Neshaminy in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

1738

John and Charles Wesley initiated the Methodist reform movement within the Church of England.

1738-1740

George Whitefield (1714-1770), leader of the Great Awakening, traveled to America. College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania) founded (Non-affiliated).

Chronology

1739

(December 16) George Whitefield preached “What Think Ye of Christ” sermon at Bruton Church at the invitation of Commissary James Blair. See page 302.

1739-1797

Surviving sections of Bruton Parish Church Register record baptisms of many slave children and some adult slaves.

1740s-1750s

Great Awakening in Virginia peaks; evangelical denominations on the increase.

1743

James Blair died. Thomas Dawson became rector at Bruton Parish Church;

William Dawson named president of the College of William and Mary and Commissary to the Bishop of London.

1744

Act of General Assembly required attendance at parish church once a month. Law regarding attendance at service at church other than one’s own parish church.

1745

Gooch addressed grand jury regarding dissenters, calling them “false teachers that are lately crept into this government.”

1746

College of New Jersey (Princeton) founded (New Side Presbyterian).

Gooch issued proclamation requiring all “Magistrates, Sheriffs, Constables, and other His Majesty’s Liege People” to apprehend and bring to justice the “Romish Priests” lately come from Maryland to Fairfax County in Virginia.

1747

(April 3) Proclamation restraining itinerant preachers signed by Governor Gooch to “discourage and prohibit as far as they legally can all itinerant preachers whether New-Light men, Moravians, or Methodists, from teaching, preaching, or holding any meeting in this colony.”

1748

Chronology

Samuel Davies came to Hanover County. First permanent New Side Presbyterian minister in Virginia. Obtained license from colonial government in Williamsburg. Black and white people responded to his fervent preaching.

Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711-1787) organized first Lutheran synod in America.

1753

English Act of Parliament permitted naturalization of Jews.

1754

Synagogue built in Newport, Rhode Island.

1758

Slaves on William Byrd III's plantation on Bluestone River in Lunenburg County formed earliest black church in Virginia.

1760

Bray School for Black Children established in Williamsburg; Anne Wager teacher.

1762

The Rev. Mr. William Yates and Robert Carter Nicholas, local trustees of the Bray School, informed the Associates in England that "We can only say in general that at a late Visitation of the School we were pretty much pleased with the Scholars' Performances, as they rather exceeded our Expectation."

1763

Parson's Cause (Result of disallowance of Two Penny Acts of 1755 and 1758). Some of the parsons sued for damages sustained in lost salary during time the laws were actually in effect. In Hanover County, James Maury, plaintiff, against the collectors of the parish tax, defendants. Maury won. Jury to decide amount of damages some time later. Enter Patrick Henry (because attorney for defendants had retired after verdict). New jury selected, of whom some were dissenters. Henry invoked the "no tax without representation" concept and inveighed against established church to whom dissenters paid parish taxes while also supporting their own ministers privately. The jury awarded Maury only one penny in damages.

1764

Rhode Island College (Brown University) founded (Baptist).

1765

(June 17) Presbyterians granted permission to use house in Williamsburg owned by George Davenport as meeting house.

1766

Chronology

Queen's College (Rutgers) founded in New Jersey (Dutch Reformed).

1769

(May 8) Committee for Religion of the House of Burgesses established. Its responsibility was "to meet and adjourn from day to day [when General Assembly in session], and to take under their consideration all matters relating to Religion and Morality." Hardly had been formed when House asked it to draw up a Bill for "Exempting his Majesty's Protestant dissenters from the penalties of certain laws." The bill was never passed.

Bruton Parish Church tower added.

1771

Episcopacy debate in Virginia began.

First Separate Baptist Association formed in Virginia at meeting in Orange County.

1772

(August 22) Joseph Pilmore (1739-1825), methodist itinerant, preached in the playhouse on Saturday evening to a small "but serious congregation with much freedom." Preached again Sunday morning at 7:00 but had few people. Attended services afterwards at the church (Bruton Parish). Preached again Sunday evening but due to hot weather accepted the rector's invitation to preach in the State House Yard (Capitol) instead of the in the playhouse again as scheduled. Had a vast multitude of hearers who behaved very well.

1772-73

Bruton Parish controversy involving Samuel Henley.

1773

Silver Bluff Church for slaves founded in South Carolina.

Williamsburg Masonic Lodge obtained new charter (Lodge in Williamsburg at least as early as 1751).

1774

Anne Wager died; Bray school ceased operation.

(June 1) Day of Fasting, Humiliation, and Prayer to express unity with citizens of Boston when port closed.

1776

(June 12) Virginia Declaration of Rights/Constitution adopted by Virginia Convention, article sixteen guarantees "free exercise" of religion, but does not disestablish the Anglican church in Virginia.

Chronology

By tradition, date of the founding of the black Baptist church in Williamsburg. Moses followed by Gowan Pamphlet preached to the slaves.

First session (Fall) of new Virginia House of Delegates suspended tax support for Anglican Church.

1779

(June) Bill for Religious Freedom introduced among others revising the laws of Virginia.

1781

Earliest documentary date for founding of black Baptist church in Williamsburg appeared in John Asplund's *The Universal Register of the Baptist Denomination in North America*.

Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), *On the Civil Amelioration of the Condition of the Jews*.

1782

(December 11) Francis Asbury preached at Courthouse. Asbury returned to Williamsburg in 1783, 1787, 1790, and 1812. He preached outside to congregations that included whites, blacks, and children.

1784

Methodism became a separate denomination in America.

1785

Virginia Anglican Church formally became the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia.

1786

Statute for Religious Freedom adopted by General Assembly.

1789

Georgetown University founded in Maryland (Roman Catholic).

1790

First Roman Catholic bishop consecrated in America: John Carroll of Baltimore.

James Madison (1751-1836), President of the College of William and Mary, became Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Virginia.

1793

Chronology

(October 12) Black church under Gowen Pamphlet in Williamsburg admitted to Dover Association.

1818

First documentary reference to “Baptist Meeting House” on Nassau Street.

1828

Zion Baptist (white) of Williamsburg constituted about this date.

1831

“African Baptist” meeting house closed for at least part of the period from October 1831 to October 1832 due to the Nat Turner insurrection in August 1831.

1832

Zion Baptist Church accepted into Dover Association (75 members). Zion met in the Powder Magazine.

1856

(May 11) African Baptist (now First Baptist Church on Scotland Street) dedicated its new brick building on Nassau Street.

1857

(July) Zion Baptist (now Williamsburg Baptist Church on Richmond Road) dedicated its new building on Market Square.

1865

Black Baptist churches withdrew from white regional associations to form their own.

RELIGION IN THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

Generally speaking, colonists up and down the eastern seaboard in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were overwhelmingly Protestant. Small numbers of Catholics and Jews were tolerated in some colonies. The religious revivals we now call the Great Awakening that swept through the colonies from approximately 1731 to 1745 brought evangelical Christianity to colonial America. Red, white, and black peoples in each of the colonies accommodated or clashed with the various religious establishments and dissenting groups.

Connecticut was established in 1635 and 1636 when a number of transplanted Massachusetts congregations settled along the Connecticut River. By 1639 another group of Puritans established a separate colony at New Haven. In 1662 it was joined to Connecticut when that colony received its first royal charter. Congregationalism was established and Anglicanism was considered a dissenting sect.

Delaware was first settled by the Dutch and a small number of Swedes. It was captured by the British in 1664. In 1684 the Duke of York gave the area to William Penn. Delaware remained a part of Pennsylvania until 1701 when it was granted the right to choose its own assembly. However, it shared the same governor as Pennsylvania. Anglicanism was voluntary and on an equal footing with other denominations in Delaware.

Georgia was granted to a board of trustees by George II in 1732. It was both a philanthropic experiment and a military buffer against Spanish Florida. The first English settlers arrived in 1733. By that time a wave of non-English immigration to America was at a peak with German Lutherans, Scottish Presbyterians, Moravians, French Huguenots, and others making their way to the colony. Over forty Jews, the largest such group to enter any colony at one time, landed in Savannah in July 1733 and were allowed to remain. In 1752 the trustee's charter expired and the colony reverted to the Crown. At that time such a high proportion of dissenters resided in the province that establishment of the Church of England was resisted until 1758, when a mild establishment that generally tolerated all denominations except Roman Catholics was agreed upon.

The Church of England was the legally established church in the colonies from Maryland south to Georgia, though none was as strong as the Virginia church. Because **Maryland** in 1632 was given as a proprietary colony to Lord Baltimore, a Catholic, Maryland followed a policy of religious toleration that precluded an established church providing Catholics and Quakers (and a few Puritans) a safe haven until the late 1690s, but by 1724 the Church of England was the church of Maryland.

Puritans began full-scale settlement of **Massachusetts** in 1630 under a charter granted the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1629. Forced to surrender its original

trading company charter in 1684, Massachusetts was issued a new one in 1691 uniting it with Plymouth as the royal colony of Massachusetts Bay. Plymouth, also founded by the Puritans, had operated as a separate colony under a land patent granted in 1621. The Puritan movement arose in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a separatist revolt against the formalized worship of the Church of England. Congregational churches in Puritan colonies stressed each congregation's control of its own affairs with Jesus Christ alone at its head. Colonial Massachusetts enforced harsh penalties against Quakers. The Church of England was considered a dissenting religion in Massachusetts. The Congregational Church was the established church of Massachusetts.

Puritans from Massachusetts began settling **New Hampshire** during the 1620s and 1630s, and it became a separate colony in 1679 though it shared a governor with Massachusetts until 1741. The established church was Congregational and Anglicanism was considered a dissenting religion.

In 1660 the Dutch were the first to settle **New Jersey** permanently, but the English seized the area in 1664. Anglicanism was on an equal footing with other denominations.

New York was founded as New Amsterdam by the Dutch West Indies Company in 1624. It was captured by the English in 1664 and named New York in honor of its first proprietor, James, the Duke of York. At the end of the seventeenth century dissenters outnumbered Anglicans forty to one in the conquered colony. Relations between dissenters and churchmen were strained, and Anglicans succeeded in establishing their church in the most nominal sense only in three or four counties.

North Carolina was settled by planters from Virginia in the 1650s. A large grant encompassing both Carolinas was given by Charles II to eight proprietors in 1663. When South Carolina became a royal colony in 1719, North Carolina continued as a proprietary colony until 1729 when the proprietors surrendered their rights to the crown. Anglicans were prominent among the proprietors. On paper the proprietors established the Anglican church, but in practice they granted liberty of conscience to Baptists, Huguenots, Quakers, and Presbyterians who offered the likeliest prospects as settlers. Legislation to establish the Anglican church began in 1701, but the acts were not approved in England or were effectively resisted by the province's dissenters until 1765. The Anglican establishment in North Carolina was nominal at best for the Church of England and never did gain a firm settlement there.

The area that became **Pennsylvania** was given to William Penn as a proprietary colony in 1681. Begun as a Quaker commonwealth, Pennsylvania's religious life became diverse as Penn actively sought immigrants from other religious groups in England and Europe. Scots-Irish immigration to the American colonies began about 1716. Some emigrated to New England, but the majority headed for western

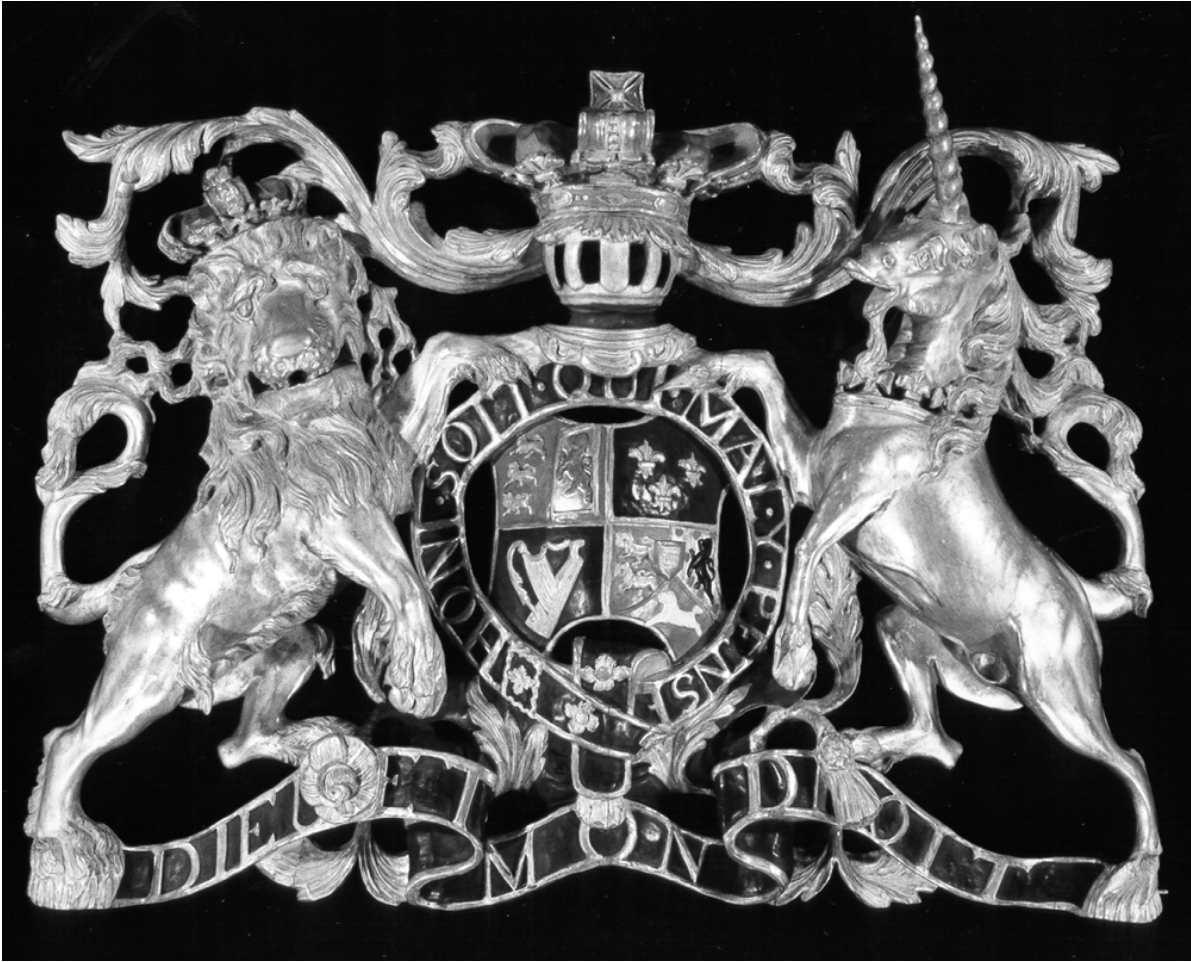
Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania was also the destination of many German settlers, including such religious sects as the Church of the Brethren (Dunkers), Mennonites, and Moravians. Anglicanism was voluntary and on an equal footing with other denominations in Pennsylvania.

Rhode Island was formed in 1640 by the confederation of the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation (established by Roger Williams in 1636), two dissident offshoots of Massachusetts. Williams, born in England and educated at Cambridge, and ordained an Anglican minister, gradually came to hold Puritan sympathies. To avoid persecution in England, Williams emigrated to Massachusetts where he soon challenged the Puritan system there. He called for separation of church and state and attacked the Bay Colony charter for violating Indian rights. Eventually Williams was found guilty of promulgating “new and dangerous opinions” and was banished. On land purchased from the Narragansett Indians, he established Providence, the first permanent English settlement in Rhode Island. He instituted a liberal political structure including complete religious freedom and separation of church and state. He welcomed all creeds into the colony including Jews and Quakers. Williams himself later became a Seeker, one who believed in Christianity but preferred no specific creed. Anglicanism was on an equal footing with other denominations.

South Carolina, established in 1663 as a proprietorship including North Carolina, was not actively settled until 1670. Around 1700 dissenter meetings outnumbered Anglican churches by three to one. In 1719 South Carolina became a royal colony, because local planters rebelled against the proprietors in favor of the crown. The Church of England was the established church in South Carolina, but the colony-wide establishment was not delineated by law until 1706, several decades after the colony was settled. By the 1730s Anglican ministers reported that they were winning many dissenters to the Church of England way.

The settlers at Jamestown, **Virginia** (1607) were Anglicans and the Church of England was the established church in the Virginia colony until after the Revolution. Even so, the religious life of Virginia colonists was not seamless for long. As the colonial period progressed, dissenting denominations gained a foothold in the Old Dominion. Puritans, Presbyterians, and Quakers were in evidence in the seventeenth century. The religious revival now known as the Great Awakening reached Virginia in the mid-eighteenth century after which evangelical Presbyterians, Baptists, and still later, Methodists, made considerable inroads in Virginia. Meanwhile, prominent members of the revolutionary generation were taking a more rationalist view of religion born of the Enlightenment and the Scientific Revolution. In fact, it was the efforts of all of these groups to eliminate the legal requirement that all Virginians attend Anglican parish churches and pay taxes to the established church that eventually made it possible for the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom (originally written by Thomas Jefferson) to become law in 1786. Provisions of this act are reflected in the federal Bill

of Rights (1791) in the first amendment: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."



Coat of Arms, Palace entry hall, Colonial Williamsburg

Religion-Related Objects in Colonial Williamsburg's Collections

As you plan your "Freeing Religion" interpretations, don't forget one of the Foundation's richest resources: the collections. Some of the objects are so familiar to you that you may take them for granted and miss an opportunity to focus the visitor's attention on their religious symbolism. Consider, for example, the royal coats of arms found in several of Williamsburg's public buildings. The Latin inscription *Dieu et mon droit* means that the monarch ruled "by God and [his] right," which speaks volumes about the eighteenth-century ideas about the unity of church and state. Similarly, the coins people carried in their pockets were inscribed *Dei Gratia*, (thanks be to God). Bruton Parish Church is the obvious architectural symbol of established religion in the community, but visitors may overlook the significance of its prominent location, midway between the

college and Capitol. The gravestones in the churchyard are another tool for interpreting eighteenth-century life.

Because the collections are always evolving, no list for this resource book could ever be complete. The following are search suggestions in broad categories, with some highlights listed below. There are several ways to learn about the objects:

- **Online via the Collections Management System**
- **Make an appointment with the registrar's staff to use the card catalog at Collections (ext. 7519) or AARFAC (ext. 7668).**
- **Explore the exhibits and study galleries at the DeWitt Wallace Gallery and AARFAC.**
- **Contact Bill Pittman in the Department of Archeological Research (ext. 7332) for access to the archaeological collections, or Ywone Edwards-Ingram (ext. 7328) for archaeological references to religious items, including African-American spiritual and ritualistic objects.**

Prints

No matter what search method you choose, an obvious place to start is the print collection. In Collections' card catalog, there is a huge section under ***Prints, religion***. This section includes scores of biblical illustrations, some of which the colonials hung on their walls, or would have known from books. Also in this section are scenes like *A Protestant Woman confined & exposed by the Papists on account of her Religion in the Cage on London Bridge* and *Keep within Compass and You Will Be Sure to Avoid All the Troubles Others Endure*, which further admonishes the viewer to "fear God." ***Prints, portraits*** and ***Prints, glass transfers, portraits*** include pictures of famous religious leaders like *The Reverend George Whitefield* and idealized portraits like *Miss Voss, in whom Devotion in such looks does Gracefull shine, and forces us to own her pow'r devine*.

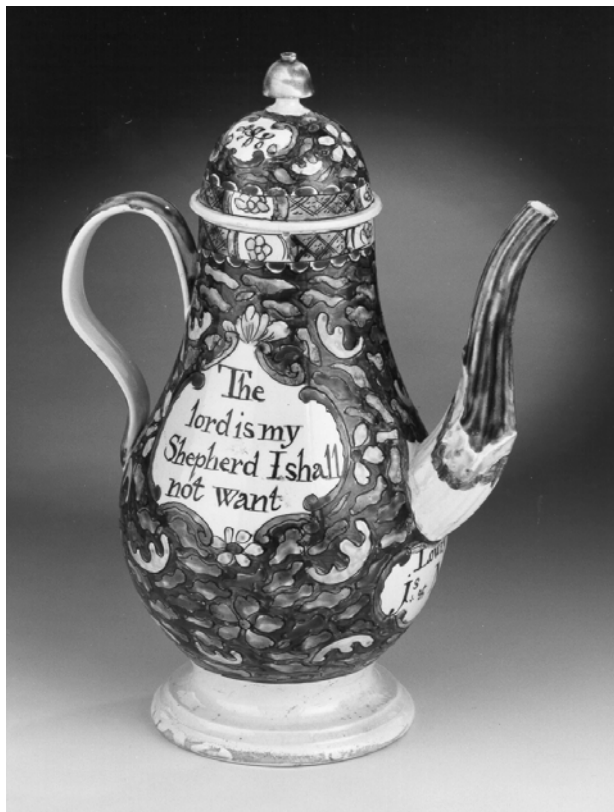
For satirical views on religion see ***Prints, Hogarth***, which includes his famous moralistic series like *The Rake's Progress*, *The Harlot's Progress*, and *The Industrious and Idle Apprentice*, as well as *The Sleeping Congregation*. Likewise, ***Prints, Macaronis*** offers interesting satirical views of various religious characters including: *A Pillar of the Church*, *The English Jesuit*, *Mastegeyv* (a divine), and *Aminadab* (a Quaker minister). ***Prints, Fancy, Household Life*** offers visual commentary on subjects such as *A Journeyman Parson with Bare Existence*, *The Welch Curate*, and *Children Reading the Inscription on their Mother's Grave Stone*.

Paintings

Painting, American, Portraits includes likenesses of the Founding Fathers who established religious freedom, currently displayed in the Joint Committee Room of the Capitol. Less obvious is the meaning behind Lord Botetourt's *Catholick Pictures*, which hang in the upper hall of the Palace. Equally enigmatic is *Bishop with a Wine Glass*, cataloged under **Paintings, British. Paintings, American, Portraits** contains a puzzling picture of an unidentified man, inscribed *Liberty in Christ and North America*. AARFAC has four of Edward Hicks's *Peaceable Kingdom* paintings, as well as many documents (*fraktur*) related to family histories and life passages, which contain religious verses and symbols. An excellent resource for studying paintings in the AARFAC collection is [American Folk Paintings](#), edited by Beatrix Rumford (1988). Chapter 6 is devoted to biblical subjects; chapter 7 discusses Edward Hicks's paintings.

Ceramics

The **Ceramics, Delft** section in the card catalog contains some of the best known objects in the collection, including chargers decorated with *Adam and Eve*, and *Jacob and the Angel*. There are also christening baskets and tiles with biblical scenes such as *Christ Carrying the Cross*, *The Crucifixion*, *Jacob and the Angel*, and *Susannah and the Elders*. In **Ceramics, Earthenware, creamware & pearlware** you'll find sets of plates decorated with scenes telling the story of *the prodigal son*, as well as a coffeepot inscribed on one side *the lord is my shepherd I shall not want*, and keep thy conversation as becometh the lord on the other. A similarly decorated teapot is inscribed *Let us, therefore, follow after the things which make for peace* on one side, with *Speak thou the things which become sound Doctrine* on the other. Under **Ceramics, Earthenware Figures** you'll discover a curious piece showing *The Vicar and Moses* together in a pulpit.



Metals

British and American church silver is the obvious find in **Silver**, where communion cups, patens, and salvers are cataloged. The church silver used at Jamestown, now owned by Bruton Parish Church, is cataloged there. Other communion wares are found in **Pewter**.

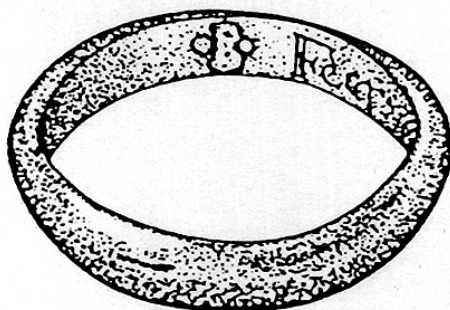
Textiles

In **Textiles, Needlework Pictures, Samplers, & Cushions** you'll find scenes inspired by biblical prints and verses, and a large collection of samplers. The samplers are especially rich in Bible verses. **Textiles, Needlework-Boxes, Baskets, Bookcovers** includes personal objects of devotion such as Psalm books, Prayer books, and bibles, many with biblical inscriptions and scenes stitched on their covers.

Miscellaneous Objects

There is even an **Enamel** plaque bearing the portrait of John Wesley in the collection. **Costume Accessories, jewelry** contains a paste cross pendant and many mourning brooches. A ring discovered by CW archaeologists behind Shields Tavern inscribed *Mary Broadnax / Fear God* is in the Department of Archaeological Research. Masonic symbols show up on glassware, textiles, metals, prints, and furniture, as in the famous Bucktrout chair. Superstition and mythology, interwoven with religion in eighteenth-century popular culture are also represented in the collections, cutting across all of the above categories. Look for fortune telling cards, *Fortune Teller* prints, ceramic *Bacchus* figures, and *Britannia* finials, to name a few.

☩ Fear: God; Mary Brodnax



FREEING RELIGION BIOGRAPHIES

MATTHEW ASHBY (b. by 1727 - 1771) local carter.

A free man of mixed race, Matthew was the son of Mary Ashby, a "white woman servant and brother of John Ashby (mulatto)."¹ As the child of a biracial union, Matthew was bound out by law until he was thirty-one years of age. He worked in and around Williamsburg as a carter and carpenter.² He also served as a messenger who carried diplomatic papers for Governor Botetourt to the western regions of Virginia.³

Matthew Ashby bought his enslaved wife Ann and their children, John and Mary, from Samuel Spurr for £150 in 1769. He then successfully petitioned the Council in 1769 that "he may be permitted to set her and his Children free" claiming that "she has been a faithful and diligent Wife ever since marriage, and praying that he may be permitted to set her and his Children free." The Council "were of the opinion, that the said Ann, John, and Mary were deserving of their freedom, and it was order'd that the said Matthew Ashby have leave to manumit and set them free."⁴

Matthew and Ann Ashby's daughter Mary, was baptized at Bruton Parish Church 24 Oct 176[5]. The entry describes Mary as "a free mulatto."⁵ As the slave of Samuel Spurr, John their son was listed as attending the Bray School in 1765 and 1769 and their daughter Mary was listed as attending in 1769 when she was four years old. John and Mary were taught the Church of England catechism and other subjects by Mrs. Wager.⁶

In the autumn of 1769 a runaway slave advertisement for Sam in the *Virginia Gazette* "forewarns all persons" that Sam "pretends to lay claim to freedom, and is now harbored at one Matthew Ashby's" suggesting that Ashby was in contact with the larger African-American community.⁷

On 15 April 1771, less than two years after freeing his wife and children, Matthew Ashby died. In his will signed with his mark, Ashby stated that "I resign my soul to God trusting in the merits & mediation of my dear Redeemer Jesus Christ for the pardon of all of my sins & as to my worldly goods which it has pleased God to bless me . . . [and requested that] "my good friend John Blair," former President of the Governor's Council, be his executor and see to the "maintenance & support of my loving wife Ann Ashby

¹York County Orders and Wills 17: 509 (hereafter all county records are York County, Virginia, unless otherwise noted).

²Wills and Inventories 22: 34-36, recorded 17 June 1771.

³Diane McGaan, "Official Letters of Norborne Baron de Botetourt," M.A. thesis, William and Mary.

⁴*Executive Journals of the Council*, vol. 7, pp. 334-335.

⁵Bruton Parish Church Register, 24 Oct 176[5]. The register lists her father Matthew rather than her master Samuel Spurr in the entry, which is most unusual since Mary was still a slave. At birth, a child took the status of his or her mother. Ann was enslaved in 1765 and not manumitted until 1769. It is impossible to determine whether Matthew Ashby initiated the baptism for religious reasons.

⁶John C. Van Horne, editor, *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717-1777* (Urbana, ca. 1985), pp. 242, 191.

⁷*The Virginia Gazette*, 27 Nov. 1769

& for her education and maintenance of my two children." John Blair had been president of the Governor's Council for many years and had also served as acting governor twice. Blair refused the executorship perhaps because of his advancing age or because he was hesitant to accept the responsibility.⁸

Ashby's estate was inventoried at a value of £80.18.06 and listed four horses and four cows, some furniture, and equipment for doing laundry and making candles. A teaboard, and silver watch, and a "parcel of old Books were also listed."⁹

Ashby's widow Anne was not a femme sole long for she had married George Jones by 30 January 1772. The *Virginia Gazette* on that date carried George Jones's notice that "my Wife Anne and myself cannot agree in the Management of our Affairs." Jones "forewarns all Persons from giving her Credit on my Account, as I will not pay any of her Contractions after the Date hereof. The Debtors to the Estate of Matthew Ashby, deceased, are desired to make speedy Payment, that I may be enable to pay the Creditors, who are desired to bring in their Accounts against the said Estate."¹⁰

The fate of Anne Ashby and her two children is unknown except we do know that they were free rather than enslaved persons after 1769 because of the actions of Matthew as husband and father. Through Matthew's brother John, the Ashby family survives in this area today.

FLEMING BATES (b. by 1720 - 1784) local Quaker, planter, and teacher.

The Bates family was well established in York County by 1720, when Fleming, the son of John and Susannah Bates and at least the third generation of his family in Virginia, was born.¹¹ Several court records identify Fleming Bates as "a Quaker," even though the documents do not involve religious matters per se.¹²

How formal a school Bates ran is uncertain, but estate papers from the York County records show that he was paid for teaching several orphan boys.¹³ We do not know where Fleming Bates received his own education; his name does not appear among the students at the Grammar School at William and Mary, which in any case was not likely to attract Quakers.

In 1759 the churchwardens of Bruton Parish bound out to Bates Mary and James Wallace, "Children of a free Negro who is not able to provide for them."¹⁴

⁸Wills and Inventories 22: 25-26, dated 25 November 1769, probated 15 April 1771. Note that the preamble to the will follows a standard form and may not have particular religious significance

⁹York County Wills and Inventories 22, pp. 34-36, recorded 17 June 1771.

¹⁰*Virginia Gazette*, 30 January 1772.

¹¹Fleming Bates's father died in late 1722 or early 1723, Deeds, Orders, Wills 16: 219-220. His grandfather was also named John and died in 1719, Land Causes: 48-58.

¹²Wills and Inventories 20: 85; Judgments and Orders 1: 147; *ibid.* 4: 150, *ibid.* 1768-1770: 442 and 459. The only county office Fleming Bates held was surveyor of highways between Williamsburg and Ashley's Ordinary, 1764-1777 (Judgments and Orders 4: 375).

¹³In July 1750 Bates was paid for teaching John and Robert Crawley, Wills and Inventories 20: 184-187; in December of that year he received £1.0.0 "for Schooling him [John Inscho, an orphan] a year," Guardian Accounts I: 121.

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Bates was a slave owner. He inherited Polly from his grandfather about 1719,¹⁵ and four others—Pender, Will, Betty, and Melly—are named in his will in 1784. The will is a fascinating document in which Bates gives each of the four freedom after his own death. The will reads in part:

First my Desire is that after the Decease of my Wife Sarah Bates my Negro Woman Pender may have her Freedom & Liberty without Molestation or hindrance from any Person whatever.

Item My Will is, that my Negro boy Will after the Death of my said Wife, be under the Care and direction of my Grandson Edward Bates until he [Will] attain to the age of twenty one years.

Item After the Decease of my Wife aforesaid I give the Care and Direction of my Negro girl Betty, to my Grand daughter Mary Bates, until she [Betty] shall attain to the age of eighteen Years.

Item I direct the Care and Management of my Negro Girl Melly to my Grand daughter Sarah Bates until she [Melly] attain to the age of eighteen, and my Desire is, that Will, Betty and Melly after arriving respectively to the Ages aforesaid be set free and at perfect Liberty.¹⁶

While today we may think of Quakers as anti-slavery and even abolitionists, those beliefs did not become defining characteristics until the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century, many Quakers owned slaves, as their founder George Fox had expected they would. Fox directed his followers to educate their slaves in letters, numbers, and religion and to "let them go free after a considerable term of years" with some payment for their labor.¹⁷ Bates appears to be following Fox's instructions (although he may have been driven by other motives), and yet the slaves named in his will had to wait for a milestone birthday and/or the death of their mistress to get their freedom.

ISAAC BEE (1755 or 1756 - after 1786), slave belonging to President John Blair and later to Lewis Burwell of Mecklenburg County; and student at the Bray School.*

Isaac was the son of a free black man, John Insco (also known as John Insco Bee), and an enslaved woman who also belonged to John Blair. Isaac was nine or ten years old when his name appeared on the list of students at the Bray School in November 1765. He received instruction in the Bible, reading, writing, and proper behavior from Mrs. Wager. Isaac's sister, Clara, attended the Bray School in February 1769. It is possible that Isaac and Clara had a second teacher, their father. John Insco had been taught by Fleming Bates, a Quaker, in 1750.¹⁸

Isaac became the property of Lewis Burwell, son of Armistead and Christian Burwell, after the death of Burwell's grandfather, John Blair, in 1771. Lewis Burwell was a resident of Mecklenburg County in the Piedmont region of Virginia by April 1771. The move to Mecklenburg disrupted Isaac's family and

¹⁴Judgments and Orders 3: 16. At the same time Bates was guardian of two other orphan boys, Richard and Robert Wade (Judgments and Orders 3: 78 and 178), but whether he educated them too is not known.

¹⁵Land Causes: 48-58.

¹⁶Wills and Inventories 23: 44.

¹⁷George Fox, *Gospel Family Order*, 1676, cited in Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion. The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1978), p. 110.

*We are grateful to Julie Richter for writing Bee's biography.

¹⁸See biography of Fleming Bates.

friendship ties. The desire to see kin and friends may have led Isaac to run away in the summer of 1774. Burwell placed an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette* in September of that year:

RUN away from the Subscriber, about two Months ago, a likely Mulatto Lad named ISAAC BEE, formerly the property of the late President Blair, and is well known about Williamsburg, where I am informed he has been several TIMES seen since his Elopement. He is between eighteen and nineteen Years of Age, low of Stature, and thinks he has a Right to his Freedom, because his Father was a Freeman, and I suppose he will endeavour to pass for one. He can read, but I do not know that he can write; however, he may easily get some one to forge a Pass for him. I cannot undertake to describe his apparel, as he has a Variety, and it is probably he may have changed them.¹⁹

Isaac might have used a skill that he acquired at the Bray School—reading—to help pass as a free man after he ran from Burwell's plantation. Perhaps conversations with his father, a free man of color who had been exposed to Quaker ideas, influenced Isaac's belief that he had a right to his freedom. Lewis Burwell, however, recovered Isaac and returned him to his land in Mecklenburg County. Isaac appeared on the 1782, 1783, 1784, and 1785 personal property tax lists in that county. The tax lists indicate that Isaac had a family in Mecklenburg: it is likely that John Bee (born in 1778) was his son. Unfortunately, no enslaved woman on the list had the surname of Bee. Isaac's name was not on the 1786 list, an indication that he had died, had been sold, or had been moved to a Burwell property in another county.²⁰

COMMISSARY JAMES BLAIR (1655 - April 1743), Anglican clergyman, Commissary of the Bishop of London in Virginia, member of the Governor's Council, and founder and first president of the College of William and Mary.

James Blair was born in Scotland, educated at the University of Edinburgh, ordained in the Church of England, and served as rector of Cranston Parish in Scotland. Due to the disfavor of the Church of England in Scotland, Blair went to London where he worked in the Office of the Master of the Rolls. There he became acquainted with Dr. Henry Compton, Bishop of London, who persuaded Blair to go to Virginia as a missionary.

He reached Virginia in 1685 and became the rector of Varina Parish in Henrico County. In 1687 he married Sarah Harrison, daughter of Colonel Benjamin Harrison who was a member of the governor's Council. In December 1689, the Bishop of London appointed Blair his commissary in Virginia giving him the authority to supervise the clergy, but not the power of ordination or confirmation.

Blair in 1690 proposed to the clergy that a college be established in Virginia to stimulate the spiritual life of Virginians and to provide clerical training. In May 1691 Blair was selected by the General Assembly to return to England and present a memorial to King William and Queen Mary proposing the idea. Henry Compton, Bishop of London, and John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, enthusiastically supported Blair's proposal. While waiting for approval, Blair successfully solicited funds for the college including money from the estate of Robert Boyle (d. 1691, English chemist). On 8 February 1693 the charter was granted and Blair was named as the first president "during his natural life."²¹

¹⁹*Virginia Gazette*, PD8S74:32.

²⁰Mecklenburg County Personal Property Tax Lists, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786 and 1794. Library of Virginia.

²¹Charter of the College of William and Mary. Excerpts from the Charter are in the Dissent and Enlightenment section of the resource book.

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Upon his return to Virginia in the spring of 1694, he was appointed to the governor's Council. Both governors Andros and Nicholson frustrated Blair's ambitions for the college and for the office of commissary. Blair managed to have them recalled (Andros in 1697 and Nicholson in 1703). Blair also contributed to the removal of Governor Alexander Spotswood in 1722. In addition to being president of the College (1693 - 1743) and a member of the Council (1694 - 1743), Blair was also rector of Bruton Parish (1710 - 1743).

By 1729 Blair, with his determined and independent character, had succeeded in guaranteeing the continuance of the college by "overcoming the determined opposition of two governors, the indifference of some of the prominent and wealthy of the colony, and the supreme misfortune of a disastrous fire in 1705 which destroyed the main building."²² The College incorporated a Grammar School, the Schools of Moral and Natural Philosophy, the Divinity School, and the Indian School. Reference pp. 233.

Commissary Blair and the Virginia Assembly were successful in establishing new parishes for the Church of England in all Virginia counties during his tenure; there were 35 church buildings in 1680 and 61 in 1724, many of which were brick with proper furnishings. But Blair was not able to consolidate the ecclesiastical authority of the Church of England in Virginia. He was not a bishop himself with the authority to confirm parishioners or ordain priests, and Virginia did not have ecclesiastical courts. The parish vestries and ministers therefore usurped much of his power.²³

As a parish priest, Blair emphasized religious education for young parishioners and encouraged the catechizing and baptizing of slaves.²⁴ Though he probably would have thought twice about doing so later, Blair gave his parishioners a taste of revivalism, when he invited The Rev. Mr. George Whitefield to preach at Bruton in December 1739 early in the great evangelist's preaching tour of the eastern seaboard.²⁵ During his lifetime Blair wrote *The Present State of Virginia and the College* with Henry Hartwell and Edward Chilton in 1697 and his sermons *Upon Our Savior's Divine Sermon on the Mount* in 1722. Blair died childless in 1743, leaving his estate of about £10,000 to John Blair and £500 and his library to the College of William and Mary.

NORBORNE BERKELEY, BARON DE BOTETOURT (December 1717 - 15 October 1770) Member of Parliament, Virginia governor, and arbiter of taste.

While a Member of Parliament for Gloucester, Berkeley supported a 1753 law that allowed Jewish residents of England to be naturalized. He was created Lord Botetourt in 1764 by the revival of a long-extinct title. He was befriended by Lord Bute, Lord Hillsborough, and George III. Apparently Botetourt inherited an ample fortune, though it was greatly diminished by his investments in a Warmley Copper Works that went bankrupt in 1768. Because of Botetourt's admirable connections, when Sir Jeffrey Amherst was dismissed as Virginia's governor, Botetourt received the appointment.

²²*Dictionary of American Biography*, p. 336.

²³Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 99-100.

²⁴William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (reprint, New York, 1969), pp. 257-260.

²⁵See Whitefield, p. 218, 302.

Botetourt sailed for Virginia, the first governor-in-chief to live in the colony for more than sixty years.²⁶ His noble rank, agreeable temper in both social and political realms, and his fashionable life style all endeared him to Virginians of every station. The detailed inventory of the Palace taken after his death is a document of supreme interest and importance to all students of eighteenth-century material culture.

As the King's representative in the colony, Botetourt was the head of Virginia's established church, a position that seemed to sit well with him. The governor was assiduous in his devotions, attending services at the College Chapel almost every day.

Unquestionably a pious man, Botetourt (while a young man still in England) fathered a child out of wedlock. Producing a "natural son" and acknowledging him publicly was not unusual for a person of Botetourt's time and class. Such acknowledgment suggests that the child's mother was a woman of much lower rank with whom marriage was unthinkable but for whom there was real affection.

In the fall of 1770, Governor Botetourt was taken with a severe fever and died in on 15 October 1770, ending an administration distinguished by tact, piety, and brevity. The governor was beloved by his household; William Marshman wrote just after his lordship's death "I never knew him guilty of a Vice, but had daily and hourly proofs of his Humanity and Benevolence to all Mankind."²⁷ After a state funeral of exceptional ceremony and display, Lord Botetourt was buried at the College Chapel in which he had so often worshipped.²⁸ In honor of this popular governor, grateful colonists erected a handsome marble statue, originally placed in the colonnade of the Capitol (afterward moved to the College yard and currently protected inside Swem Library at the College).

REVEREND JOHN BRACKEN (1745 - 15 July 1818) rector of Bruton Parish, grammar master, professor, and ninth president of the College of William and Mary.

Little is known of Bracken's early life except that he was born in England and was licensed for Amelia County by the Bishop of London in 1772. He didn't stay long in Amelia County, if indeed he went there at all, for in June 1773 he was elected rector of Bruton Parish after the death of Josiah Johnson.²⁹ His ministry began with a major distraction: Samuel Henley, Robert Carter Nicholas, and Bracken were embroiled in a paper war over eligibility for the rectorship and theological arguments. These published disputes appeared in the Williamsburg press for more than a year. **Reference page 164.** One reader begged the editors "to get your Bruton Parish Disputants, if they intend appearing again in the Gazette, to make Use of Hebrew, or some Language that we common Folks don't understand." Naturally, with such letters to the editor the story was soon dropped.³⁰

²⁶*Hornbook of Virginia History* (Richmond, 1983), 3rd ed., pp. 75-76.

²⁷William Marshman to his brother, 8 November 1770, personal collection of His Grace the Duke of Beaufort; microfilm at John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

²⁸The best description of Botetourt's funeral is in Graham Hood, *The Governor's Palace in Williamsburg. A Cultural Study* (Williamsburg, 1991), pp. 12-20.

²⁹Rutherford Goodwin, "The Reverend John Bracken (1745-1818)," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Vol. X, No. 4 (December 1941), pp. 354-389.

³⁰Biographies of Henley and Nicholas also appear here. See also both editions of Virginia Gazette for 1773 and 1774. A readily available summary of Bracken's career appears in Mary R. M. Goodwin, "The President's House and the Presidents of the College of William and Mary, 1732-1975," unpublished research report, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, pp. 136-137.

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Bracken chose to remain in Williamsburg during the Revolution, married into the local gentry, and became master of the Grammar School—perhaps on a temporary basis—in late 1775 when Thomas Gwatkin returned to England. In April 1777 Bracken was appointed "grammar master and professor of humanity" but was removed by the board of visitors on 4 December 1779. Bracken sued the College for £553 of lost salary. He lost the suit, appealed, and lost again. Edmund Randolph, attorney for the College, wrote that if Bracken had "no right to the office . . . he could have no right to the salary."³¹

In September 1776 Bracken married Sally Burwell, daughter of Carter Burwell of Carter's Grove. The *Gazette* published a romantic (if gushing) poem on that happy occasion.³² The Brackens had three children: John born in 1779, Julia Carter born in 1781, and Sarah born in 1785.³³

Bracken received a Doctor of Divinity degree from the College in 1793. Upon Bishop Madison's death, Bracken was elected both bishop of Virginia and president of the College (the latter with no professorship). Of course, the Revolution and the elimination of the professorship of divinity had severed the College's official relationship with the Episcopal/Anglican Church but did not wholly wipe out its heritage; consequently prominent clerics continued to fill the office of president of the College. Bracken served the College as president until October 1814, having been asked by the visitors to resign. In May 1813 Bracken also resigned as bishop-elect, apparently willingly and because of his advanced age and ill health. He died on 15 July 1818 and was buried in the family graveyard at Carter's Grove.³⁴

WILLIAM BYRD II (28 March 1674 - 26 August 1744) planter, burgess, councilor, receiver-general, Virginia's agent in London, diarist, explorer, and *bon vivant*.

Byrd was the son of William Byrd I and Mary Filmer, the widow of Samuel Filmer and daughter of Warham Horsmanden. Byrd II spent much of his youth in England, where he attended Felsted Grammar School and later studied law at the Middle Temple. Byrd II came to stay in Virginia only in 1705, after his father's death. The next year he married Lucy Parke, daughter of Daniel Parke. In 1715 Byrd traveled to London, partly to settle the estate of his father-in-law and partly to convey to English authorities the Virginia Council's differences with Alexander Spotswood. Lucy joined her husband in London and died there of smallpox in 1716, leaving him with two daughters, Evelyn and Wilhelmina (two sons had died as infants). In 1724, Byrd married again. Maria Taylor was a young Englishwoman willing to relocate to Virginia, but hardly the very rich heiress he had hoped to find. In January 1726 the newlyweds and Byrd's two daughters sailed for Virginia. In 1728 William III was born; two more daughters arrived thereafter. In 1737 Byrd's eldest child, Evelyn died, never having married.

Byrd served a short time as a burgess in the Virginia Assembly, several terms as Virginia's agent in London, for nearly forty years he was a member of the governor's Council, and as receiver-general from 1706 to 1716. Byrd was involved in a long and acrimonious dispute with Lieutenant-Governor Spotswood who too late recognized the impossibility of forcing upon Virginians practices and measures they opposed. This controversy lasted until the governor was dismissed.

Byrd's literary pursuits were numerous and of great importance to him. As both diarist and author, he certainly deserves an illustrious reputation. His *History of the Dividing Line* and the journal

³¹Rutherford Goodwin, "Rev. John Bracken," pp. 376-383.

³²*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Purdie, 13 September 1776.

³³Bruton Parish Register, cited in Goodwin, "Rev. John Bracken."

³⁴Mary Goodwin, "President's House," pp. 143-145.

published as *A Progress to the Mines* contain charming passages as well as excellent eyewitness reports of eighteenth-century life and manners. Byrd was a member of the Royal Society and truly a lifelong student. Both the size of his library and daily diary entries attest to his constant application to books—and those in several modern and ancient languages!³⁵

Byrd's three diaries, including that for his naughty London years, show his mindfulness of ethical behavior. He recorded his attendance at church, wrote convincingly of the remorse he felt over his worst failings, vowed to mend his ways, kept track of his private devotions and prayers with family and slaves, and he also noted when he neglected to pray. (Byrd's diaries are credible evidence of his piety because all were written in shorthand and never intended for others to read, much less for publication.) The routine conclusion to his diary entries is an earnest "thanks be to God" for health and good fortune. Byrd's scholarly and literary pursuits also encompassed religious materials—study of the Bible, especially the psalms, and he frequently read published sermons.

Byrd's religion sustained him during tragedies. When his infant son Parke died on 3 June 1710, Byrd wrote in his diary, "My wife was much afflicted but I submitted to his judgment better, notwithstanding I was very sensible of my loss, but God's will be done." Only two days later he commented that "My wife continued very melancholy, notwithstanding I comforted her as well as I could." Again on 22 June 1710, he wrote "My wife was still disconsolate" after not quite three weeks. To the modern reader such entries seem insensitive or even brutal to the grieving mother, while Byrd himself comes off as barely affected by the loss of the child. He simply handled his grief differently, it would appear, by submitting to the will of God.

The diaries clearly indicate that Byrd and his associates frequently engaged in serious conversations and correspondence about theology and religious practices. Such an interest and background knowledge were "standard equipment" for an educated person of the eighteenth century. Here are just a few examples:

1 May 1709: "In the evening we talked about religion and my wife and her sister had a fierce dispute about the infallibility of the Bible. I neglected to say my prayers."

15 December 1710: "In the afternoon I went with the two colonels [Hill and Eppes] to the church to hear the people sing Psalms and there the singing master gave me two books, one for me and one for my wife."

16 December 1710: "In the afternoon my wife and I had a quarrel about learning to sing Psalms, in which she was wholly in the wrong, even in the opinion of Mrs. Dunn who was witness of it."

A single day's record cannot convey the full content and range of a work so varied and rich as William Byrd's diary, but the following approaches a "typical" entry:

28 January 1711: "I said my prayers and ate boiled milk for breakfast. . . . I read some English about the nature of spirit. It rained small rain almost all day. My sick people were better, thank God. I exercised my memory with getting things by heart. I thought a great deal about religion. I ate nothing but sallet for dinner. In the afternoon I rogered my wife on the couch. Then I took a little nap. . . . I said my prayers devoutly and had good thoughts, good humor, and good health, thank God Almighty."³⁶

³⁵Biographical information given here comes from both the diaries themselves and from Marion Tinling, ed., *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia, 1684-1776*, 2 vols. (Charlottesville, 1977), 1st vol., passim.

³⁶All diary entries are quoted from Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds., *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of*

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ROBERT CARTER III (1728 - 1804) great land and slave holder, member of the Governor's Council, and participant in Virginia's religious transformation.

Robert Carter III was the son of Robert of Nomini and grandson of Robert "King" Carter. His father died when he was four years old and his uncles John, Landon, and Charles Carter acted as his guardians. His mother's second husband was Colonel John Lewis of Warner Hall in Gloucester County. Robert III went to the Grammar School at the College of William and Mary when he was nine years old. When Robert Carter III reached his majority he became the master of 70,000 acres of land and many slaves. He then went to London for two years where he was admitted to the Inner Temple for the study of law and enjoyed the metropolitan life of London. John Page thought his cousin "inconceivably illiterate, and almost corrupted and vicious" when he returned to Virginia in 1751.³⁷

Carter lived at Nomini Hall, Westmoreland County, where he began to manage his vast agricultural and commercial holdings. He improved his education by amassing an impressive library and reading history, law, and philosophy as he continued to do for the rest of his life. In 1754 he married Frances Anne Tasker (1738-1787) who was ten years younger than he. Her father had been a member of the Maryland Council for 32 years. Robert and Frances Carter had seventeen children of whom ten were living at the time of her death.

Robert Carter stood for election to the House of Burgesses twice but was not elected by the freeholders of his county. He was appointed a vestryman and served as warden of Cople Parish. In 1758, when Carter was 30 years old, he was appointed to the Virginia Council where he served until 1772 under governors Dinwiddie, Fauquier, Botetourt, and Dunmore. Louis Morton in *Robert Carter of Nomini Hall* argued that "Carter's birthright had made him eligible for the nomination; his marriage provided the necessary influence in England, and his large estate made him an outstanding candidate for membership in a group that represented wealth and tradition."³⁸

In March 1761, Carter moved his large family to Williamsburg next to the Governor's Palace where they lived for the next ten years. There he took part in the critical political discussions and decisions pertaining to the role of British authority in Virginia before the Revolution. During this period he also "conversed a great deal with our highly enlightened Governor Fauquier, and Mr. William Small, the Professor of Mathematics at the College of William and Mary, from whom he derived great advantages."³⁹ These same cultivated gentlemen exposed the young Thomas Jefferson to Enlightenment ideals and rational religion.

In 1772 Carter returned to private life at Nomini Hall. There he managed his scattered lands and some 350 slaves. He later took economic advantage of the war by supplying the troops with food and tons of iron needed for munitions. He was continuously diversifying his holdings and developing further his industrial base at the Baltimore Ironworks and with the manufacturing of textiles and flour.

Westover, 1709-1712 (Richmond, 1941), passim and under the dates given here with each quotation.

³⁷Louis Morton, *Robert Carter of Nomini Hall*, (Charlottesville, 1941), reprinted 1964, p. 35.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 43-44.

³⁹*Virginia Historical Register*, III., pp. 146-147, cited in Morton, p. 35.

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After he left Williamsburg in 1772, he asserted that "a new system of politicks in british north america [had begun] to prevail generally."⁴⁰ Louis Morton states that "at no stage in the developments leading to the Revolution does he seem to have expressed definitely his opinion on the relations between the Mother Country and the colony."⁴¹ He did support the non-importation agreements drawn up by the First Continental Congress, but he did not volunteer for political or military service during the Revolution.⁴²

Carter's religious life, however, changed dramatically. His religious odyssey was first marked by his withdrawal from the established church in 1776. He then became an adherent of rational religion, which caused him to doubt the divinity of Christ and to assert that God was not directly involved in earthly matters. Later he reversed himself, as further reading convinced him that Jesus was divine and that the Bible was the inspired word of God. He became a very active Baptist in 1778, and Nomini Hall became a center for itinerant Baptist preachers. Carter also allowed his slaves to attend Baptist meetings held near Nomini Hall.⁴³

In 1788 he began to question the Baptist faith, and he turned to the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg (died in 1772) who was both a scientist and a religious mystic who advocated complete freedom of choice for his followers and stressed the close relationship between the spiritual and material worlds.⁴⁴ Swedenborg's adherents formed the Church of the New Jerusalem.

Perhaps among the most revolutionary actions this grandson of Robert "King" Carter and one of the largest of the Virginian slave holders was his plan gradually to manumit and thereby free all of his more than 500 slaves. In this, the Enlightenment and Great Awakening undoubtedly influenced him. In 1788 he wrote Elder John Rippon of London, "Let us unite in prayer to correct this error [slavery]," adding that "for tolerating slavery indicates great depravity of mind."⁴⁵ He may also have been persuaded to this action for economic reason.

After providing for the liberation of his slaves and turning over the management of his plantations to others, Robert Carter left Nomini Hall in 1793 (six years after the death of his wife) for Baltimore, Maryland. He had moved there to be with members of his family, as well as to be among people of his own faith—Baltimore was the location of the first New Church Society in America.⁴⁶ He died at age 76 in 1804.

⁴⁰Morton, p. 52.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 53.

⁴²When Lord Dunmore, after issuing his Proclamation offering freedom for slaves sailed into the Potomac, Carter called his slaves together and persuaded them that their fate with Dunmore would not be certain. Apparently none of them deserted until 1781 when 30 were picked up at Cole's Point by a British privateer. See Morton, p. 56

⁴³Morton, p. 240.

⁴⁴Shomer Zwelling, "Robert Carter's Journey: For Colonial Patriarch to New Nation Mystic," *American Quarterly*, vol. 38 (1986), p. 629.

⁴⁵27 August 1788, Letter Book, 1787-1789, p. 180. See also Morton, pp. 251-269.

⁴⁶Morton, p. 247, 270.

LEWIS CRAIG (17 January 1738 - 25 December 1831), Baptist itinerant preacher in Virginia.

Of Scottish ancestry, Lewis Craig was born in Spotsylvania County, Virginia. He came from a farming family, and as far as we know, had little formal education. By the time Craig was twenty years old, he had a reputation in Spotsylvania as an angry, violent, rebellious youth.

Craig did an about face in 1767, after Baptist preacher James Read befriended him. Read worked hard to tempt Craig away from his wicked ways. He succeeded, and Craig was baptized on April 14, 1767 at the age of twenty-nine. Thereafter, Craig turned his fiery nature to evangelism, preaching throughout Spotsylvania County.⁴⁷

Within weeks, Craig was arrested for "preaching the gospel contrary to the law."⁴⁸ That is, Craig refused to get the required license from the General Court in Williamsburg. One of the grand jurors who heard the case was John Waller, a relative of Benjamin Waller of Williamsburg. Jurors knew of Craig's former reputation and were stunned to hear these words from Craig: "While I was wicked and injurious, you took no notice of me, but since I have altered my course of life, and endeavored to reform my neighbors, you concern yourselves about me." Not long after, Waller himself converted to the Baptist faith and began preaching.⁴⁹

In 1768, Craig and Waller continued itinerant preaching without licenses, much to the alarm of local officials and Anglican clergy. They along with three other preachers were arrested on a charge of disturbing the peace, while conducting a worship service on 4 June 1768. Still in jail a month later because they refused to agree to stop preaching, Craig and the others attracted large crowds as they preached from the jail windows. Many people were converted during the preachers' time in prison, while mobs supportive of the established church tried to drive the crowds away.⁵⁰

The imprisoned preachers petitioned the Spotsylvania court for release. When the justices denied the petition, Lewis Craig offered to carry it to Williamsburg to the General Court. Discharged on his own recognizance, Craig was released by the Spotsylvania justices into the custody of Benjamin Waller of Williamsburg. In July 1768, Waller and Craig met with John Blair, President of the Council and acting governor (Governor Fauquier had died in March). Impressed by Craig's steadfastness and moral conviction, Blair sent Craig back home with a letter addressed to the king's attorney in Spotsylvania. Blair called for the release of the imprisoned preachers so long as they agreed to apply for licensed houses of worship. Blair expressed admiration for the Baptists and acknowledged that they proved themselves more successful than the established clergy at reforming sinners. He was wary, however, of the Baptists' willingness to break man's law in the service of God. The Spotsylvania authorities released Craig and the others. It was not long before "Waller, Craig and their compeers in the ministry resumed their labors with redoubled vigor, gathering fortitude from their sufferings; thanking God that they were counted worthy to suffer for Christ and his Gospel."⁵¹

⁴⁷Garnett Ryland, *The Baptists of Virginia, 1699-1926* (Richmond, 1955), p. 45.

⁴⁸*Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography* (1915), pp. 306-307.

⁴⁹Ryland, p. 60. John Waller himself was no saint. Known as "Swearing Jack Waller," he, too, became a Baptist preacher.

⁵⁰Reuben Edward Alley, *A History of Baptists in Virginia* (Richmond, ca. 1973], p. 44.

⁵¹Ryland, pp. 61-3; Alley, pp. 44-46.

After the Revolution, Craig moved to Kentucky and became a well-known preacher there. He died in 1831.⁵²

REVEREND SAMUEL DAVIES (3 November 1723 - 4 February 1761) Presbyterian minister, evangelist, and president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton).

Davies was born in New Castle, Delaware and educated at Samuel Blair's famous school at Fagg's Manor in Pennsylvania. His education at Fagg's Manor was paid for with funds given to evangelist William Robinson by the people of Hanover County, Virginia in appreciation for a preaching tour he made of several Virginia counties. Davies was first licensed to preach by the Presbytery of New Castle on July 30, 1746 and then ordained as an evangelist on February 19, 1747 and sent to Virginia on evangelical service. He married his first wife Sarah Kirkpatrick in 1746; she died within the year.⁵³

Davies's initial foray into Virginia came in 1747, when he accepted a mission to Hanover County, which was described as a place "where profaneness and immorality called out for his sacred labours." Because of his delicate health and inexperience, Davies was reluctant to accept the mission, but eventually did so. The people of Hanover were so impressed with the young man, that they requested of the New Castle Presbytery that Davies be returned to Hanover as their permanent minister.⁵⁴

Davies returned to Virginia permanently in 1748. At that time, dissenters were not trusted and itinerant preachers were suspect. Davies wisely "followed the rules" for dissenters by going first to Williamsburg to obtain the required license from the General Court. By doing so, he made a favorable impression on Governor Gooch and other officials. Davies succeeded in establishing a strong Presbyterian following in Virginia, though he once said that converting the population to Presbyterianism was not his primary mission. He was more interested in reviving people's spiritual commitment through repentance and renewal. A visitor to Hanover observed that "when I go amongst Mr. Davies people, religion seems to flourish; it is like the suburbs of Heaven." Davies regularly preached at several different meeting houses in five counties, and he traveled to many parts of Virginia to preach by invitation.⁵⁵

Davies was probably a familiar figure in Williamsburg. Not only did he marry Jane Holt, the daughter of William Holt of Williamsburg on 4 October 1748, he struck up a close friendship with his wife's brother, John Holt of Williamsburg. Davies regularly published poems in the *Virginia Gazette*. Jane's mother made frequent visits to the Davies household in Hanover. The couple had six children.⁵⁶

Davies was known in Williamsburg for other reasons, as well. He had twice received licenses to preach from the General Court (first in 1747 and again in 1748). In 1750, Davies was again before the governor and his councilors because he wished to register several additional meeting houses. Attorney General Peyton Randolph had previously denied that the English Act of Toleration had any force in Virginia. Now Davies countered that if that were so, neither did the Act of Uniformity, which would mean

⁵²*Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography* (1915), pp. 306-307; the date of Craig's death is variously reported. Semple said "about A. D. 1824 in the eighty-seventh year of his age." Robert Semple, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia* (Richmond, 1894), p. 472.

⁵³George William Pilcher, *Apostle of Dissent in Colonial Virginia* (Knoxville, 1971), pp. 7-9, 13.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 15-16.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 56, 86, 120, 160.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 34-38.

all non-Anglicans were free to worship as they pleased! Davies emerged from his encounter with the formidable Randolph as respected spokesman for dissenters. The application of the toleration act would not seriously be questioned again. Thereafter, the crux of the matter was the interpretation of the act in Virginia—Davies continued to press the issue of registering multiple meeting houses to a single minister.⁵⁷

In 1753 Samuel Davies and Gilbert Tennent were commissioned to go to Britain to raise funds for the College of New Jersey. They raised over £3,000 and Davies delivered some sixty sermons in England and Scotland which were widely distributed. When he returned to Virginia in 1755, the colony was on alert in anticipation of impending war with France. At first regarded with suspicion, dissenters proved themselves loyal to the crown during the French and Indian War. Davies himself gave rousing enlistment sermons that helped mollify official displeasure over his efforts to win greater toleration for non-Anglicans.⁵⁸

While in Virginia, Davies became well-acquainted with and sympathetic to the plight of African-Americans. He wanted to improve conditions within slavery, but he never advocated ending slavery itself. Davies purchased hymnbooks and religious texts for slaves, and they were often in his house where their singing carried Davies away.⁵⁹

After the deaths of President Burr of the College of New Jersey and his successor Jonathan Edwards, Samuel Davies was named the new president. After some soul-searching, he opted to leave Virginia and take that office in July 1759. He died less than two years later on 4 February 1761 from pneumonia at the age of 37.

He was remembered as a great pulpit orator and vanguard of the Great Awakening in Virginia. His sermons continued to be widely read. **Reference p. 323.**

REVEREND THOMAS DAWSON (April 1715 - 29 November 1760) professor then president of the College of William and Mary and the Bishop of London's Commissary in Virginia.

Younger brother of William Dawson, who was president of William and Mary from 1743 to 1752, Thomas Dawson joined his brother in Williamsburg in 1735. The Dawsons were sons of William Dawson of Aspatria, Cumberland, England. Thomas had completed grammar school—and probably some additional study—by the time he came to the College, where he studied in the Philosophy School under his brother and Joshua Fry. After serving briefly as usher in the Grammar School (1737-38), Thomas Dawson became Master of the Indian School in June 1738. Two years later he went to London for ordination.⁶⁰

By July 1741 Dawson was back at the College and at his post as master of the Indian School. William Dawson became President and Commissary at James Blair's death, and 28-year-old Thomas

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 120-134.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 137-138, 156, 164-170.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁶⁰William Dawson to Bishop of London, 2 June 1740, Fulham Palace Papers, 13, No. 123; CWF microfilm M-285; also William and Mary Faculty Minutes, 1729-1784, pp. 16, 20; and John Blair to Bishop Sherlock, 25 July 1752, Fulham Palace Papers, 13, No. 180, CWF microfilm M-285. The best overview of the two Dawsons' careers in Virginia is in Mary R. M. Goodwin, "The President's House and the Presidents of the College of William and Mary, 1732-1975," research report, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, pp. 21-35 and 45-61. For a more detailed discussion of them see Daniel Mack Hockman, "The Dawson Brothers and the Virginia Commissariat, 1743-1760," Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1975.

succeeded him as minister of Bruton Parish in 1743.⁶¹ Reverend Dawson established a close relationship with Governor Gooch and his family, a friendship that lasted the rest of Dawson's life despite the Gooch family's return to England in 1749. They corresponded regularly and with great intimacy, both Sir William and Lady Gooch offering more than once to find Thomas a good living in England, offers he regularly but politely refused.⁶²

Reverend Thomas Dawson, much applauded for his ministry at Bruton Parish and quite popular due to his "sweet engaging Temper," became commissary to the Bishop of London in 1752 upon his brother's death.⁶³ The following May he took his seat on the governor's Council.⁶⁴ Dawson's eight years as Commissary were complicated with various sticky situations: the French and Indian War was disturbing white settlers and native Americans alike; dissenting teachers and preachers were disturbing the established church; and the first of the "two-penny acts," allowing clergymen to be paid with money rather than tobacco, was disturbing the clergy. Dawson was named among the original local administrators of the Bray School, an appointment he held only briefly.⁶⁵

When William Stith died in September 1755, Commissary Dawson was elected president of the College. While he was president of that institution there were several "power plays" going on between the faculty and the board of visitors, during which the visitors, all laymen at this period, attempted to dismiss several clergy who were professors and masters. Replacements, including Jacob Rowe and Goronwy Owen, arrived from England, and problems at the College only increased. President Dawson was accused of "habitual Drunkenness," to which he confessed. Governor Fauquier apologized for Dawson, saying the president had been "teazed by a contrariety of opinions" between himself and the clergy "into the loss of his Spirits, and it was no wonder that he should apply for consolation to spirituuous Liquors." The board of visitors pardoned him.⁶⁶

Rev. Dawson married Priscilla Bassett on 12 September 1751. They had four children: William, Thomas, Francis, and Rebecca. Their only daughter was named for Lady Gooch and at her baptism was sponsored by Governor and Mrs. Dinwiddie.⁶⁷

Thomas Dawson died at the President's House in Williamsburg on 29 November 1760. Overall, his career must be considered a mixture of success and failure, despite its auspicious beginning and his early popularity. In the words of the obituary, Dawson's

⁶¹W. A. R. Goodwin, *The Record of Bruton Parish Church* (Richmond, 1941), p. 139.

⁶²Dawson Papers, 1728-1784, Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division; CWF microfilm M-22-3.

⁶³Thomas Dawson's appointment as Commissary was announced in the *Virginia Gazette* on 24 November 1752. In a close vote, William Stith was chosen as College president over Thomas Dawson. The Dawson family's affairs were very complicated at this time: William Dawson died suddenly in July 1752, leaving a wife of only ten days, two children by his previous marriage, and their widowed sister with four children who had recently arrived in town. William's widow was Thomas's mother-in-law.

⁶⁴*Executive Journals of the Council*, Vol. V, p. 423.

⁶⁵Van Horne, p. 146.

⁶⁶William Robinson to Bishop Terrick of London, 12 August 1765, p. 37, Fulham Palace Papers, 14, No. 28, CWF microfilm M-286.

⁶⁷All four children's names appear in a chancery suit brought after Priscilla Dawson's death in March 1775; see Dawson Papers, p. 231. For daughter Rebecca's namesake and godparents, see *ibid.*, pp. 186, 196-197.

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Virtues rendered him beloved . . . and if it is possible that these great Qualifications could be carried to an Excess, that may be said to be the fundamental Error of his Life. Yet this amiable Disposition, this noble Life of truly Christian Talents, could not be secure from the Attacks of Enemies, for, it is much feared, he fell a Victim to the repeated Marks of Ingratitude and Malice, which he, unhappy Man!, too frequently experienced, in his Passage through this his State of Probation.⁶⁸

SIR WILLIAM GOOCH (21 October 1681 - 17 December 1751), officer in the British Army and lieutenant-governor of Virginia.

Gooch was born in Yarmouth, England, the son of Thomas and Frances (née Lone) Gooch. At an early age he entered the British Army and served with distinction under Marlborough at the Battle of Blenheim. He married Rebecca Staunton of Hampton, Middlesex.

On 8 September 1727 Sir William Gooch assumed his position as the lieutenant governor of Virginia. In his "Instructions from the Crown" for his governance of Virginia promoting the Anglican religion in the colony was central. Gooch was instructed to "permit a Liberty of Conscience to all persons (except Papists) so they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving Offence or Scandal to the Government." In addition, he was urged to "take especial care that God Almighty be devoutly & duly Serv'd throughout your Government; The Book of Common Prayer as by Law Established, read each Sunday & Holiday, and the blessed Sacrament Administered according to the rites of the Church of England."⁶⁹

The instructions also emphasized the careful ordering of churches and the clergy. They encouraged Gooch to remove any member of the clergy involved in scandalous behavior. Gooch was also instructed to prohibit any schoolmasters not approved by the Bishop of London or licensed by the governor to "keep" school.

Gooch as governor defended the colonists against the Board of Trade on several occasions and signed the Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730 into law. In 1740 Gooch raised four hundred men to assist British troops on their attack on Cartagena, New Grenada (now Colombia). Gooch assumed command of the troops after the death of Alexander Spotswood and was later wounded himself. In defense of Virginians living on the frontier, Gooch negotiated with the Indians of the Six Nations in the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744.

In matters of religion, Gooch reported regularly to the Bishop of London. He urged the Virginia Assembly to pass legislation for the promotion of morality and religion. Gooch was careful about whom he recommended for ordination. His brother Thomas was the Bishop of Ely with whom he carried on a regular correspondence from Virginia.

⁶⁸*Maryland Gazette*, 15 January 1761, quoting *Virginia Gazette*, which does not survive for this period. Thomas Dawson was probably buried in Bruton Parish Churchyard, but no grave is marked with his name.

⁶⁹"Governor's Instructions," PRO CO 5/1365; CWF microfilm M-230, S/ R. 834, pp. 385-433.

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In 1738 Governor Gooch assured Scots-Irish Presbyterians of toleration,⁷⁰ but he was suspicious of itinerant dissenting preachers, whom he described as "false teachers . . . who, without order or license, or producing any testimonial of their education or sect . . . lead the innocent and ignorant people into all kinds of delusion."⁷¹ He was prepared to paint the young Presbyterian Samuel Davies with the same brush. But when Davies came to Williamsburg in the spring of 1747, his demeanor and willingness to apply for the required license to preach led the governor to describe him as "tall, slim, well-formed . . . pale and wasted by disease, dignified and courteous in manner."⁷²

In 1746 Gooch became a baronet, and the next year he was promoted major-general in the British Army. In 1749, due to declining health, Gooch resigned as governor and returned to England where he later died in Bath. As Governor, Gooch was highly esteemed for his abilities and moderation. The Speaker of the House in 1736 addressed Governor Gooch by saying: "You have not been intoxicated with the Power committed to You by His Majesty; but have used It, like a faithful Trustee, for the Public Good, and with proper Cautions. . . . You never propose Matters, without supposing Your Opinion subject to the Examination of Others, nor strove to make other Mens Reason blindly and implicitly obedient to Yours."⁷³ In her will his wife Lady Gooch left the College of William and Mary a large folio Bible and a gilt sacrament cup.

REVEREND SAMUEL HENLEY (23 November 1744 - 29 December 1815), professor of moral philosophy at the College from 1770 to 1775, acting rector of Bruton Parish, Loyalist, member of Society of Antiquaries, and man of letters.

Samuel Henley was the son of Samuel and Elizabeth (née Venning) Henley of Abbots Kerswell in Devonshire, England, a family of strong Dissenters.⁷⁴ Samuel the younger attended Caleb Ashworth's Dissenting academy at Daventry in Northamptonshire and then Cambridge University.

Ordained by the Bishop of London in 1770, Henley sailed for Virginia to take up his post as professor of moral philosophy at the College. During his five years in Williamsburg, Henley made many friends and even more enemies. He was controversial and vociferous, rushing his opinions into print as both letters in newspapers and in pamphlet form. Given his background, it is not at all surprising that Henley was a liberal, even unorthodox clergyman, and that—plus his arrogance!—was the root of his difficulties in Virginia.

Twice the rectorship of Bruton Parish came vacant, and both times Henley was denied the post. Despite backing from some of the vestry, Henley had run up against colony treasurer and powerful vestryman Robert Carter Nicholas, who had grave doubts about Henley's orthodoxy. Specifically, the cleric was said to be a diest and to deny the Trinity and therefore the divinity of Jesus. Ann Nicholas and her sister were called before the vestry to relate what they had heard Henley say about his beliefs. By

⁷⁰Rhys Issac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790*, New York, 1982, p. 151.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁷²Pilcher, *Samuel Davies*, p. 34.

⁷³*Dictionary of American Biography*, p. 374.

⁷⁴Samuel and Elizabeth had their firstborn baptized twice on the same day, 28 December 1744—once at their home parish church, St. Mary the Virgin, and again at Salem Chapel in nearby Newton Abbot. Much of the information used in this biography comes from original research in England by B. J. Pryor and printed in *The Colonial Williamsburg Interpreter*, vol. 16, no. 3 (August 1995). A short sketch of Henley also appears in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 25, p. 420.

conventional Anglican standards, Henley's opinions were certainly suspect. The wiser approach would have been to remain silent, but this Henley could not do. **Reference pp. 164, 307.** Because of these controversies and also because of political differences between England and the colonies, Henley left Virginia in 1775.

Back home, Henley held a series of teaching posts (initially at Harrow School) and curacies over the next forty years. In 1780 he married Susan Figgins, the daughter of Thomas Figgins, Esq., of Chippenham, in Wiltshire. The couple had at least three children, Emily, William, and Cuthbert, all of whom are buried with him at St. Gregory's Church, Rendlesham, England.⁷⁵



St. Gregory's Church, Rendlesham.

The Rev. Mr. Henley became a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, edited travel writings, translated a French romance called "Vathek," wrote some poetry, and published several magazine articles. In 1805 Henley was appointed principal of the new East India College at Hertford, a position he held until his resignation in January 1815, less than a year before he died.⁷⁶

MARGARET HORNSBY (1704 - 2 February 1770) Williamsburg housewife and devout Anglican.

The wife of Thomas Hornsby, a successful local merchant, Margaret Hornsby was notable for her piety. The memoir of her nephew, Henry Fry, gives much more information about her than surviving legal records—in fact, her name appears only once in York County records and that reference is not very informative. It merely tells us that she and her husband were among Thomas Crease's legatees in 1756.⁷⁷

In contrast, the Fry memoir tells us about her religiosity, as he put it, her diligence in "laying up treasure above—this was her one design, (though not negligent of her domestic concerns)."⁷⁸ She hoped to carry this important message to others, but not very successfully; to her nephew, at least, she had only one line of communication. "How frequently have I heard her lament the inattention and neglect of others in preparing to meet God. She conceived if she made a better appearance it might have more influence and prevail with some to seek the better country—and from this motive dressed in rich though not gaudy apparel, but to her mortification, found her subject but little more regarded in her fine than common clothing."⁷⁹

Thomas Hornsby, immigrant from Lincolnshire, kept his attention on temporal matters and was a very successful merchant. Again in the words of Henry Fry, who assisted in Hornsby's store between 1752 and 1761, "wealth poured in, and the more it increased, the more capacious appeared his desires

St. Gregory's Church, Rendlesham

⁷⁵Personal communication by a parishioner of

⁷⁶Most of the data on Henley's later career comes from the *DNB* sketch cited above.

⁷⁷Will of Thomas Crease, Wills and Inventories 20: 414, dated 26 February 1756; probated 17 January 1757. Crease left the Hornsbys three slaves and £200 Virginia currency.

⁷⁸Rev. Henry Fry's autobiography in *Memoir of Col. Joshua Fry*, Richmond, 1880, p. 84.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 85.

and assiduity to business, so that my hands were fully employed from morning till night."⁸⁰ Still, his aunt's influence may have worked on Fry, since he became a minister.

In 1765 Mrs. Hornsby chose several religious works from the Williamsburg Printing Office, including *Companion for the Penitent*, *Scougel's Life of God*, and *Mrs. Rowe's Devotions*.⁸¹

Mrs. Hornsby died on 2 February 1770. Despite Fry's gentle suggestion that Williamsburg residents regarded his aunt's religious conversation with some bemusement, her contemporaries held her in high esteem, as her obituary stated that "all the principle inhabitants of this city" attended her funeral. Hornsby's gravestone is in Bruton Parish Churchyard.⁸² **Reference pp. 269, 276.**

REVEREND JAMES HORROCKS (c. 1734 - 20 March 1772), commissary of the Bishop of London, president of the College of William and Mary, rector of Bruton Parish Church, and member of the Virginia Council.

Horrocks was born in Wakefield, Yorkshire, England. He graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1753 with a B.A. degree and in 1758 with an M.A. degree. In 1757 he was made an usher in the Wakefield School. He was licensed to preach in Virginia in 1761 and in the following year he became master of the Grammar School of the College of William and Mary.

Horrocks was chosen president of the College of William and Mary in 1764. The appointment was criticized because Mr. Richard Graham, who had taught at the College for twenty years, was passed over in favor of Horrocks. Though he loudly disapproved of the two-penny act, Horrocks swore to uphold it when he accepted the presidency. In this, he was accused by Commissary Robinson of obtaining "a profitable and honourable Post by favour granted to compliance."⁸³

Richard Bland wrote in 1771 that Horrocks had been a "tolerable Pedagogue in the Grammar School of our College . . . but unfortunately, for his Reputation, as well as for the College, he was removed from the only Place he had abilities to Fill, to be President of the College. This laid the Foundation, for his other Exaltations; and by a Sycophantic Behaviour, he had accumulated upon him, the rectorship of Bruton Parish, the office of Bishop's Commissary, of a Councillor, of a judge of General Court, and of Ordinary of Newgate."⁸⁴

In 1765 Horrocks married Frances Everard of Williamsburg, who was thirteen years younger than he. Frances's father Thomas Everard owned considerable property near Williamsburg and was the clerk of the York County Court.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 84.

⁸¹Virginia Gazette Journals, Alderman Library, University of Virginia; photostatic copy at the John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; also in the Social History Database.

⁸²*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Rind, 1 March 1770; *Bruton Parish Churchyard: A Guide with Map* (Williamsburg: Bruton Parish Church, 1976), p. 14. Her death date also appears in the Bruton Parish Register under the date 2 February 1770.

⁸³12 August 1765, Commissary Robinson to Bishop of London, cited in Perry, p. 518.

⁸⁴1771, Richard Bland to Thomas Adams, cited in J. E. Murpurg, *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge* (Williamsburg, 1976), p. 166.

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In 1771 Horrocks advocated the establishment of a bishop for the colonies, which created a furor in Virginia. He called a conference of all 120 clergymen in Virginia to consider his proposal; only eleven clergymen attended, and four of them opposed the plan. The controversy was played out in the press, but in July of 1771 the House of Burgesses voted unanimously to condemn the idea of an American episcopate. Some Virginians suspected that Horrocks had ambitions to fill that post himself. Shortly after the episcopate crisis, Horrocks and his wife left Virginia for England to recover his ill health. Horrocks died at Oporto, Portugal, early in the next year.

THOMAS JEFFERSON (April 1743 - 4 July 1826) third President of the United States, author of the Declaration of Independence and the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, scientist, architect, diplomat, and founder of the University of Virginia.

Jefferson was born at Shadwell in Albemarle County, Virginia to Peter Jefferson, surveyor, landowner, mapmaker, and vestryman, and Jane Jefferson (née Randolph). He was the third of ten children. From the late 1740s until 1752, he was privately tutored with his sister and cousins in the one-room schoolhouse at Tuckahoe Plantation. In 1752, he attended the Latin School of the Reverend William Douglas. From 1758 to 1760, he studied under the Reverend James Maury.

From 1760 to 1762 Jefferson attended the College of William and Mary. He studied under Dr. William Small, an exemplar of Enlightenment learning. Jefferson later wrote that "It was my great good fortune, and what probably fixed the destinies of my life that Dr. Wm. Small of Scotland was then professor of Mathematics, a man profound in most of the useful branches of science, with a happy talent of communication, correct and gentlemanly manners, & an enlarged & liberal mind. . . . He returned to Europe in 1762, having previously filled up the measure of his goodness to me, by procuring for me, from his most intimate friend G. Wythe, a reception as a student of law, under his direction, and introduced me to the acquaintance and familiar table of Governor Fauquier, the ablest man who ever filled that office."⁸⁵ It is interesting to consider the conversations Fauquier, Wythe, Small, and Jefferson had as they applied Enlightenment thought to contemporary questions such as religion and slavery.

Jefferson studied law under George Wythe in Williamsburg from 1762 to 1765. He then became a practicing attorney arguing cases before Virginia's General Court from 1767 to 1774.⁸⁶

Jefferson was born an Anglican and served as a lifelong vestryman in his home parish. An avowed rationalist, as befitted a student of William Small, Jefferson was considered by some a Deist, but he continued to call himself a Christian.⁸⁷ In matters of religion "Some time after 1764, perhaps, he began to apply historical tests to the Bible, lost faith in conventional religion, though without questioning conventional morality, and for inspiration turned to the great classical writers."⁸⁸ Late in life, Jefferson described the teachings of Jesus as a "system of morality [that] was the most benevolent and sublime . . . ever taught, and consequently more perfect than those of any of the ancient philosophers."⁸⁹ Jefferson

⁸⁵Thomas Jefferson, *Autobiography*, The Library of America, p.4.

⁸⁶Frank L. Dewey, *Thomas Jefferson, Lawyer*, Charlottesville, 1986, pp. 9-17.

⁸⁷According to Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), a "Deist" was "a man who follows no particular religion, but only acknowledges the existence of God without any other article of faith."

⁸⁸Edited by Dumas Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, p.18.

⁸⁸The Jefferson Bible. *The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth*, Boston, 1989, p. 5.

⁸⁹ The Jefferson Bible. *The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth*, Boston, 1989, p. 5.

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affirmed that the world was a moral universe. He stated that true religion consisted "in a constant disposition of mind to do all the good we can, and thereby render ourselves acceptable to God in answering the end of our creation"⁹⁰

After he reached his majority, Jefferson managed some 10,000 acres and between 100 and 200 slaves. He married the widow Martha Skelton (née Wayles) on 1 January 1772, and the young couple began their married life at Monticello. Their marriage lasted ten years until Martha's death in 1782 from complications of childbirth. They had six children of whom only two daughters reached adulthood. Jefferson was grief-stricken at the loss of his dear "Patsy" and never remarried.

On 8 May 1769, Jefferson took his seat in the General Assembly as a newly elected burgess from Albemarle County. Jefferson in his *Autobiography* stated that he "made one effort in that body for the permission of the emancipation of slaves, which was rejected; and indeed, during the regal government, nothing liberal could expect success. Our Minds were circumscribed within narrow limits by an habitual belief that it was our duty to be subordinate to the mother country in all matters of government, to direct all our labors in subservience to her interests, and even to observe a bigoted intolerance for all religions but hers."⁹¹

Jefferson's pen produced two documents of great importance to the emerging United States. In August 1774 Jefferson, a delegate to the First Convention of Delegates in Williamsburg, wrote his proposed instructions for Virginia's delegates to the First Continental Congress. The document was not approved but was published later under the title *A Summary Review of the Rights of British America*. In the document Jefferson appealed to George III for redress of the colonists' grievances, arguing that their "natural" rights as freeborn Englishmen had been violated.⁹² From August through December 1775 and again in May 1776 Jefferson attended the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. On 11 June 1776, Jefferson was appointed to a committee to draft a declaration of independence, and he became its primary author. The document Jefferson wrote was a supreme statement of the natural rights of man "as derived from the laws of nature" within the state of society.

Jefferson represented Albemarle in Virginia's new House of Delegates from 1776 until 1779, when he was elected governor. As governor and a member of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary, Jefferson had a hand in abolishing the Grammar and Divinity schools.⁹³ After independence was declared, Thomas Jefferson, George Wythe, and Edmund Pendleton were appointed to work on a general revision of the laws for the Commonwealth. As part of this revision, Jefferson's bill for establishing religious freedom was introduced on 4 June 1779 in the General Assembly in Williamsburg, but it was tabled until after the Revolution.

The core of Jefferson's argument for religious freedom and the complete separation of church and state read: "We the General Assembly of Virginia do enact that no man shall be compelled to

⁹⁰Edwin S. Gustad, *Sworn on the Altar of God: A Religious Biography of Thomas Jefferson*, p. 24.

⁹¹Thomas Jefferson, *Autobiography*, p. 5, reprinted in Thomas Jefferson. *Writings*, New York: Library of America, 1984.

⁹²*A Summary Review of the Rights of British America*, reprinted in *Ibid.*, pp. 103-122.

⁹³When Jefferson founded the University of Virginia he did not include a divinity school. Robert Polk Thomson, "The Reform of the College of William and Mary, 1763-1780," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 115, no. 3 (June 1971), p. 211-213.

frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities."⁹⁴ Some Virginians, like Patrick Henry, were reluctant to sever all ties between church and state, but a coalition of dissenters and forces identified with Jefferson and Madison won passage of the bill, which went into effect on 16 January 1786. Jefferson himself was in Paris as minister to France, but James Madison maneuvered the bill through the Assembly.

Jefferson's Statute for Religious Freedom celebrates the freedom of man's mind and is a powerful statement of ideas inspired by such Enlightenment thinkers as John Locke (in his "Letter Concerning Toleration," for instance) carried to their logical conclusion. In a letter Jefferson wrote to George Wythe in 1786, reacting to the passage of the statute, he stated that "Our act for freedom of religion is extremely applauded. The ambassadors & ministers of the several nations of Europe resident at this court have asked of me copies of it to send to their sovereigns, and it is inserted at full length in several books now in the press . . . I think it will produce considerable good even in these countries where ignorance, superstition, poverty, & oppression of body & mind in every form, are so firmly settled on the mass of the people, that their redemption from them can never be hoped."⁹⁵ At his death, Jefferson wished to be remembered only as the author of the Declaration of Independence and the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom and as the father of the University of Virginia.

WALTER LENOX (b. by 1738 - d. by 1784) Williamsburg barber, peruke maker, and boardinghouse keeper.

Lenox and his wife Elizabeth had at least four children. Lenox frequently served as a juror, witness, and an appraiser of estates for the York County Court. He advertised several times in the *Virginia Gazette* between 1766 and 1773 concerning his trade as peruke-maker and boardinghouse keeper, while exhorting people to pay their debts. On one occasion, he advertised for a journeyman and warned the community not to harbor his runaway apprentice.⁹⁶ From 1759 to 1776 he appeared as a defendant in debt cases over fifty times for amounts up to £116 and more than ten times as a plaintiff in debt cases. Usually, these suits went against him. On 20 September 1762 and 21 August 1775, Lenox was presented by the York County grand jury for not listing tithables in Bruton Parish.⁹⁷

Walter Lenox apparently hired slaves for work on his property. On 28 May 1763 Cuffy, "a negro slave belonging to the Rev'd James Fox of the county of Gloucester" was tried at the York County Court House for "intending to poison murder and destroy" members of the Walter Lenox household, including Lenox, his wife, seven others, and a "negro slave named Sally belonging to the estate of Carter Burwell gent. deceased."⁹⁸ On 7 March 1771 the *Virginia Gazette* named Walter Lenox's hired slave as the wife of the outlawed runaway Gaby.⁹⁹

⁹⁴Thomas Jefferson, Virginia Statue for Religious Freedom, quoted in Jefferson. Writings, pp. 346-348.

⁹⁵Jefferson from Paris to George Wythe, 13 August 1786, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 858-859.

⁹⁶Virginia Gazette, 4 December 1766, 24 March 1768, 13 October 1768, 3 August 1769, and 12 August 1773.

⁹⁷York County Project Master Biographical File, Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

⁹⁸Judgments and Orders 3, pp. 504-505, 28 May 1763.

⁹⁹Virginia Gazette, 7 March 1771.

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There is evidence that Walter Lenox was a practicing Presbyterian. On 17 June 1765, he and sixteen others signed a petition stating that

we intend to make use of a House in the City of Williamsburg Situate on part of a Lott belonging to Mr. George Davenport as a place for the Public Worship of God according to the Practice of Protestant Dissenters of the Presbyterian denomination which we desire may be registered in the Records of the Court and this Certification we make according to the direction of an Act of Parliament commonly called the Act of Toleration. P.S. As we are not able to obtain a Settled Minister we intend this Place at present only for occasional Worship when we have opportunity to hear any legally qualified minister."¹⁰⁰

Five years later, on 21 May 1770, Lenox was presented by the grand jury for not attending Bruton Parish Church, but the case was later dismissed—we know not why—except “for reasons appearing to the court.”¹⁰¹

PRESIDENT JAMES MADISON (16 March 1751 - 28 June 1836), fourth President of the United States and "father of the U. S. Constitution."

The oldest child of James and Eleanor (née Rose) Madison of Orange County, James Madison was educated in Virginia until he entered the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) in 1769. He received his B.A. degree on 7 October 1771 and continued his studies another year under college president Witherspoon, concentrating on Hebrew and ethics. At home afterward, Madison instructed his younger siblings, worried about his health, and suffered a severe bout of melancholia. Not long after his return to Virginia, Madison was deeply disturbed by the imprisonment of half a dozen men for merely proclaiming their religious opinions. He wrote in early 1774, “pity me, and pray for liberty of conscience to all.”¹⁰² The combination of political and religious controversies roused him from this depression. America's struggles with England and local strife over religious toleration became his saving graces.

In letters to a friend in Philadelphia he contrasted the religious freedom of Pennsylvania with its reverse in Virginia, where “that diabolic, hell-conceived principle of persecution rages among some.”¹⁰³

Madison was elected to the Committee of Safety for his county and in 1776 was sent to the Virginia Convention, at which he served on the committee framing the new state constitution and the Virginia Declaration of Rights. When the sixteenth article of Mason's declaration calling for religious toleration came up for debate, Madison

¹⁰⁰Judgments and Orders 4, p. 412, recorded 17 June 1765.

¹⁰¹Judgments and Orders (1768-1770), pp. 463, 503.

¹⁰²Madison to William Bradford, 24 January 1774, cited in Edwin S. Gaustad, *Faith of Our Fathers. Religion and the New Nation*, San Francisco, Harper & Row, 1987, p. 37.

¹⁰³*Dictionary of American Biography*, p. 184, citing *The Writings of James Madison*, ed. Hunt, vol. I, p. 21.

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urged an alternative version that decisively proclaimed an end to the old framework of church establishment. His amendments not only substituted “free exercise of religion” for “fullest toleration” but also declared “that no . . . class of men [i.e., the clergy] ought on account of religion to be invested with peculiar emoluments.” The version adopted by the convention retained Madison’s uncompromising “free exercise” phrase but eliminated the rider clause that precluded a tax-supported establishment.¹⁰⁴

Madison served on the governor’s Council in 1778 and on 20 March 1780 took his seat in the Continental Congress where he served until the end of 1783.

In December 1783, Madison returned to Montpelier to take care of his ailing parents and began studying law in order to have a profession in which he could “depend as little as possible on the labour of slaves.”¹⁰⁵ Within a few months, however, his intellectual pursuits were halted by public service—Madison represented Orange County in the House of Delegates from 1783 until 1786.

In 1785 Madison issued his now famous “Memorial and Remonstrance” against Governor Henry’s “general assessment” bill that proposed all Christian churches be supported by the state. Madison argued that religion can never properly be a matter of law but “can be directed only by reason and conviction.” Madison persuasively argued that if the state could legitimately establish the Christian religion today, tomorrow it could lawfully establish “any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other Sects”—in short return to a single, official church. Under the force of these arguments, Virginia legislators abandoned general assessment and turned to consideration of Jefferson’s Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom. With Jefferson in France, Madison willingly took the lead in the debate.

At the Philadelphia Convention, Madison emerged as a very strong leader and orator; although some of his pet ideas were not adopted, his influence was tremendous. His manuscript notes are the fullest record of debates by the convention and a very valuable source. With Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, Madison wrote the series of essays now called *The Federalist Papers*, published in 1788. Those essays are still generally regarded as the United States’ most important contribution to political science.

“The father of the Constitution” had hoped to avoid an active role in the contest over ratification in Virginia, but he was a delegate from his home county to the ratifying convention and in opposition to Patrick Henry and George Mason. Madison brought in a victory—a slim one but a victory nonetheless. He later served in the U.S. Senate where he was instrumental in framing the first ten amendments to the Constitution, based on Virginia’s Bill of Rights.

On 15 September 1794 James Madison married Dolly (née Payne) Todd, a young widow from Philadelphia. Their marriage, though childless, was a happy one. In 1800 President Jefferson chose Madison as his secretary of state and chief adviser. Since both the President and Vice-President were widowers, Mrs. Madison became the official Washington hostess and leading lady. During Madison’s presidency, 1809 - 1817, she retained those distinctions. Madison retired from the presidency on 4 March 1817, ending his political career (except for his brief participation in the Virginia constitutional convention of 1829). Always frail, Madison outlived all the other Founders and in his old age was

¹⁰⁴Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*, p. 279.

¹⁰⁵*The Writings of James Madison*, vol. II, p. 154.

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regularly consulted by his younger countrymen. He died on 28 June 1836 at the age of 87 at Montpelier where he was buried.

BISHOP JAMES MADISON (27 August 1749 - 6 March 1812), president of the College of William and Mary and first bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia.

Born near Staunton, Bishop Madison was the son of John and Agatha (née Strother) Madison and a cousin of United States President James Madison. In his youth Madison was educated at home and at a private school in Maryland and later entered the College of William and Mary, from which he graduated in 1771 with high honors. Afterwards Madison read law with George Wythe and was admitted to the bar but did not practice law.

In 1773 when he was only twenty-four years old Madison became professor of natural philosophy and mathematics at the College. Two years later he went to England for further study and ordination to the ministry of the Church of England. In 1777 Madison was back at his professorship at William and Mary and was elected president despite the fact that he was two years younger than the thirty years stipulated by the institution's rules. Madison remained president of the college for thirty-five years, that is, until his death in 1812.

Like many other clergymen in the colonies, Madison was clearly a Patriot. He served as chaplain of the House of Delegates in 1777 and organized a militia company composed of students. After the Revolution, Madison played a prominent role in the reorganization of the Episcopal Church in Virginia and in the formation of the Diocese of Virginia. He was president of the first convention of the church in 1785. On 19 September 1790 in Lambeth Chapel, Canterbury, England, Madison was consecrated bishop by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of London and Rochester. He was the third of the three bishops through whom the episcopate of the Church of England was brought to the United States.¹⁰⁶

In some circles, Madison was reputed to be a freethinker. His slightly younger contemporary, Bishop William Meade, thought this estimation inaccurate. Bishop Meade wrote:

It has been asserted that Bishop Madison became an unbeliever in the latter part of his life, and I have often been asked if it was not so. I am confident that the imputation is unjust. His political principles . . . may have subjected him to such suspicion. His secular studies, and occupations as President of the College and Professor of Natural Philosophy, may have led him to philosophize too much on the subject of religion, and of this I thought I saw some evidence in the course of my examination; but that he, either secretly, or to his most intimate friends, renounced the Christian faith, I do not believe, but am confident of the contrary.¹⁰⁷

As the first Bishop of Virginia, Madison faced tremendous difficulties: the colony's established church had never been allowed to have a resident leader or to legislate for its own affairs. At the end of the Revolution, the church consisted of a group of disestablished parishes with no training in government, no certain funding, and constant threats to its control of glebe lands and endowments. Despite Bishop James Madison's valiant attempts to solve the church's problems under new conditions, the results were a gradual weakening, nearly to the point of extinction. At the 1811 General Convention of the Church,

¹⁰⁶*Dictionary of American Biography*. The other two were Bishop White (Penn.) and Bishop Provoost (NY).

¹⁰⁷Bishop William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1966; originally published Philadelphia, 1857), I: 29.

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there was neither representation nor report from Virginia, but the following appeared in the journal: "the Church in Virginia is from various causes so depressed, that there is danger of her total ruin, unless great exertions, favoured by the blessing of Providence, are employed to raise her."¹⁰⁸

MOSES (1760? - 1780s?), African-American Baptist preacher in Williamsburg and Gowan Pamphlet's predecessor.

The only definite information about the Williamsburg preacher Moses comes from Robert B. Semple's *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia*, published in 1810. It says that the Baptist church in Williamsburg "is composed almost, if not altogether, of people of color. Moses, a black man, first preached among them, and was often taken up and whipped for holding meetings."¹⁰⁹ Whether he was punished by local officials or by his owner (if any) is unknown, but Moses obviously persevered in his ministerial calling.

It has been impossible to identify Moses further, since more than thirty individuals by the same name appear in the York County records for the relevant period.¹¹⁰ It is not known whether this Old Testament name was given to him by his parents, owners (if any), or chosen by him upon conversion to Christianity.

JOHN NETTLES (c. 1745 - 1812 or 1813) member of the Catawba Nation, interpreter, Revolutionary War soldier, and alumnus of the Brafferton Indian School at the College of William and Mary.

In the late 1760s, John Nettles arrived in Williamsburg from the Carolina Piedmont. He was the first Catawba pupil at the Indian School and was considered to be "the most promising boy in the [Catawba] Nation," a promise he fulfilled. In two or three years Nettles completed his studies with high honors. He had learned reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as the basic tenets of Anglican Christianity. The goal of the Brafferton was to instruct Indian boys of various tribes in English ways and religion and then to send them home to "improve [their] tribe," an objective it never attained.¹¹¹

Academically Nettles did very well in Williamsburg, but his reputation was spoiled by a drinking spree just before he was to leave town in 1771 or 1772. Nettles's indiscretion was seen as much more than the faux pas of a college youth because to College authorities Nettles represented the future of his entire Nation. The professors and trustees, "after explaining in the most feeling terms . . . the object in educating him," sent him home.

Nettles's life and career after his return to Carolina and to his tribe have been variously reported and interpreted. Most accounts of him agree that he was "peaceable, moral and temperate," but one acquaintance labeled him "dissipated." All accounts concur that upon his return to the Catawbas, Nettles

¹⁰⁸Ibid., I: 18. (Incidentally, the full text of Bishop Madison's prayer at the Jamestown Centennial appears in the second volume of Meade's book, pp. 422-425.)

¹⁰⁹Semple, originally published 1810; rev. ed. by Rev. G. W. Beale (Richmond: Pitt & Dickinson, 1894), p. 148.

¹¹⁰Slave first name files, York County Project, Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

¹¹¹David Hutchison, "Catawba Indians: By Request," Draper Mss., Ser. U, vol. X, doc. 100, column 7, cited in James H. Merrell, *The Indians' New World. Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* (Chapel Hill, 1989), p. 240 (hereafter cited as Merrell, *Catawbas*); for the College's missionary attempts among Native Americans, see James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York, 1985), pp. 193-196.

again took up tribal ways. He married a Catawba woman. Eventually he became one of the headmen who signed reservation leases. Elkhannah Watson, who met Nettles in 1786, called him "a perfect Indian in his appearance and habits." To David Hutchison, a neighbor for twenty years, "he appeared to have lost his education almost entirely." To some, then, Nettles's time at the College seemed not to have changed him in the long run; to his own people, however, he appeared completely altered. For example, he came back with a Bible and decidedly English tastes in both clothing and dancing.¹¹² Nettles also maintained his English language skills, often serving as interpreter for his tribe in negotiations with colonial officials and as a guide when visitors came to the village.¹¹³

Historian James Merrell considers Nettles's knowledge of English ways beneficial to preserving the traditions of the Catawba Nation because "an educated Indian could strengthen rather than weaken the barrier between peoples, for he would have the tools to serve as a messenger across the cultural frontier."¹¹⁴

ANNE NICHOLAS (1735 - 1786) was a member of the wealthy Cary family, the wife of the powerful Robert Carter Nicholas, the mother of ten children, the mistress of slaves, and strong Anglican.

Anne was the daughter of Wilson and Sarah (née Pate) Cary of Warwick, County, Virginia where she probably grew up and was educated.¹¹⁵ She was described as "small in person, very energetic in character," and it appears that she was better educated than most young Virginia women.¹¹⁶

Anne Cary and Robert Carter Nicholas of Shirley Plantation and Williamsburg were married in 1751 when she was sixteen or seventeen and he was at least 22 years old. Undoubtedly Anne Cary brought a handsome dowry to the marriage and during their married life she inherited more property—all of which her husband managed.

They established their home in Williamsburg where the family lived from 1751 until 1777. Within 23 years they had ten children, four girls and six boys; Sarah (1752-1787), married John Hatley Norton; Elizabeth (1753-1810), married Edmund Randolph; George (1754-1799); John (1756-1820); Mary (1759-1795); Wilson Cary (1761-1820); Judith (1765 - "died young"); Lewis (1766-1840); Robert (1768 - "died young"); and Philip Norborne (1775-1849). She was the mistress of a number of slaves, some of whom were baptized at Bruton Parish Church and at least one slave child attended the Bray School.

During their married life in Williamsburg, her husband held many powerful governmental positions simultaneously, probably committing her to private and public responsibilities in addition to her regular household duties.

Robert Carter Nicholas was considered a conservative in matters of church and state. In June 1773, Williamsburg was embroiled in the controversial election of a rector for Bruton Parish Church. Both

¹¹²For breeches and Bible, see Hutchison, "Catawba Indians," col. 7; for dancing, see Stinson to Draper, 6 August 1874, Draper Mss. 5 VV 8; cited in Merrell, *Catawbas*, p. 241, n. 58.

¹¹³Merrell, *Catawbas*, p. 242, n. 60 and 61.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 241.

¹¹⁵Fairfax Harrison, *The Virginia Carys, an Essay in Genealogy* (New York: Devinne Press, 1919), p.107.

¹¹⁶Description of Anne Cary Nicholas in Wilson Miles Cary Mss., UVA; Sally Fairfax to [Anne Cary Nicholas], 4 September 1775, Public Records office, Colonial Office, C.O. 5/40, Original Correspondence, Secretary of State: 1770-1782, Intercepted Letters to and from American Colonists (copy on microfilm, Virginia Colonial Records Project, UVA).

Nicholases aligned themselves against Samuel Henley as "an avowed enemy of the forms of the Church of England . . . and [holding] heterodox opinions derogating the divinity of the Savior." The only time we know that Anne Nicholas took a public position was in supporting her husband in the Henley-Bracken affair.¹¹⁷ The vestry met in the tower of Bruton Parish Church and called Mrs. Nicholas as a witness concerning Henley's questioning the Trinity and the divinity of Christ. Henley was denied the appointment.¹¹⁸

Anne Nicholas's private life centered on her family and her religion. In 1771, her husband wrote to a London merchant that "Mrs. Nicholas desires the favour of you to chuse her a handsome Bible & Prayer Book for her own Use; with her Name Ann Nicholas on the outer Cover."¹¹⁹ Anne evidently set a strong example for her children. After her daughter Betsy's death, widower Edmund Randolph recollected that his wife had brought him back to the Anglican church from the deistic ideas picked up during his education and that she had instituted family prayers and disapproved of his playing chess on Sundays. She was also known for her charitable works.¹²⁰ There are strong indications that Betsy Randolph's example in all these was her mother Anne. Well after the Revolution, Anne Nicholas continued to impress upon her adult children the importance of religion. In 1784 she advised her son Wilson Cary Nicholas, newly elected to the House of Delegates, not to work towards disestablishment of the church. "Never, my dear Wilson, let me hear that by that sacrilegious act you have furnished yourself with materials to erect a scaffold by which you may climb to the summit of popularity."¹²¹

Robert Carter Nicholas died in 1780 while the family was living in Hanover County. Anne Nicholas returned to Williamsburg in 1783 and died there in 1786. "Poor Mrs. Nicholas is no More," an acquaintance wrote, "much esteemed & beloved as she was[,] she is greatly regretted."¹²²

ROBERT CARTER NICHOLAS (b. by 1729 - 1780), lawyer, treasurer of Virginia, vestryman of Bruton Parish, and staunch Anglican.

Nicholas was the son of George Nicholas, an immigrant physician, and Elizabeth Carter Burwell Nicholas, the granddaughter of Robert "King" Carter. Orphaned at six years of age, Nicholas was brought up by his uncle John Carter at Shirley Plantation. Lt. Governor Gooch stood as godfather when he was christened. He was educated at the College of William and Mary. In 1750 he was licensed as an attorney and began to practice law in Williamsburg. By 1761 he had married Anne Cary. They had ten children.

In 1750 he was appointed to Williamsburg's Common Council beginning his life as a public servant. Four years later he became a member of the vestry of Bruton Parish Church. In 1755 he was elected to the House of Burgesses by the freeholders of York County. From 1756 to 1762 Nicholas served as Overseer of the Treasury Notes for Virginia. In 1757 he was made mayor of Williamsburg, and in 1761 he was appointed a member of the Board of Visitors for the College of William and Mary. In 1767 he was appointed Justice of the Peace for the James City County Court.

¹¹⁷See material on the Henley-Bracken Affair in this resource book.

¹¹⁸Rhys Issac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, pp. 209-211.

¹¹⁹Frances Norton Mason, ed., *John Norton & Sons, Merchants of London* (Richmond, 1937), p. 150.

¹²⁰See pp. 266-268 of this resource book for the full text of Edmund Randolph's memoir.

¹²¹Louise Pecquet DuBellet, *Some Prominent Virginia Families*, pp. 311-312.

¹²²Mason, John Norton, p. 476.

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John Robinson, Speaker of the House of Burgess and Treasurer of the Colony for almost thirty years, died on 11 May 1766. After his death it became clear that Robinson's treasury accounts were in arrears £100,000 and that he had "advanced large sums of money to assist and relieve his friends." In November 1766 Robert Carter Nicholas, a leader of the "responsible persuasion announced for treasurer" getting the appointment that Peyton Randolph had coveted.¹²³ Nicholas then proceeded to call in debts from all of those Virginians who were indebted to the Robinson estate.¹²⁴ Nicholas served as treasurer from 1766 until December 1776.

Nicholas was renowned for his devotion to the Anglican church and for his upright character. A contemporary described him this way: "He loved, indeed, a particular form of religion, but he loved more dearly religion itself. In peace or war, at the fireside, or on the floor of the Houses of Burgesses, a strong sense of moral responsibility was seen through all his actions."¹²⁵ From 1753 Nicholas had baptized his slaves at Bruton Parish Church and later sent a few of his slave children to the Bray School. A vestryman for Bruton Parish, Nicholas's reputation came to the attention of the Associates of Dr. Bray in London, who named him local administrator of the Bray School for Negroes. The school, in operation between 1760 and 1774, sought the religious conversion and education of African children both free and enslaved. The curriculum was based largely on the Bible, Anglican catechism, and other religious tracts. Nicholas's correspondence with the Associates provides detailed information about the students, the school, and its mistress, Mrs. Ann Wager.¹²⁶

Robert Carter Nicholas in his private and public life was a strong supporter of the Church of England and the unification of church and state in Virginia. He had been greatly offended by the newspaper controversy of 1771 when The Rev. Mr. Henley, the young professor of moral philosophy, had voiced his opposition to the establishment of an American Episcopate and expressed radical opinions concerning religion.

For several years Williamsburg was the scene of a pitched battle between Nicholas and The Rev. Mr. Samuel Henley. On 1 March 1772, Henley preached his controversial sermon on the nature of church and state to the assembled burgesses at Bruton Parish Church. Henley "cast his legislative audience as the persecutors, intent on sacrificing him"¹²⁷ and made the statement "Would Legislators maintain the cause of Religion, let them shew its influence on their conduct."¹²⁸ This sermon unleashed a bitter controversy. Three days earlier the House of Burgesses had made Nicholas the chairman of the Committee on Religion. He felt that he had been attacked directly and that Henley had condemned the toleration bill for the regulation of dissenters in Virginia, which Nicholas had helped draft.¹²⁹ The next year the position of rector for Bruton Parish became open when it was learned that The Rev. Mr. James

¹²³Billings, Selby, and Tate, *Colonial Virginia--A History*, p. 310.

¹²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 310. Also see the *Virginia Gazette*, May 23, 1766.

¹²⁵DuBellet, *Some Prominent Virginia Families*, p. 311.

¹²⁶Van Horne, pp. 159-326.

¹²⁷Rhys Issac, *The Transformation of Virginia; 1740-1790*, p.220.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 220.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 220.

Horrocks had died in Portugal. Henley was passed over for the position and the Reverend Josiah Johnson was named rector by the vestry. Johnson died within a year and again Henley offered himself as a candidate. The resulting campaign ignited heated personal and intellectual debates in conversations and in the city's two editions of the *Virginia Gazette*.

On 12 June 1773, after months of contention, the vestry met to name the new rector and to hear testimony relevant to charges made by Nicholas that Henley was "an avowed enemy of the forms of the Church of England . . . and that he maintained heterodox opinions derogating the divinity of the Savior." Anne Nicholas was also drawn into this official proceeding to give testimony against Henley. Nicholas also opposed Henley's liberal views on religious toleration. In the end, Nicholas and his supporters successfully opposed Henley's appointment, although Henley had support in the more liberal Randolph faction. The Rev. Mr. John Bracken was elected to the position.¹³⁰

In late May 1774 Robert Carter Nicholas, persuaded by a few liberal members of the House of Burgesses who wished to protest the closing of the Port of Boston, introduced the resolution calling for "a day of general fasting and prayer." The resolution passed without opposition, but the action forced Lord Dunmore to dissolve the House. Members of the House then marched to the church on 1 June 1774, led by Robert Carter Nicholas, to show solidarity with the citizens of Boston on the day the Port Act was to be put into effect.

As Virginia moved toward revolution, Robert Carter Nicholas represented James City County at the Virginia Convention on 20 March 1775. On 1 August 1775, he was elected President of the Virginia Convention. In the May 1776 debate over independence in the House of Burgesses, Nicholas opposed the resolution as being too radical until Edmund Pendelton modified it. On 15 May 1776 the House resolved unanimously to "declare the United Colonies free and independent states" thereby severing all relations with Great Britain.

On 20 December 1776 Robert Carter Nicholas resigned as treasurer. He continued to serve as a Justice of the Peace of James City County. Nicholas took the oath as a judge of the High Court of Chancery on 16 April 1778. He died on 8 September 1780.

GOWAN PAMPHLET (b. c. 1760 - d. 1807-10) slave, later a freed man, and Baptist preacher.

Owned by Williamsburg tavern keeper Jane Vobe, Gowan first appeared in local records in July 1779 when a newspaper advertisement stated that he had stolen a horse from John Conrad Ginter of Yorktown.¹³¹ Two years later Gowan was preaching in York and James City counties.¹³² Vobe moved to Chesterfield County, taking Gowan along with her.¹³³ Vobe died there, and her executor David Miller gained possession of Gowan by 1788.¹³⁴ By 1791 Gowan was calling himself Gowan Pamphlet. Moving

¹³⁰Ibid., pp. 209-211.

¹³¹*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Clarkson, 3 July 1779. "Gavin" or "Gowen" is listed as Jane Vobe's slave over the age of sixteen on Williamsburg personal property tax lists for 1783 and 1784. Much of the information about Gowan Pamphlet in this biography comes from Julie Richter's research on the Williamsburg slave community, for which the present writer is grateful.

¹³²"Gowan" was listed as preacher in York and James City in 1781; John Asplund, *Universal Register of the Baptist Denomination in North American for the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, and part of 1794* (Boston, 1794).

¹³³Vobe's entry in the Chesterfield County personal property tax list for 1786.

¹³⁴David Miller's entry in *ibid.*, 1788.

back to the Williamsburg area, he helped form a Baptist church for black residents. Semple's history of the Baptists in Virginia, originally published in 1810, includes the following:

[After Moses's ministry in the Williamsburg area] Gowan, who called himself Gowan Pamphlet . . . became popular among the blacks, and began to baptize as well as to preach. It seems the [Dover Baptist] association had advised that no person of color should be allowed to preach, on the pain of excommunication; against this regulation many of the blacks were rebellious, and continued still to hold meetings. Some were excluded, and among this number was Gowan. . . . Continuing still to preach, and many professing faith under his ministry, not being in connection with any church himself, he formed a kind of church of some who had been baptized, who, sitting with him, received such as offered themselves; Gowan baptized them, and was moreover, appointed their pastor. Some of them knowing how to write, a church-book was kept.^{*} They increased to a large number, so that in the year 1791, when the Dover Association was holden [*sic*] in Mathews County, they petitioned for admittance into the Association, stating their number to be about five hundred. The Association received them, so far as to appoint persons to visit them and set things in order. These making a favorable report, they were received and have associated ever since. A few years since Gowan died.¹³⁵

In August 1793, "the black preacher gawin who passed through this town on sunday last on his way to norfolk" was implicated in an incident in Yorktown. A letter from the "secret keeper, richmond" to the "secret keeper, norfolk" contained frightening information to whites. It was picked up on the street, where it had been dropped. The letter told about stockpiling guns in Richmond, 6000 men ready to rise in Charleston, and the general plot of a black revolution in every town.¹³⁶ Apparently Gowan cleared himself of any hint of suspicion in this scheme, for in September of that very year, he was manumitted.¹³⁷

The Williamsburg Baptist Church was accepted into the Dover Baptist Association in October 1793. Gowan Pamphlet ministered to a congregation of 200 members in York and James City counties; he also attended various Dover Association meetings for the rest of his life.¹³⁸ In 1805 and 1806 Gowan owned a fourth of a Williamsburg lot,¹³⁹ as well as fourteen acres in James City County by 1805.¹⁴⁰ Gowan Pamphlet died between 1807 and 1810. His executor Benjamin White had long been an associate and fellow-delegate at Dover Association meetings.¹⁴¹

^{*}This church-book has not been located.

¹³⁵Robert Baylor Semple, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia*, 1st ed., 1810; rev. G. W. Beale (Richmond, 1894), p. 148.

¹³⁶Transcripts of the letter as well as the cover letters appear in Winston D. Babb, "French Refugees From Saint-Domingue to the Southern States, 1791-1810," Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1954.

¹³⁷David Miller of York County freed "Gowin Pamphlet" in a manumission dated 25 September 1793 and recorded 16 December 1793; Deeds 7: 92.

¹³⁸Size of congregation in 1794-1795 from Asplund, *Universal Register*; Minutes of the Dover Baptist Association, Virginia Baptist Historical Society.

¹³⁹Williamsburg Land Tax Lists, 1805-1806.

¹⁴⁰James City County Land Tax Lists.

¹⁴¹Benjamin White, a 20-year-old mulatto, was manumitted by Mary Stith in a deed dated 8 March 1791 and recorded

PETER PELHAM (1721 - 1805), musician and organist, clerk, keeper of the Public Gaol, and member of the Williamsburg Lodge of Masons.

Pelham was born in England in 1721 and emigrated to Boston in 1726 with his father. He was in Boston from 1726 until about 1750 where he studied music and became the organist at Trinity Church. His father, Peter Pelham, Sr., an engraver and artist, became the stepfather of the artist John Singleton Copley.

Pelham moved to Williamsburg around 1750 where he became the organist at Bruton Parish Church in 1755. He also gave instruction on organ, harpsichord, and spinet.¹⁴² He served as the musical director when *The Beggar's Opera* was first performed in Williamsburg. Pelham was renowned as an organist, a visitor in 1783 calling him "the modern Orpheus—the inimitable Pelham."¹⁴³

Peter Pelham and Anna Creese were married at Trinity Church in Boston in 1746. They had fourteen children. He could not support his family only as a musician so he supplemented his income by acting as a clerk to governors Fauquier and Botetourt. Governor Dunmore named him the keeper of the Public Gaol in 1771, a position that he filled until 1779. Pelham was an active member of the Masonic Lodge in Williamsburg until he moved to Richmond about 1802 and died in about 1805.¹⁴⁴

REVEREND JOSEPH PILMORE (1739-1825) Methodist itinerant. **See page 254.**

SELIM (c. 1735 - after 1789) Algerian immigrant to Virginia, Mohammedan convert to Christianity, former slave, and patient at the Public Hospital.

Two reliable nineteenth-century sources relate the story of Selim, a native of Northern Africa who had been educated in Constantinople, was captured near Gibraltar, and sold into slavery in New Orleans. Selim escaped and traveled on foot to eastern Kentucky. After being caught by Indians there, he again escaped and by 1760 was taken in by a kindly hunter in Augusta County, Virginia. With good treatment, Selim regained his health and learned to speak English. Some time later in nearby Staunton, Selim first saw Reverend John Craig, an elderly Presbyterian minister. Because of a dream, Selim begged Craig to take him in and give him religious instruction. Craig complied, took him to the parsonage, and soon discovered that Selim could read the Greek testament. After a few weeks' instruction and study, Selim converted to Christianity and was baptized.

Before long Selim wished to travel to his homeland to see his parents. Contributions were collected, and with additional assistance from Robert Carter III of Williamsburg, Selim set sail for England and from there continued on to northern Africa. His parents disowned him because of his new religion, which he refused to repudiate and the wanderer somehow managed to get back to Virginia.

Selim's misfortunes left him mentally unbalanced. At some point between the Revolution and 1789, he was admitted to the Public Hospital as a mental patient. Eventually John Page of Rosewell

10 April 1791; Deeds 7 (1791-1809): 7-8.

¹⁴²Susanna Nelson Page, "A Biography of Her Mother Lucy Grymes Nelson," Dr. Augustine Smith Papers, 1779-1843, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; and St. George Tucker to Rev. Jedediah Morse, 28 May 1795, William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., vol. 2, p. 192.

¹⁴³Journal of Alexander Macaulay, William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., vol. 11, p. 186.

¹⁴⁴Benjamin Crowninshield to Dr. B. Lynde Oliver, 30 May 1804, William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd ser., vol. 11, p. 265.

became Selim's patron. Early in 1789, Page went to Philadelphia for the Congress, and Selim either accompanied or followed him there. Charles Willson Peale painted a portrait of Selim at that time and the picture hung for many years at Rosewell. Lost during the Civil War, the painting is known to us now only through a small woodcut reproduction that appeared in Bishop Meade's book in 1857.¹⁴⁵

DR. JOHN DE SEQUEYRA (1712 - February 1795) local medical professional, first Visiting Physician at the Public Hospital, and the only known Jewish resident of eighteenth-century Williamsburg.

Born in 1712 in London to a family of Portuguese Jewish descent, John de Sequeyra became a highly qualified medical practitioner. He received his degree in 1739 from the University of Leiden in Holland, where he probably studied with renowned scientist Hermann Boerhaave. Dr. de Sequeyra emigrated to Virginia in 1745 and immediately began practicing medicine in Williamsburg. His manuscript about the "Diseases in Virginia" and their usual treatments was compiled between 1745 and 1781.¹⁴⁶ In February 1747/8 he attended most townspeople during a smallpox epidemic and kept notes about 85 households.¹⁴⁷

A bachelor, Dr. de Sequeyra lived in at least two different lodgings in town: until October 1771 he rented from William Carter;¹⁴⁸ the next year the doctor occupied the eastern part of the building now known as Shields Tavern, which he had leased from William Goodson for seven years.¹⁴⁹ Apparently de Sequeyra renewed that lease since he was still paying rent to Goodson's estate in 1786¹⁵⁰ and to widow Mary Goodson in April 1790.¹⁵¹ Sequeyra owned at least one slave, a man named Cain, whom Sequeyra bequeathed to Sally Green.¹⁵²

The papers Dr. de Sequeyra left deal only with medical matters, so we know nothing about his religious beliefs or practices. Certainly there was no temple or synagogue in town—the closest sizable Jewish populations were in Richmond and Norfolk and they came into being only after the Revolution.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁵William Meade, *Old Families and Churches*, vol. I, pp. 341-348; the picture appears on the unnumbered page opposite p. 341. More details about Selim's life were written down by a Page descendant and were printed in *William and Mary Quarterly*, ser. 1, vol. 14, pp. 57-59.

¹⁴⁶Manuscript on microfilm M-1120, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; see also Harold B. Gill, Jr., ed., "Dr. De Sequeyra's 'Diseases of Virginia,'" *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 86 (1978), pp. 295-298.

¹⁴⁷Original in Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, Virginia Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Box 1 (1606-1772); see also William Quentin Maxwell, ed., "A True State of the Smallpox in Williamsburg, February 22, 1748," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 63 (1955), pp. 269-274. In fact, these notes are so comprehensive as to form a kind of mid-eighteenth-century census for the town; see Cathy Hellier and Kevin Kelly, "A Population Profile of Williamsburg in 1748," unpublished research report, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

¹⁴⁸*Virginia Gazette*, ed. Purdie and Dixon, 17 October 1771. When he began living there is not known.

¹⁴⁹Deeds 8: 236-238, dated 18 June 1772 and recorded 20 July 1772.

¹⁵⁰Goodson's estate settlement, *Wills and Inventories* 23: 114-115, dated 16 May 1786.

¹⁵¹Humphrey Harwood Ledger C, folio 31, under the date 8 April 1790.

¹⁵²Deeds 7: 150, dated 29 April 1795 and recorded 20 July 1795.

¹⁵³A few other Jews lived in eighteenth-century York County, e.g., the merchant Enoch Lyon of Yorktown whose will (dated 2 December 1788 and recorded 20 June 1803) mentions the synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island, which had

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Other than his appointment as Visiting Physician at the Public Hospital, for which his extensive medical training certainly qualified him, de Sequeyra never served in any official capacity.¹⁵⁴ The local newspaper announced the death of Williamsburg's "eminent famous physician" in early 1795.¹⁵⁵ Where he was buried is not known. A portrait of Dr. de Sequeyra is on display at Winterthur Museum.¹⁵⁶

ANN WAGER (b. before 1732¹⁵⁷ - d. by 20 August 1774) tutor and mistress of the Bray School in Williamsburg.

Ann Wager's origins are unknown. She married William Wager, possibly of James City County. They had two children. Their son, also named William, was born by 1733. By 1756 he represented that county in the House of Burgesses, and by 1760 he was a justice of the peace in Elizabeth City County.¹⁵⁸

The Wagers' daughter Mary was born before 1747. She married Williamsburg carpenter Matthew Watts Hatton.¹⁵⁹

Ann's husband had probably died by 1748. In 1750 she and her son William settled his estate.¹⁶⁰ There is no indication in the records of how much real or personal property made up the estate.

Obviously, Ann Wager was literate and cultured. As a widow, she supported herself and her family by teaching. She was employed by Carter Burwell at Carter's Grove by 1748 and received £20 for "Schooling my Children two years." She may have been at Carter's Grove until 1754.¹⁶¹ In the 1750s court records show that Mrs. Wager was also paid £18.4.6 by the estate of Edward Champion Travis. She also received monies from the estate of George Wells, perhaps for teaching his children.¹⁶² In the early 1760s she had a dozen or so white pupils in Williamsburg, whose parents held her in "high repute for her care & method of teaching."¹⁶³

supported his mother; Wills and Inventories 23: 621.

¹⁵⁴Many county and colony offices required officers to swear that they were Anglicans in good standing, an oath de Sequeyra might have wanted to avoid taking. In any case, few other local medical professionals held county offices.

¹⁵⁵Virginia Gazette, Richmond, 18 March 1795; the obituary says he died "On the 30th ult.," but there can never be a thirtieth day of February, so he presumably died at the end of February or on 30 January.

¹⁵⁶The portrait is reproduced in Shomer S. Zwelling, *Quest for a Cure* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1985), p. 11.

¹⁵⁷Birth date based on her daughter's supposed birth year of 1747.

¹⁵⁸William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., vol. 20, p. 171; *ibid.*, vol. 27, pp. 107-108; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 3, p. 427; and *ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 257.

¹⁵⁹Deeds 6: 458-459, dated 12 June 1762 and recorded 21 June 1782.

¹⁶⁰William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., vol. 14, p. 37; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 17, p. 271.

¹⁶¹[Carter] Burwell Account Book, 1738-1755, folio 52; transcript, Department of Historical Research, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

¹⁶²Judgments and Orders 2: 327-328, and Wills and Inventories 20: 498-501.

¹⁶³Van Horne, p. 276.

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The Rev. Mr. John Waring in London wrote to Reverend Thomas Dawson, Commissary and rector of Bruton Parish, on 29 February 1760, informing him that the Bray Associates had "lately agreed to open a School at Williamsburgh in Virginia for the Instruction of Negro Children in the Principles of the Christian Religion." The letter continued by directing that "You will with all convenient Speed open a School for this purpose: & As tis probable that Some of Each Sex may be sent for Instruction, The Associates are therefore of the opinion that a Mistress will be preferable to a Master, as She may teach the Girls to Sew knit, &c. as well as all to read & say their Catechism. They think 30 Children or thereabout will Sufficiently employ one person."¹⁶⁴ In addition, the letter listed the books such as primers, printed Anglican sermons, and other religious tracts that would be sent for use at the school. The Bible was certainly the principle text.

Mrs. Ann Wager was asked to be the school mistress beginning on 29 September 1760.¹⁶⁵ Robert Carter Nicholas, local trustee for the Bray Associates, oversaw its operations.* Mrs. Wager was the school mistress for fourteen years from September 1760 until her death in 1774. At any one time, she taught about thirty enslaved and free black children ranging in age from three to ten. Enrollment lists show that most students at the Bray School were slave, but a few free black children also attended. Classes were held in Mrs. Wager's home beginning at 6:00 A.M. in the summer and at 7:00 A.M. in the winter. Until 1766 she occupied a house rented from Dudley Digges, probably at the corner of Henry and Ireland Streets; later she moved into a house rented from John Blair possibly on Capitol Landing Road.¹⁶⁶

She was not only responsible for teaching the children to read and write, but also to read the Bible, to know the "Principles of the Christian Religion," and to explain the "Church Catechism." In addition she was to teach them how to dress and behave as model black children while discouraging "idleness & [to] suppress the Beginnings of Vice" and to be "faithful and obedient to their Masters."¹⁶⁷ The Associates intended some of the Books of Common Prayer they sent Mrs. Wager to be "given to the Children when qualified to use them at Church."¹⁶⁸ The minister at Bruton Parish (whoever he happened to be) heard the children recite the catechism. During her fourteen years as schoolmistress, Mrs. Wager reached a large number of children, influencing their religious beliefs and practices. If she emphasized obedience in her instruction, Mrs. Wager also equipped her students with skills they could use to advantage in a slave society; chief among them were reading and writing.

Robert Carter Nicholas, in a letter to The Rev. Mr. John Waring dated 13 September 1765, nine years before her death, stated that the "mistress is pretty much advanced in Years & I fear Labours of the School will shortly be too much for her." On 16 February 1769 Nicholas again wrote to Waring that "Mr. Hunter had fix'd the Mistress's Salary at £7 a Quarter, a Sum for 30 Scholars, much less than is paid for schooling in this City to other Mistresses; but, as Mrs. Wager had no House of her own, she was at first

¹⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 144-46.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., p. 153.

*In early 1760, the Associates appointed William Hunter and The Rev. Mr. Thomas Dawson school trustees; both died within a few months of the school's opening. Van Horne, pp. 144, 153.

¹⁶⁶Mary A. Stephenson, Notes on the Negro School in Williamsburg, 1760-1774, unpublished research report, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, June 1964, p. 4.

¹⁶⁷Van Horne, pp.190-191.

¹⁶⁸Van Horne, p. 158.

allow'd £8 current Money more to pay for the Rent of a House, which was too small for such a Number of children; however she continued in it as long as it was tenable; I was then obliged to rent the House, where she now resides, of President Blair, for twelve Pounds Current Money."¹⁶⁹

On 17 November 1774 Carter wrote to Waring that "I have to advise you of the Death of Mrs. Wager, the Mistress of the Bray School at Williamsburg." He discontinued the School until he said, "I can receive your further Instructions."¹⁷⁰

GEORGE WHITEFIELD (1714-1770) **See pages 218, 302.**

GEORGE WYTHE (1726 - 1806), lawyer, law professor, scholar, statesman, and signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Wythe was born in Elizabeth City County where his father Thomas Wythe, who died soon after George's birth, was a successful planter and civic official. His mother Margaret (née Walker) Wythe, who was a member of a well-educated Quaker family, encouraged the young Wythe to read widely in Latin and Greek texts. He also studied law under Stephen Dewey in Prince George County. Wythe was admitted to the bar when he was twenty and practiced law with John Lewis who was a prominent lawyer in Spotsylvania County. In 1747 he married Lewis's sister Ann who died in the next year. Wythe remained in Spotsylvania County until 1754, when he moved to Williamsburg. In 1755 he married Elizabeth Taliaferro, daughter of Colonel Richard Taliaferro. They had no children.

In 1754 Wythe was elected to represent Williamsburg in the House of Burgesses. He continued to study the law seriously and educated himself in the classics and the liberal sciences. He was admitted to the bar of the General Court. When Governor Fauquier, a cultivated gentleman and a member of the Royal Society, arrived in 1758, Wythe and William Small, professor of moral and natural philosophy at William and Mary became his intimate friends. They asked the young Thomas Jefferson, Wythe's law student, to join them for evenings of enlightened conversation and music.

George Wythe's life as a statesman and teacher spanned over a half century. He was a member of the Bruton Parish vestry and mayor of Williamsburg. As a member of the House of Burgesses, he sided with the patriots in their disputes with Parliament.

He served in the Continental Congress in Philadelphia through 1776 and signed the Declaration of Independence. Along with Edmund Pendleton and Thomas Jefferson, Wythe was given the awesome task of revising all the laws of Virginia which were introduced to the General Assembly in 1779. At the same time Wythe was Speaker of the House of Delegates in 1777, and in the next year he was named one of three judges of Virginia's new high court of chancery.

In 1779 the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary established the Professorship of Law and Police and gave Wythe the position. Wythe's "lectures following Blackstone, contrasted English and Virginia law, and were supplemented with moot courts and legislatures. Regarded the pride of the college, Wythe literally charted the way in American jurisprudence."¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹Van Horne, pp. 236, 276.

¹⁷⁰Van Horne, pp. 236, 276.

¹⁷¹Dictionary of American Biography, p. 588.

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Wythe was seen as "Possessed of broad education and culture, he was probably the foremost classical scholar in Virginia, and was widely read in Roman and English law." Although a vestryman in the Anglican church, the rationalist Wythe considered morality central to religion, but "deemed forms and modes of faith unimportant."¹⁷² A statement of Wythe's religious views is on page 238 in the Enlightenment section of the resource book.

¹⁷²Ibid., p. 588.

GLOSSARY

Asbury, Francis (1745-1816) Lay preacher and blacksmith in England; itinerant minister in England 1766-1771; itinerant Methodist in American colonies 1771-1784; superintendent of the American Methodist Church 1784-1816; elected bishop in 1787. Asbury included Williamsburg on several of his preaching tours of Virginia. See Chronology in this resource book.

Agnus Dei The anthem, “*O Lamb of God...*” which was said during the breaking of the bread during the communion rite of the liturgy.

Alms Offerings for the charitable work of the church.

Ana-Baptist Movement Arose in 1523 in the area of Zurich, Germany, among followers of Zwingli who rejected infant baptism. They believed the church consisted of believers baptized on the basis of their personal faith in Jesus Christ, and that the church and state should be separate. In the era of the Reformation such views were emphasized. Bathasar Hubmaier (ca. 1480-1528) gathered a large following of Ana-Baptists and also advocated the Bible to be the sole law of the church. The content of Scripture was to be preached. Faith, baptism, and works expressing Biblical obedience were to be advocated.

Anglican Of or peculiar to the Protestant Church of England and other churches in communion therewith.

Archbishop Is the chief of bishops, the head of an ecclesiastical area.

Arian One who denies the full divinity of Christ. The term is derived from Arius, a third-century presbyter of Alexandria who taught this position.

Arminian One who repudiates the Calvinist doctrine of absolute predestination. The term is derived from Joseph Arminius, a seventeenth-century Dutch theologian who took this position.

Arminianism Rejected reformer John Calvin’s views of predestination substituting an interpretation which allowed for “conditional predestination.” It taught a predestination based on divine foreknowledge of the use humans would make of God’s grace through His Son, according to Williston Walker, Yale University professor of Ecclesiastical History. Though Christ died for all, only believer benefit from Christ’s atonement. Consequently the Arminian view held that grace may be rejected (for Calvin it was irresistible). These theological differences, with variations, were prevalent in the colonial period.

Bacon, Francis (1561-1626) One of the most important contributors to the rational basis of examination for the Enlightenment. His new scientific method of inductive reasoning

involved the collection of facts from experience to generate intermediate conclusions (axioms), which are then tested by specific experiments to arrive at scientific laws. Bacon outlined his method in several works including *Novum organum* (1620) and *Two Books of the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning* (1605). Despite his education at Trinity College, Cambridge University (an important source of English Puritanism) Bacon at an early point in his life foreshadowed enlightened thinking with a greater degree of religious toleration than the political or ecclesiastical leaders of his time. First expressed in a *Letter of Advice to Queen Elizabeth* (1584/5) and again in *An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England* (written in 1589, but published posthumously in 1640) Bacon deprecates the factious temper of the puritans, and the rigid insistence of conformity by the government. In the first book of *The Advancement of Learning* Bacon defends learning from critical theologians, especially those who fear scientists prying into “forbidden knowledge,” the secrets of God.

Bishop One having spiritual or ecclesiastical authority to oversee or supervise. It usually refers to an Anglican, Eastern Orthodox, or Roman Catholic clergyman, ranking above a priest. Bishops have the authority to ordain and confirm and typically govern a diocese or other ecclesiastical administrative unit.

Blessing A term used to designate the prayer of a bishop or presbyter asking God’s blessing on the congregation at the end of the liturgy.

Calvin, John (1509-1564) Born in France at Noyon in Picardy where his father, Gerard, was a functionary in the service of the bishop. Positioned by his father for a career in the Church, Calvin was tonsured (a ceremony signifying a separation from the world by cutting hair). Calvin was never ordained, but was endowed with ecclesiastical benefices and sent to Paris at age 14 to study at the university. He received the Master of Arts degree in 1528. In 1528-1529 he studied at the University of Orleans and continued law at the University of Bourges in 1529-1531. Between 1533 and 1534 (after the death of his father in 1531, who died excommunicated by the Church because of a disagreement with the cathedral over the closing of an estate) Calvin decided to break his ties with the Roman Catholic Church and devote himself to the cause of Protestant reform. His *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, first published in 1536, is the major theological work of the Reformation. Calvin’s own activity was based in Geneva, but his influence dominated Reformed Protestantism in France, the Netherlands, and Scotland, and was strong England, parts of Germany, and Central Europe. It is said of him that he organized and consolidated Protestantism, created the “Reformed” man and the modern world. For the second generation of Protestants, Calvin deepened the reliance on the word of God. His legacy to the Reformed tradition was a number of distinguishing themes: sovereignty of God, predestination, the disciplined Church, the ideal of Church and State working together to establish God’s kingdom on earth. Much of Western history, especially in the English-speaking world, from the sixteenth century to the twentieth, was shaped by his theology, his political and ecclesiastical theory, and his practical administration.

Canon An ecclesiastical (church) rule or law. It has a variety of meanings; liturgically, it refers to the eucharistic prayer as established by the church.

Catechism A religious manual in the form of questions and answers used frequently with beginners for instruction in Christian doctrine.

Chapel of ease Refers to a dependent church or chapel established to accommodate a growing congregation (parish). In colonial Virginia, chapels of ease were often a necessity in the very large rural Anglican parishes. Parish ministers conducted services at the main church (such as Bruton Parish Church) and perhaps once a month at the chapel or chapels of ease in the parishes. Lay readers read services at chapels when the minister was not there, but they could not administer the sacraments (Eucharist, etc.).

Church Organization (congregational) A form of church government that places final authority in the assembly of the local congregation. The minister is a leader/advisor. Lay leadership is elected by the congregation according to a constitution of organization created and approved by the congregation, which stipulates administrative policies and procedures. In a duly called business meeting of the congregation lay leadership is elected and assigned responsibilities, and is ultimately responsible to the congregation. Baptist, Congregational, and other denominations in colonial America were congregational in organization.

Church Organization (episcopal) A form of church government that is based on or recognizes a governing order (hierarchy) of bishops. All bishops are regarded as possessing the same authority, but a patriarch or archbishop may preside over a convocation or over a particular area greater than his own diocese. The Church of England, the Episcopal Church, and Roman Catholic Church are examples of this form of church government.

Church Organization (presbyterian) A form of church government by elders (from the Greek *presbyteros*) instead of the bishops and priests in the episcopal hierarchy of Catholic and Anglican church organization. Both clergy and lay persons serve as elders. Presbyterian church government combines in one system both democratic and hierarchical elements with a balance of power between the clergy and the laity and between local congregations and larger governing bodies of the church. The Presbyterian Church is an example of this type of denomination.

Collect A short prayer within the liturgy. The “collect for the day” and two other collects have traditionally concluded the Anglican office, a collect for the King (monarch) or the “decatalogue collect” has followed the Ten Commandments; the “collect for the day” ends the entrance rite and begins the readings.

Communion Sharing the sacramental bread and wine. The word is often used to denote the whole Eucharist rite.

Confirmation An ecclesiastical rite conferring full church membership on a person.

Congregational See Church Organization.

Consecration (1) of Bishops in the Church of England was an official act indicating such a person as being set aside to the high Church office of Bishop. It affirmed the preparation for and calling to the work and ministry of this office and included the rite of the “laying on of hands.” The Bishop was expected to live a holy life, study and teach the Scriptures, pray, protect the Church from heresy, and deny all ungodliness. There was no time between the early eighteenth century and the end of the American Revolution that a Bishop was consecrated in the colonies, for in rejecting the authority of England, they also rejected the authority of the Church of England. (2) the setting apart of something for religious use; in the Eucharist, the setting apart of bread and wine so that they become sacramentally the body and blood of Christ.

Consubstantiation The doctrine which holds that the substance of the body and blood of Christ is given “in, with, and under” the substance of the bread and wine. Lutherans hold this doctrine, but have not always been comfortable with it.

Counter-Reformation The sixteenth-century reform of the Roman Catholic Church following the Protestant Reformation. Since the fourteenth century, there had been a growing demand for reform in the church. It was not until 1543, when Paul III became pope and St. Ignatius of Loyola founded the Jesuits that major reform began. Paul summoned the Council of Trent (1545 ff.) to scrutinize clergy abuses and worldliness, set educational requirements for priests, standardize worship, and reorganize church administration.

Curate An ecclesiastical title originally applied to any clergy charged with the care of souls. Later the title was applied to an assistant to a rector or vicar.

Dean Is a clergy who is the head of a cathedral or collegiate church.

Deist A term generally applied to one who held a belief in a God who is creator but remote from the world after creation and uninvolved with it. No two deists held identical opinions, but they often did not believe in the divinity of Jesus or the Trinity.

Divine This noun is a title which may be assigned to a clergy, priest, theologian, etc., but has limited current usage.

Doxology An ascription of praise to God. The *Gloria in excelsis* has sometimes been known as the “Greater Doxology” and the *Gloria Patri* as the “Lesser Doxology.” The term more often refers to the concluding ascription of praise to God at the end of prayers and hymns.

Election The Calvinist doctrine that God elects or chooses some for salvation on the basis of God's sovereign freedom without any reference to human merit. (*predestination*)

Epiclesis The invocation of the Holy Spirit—in the Eucharist upon the worshipper and/or the bread and wine.

Episcopacy Refers to (1) the government of a church by a hierarchy in which Bishops have the highest rank and, (2) the length of a Bishop's tenure and/or for a group of Bishops known as the episcopate.

Episcopal See Church Organization.

Eucharist Thanksgiving—the traditional name for the eucharistic prayer and the whole rite.

Evangelical "*Grounded in the Gospel*" A term for those who place strong emphasis on the Gospel as the basis for Christian life and practice and less emphasis on tradition and reason as standards of authority. An evangelical is a Christian believer who identifies with Biblical teachings regarding sinful human nature and the need for redemption, the favor of God's forgiveness through Jesus Christ the Redeemer, and the necessity of accepting redemption through personal faith in Him.

Exhortation Style of sermon employed by evangelical preachers using strong words to influence the will, emotions, and knowledge of another encouraging conformity to a generally accepted code of behavior. The practice of exhortation is biblically illustrated in Acts 16:40.

Free-will Biblically, humans are regarded as responsible beings, free to express their wills in harmony or opposition to God, yet God's will prevails and if resisted the resisters are deprived of the good God intended to confer on them.

Glebe This word is taken from Latin and refers to land. In ecclesiastical usage it refers to revenue producing land owned by a parish, for example, a rectory (manse, parsonage, so forth).

Heresy An opinion which is held in opposition to commonly accepted church doctrine often promoting division and dissension.

Hobbes, Thomas (1588-1679) A contemporary of Bacon and son of an English clergyman, who was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford University. Forced into exile by the Civil Wars in England, Hobbes published his influential works in France. In *De Cive* (1642) and *De Corpore* (1650), Hobbes uses Cartesian Mechanical Philosophy [Descartes] to explain all phenomena in the world as the product of the motion of matter. Consequently human beings did not have souls, since the spiritual components of human nature were dispensable within mechanical philosophy. In *Leviathan* (1651) Hobbes expressed his theory of political absolutism. Posing the fear of death as a common human incentive to

form social contracts, Hobbes felt that undivided sovereignty in a monarch was the natural form of government. This assertion challenged most political and social structures including established churches and representative institutions such as Parliament. Hobbs also pointed out that the distinction between religion and superstition was a matter of political power and public policy; beliefs that were publicly allowed were called religion, while those not allowed were called superstition.

Hume, David (1711-1776) The final perspective on enlightened thought questioned the validity of both empiricism and rationalism, when David Hume raised the issue of skepticism. The his *Treatise on Human Nature* (1738-39) and again in later works, Hume pointed out the dependence upon sensory experience as the basis for empiricism and rationalism. According to Hume, sensation is the foundation of our knowledge, but it is a foundation that has nothing necessarily to do with external reality. Therefore all systems of knowledge based on experience were matters of belief or faith rather than of certainty. Hume used his system of examination to consider religion, and his results were published in his *Essay on Miracles* (1748), *Natural History of Religion* (1757), and posthumously in *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (1779). In the earlier work he was widely regarded as demonstrating the evidential impossibility of miracles. Since neither reason or experience could provide knowledge about the question of the existence of an immaterial soul, he refrained from considering the question. He also excluded revealed knowledge in Christianity since by definition it had to come from God to supplement human understanding, and therefore lay outside the realm of human knowledge. What Hume did contend was monotheistic religions were pernicious corruptions that tended to foster dogmatic beliefs, intolerance, and religious enthusiasm. The British enlightenment movement could not embrace the radical philosophy and criticism of religion contained in Hume's work. The Enlightenment preceded the rise pietism in England (especially in the form of Methodism) with the result that the great evangelical revivals of the eighteenth century significantly blunted the influence of enlightened philosophy upon religion.

Indulgences Acts of the Roman Catholic Church that remitted punishment due for sins. The sins are thereby excused and guilt pardoned through the reception of the sacrament of penance (reconciliation). The Reformation opposed the practice of selling indulgences.

Itinerant During the Great Awakening, evangelical preachers felt free to travel from place to place, to preach out of doors, or to be associated with several meeting houses, not just one church building as Anglican ministers were.

Justification by Faith A phrase used to refer to the following Biblical content of Galatians 2:16 (The Living New Testament paraphrased) "we Jewish Christians know very well that we cannot become right with God by obeying our Jewish laws, but only by faith in Jesus Christ to take away our sins, and so, we too, have trusted Jesus Christ, that we might be accepted by God because of faith—and not because we have obeyed the Jewish laws. For no one will ever be saved by obeying them." Justification by faith (not works) in Jesus

Christ results in the sinner standing before God as though no sin had ever been personally committed.

Knox, John (1505-1572) Though a native of Scotland, Knox was living in England at the time that Mary I (Catholic) came to the throne; thus his flight to Geneva in 1554. In 1559 he returned to Scotland, there to urge that country toward its own national establishment. The resulting Presbyterian Church represented (like England) a rejection of Rome, but (unlike England) also a rejection of bishops as spiritual-political officers within the Church. Knox's 1560 *Book of Discipline* concerns among other things the sacraments of the church. For Protestants and more particularly for Calvinists, the seven sacraments of Roman Catholicism (baptism, confirmation, communion, confession, marriage, ordination, and death) were reduced to two: "Baptism, and the Holy Supper of the Lord Jesus," to use Knox's words. All else was idolatry and an invention of man. His emphasis on the importance of educating the common people had much to do with Scotland's disproportionate influence on religious, scientific, and philosophical thought which had such impact on the American colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Kyrie eleison "*Lord have mercy*" A short supplication originally used as the response to the petitions of a litany.

Latitudinarian The term "*latitude-men*" was given to the Cambridge Platonists, for whom reason was the "*candle of the Lord*" and who gave broad scope to reason and advocated a broad interpretation of the standards of orthodoxy. During the era of the Enlightenment, the liberal views of this group of thinkers often departed from biblical and church orthodoxy.

Litany A series of petitions, each followed by a brief response on the part of the people.

Liturgy "*A public work*" In its original secular meaning, it came to be applied to a service of worship as "the work of the people of God." It is also used to designate a historic family of rites (e.g., the Roman Catholic liturgy, the Anglican liturgy, the Eastern Orthodox liturgy) or a text for the Eucharist (e.g., the Liturgy of St. Basil).

Locke, John (1632-1704) Better known than Hobbes for his arguments for religious toleration and the separation of church and state was John Locke a major leader in the Enlightenment. Growing up in a liberal Puritan family, he was educated at Christ's Church, Oxford University, where he supposedly studied medicine to avoid becoming a clergyman. Most of Locke's friends had Royalist sympathies, and in spite of early training he had become alienated from puritan dogmatism. He heartily welcomed the Restoration in the belief that a return to constitutional government would be favorable to political and religious freedom. Most of Locke's enlightened thought regarding religion were published in the *Letters Concerning Toleration* (1689, 1690, 1692) and in *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695). In the latter work Locke argued that the beliefs of Christianity could be defended rationally. In that they were not absurd, it could be shown that they stood up to reasonable examination. Locke's stress upon reason over faith and his rejection of some traditional theological doctrines as unnecessary for a believer were also found attractive by

many enlightenment writers. Among others, Locke corresponded with Newton on matters of religion.

Luther, Martin (1483-1546) Born at Eisleben in Saxony, son of miner Hans Luther and his wife, Margaret. In 1501 entered the University of Erfurt, became Master of Arts in 1505 and began the study of law. During a thunderstorm in July 1505, Luther vowed to St. Anne that he would become a monk—he entered the Order of Augustinian Hermits at Erfurt, was ordained in 1507, received degrees of Bachelor of Bible (1509) and Doctor of theology (1512). He began lecturing on scripture, the study and preparation for which brought on his historic transformation. The “new and wondrous” definition of righteousness that Luther discovered from his studies was that God’s righteousness was conferred on believers as a free gift in Jesus Christ (Justification by faith alone). The issue, however, that made Luther a public figure and the father of the movement that profoundly changed history was the practice of indulgences. Luther’s Ninety-Five theses were issued against the indulgence that was part of an arrangement between Pope Leo X, Albert of Brandenburg, and the banking house of Fugger. Luther attacked not only the financial corruption of the practice, but even more its distortion of the true nature of penance. He was excommunicated by the Church in 1521 and exiled to Wartburg for his own safety. In 1525 he married Catherine von Bora, wrote his catechisms in 1529 (which still form the basis of Lutheran religious instruction) and in 1535 a commentary on Galatians, which was an influential statement of the themes of justification, the distinction between law and gospel, and the nature of faith. Students from all over Europe came to Wittenberg to hear his lectures and his correspondence spread his influence across the known world. Luther died on February 18, 1546, frustrated by the fragmentation of the reform movement and his failure to re-establish a line of communication with the Roman Catholic Church. He laid the foundations for the Protestant church, but lived to see it move in directions he considered dangerous.

Memorialism A doctrine supported by the Swiss theologian Zwingli, which holds that Christ is present to the memory of the worshipper at the Lord’s Supper.

Millennialist Theology Methodically formulated religious beliefs that focus on a one-thousand-year period associated with the final defeat of sin and Satan, the second coming of Christ, the final judgment of humanity and the glory of the redeemed. Depending on the interpretation of the time relationship of Christ’s return and this one-thousand-year period, interpretations are referred to as *pre-millennial*, *post-millennial*, and *a-millennial*.

Minister This is a title given to the leader of a congregation who is duly authorized to conduct worship, preach, serve communion, baptize, and so forth. This title may be applied to a priest, pastor.

Newton, Isaac (1642-1727) Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge University. At an early age he distinguished himself in the realm of mathematics and physics, but by 1670 he became absorbed in alchemy and theology. During these studies and after review of early texts, Newton became convinced that the doctrine of the Trinity was false and questioned

other orthodox Christian views. He kept his views mostly to himself, and there is no reason to think he was the source of similar positions prominent in the Enlightenment. It was not until after his death that his religious views were published in *Observations and the Prophecies and Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended*. Newton developed a philosophy of nature and scientific method that drew from both Descartes's mechanical philosophy and Bacon's empiricism. Newton retained empiricism as the start of scientific inquiry (collecting a great number of facts from experience, followed by inductive logic to arrive at scientific laws), but demonstrated the use of theoretical tools such as mathematics to maintain a role for rationalism. Newton's convictions about the nature of matter and the existence of forces derived in large part from his religious faith. The concept of forces represented, for him, one form of the divine presence and activity. Because Newton believed God is active in the world, he disliked Cartesian mechanical philosophy that made God unnecessary to the world except in the role of creator.

Newton, John (1725-1807) **See page 286.**

Offertory The first part of the eucharistic rite when alms are collected and the bread and wine prepared. The name is also given to the sentence, psalm, hymn, or anthem used during this part of the liturgy.

Ordination of clergy is that act by a congregation and/or a group of congregations by which the candidate is set apart to perform special religious responsibilities. The appropriate persons of the ordaining group usually examine the candidate with regard to preparation, call, and commitment. Subject to approval the candidate is accepted into the office of Christian ministry with all of the rights and responsibilities attached thereto.

Orthodox Beliefs that conform to established traditional church doctrine.

Parson In the Church of England this title is a specific reference to clergy who have the "tithes, rights and glebes of the parish." In general this title may be used in reference to any clergy, although its contemporary use is limited.

Predestination Was one of five primary interpretations of Biblical content espoused by reformer John Calvin (1509-1564). He declared that through his foreknowledge of all events, God infallibly determines a purpose for all His moral creatures and guides those who are destined for salvation establishing His Son as mediator between the Creator and humanity. "Election" (God's plan to spiritually save some of humanity in and by Jesus Christ) and "reprobation" (that part of God's plan that foreordains some to damnation) are colloraries to the doctrine of predestination.

Presbyter This title is frequently used among Presbyterians in reference to a teaching elder, a minister, or a priest.

Presbyterian See Church Organization.

Puritan A term for English Calvinists from the Reformation to the Restoration (1660). The name “Puritan” was rather indiscriminately applied to elements within the Church of England who demanded simpler rites and more Calvinistic theology. Puritans regarded bishops with dislike and generally favored a Presbyterian form of church government (body composed of both clergy and laymen who governed a certain number of congregations—the Calvinist substitute for the bishop and his diocese). Radical Puritans became “Separatist” desiring a break with the Church of England. They generally wished to “purify” the liturgy of the Church of England, removing all practices for which they find no explicit scriptural warrant. In Virginia, early seventeenth-century Puritans eventually conformed to Anglicanism or left the colony altogether.

Reader or Lay-Reader This person is officially appointed to read Scripture and/or prayers in a church worship service. Lay people often accept this assignment.

Real Presence Deals with the Eucharist (Lord’s Supper). By the middle of the second century the conception of a *real presence* of Christ at the Eucharist was widespread.

Rector A clergy who is in charge of a parish, a school, so forth. Such a clergy would be the primary spiritual-administrator.

Sanctus “*holy, holy, holy, Lord, God of power and might*” The hymn incorporated into the eucharistic prayer or canon.

Sect A religious group with an influential leader who advocates dissenting or schismatic beliefs; sometimes regarded as heretical or extreme.

Sexton (Sextoness) A sexton (sextoness) is a person with responsibility for routine maintenance of church facilities. In colonial Virginia, vestries often gave this position to a man or woman of the parish who was in need.

Transubstantiation The doctrine held by the Roman Catholic Church, which affirms that at the Eucharist the substance of the bread and wine is transformed through consecration into the body and blood of Christ, though the substance of the bread and wine remain.

Trinity A primary teaching of Christianity referring to the union of three divine persons (the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit) in one Godhead, so that all three are one God as to substance, but three persons as to individuality.

Ubiquity The omnipresence of the glorified body of Christ. Luther used this doctrine to explain how Christ could be present in the bread and wine of the Eucharist.

Unitarian One who rejects the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, denying the divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit. Some Anglicans held Unitarian views, but a fixed liturgy, the

liturgical use of the Creeds, and episcopal polity preserved Trinitarian orthodoxy within the Church of England.

Unorthodox (heterodox) Beliefs that deviate from an acknowledged standard such as church creed or the Bible.

Vicar Within the Protestant Episcopal Church a vicar is the priest of a parish but not a rector, having delegated responsibilities for a chapel, or school, so forth. This title is used by other religious disciplines with a broader application such as a substitute religious leader with delegated responsibilities.

Virtualism The doctrine held by John Calvin, which holds that Christ is present in the sacrament by the power (“virtue”) of the Spirit.

Watts, Isaac (1674-1748) See page 287.

Wesley, John (1703-1791) See page 208.

Wesley, Charles (1707-1788) See pages 208, 284.

Whitefield, George (1714-1770) See pages 218, 302.

Zwingli, Huldrych (1484-1531) Swiss reformer and patriot; studied at the University of Basel, ordained at Constance in 1506, and sent to Glarus as parish priest. In 1518 became peoples’ priest for the Great Minister at Zurich, was praised for his preaching, and in 1522 published *Archeteles* and *Sixty-Seven Conclusions*, attacking church ceremonies and advocating radical reforms. In 1524 he removed images from the church, abolished the Mass, and announced his marriage (which had taken place in secret two years earlier) to Anna Reinhard. April 1525 saw the first celebration of the Lord’s Supper according to Zwinglian principles in the cathedral. Zwingli acknowledged only Baptism and the Eucharist as sacraments instituted by Christ and further considered them as mere tokens (*signa nuda*) of divine favor (as were the rites of circumcision and Passover of the Old Testament). While Luther denied the Mass but affirmed a Real Presence in the Eucharist, Zwingli denied both. Luther strongly opposed Zwingli’s view.