

JAMES INNES AND HIS BROTHERS OF THE F.H.C.

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CONTENTS

	Page
Chapter I. Introduction: Society Relics and Symbols . . . . .	1
Chapter II. Schooling at Home and at College . . . . .	12
Chapter III. Brothers of the F.H.C. . . . .	23
Chapter IV. The Society . . . . .	60
Chapter V. Military Career, 1775-1778 . . . . .	76
Chapter VI. Public Office, 1779-1780 . . . . .	101
Chapter VII. Service in the Field Resumed, 1780-1781 . . . . .	120
Chapter VIII. Post-war Post Script . . . . .	154

## I. INTRODUCTION: SOCIETY RELICS AND SYMBOLS

The convivial nature of colonial Virginians is traditionally associated with the openhanded hospitality of plantation life.<sup>1</sup> It appeared also in the informal clubs of Williamsburg taverns, which resembled London coffeehouses when friends who were in town on public or private business dined together and spent the evening in conversation, social drinking, gaming and lighthearted horseplay. College students, too, used taverns for private parties and social club meetings. Jefferson dancing with his Belinda in the Apollo Room of the Raleigh and meetings of the Phi Beta Kappa there were not unique, for in the decade before the Revolution several formally organized social-intellectual societies gathered in Williamsburg taverns--the F.H.C., the P.D.A.,<sup>2</sup> the Phi Beta Kappa,<sup>3</sup> the Virginian Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge,<sup>4</sup> the Williamsburg Lodge of Freemasons.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The young English actor, John Bernard, for example, found in "that truly hospitable race--the planters" a conviviality "like their own summers, as radiant as it was warm." Retrospections of America, 1797-1811, ed. by Mrs. Bayle Bernard (N.Y., 1887), p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> A collegiate fraternal society mentioned by William Short as a predecessor and rival of the Greek-letter Phi Beta Kappa. Short to Edward Everett, 1831, printed in 25 W(1) 164. A P.D.A. medal now owned by Mr. John Page Elliott of Alexandria bears on its face the founding date March 12, 1773.

<sup>3</sup> Organized at the College of William and Mary in 1776. See Oscar M. Voorhees, The History of Phi Beta Kappa (N.Y., 1945).

<sup>4</sup> For a brief history of the society see Brooke Hindle, The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America 1735-1789 (Chapel Hill, 1956), pp. 213-215.

<sup>5</sup> Chartered in 1773 but meeting in the Crown Tavern as early as 1762. A number of college students still in their 'teens were admitted to membership, among them F.H.C. brothers Innes, Tucker, Randolph, Yates, and Jones. MS Minute Book, 1774-1779, pp. 3, 8, 9, photostatic copy, Colonial Williamsburg Archives. See also George E. Kidd, Early Freemasonry in Williamsburg, Virginia (Richmond, 1957).

The first college fraternity in British America was the F.H.C. Society, organized in 1750 and quite active in the 1770's, when the members were an especially convivial group of young men. Like Phi Beta Kappa, the F.H.C. lapsed during the Revolutionary years, but unlike the Greek-letter fraternity it established no branches in other American colleges and was not revived in the nineteenth century. Therefore, little is known of it. It has survived historically only in occasional references to it in the private correspondence of fraternity brothers, in one certificate of membership, three medals, and one book from their library.

CERTIFICATE OF MEMBERSHIP

Nearly fifty years ago Mr. George P. Coleman of Williamsburg printed in facsimile a certificate of membership in the F.H.C. Society which he had found in a memorandum book kept by St. George Tucker while he was in college. It is written in abbreviated Latin and reads in translation:

The President and Members of the F: H: C: Society  
wishing to omit nothing that may promote this end--that youth may  
perfect the cultivation of virtue and invigorate learning in order  
to become a great ornament and support of affairs both general and  
particular--to those concerned with the recognition of these things  
Greetings.

That due rewards may not be withheld from those who have borne  
themselves with becoming modesty and sobriety, who have shown them-  
selves well mannered, God fearing, and cultured friends,  
to Robert Baylor

a youth of upright character, who, though he has been among us, his  
brothers, only a few months yet has shown himself worthy of all honors,  
we deliver this testimony of the friendship of our society. We beseech  
God, thrice good and great, that he may be happy and fortunate and  
continue ever to cultivate virtue itself precious to him.

In token of good faith, to this tablet we have set our hands and  
the common seal of our society, at the College of William and Mary in  
Virginia in the year of Christ 1772, on this the eighth day of the  
month July.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> George P. Coleman, ed., The Flat Hat Club and the Phi Beta Kappa Society (Richmond, 1916, pages unnumbered). This translation is my own, made because I read some of the abbreviations and Roman numerals differently--1772 instead of 1771, for example.

MEDALS

The three badges are distinguished below by the names of their owners:

I. Randolph medal (originally owned by James Innes).

The illustration in Coleman, Flat Hat Club (1916) is a photograph of a drawing of the badge made about 1880 by Robert A. Brock. The photographic negative was owned in 1915 by the Richmond photographer H. P. Cook, whose father obtained it in the 1880's from the Lee Gallery, where Brock's photograph was made. The drawing was labeled "Flat Hat Club, Williamsburg, Virginia" in the hand of Brock, whose daughter Miss Elizabeth C. Brock identified the writing. She searched her father's notebooks for reference to the medal and found an entry made about 1881 or 1882 explaining that it was the property of Major Innes Randolph of Baltimore who had informed him:

It belonged to my great-grandfather, Col. James Innes, attorney-general of Virginia. His only daughter, Anne, married Peyton Randolph of Wilton. My father was their only son and this branch of the Innes family is extinct in us. The medal was worn at the watch guard. My grandmother remembers it. It was a club at Williamsburg, perhaps semi-political. I fancy that the rose and thistle were on the obverse. The clasped hands and the motto indicate that it was more than a social club. It may, however, had been a mere college club or whist club. The tradition is that they met in the upper room of the tavern and that their laughter shook the house. I fancy that there was a punch bowl near about.<sup>7</sup>

Lyon G. Tyler, pursuing this clue, found the medal in the hands of Major Randolph's son, Mr. Harold Randolph of Baltimore, who furnished the photograph of the badge itself which illustrates Tyler's article in the William and Mary Quarterly. The present owner is unknown.

The badge is made of silver, circular in shape, 1 5/16 inches in diameter, with an added loop at the top to contain the hole by which it may be attached to a link. It looks like a silver coin, hammered thin. On the

<sup>7</sup> Lyon G. Tyler, "The Flat Hat Club," 25 W(1) 161-164. While Tyler was president of the college, the newspaper became The Flat Hat and a fraternity adopted the name "Flat Hat Club," later changed to "The F.H.C. Society." Colonial Echo, 1921-1943.

face the letters F H C are engraved in ornamental script with the founding date NOV. XI MDCCL in Roman letters. On the obverse an elaborately decorated chaplet carries the motto STABILITAS ET FIDES with a rose above it. In the chevron is a heart at the apex with three annulets on each side. Clasped hands appear below within the angle of the chevron.

II. Geddy medal (original owner unknown).

This one was deposited in the library of the College of William and Mary in May 1933 by Mr. Otis M. Geddy of Williamsburg, who found it in the drawer of an old secretary which had belonged to his family since Revolutionary times.<sup>8</sup>

It is exactly like the Randolph medal except in minor details of decoration on the reverse side and the absence of an added loop. The hole is cut in the top of the badge itself.

III. Kendrick medal (original owner unknown).

Mrs. M. Kelly Kendrick of Suffolk deposited the medal in the College Library in 1958. She had received it in 1919 or 1920 from an aunt, Mrs. Moncure, with some old coins that Mrs. Kendrick had requested "to cut her daughter's teeth on." Speculating about its original owner, Mrs. Kendrick suggested a Chamberlayne, Christian, Douglas or Brown ancestor.<sup>9</sup>

The Kendrick medal is smaller and thicker than the other two--1 1/16 inches in diameter. The hole is within the circle. The lettering on the face is more crudely cut and in Roman style; the dates are arabic. The obverse, too, is plain. Instead of a chaplet there is a shield. The chevron carries the same heart and six annulets. The motto is cut outside and below the shield.

<sup>8</sup> Note by Harold Shurtleff in 13 W(2) 138.

<sup>9</sup> Data from conversation with James A. Servies, Librarian.

JOURNAL

The Society kept a journal, which unfortunately has been lost.

William Nelson, Jr., in college in 1779, wrote to Tucker:

I am desired by the Members of the F H C, to request the Favour of you, to send the Key of the Box, wch contains their Books & Papers, inclosed by Mr. Harrison, who will be kind enough to take Charge of a Letter from you. If you have any Papers relative to the Society, they would be glad to receive them too by the same safe Opportunity. I cannot help rejoicing at the Revival of a Society founded on such noble Principles, & tending to promote the glorious Cause of Charity, Friendship and Science. The Object of it's Institution are most worthy of Pursuit, and the Method adopted seems to be the properest that could be suggested. It has been promoted with Ardour by many of the former Members, who must ever be regarded as it's Pillars, & Support, and none more worthily than yourself. Every Page of the Journal testifies this Obligation.<sup>10</sup>

BOOKS

One of the books from the Society Library has been preserved and is now in the Library of the College of William and Mary.<sup>11</sup>

CORRESPONDENCE

For bits of personal information about brothers of the F.H.C., Tucker's correspondence is the most useful now available to historians. From these letters we learn the names of members who were in college in the early 1770's: Tucker himself, James Innes, Beverley Randolph, Thomas Davis, William Yates, Robert Baylor, Walker Maury, Emmanuel Jones, Jr., and perhaps Bishop James Madison. Earlier graduates of the College of William and Mary who were Tucker's friends included other F.H.C. brothers: Dr. James McClurg, Warner Lewis, John Page of Rosewell, Lewis Burwell of Carter's Creek.<sup>12</sup> From the correspondence

<sup>10</sup> Nelson to Tucker, March 30, 1779, Tucker-Coleman MSS, Colonial Williamsburg Archives.

<sup>11</sup> See below, p. 72.

<sup>12</sup> Tucker-Coleman MSS, passim.

of Page and of Thomas Jefferson the list may be supplemented with members who were in college in the 1760's: Jefferson, John Harvie, Jack Walker.<sup>13</sup>

Half a century after Jefferson left college he recalled that:

"When I was a student of Wm. & Mary college of this state there existed a society called the F.H.C. society, confined to the number of six students only, of which I was a member, but it had no useful object, nor do I know whether it now exists."<sup>14</sup> Tucker's friends, on the other hand, often expressed a wish to revive the society. Maury thought they "should all meet and fix on some mode to perpetuate the F.H.C. establishment, which ought never to be suffer'd to fall to the ground, for its principles are such as may be productive of much good to society."<sup>15</sup> Tucker remembered with nostalgia "our own little select friendly Set"<sup>16</sup> and yearned "to give the cordial, friendly Shake again."<sup>17</sup> Innes, preparing to go into battle on the Brandywine, hoped that Tucker would exert himself "for the Revival of the F:H:C:" and a year later still regretted the decline of "our once darling F H C."<sup>18</sup>

NAME

Members always called it the F.H.C. Society. In correspondence they never divulged the secret of the Latin words represented by the letters F.H.C., but they specifically mentioned their devotion to friendship, mirth

<sup>13</sup> Jefferson to John Walker, September 3, 1769, in Julian P. Boyd and others, eds., The Papers of Thomas Jefferson (Princeton, 1950-), I, 32; Jefferson to Page, October 7, 1763, Ibid., I, 11-12.

<sup>14</sup> Jefferson to Thomas McAuley, June 14, 1819, in Coleman, Flat Hat Club, [pages unnumbered].

<sup>15</sup> Maury to Tucker, July 29, 1781, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>16</sup> Tucker to Page, March 31, 1776, Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Tucker's Journal of a Voyage to Bermuda, August 6-16, 1773, Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Innes to Tucker, September 7, 1777, June 12, 1778, Ibid.

and conviviality, science and charity. When Brock labeled his drawing of the Randolph medal "Flat Hat Club," he was supposedly recording a tradition in the family of Innes's descendants. Surely, this was a humorous nickname, perhaps one used derisively by friends outside the little coterie solemnly dedicated to Fraternitas, Hilaritas Cognitioque--or something of the sort.

Innes's daughter Anne (Mrs. Peyton Randolph of Wilton) recalled as an old lady that her father wore his F.H.C. medal on his watch chain.<sup>19</sup> It is fitting that his medal is the one whose original ownership is known, for he symbolizes the society in a special way. In the words of his friend Tucker, his "way was like that of an Eagle through the Air, grand, lofty, and celebrated to delight and astonish the Beholder, without leaving a Trace behind."<sup>20</sup>

Colonel James Innes is remembered in Virginia history only as the most eloquent speaker in the Convention of 1788, where the friends of the Constitution chose him to make the final appeal for its adoption so that he might counteract the influence and eloquence of Patrick Henry.

When Hugh Blair Grigsby was preparing biographical sketches for his history of the convention, Innes had been dead nearly half a century. The text of his speech had been lost, but old men who had heard it still remembered its profound effect. Grigsby attempted to reconstruct it from contemporary notes and comments, then concluded:

The loose report of it which has come down to us presents some of the main points on which he dwelt, and enables us to form a vague opinion of the mode in which he blended severe argument with the loftiest declamation; but it affords only a faint likeness of the original, and conveys no idea of the prodigious impression which the speech made at the time. And what that impression was we know from

<sup>19</sup> 25 W(1) 162.

<sup>20</sup> Tribute "To the Memory of Mrs. Banister," MS Notebook dated about 1818, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

conclusive authority. Old men have been heard to say that, exalted by the dignity of his theme and conscious that the issue was to be instantly decided, he spoke like one inspired. The tones of tender affection when he spoke of our Northern brethren, who had fought side by side with us in battle and had achieved with us the common liberty; of fierce disdain when he described his opponents as lowering the flag of his country to ingratiate the petty princes of Europe; of apprehension when he portrayed the terrible power of England and her thirst for vengeance; of unutterable scorn when he repelled the charge that Northern men would make hewers of wood and drawers of water of the people of the South; and of passionate patriotism when he conjured the House not to throw away the fruits of the Revolution by rejecting the proposed system, but in a spirit of fraternal love to ratify it without amendment; his attitudes and gestures, as he moved his gigantic stature to and fro, and the unbroken and overflowing torrent of his speech, were long remembered. His friends were liberal in their congratulation, and declared that he had surpassed himself--that he had surpassed any speaker whom they had ever heard. But the expectations of friends are sometimes easily satisfied. There is, however, one witness whose testimony is beyond cavil. Henry could hardly find words to express the admiration with which the eloquence of Innes had inspired him. It was grand. It was magnificent. It was fit to shake the human mind.<sup>21</sup>

St. George Tucker was present in the Convention on Wednesday, June 25th, when Innes spoke; he later recalled:

There is in Robertson's Debates of the Virginia Convention, a very short Sketch,<sup>22</sup> of a most eloquent speech delivered by him about the Close of the Session. I heard it; and am sorry to say that there is not more than a third part of what he delivered. His Manner was probably too rapid, and possibly too attractive, to the hearer, for the Shorthand-writer [i.e., David Robertson himself] to keep pace with him.<sup>23</sup>

Tucker's sensible conjecture explains why Henry's great speeches, too, have not survived.

<sup>21</sup> Hugh Blair Grigsby, The History of the Virginia Federal Convention of 1788..., ed. by R. A. Brock (Richmond, 1890-1891, Volumes IX and X of Virginia Historical Society Collections, New Series), I, 332-333.

<sup>22</sup> David Robertson, Debates and Other Proceedings of the Convention of Virginia, Convened at Richmond, on Monday, the Second Day of June, 1788...Taken in Short Hand, by David Robertson. (2nd edn., Richmond, 1805), pp. 451-455. This is the text used by Jonathan Elliot, The Debates in the Several State Conventions, on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution (2nd edn., Philadelphia, 1859), III, 631-637.

<sup>23</sup> Tribute "To the Memory of Mrs. Banister," MS Notebook dated 1818, pp. 24-31, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

From "frequent conversations" with those who, like Tucker, knew Innes "from his youth upward," from "meagre shreds" of information in newspapers and parliamentary journals, Grigsby was able to construct a pen portrait:

His physical qualities marked him among his fellows as distinctively as his intellectual. His height exceeded six feet. His stature was so vast as to arrest attention in the street. He was believed to be the largest man in the State. He could not ride an ordinary horse, or sit in a common chair, and usually read or meditated in his bed or on the floor. On court days he never left his chamber till the court was about to sit, studying all his cases in a recumbent posture. It is believed that he was led to adopt this habit not so much from his great weight as from a weakness induced by exposure during the war. In speaking, when he was in full blast, and when the tones of his voice were sounding through the hall, the vastness of his stature is said to have imparted dignity to his manner. His voice, which was of unbounded power and of great compass, was finely modulated; and in this respect he excelled all his compeers with the exception of Henry. From his size, from the occasional vehemence of his action, and from a key to which he sometimes pitched his voice, he is said to have recalled to the recollections of those who had heard Fox the image of that great debater. A miniature by Peale, still in the possession of his descendants,<sup>24</sup> has preserved his features to posterity. He is represented in the dress of a colonel in the Continental line; and we gather from that capacious and intellectual brow, shaded by the fresh auburn hair of youth, those expressive blue eyes, that aquiline nose, some notion of that fine caste of features and that expression which were so much admired by our fathers. His address was in the highest degree imposing and courteous; and in the social circle, as in debate or at the bar, his classical taste, and an inexhaustible fund of humor, of wit, of accurate and varied learning, kindly and generously dispensed, won the regard and excited the admiration of all.<sup>25</sup>

At that time--in 1788--Innes was an eminent member of the Virginia bar. He had served his state in the House of Delegates and was then in executive office as attorney general. When Grigsby asked Littleton Waller Tazewell for an opinion of Innes's legal talents, the Governor replied: "Innes, sir, was no lawyer (that is, he was not as profound a lawyer as Wythe, or Pendleton, or Thomson Mason, who were eminent when Innes was born); but

<sup>24</sup> The Peale miniature is unknown in Virginia today. The daguerreotype owned by the Virginia Historical Society is the Colonel James Innes from North Carolina who served with Washington in the French and Indian War.

<sup>25</sup> Grigsby, Convention of 1788, I, 326-327.

he was the most elegant belles-lettres scholar and the most eloquent orator I ever heard."<sup>26</sup> This was a tribute indeed, from a man who often heard Henry speak and was a boyhood friend of John Randolph of Roanoke.

Further search in scattered manuscript sources which were not available to Grigsby reveals enough additional information about Innes to make it possible to trace his career and enlarge the portrait. He emerges from closer study much the same man that Grigsby described--warm, impulsive, talented, well-educated, active in many of the critical affairs of his time, greatly loved and esteemed by those who worked with him or under his direction, but independent and impatient under the restraints of authority that he himself did not respect.

These were the personal characteristics of the traditional model of the colonial Virginian. Innes was a member of the gentry, accepted for leadership within the group, but he was not a planter or the son of a planter. Rather, he was a townsman, for he lived in Williamsburg as an adult, when he could make his own choice, and never owned a country home. His income was derived from the practice of law and from the salary of public office without supplements from either planting or mercantile business. Yet he is an excellent example of the high quality of leadership in Revolutionary Virginia. Like Pendleton, Henry and Mason, he worked best at the colonial and state level and in the Virginia climate, among men of similar tastes and convictions. These typical Virginians suffer only in comparison with a Jefferson or a Washington, whose breadth of vision was quite exceptional. Perhaps provincialism was the great weakness of colonial Virginia society, a weakness that appears in national life after the passing of the Virginia dynasty--itself the last gasp

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., I, 326n.

of a dying civilization that might have been described by Pindar. But its localism was also its greatest strength and furnished the seed of a working federalism when the new nation required it for survival.<sup>27</sup>

While Innes grew to manhood, the old aristocracy was already making adjustments to the chronic depression in the tobacco market, finding substitutes for tobacco planting and accepting within its ranks persons whose position was not based on landholding.<sup>28</sup> Innes illustrates these adjustments at the same time that he serves as an example of the kind of man colonial Virginia produced.

In our efforts to understand the social order in colonial Virginia, modern historians might well supplement the currently popular scientific analyses of status and behavior patterns with careful study of men in the second level of talent and achievement. This examination of Innes and his brothers of the F.H.C. in college and in public life during the period of the Revolution is offered to the reader as a case in point.

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<sup>27</sup> For a brief discussion of the importance of localism, see Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The Colonial Experience (N.Y., 1958), pp. 139-143.

<sup>28</sup> Compare Fithian's statement to John Peck, August 12, 1774, that the Virginia gentry rated a Princeton graduate at £10,000 without reference to his family, estate, or business. Hunter D. Farish, ed., Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion (Williamsburg, 1943), p. 212.



## II. SCHOOLING AT HOME AND AT COLLEGE

James Innes was the youngest son of a Scottish clergyman and scholar, the Rev. Robert Innes, who was rector of Drysdale Parish when his third son was born in 1754.<sup>1</sup> The parish was a large one with two churches, one in King and Queen County and another in Caroline.<sup>2</sup> The glebe lands were in King and Queen and the parsonage--identified with Innes on the Fry-Jefferson Map--was located on the east side of the Mattaponi River a few miles to the northeast of the site of the town of Dunkirk and close to Capt. Mordecai Throckmorton's plantation, just below the headwaters of Tuckahoe Creek.<sup>3</sup>

Little is known of the Rev. Robert Innes. He was a Scottish Anglican who came to America shortly after 1747, when he was licensed for service in a Virginia parish.<sup>4</sup> His position in Virginia society was a good one, and his home was marked on the Fry-Jefferson Map with the symbol used for the seats of the best families. He was unusually well educated, with a M. A. from Aberdeen,<sup>5</sup> and in other respects appears to have fit the pattern described

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<sup>1</sup> The date of his appointment to Drysdale Parish is uncertain; he was listed there in 1754. William Meade, Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia (Philadelphia, n.d.), I, 414.

<sup>2</sup> In 1762 the vestry obtained permission from the General Assembly to sell the glebe and purchase another more conveniently situated. 7 H 513-514. When the parish was divided in 1779, the larger and better of the two churches was the one in King and Queen--presumably near the glebe lands, which had not been sold. 10 H 209-214.

<sup>3</sup> Fry-Jefferson Map, 1755. Compare Bishop Madison's map of 1807 for the site of Dunkirk, founded at the turn of the century.

<sup>4</sup> Edward L. Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia (Milwaukee, 1927), p. 281. A James Innes living in Virginia a decade earlier may have been his brother. 34 V 182.

<sup>5</sup> William E. Stanard, editorial note, 13 V 50.

by Hugh Jones for the Virginia clergy:

And as in words and actions they should be neither too reserved nor too extravagant; so in principles should they be neither too high nor too low: The Virginians being neither favourers of popery nor the Pretender on the one side, nor of presbytery nor anarchy on the other; but are firm adherents to the present constitution in state, the Hanover succession and the Episcopal Church of England as by law established; consequently then if these are the inclinations of the people, their ministers ought to be of the same sentiments,...

They likewise should be persons that have read and seen something more of the world, than what is requisite for an English parish; they must be such as can converse and know more than bare philosophy and speculative ethicks, and have studied men and business in some measure as well as books; they may act like gentlemen, and be facetious and good-humoured, without too much freedom and licentiousness; they may be good scholars without becoming cynicks, as they may be good Christians without appearing stoicks.<sup>6</sup>

In 1759 the rector entered three sons--young Jamie and his two elder brothers Robert and Harry--in Donald Robertson's school, which had opened the year before.<sup>7</sup> Robertson, also a Scotsman educated at Aberdeen, had come to Virginia in the spring of 1753 and for five years had been a tutor at Newmarket, Col. John Baylor's home in Caroline County.<sup>8</sup>

Robertson's school has been a subject of peculiar interest to social historians because it is the only one of the many private schools in colonial Virginia that is documented: Robertson's account book for the years 1758-1773 is extant. Biographers, too, have studied the account book because a number of gifted children received instruction there. President James Madison and John Taylor of Caroline entered in 1762. Besides young Taylor, Edmund Pendleton sent other protegés to Robertson--among them his nephew Edmund

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<sup>6</sup> Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, ed. by Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill, 1956), pp. 117-118.

<sup>7</sup> Robertson's MS Account Book, 1758-1773, Virginia Historical Society.

<sup>8</sup> Family tradition related in William Kyle Anderson, Donald Robertson and His Wife Rachel Rogers... (Detroit, 1900), reviewed in 10 V 224. Perhaps he served Colonel Baylor on a five-year indenture and opened his own school when he had earned his freedom.

Pendleton, Jr., and four little girls connected with the family. George Rogers Clark, whose aunt Rachel Rogers married Robertson in 1764, studied there while the Innes boys were students, as did John Tyler, father of President Tyler, as well as several sons of the Caroline burgess Lunsford Lomax and children of other prominent families in adjoining counties. Col. John Baylor's youngest son Robert was tutored by Robertson in 1771-1772 at his private school, as the elder children had been taught at Newmarket.<sup>9</sup>

Persistent adherence to Robertson family tradition has placed the school on the eastern bank of the river about four miles above Dunkirk.<sup>10</sup> Yet one of Robertson's accounts--that with the Rev. Robert Innes--is clearly a record of a partnership from 1759 to 1765.<sup>11</sup> On the debit side of the account a variety of entries include the boys' schooling (without charges for board and room); cash deposited in Innes's hands or paid to him or lent him, ranging in amount from a few shillings to thirty-odd pounds; orders on various patrons of the school and on neighborhood merchants. On the credit side there are large bonds (two for £100 each), Robertson's share of parish levies, small sums from poll taxes and county levies, quite a number of textbooks, a watch, and farm produce. One year the cost of the children's schooling, £10/15/0, was entered as "paid by my Entertainment." In August of 1761 Mrs. Innes borrowed one shilling threepence and repaid it later in the month. Innes sometimes paid out small sums for Robertson--e.g., a shilling for mending a saddle in 1763, fifteen shillings for a "lottery ticket at Hobshole" in 1762.

The Rev. Robert Innes died in 1765 and a year later the estate still

<sup>9</sup> Account Book, lists of scholars, pp. 3-14.

<sup>10</sup> For example, see the National Geographic Map of Virginia, 1938 edition.

<sup>11</sup> Pp. 94-95, 108-109, 110-111, 112-113; see also cash accounts, pp. 60-74.

owed Robertson £270. Collecting the debt proved difficult. Finally, in May, 1768, the Caroline Court issued a favorable judgment and the next month Robertson drew the last £76 on Col. Edmund Pendleton, one of the executors, and could then record that "Mr. Innes's Estate and I are quite clear."

The large sums that Innes drew in cash could hardly have been personal loans, for Robertson was not yet established as a property owner. In 1760 he paid rent to "Mrs. R." for the Schoolhouse as an item in the separate "account of Small expences."<sup>12</sup> The following year's account with John Gayle records plastering and brickwork completed--presumably on a new building of some sort, either a residence or schoolhouse--with "whitewashing hearths and back of chimney" yet to be done.<sup>13</sup> An unsettled account with Thomas Younger of King and Queen County mentions cattle, nails, a black walnut desk, partial rent for an orchard, and "dues for his land" amounting to £160.<sup>14</sup> Several years earlier, while Innes was living, Capt. Mordecai Throckmorton was one of several merchants furnishing school supplies; William and Henry Lyne were others. Since Throckmorton was a close neighbor, he performed special tasks: in 1763 he provided a table for the school house costing ten shillings and repaired the building for 11/6½; for an additional £6 he also built "a Quarter at the River." Finally, a year after Robertson's marriage and shortly after Innes's death, in November of 1765, Throckmorton supplied a cradle and a small pine table for 7/6--presumably for the use of the schoolmaster's private household.

Conclusions: Until Innes's death, Robertson's school was on the

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 158-159.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., pp. 82-83. Cf. formal statement, all but illegible, pp. 141-142.

glebe lands and close enough to the parsonage for the schoolmaster to board with the rector's family and for Mrs. Innes to run over and borrow a shilling. School books for individual scholars were ordered by Innes from merchants with whom he, the partner with the older and better financial standing, had credit arrangements. The cash debited to Innes came from partnership funds accumulated from patrons' fees--£20 a year per student for board and tuition or £4/6/0 tuition for Latin scholars and £1/0/0 for younger pupils in the English school. When Innes died, in 1765, the partnership was dissolved and Robertson built his own school house closer to the river and taught there independently.

The settlement of the Innes estate dragged on for at least five years. First his lands in Halifax County were advertised--7500 acres, more than half of them uncultivated.<sup>15</sup> Slaves, stock, household goods and "a choice collection of books" went up for sale in 1767 "at the glebe house of Drysdale parish in Caroline County"<sup>16</sup> and were again advertised in 1770 "at the house of Mrs. Innes, near Beverley Park, in King and Queen County."<sup>17</sup>

The Innes boys left no comment on the curriculum or on Robertson's teaching methods, but one of their schoolmates did. A favorite anecdote of Madison in later years was recorded by his stepson Payne Todd<sup>18</sup> and by a member of Jefferson's family at Monticello:

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<sup>15</sup> VG(PD) 8 Ag 66:32.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 29 Oc 67:23.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 13 D 70:22. How can the two county locations be explained? Were stock and goods moved about, first to another parsonage in the parish, then to the widow's home near the Rappahannock? Or had the vestry already acted upon permission secured in 1762 to buy new glebe lands and thus made the Fry-Jefferson Map already out of date?

<sup>18</sup> Irving Brant, James Madison, The Virginia Revolutionist (Indianapolis, 1941), p. 64.

The passage in Mr. Madison's college life just referred to, related by him to me once, as we sat together at his table after dinner--narrated with that inimitable mixture of boyish fun and drollery in his eye, and sedateness of manner, for which he was so remarkable--afforded me then one of the heartiest laughs I ever enjoyed.

The substance of the story was as follows: A forlorn, wayworn Frenchman came to Princeton and addressed himself to the President [Witherspoon, also a Scot]. Mr. Madison, as the only "French-scholar," known to be at the institution, was sought for, to act as interpreter. After some delay he was found, and they were brought face to face; whereupon the Frenchman began to hold forth. Mr. M., listening with all his might, was able to catch a few words--sufficient to convey to his mind a glimmering of the other's meaning. This having been communicated to the President, Mr. M.'s turn came, and he commenced. But it soon became manifest to him and to the bystanders, that the poor Frenchman did not understand one word of what he was saying. "I might (said Mr. Madison) as well have been talking Kickapoo at him! I had learnt French of my Scotch tutor, reading it with him as we did Greek and Latin; that is, as a dead language; and this, too, pronounced with his Scotch accent, which was quite broad; and a twang of which my own tongue had probably caught, as regarded the pronunciation of those dead languages."<sup>19</sup>

Again speaking of the Scots tutor Madison once declared, "All that I have been in life I owe largely to that man."<sup>20</sup>

One of Madison's school notebooks, his "Book of Logick" dated 1766, now in the Library of Congress, reveals Robertson's critical interest in science and philosophy and his careful training of his students in good writing habits developed from the study of Latin and English classics, as well as the "logick" polished by association with Socrates and Plato.<sup>21</sup>

Robertson's library of books which students borrowed included, besides Latin classics and grammars, the poems of Dryden, Pope, and Milton, Locke On Human Understanding, Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws, Montaigne's Essays, Thomas à Kempis, and translations of Thucydides and Herodotus. For recreational reading there were Smollett's History of England and the

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<sup>19</sup> Henry S. Randall, The Life of Thomas Jefferson (N.Y., 1858), II, 192n.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted in John H. Gwathmey, Twelve Virginia Counties Where the Western Migration Began (Richmond, 1937), p. 126.

<sup>21</sup> Brant, Madison, pp. 59ff.

poems of Ossian--the Gaelic pastoral-philosophical epic put together by James MacPherson, greatly admired by Goethe and Jefferson (among others) though publicly branded a forgery by Dr. Samuel Johnson.<sup>22</sup>

Young Jamie entered the Latin school in 1762<sup>23</sup> at the age of eight and by summer of that year was reading Eutropius.<sup>24</sup> In the next three years he presumably progressed from Eutropius to Ovid, Terence and Sallust. As Madison recalled the curriculum,<sup>25</sup> he studied also arithmetic, algebra and geometry, geography and general literature.

None of the Innes boys attended Robertson's school after their father's death. Nothing is known of James's whereabouts or activities from 1766 to 1770. Perhaps he was pursuing independent study and reading in his father's library. And there is the possibility of Pendleton's influence as the leading member of his father's vestry and executor of the estate; by this time the Caroline lawyer had developed the habit of "picking out likely young men and preparing them for public service."<sup>26</sup> In some manner, until he was sixteen years old Jamie's education was continued at home; then in 1770 he was enrolled at the College of William and Mary, where Pendleton was responsible

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<sup>22</sup> "Catalogue of my Books," pp. 132-135 of Robertson's Account Book. See also the Innes accounts.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135. Other students paid 2/6 for their copies of Eutropius; James Innes paid only 1/3.

<sup>25</sup> Madison to Payne Todd in Brant, *Madison*, p. 59.

<sup>26</sup> David J. Mays, *Edmund Pendleton, 1721-1803, A Biography* (Cambridge, 1952), I, 139.

for paying his bills.<sup>27</sup>

When Innes came to the college, there were 120 students enrolled.<sup>28</sup> More than half the student body--about seventy of them--were in the grammar and Indian schools, with about fifty in the philosophy and divinity schools. Eighty-five boarded in the college; the others lived in town in private boarding houses or with friends or kinsmen. Innes was one of the college boarders.

The president of the college, the Rev. James Horrocks, like all his predecessors and successors, lived on the campus in the President's House. He was an important person in the community--a member of the Council as Commissary of the Bishop of London and, unlike most incumbents of his office, also rector of Bruton Parish Church. There were two professors of divinity: the Rev. John Camm and the Rev. John Dixon. Three other clergymen on the faculty were the Rev. Samuel Henley, professor of moral philosophy, the Rev. Thomas Gwatkin, professor of natural philosophy, and the Rev. Josiah Johnson, professor of humanity and master of the grammar school. Emmanuel Jones, master of the Indian school and librarian, completed the roster of professors. All the faculty lived on the campus except Camm and Johnson, who had created a great furor the year before by marrying and taking up residences in town, for the masters were supposed to be bachelors. The Board of Visitors had not discharged the two offenders but had decreed that for the future all professors would reside in the college and would leave the employment upon marriage.

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<sup>27</sup> Family tradition and biographical sketches of Innes contend that he entered college in 1771. In March of that year the bursar's accounts show that he owed £9/15/- for board until November 22, 1770, when payments on the Nottoway Foundation scholarship began. At the rate of £13 a year, his board was to cover a period of about nine months. Bursar's Books, printed in 1 W(2) 122.

<sup>28</sup> Data following is taken from the Bursar's books, printed in Lyon G. Tyler, *Williamsburg, the Old Colonial Capital* (Richmond, 1907), pp. 158-160.

Camm's courtship and marriage had been especially interesting to local gossips. The bridegroom had been educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and had come to Virginia in 1749 as rector of Yorkhampton Parish as well as professor at the college. He was a man of great personal force and had been prominent in the Parson's Cause controversy. As a later president of the college, Lyon G. Tyler, told the story:

Among Camm's parishioners, baptized by him in his early rectorship of York Hampton parish, was Miss Betsy Hansford, a relation of Hansford, the rebel and martyr of Bacon's day. A young friend, who had wooed Miss Betsy without success, persuaded the worthy parson to aid him with his eloquence. He called upon her, and among other authorities quoted the Bible, which enjoined matrimony as one of the duties of life. His persuasions had no effect, however, and the young lady finally suggested that, if the parson would go home and look at 2 Samuel xii. 7, he might be able to divine the reason for her refusal. Mr. Camm went home and "searched the scriptures," when he found these significant words staring him in the face: "And Nathan said to David, thou art the man."<sup>29</sup>

The practical result of Miss Betsy's scriptural citation was reported as a social item in Purdie and Dixon's Virginia Gazette of July 13, 1769, which announced the marriage of the Rev. John Camm and Miss Elizabeth Hansford, eldest daughter of Mr. Charles Hansford of York County, "a very agreeable young Lady."<sup>30</sup> Mrs. Martha Goosley of Yorktown informed her friend John Norton in London that "Mr. Camms Marriage has made a great noise here" and added her own comment: "but Pray why may not an old Man afflicted with the Gout have the Pleasure of a fine hand to rub his feet and warm his flannells. [He was fifty-one.] Comfortable amusement you will say for a Girl of fifteen but She is to have a Chariot and there is to be no Padlock but upon her mind."<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp. 156-157.

<sup>30</sup> VG(PD) 13 J1 69:31.

<sup>31</sup> Martha Goosley to John Norton, August 5, 1769, in Frances Norton Mason, ed., John Norton and Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia (Richmond, 1937), p. 102.

Just before Innes's matriculation the Board of Visitors had decreed that "All such youth, whether resident in or out of the College, who have acquired a competent knowledge of common or vulgar Arithmetic, & whose Parents or Guardians may desire it, be received into the Mathematical school."<sup>32</sup> The faculty had been unwilling to discontinue the requirement of Latin and Greek for entrance into the philosophy school, and the next year were able to revive one of the dead languages in effect through the ruling that all students to be eligible for a scholarship had to appear before the President and Masters with a Latin epistle.<sup>33</sup> Young Innes was one of those who did not need to take advantage of the easier entrance requirements; he had studied Latin at Robertson's school and was able to use the language freely and aptly in letters and speeches all his life.

His teachers at William and Mary were pleased with his work and recommended him for a scholarship in November, 1770.<sup>34</sup> The next spring he was given one of the Nottoway Foundation scholarships<sup>35</sup> from funds set aside from the income derived from the Nottoway lands on Nansemond River, part of the lands granted by the Crown when the college was chartered. There were other scholarships active in 1770 which had been established by the General Assembly and by private philanthropists--Commissary Blair, Colonel Lightfoot, Colonel Hill, Mrs. Harrison, Mrs. Bray--but the two Nottoway grants were most in demand.

After a year of further study Innes received a staff appointment as

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<sup>32</sup> Tyler, Williamsburg, p. 160.

<sup>33</sup> Faculty Minutes, December 10, 1771, 13 W(1) 232.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 157. The payments were retroactive from November 22, 1770.

assistant usher of the grammar school at a salary of £40, when full professors were paid only £100.<sup>36</sup> A year later, in the summer of 1773, he was granted the A. B. degree<sup>37</sup> but stayed on at the college as head usher of the grammar school at a salary of £75.<sup>38</sup> At this time he doubtless took up the study of law, perhaps under George Wythe's instruction, like his friend Tucker, whose law studies began in 1773.<sup>39</sup>

In all these college years Innes was an active member of the F.H.C. Society. His closest friends were fraternity brothers: St. George Tucker, Beverley Randolph, Thomas Davis, Walker Maury, Robert Baylor, and William Yates.

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<sup>36</sup> Faculty Minutes, May 27, 1772, printed 13 W(1) 234; Bursar's Books, printed 1 W(2) 122.

<sup>37</sup> Probably at the end of the Easter term, which closed that year on May 22. A faculty resolution of November 27, 1769, set the three terms as follows: Hilary (Monday after Epiphany--Saturday before Palm Sunday); Easter (Monday after first Sunday following Easter--Saturday before Whitsunday); Trinity (Monday after Trinity--December 16). The philosophy and divinity schools had an extra holiday from St. James's Day (July 25) to St. Luke's Day (October 18). 13 W(1) 149.

Thomas Davis to St. George Tucker, London, October 15, 1773, congratulates Innes upon his A. B. preferment.

<sup>38</sup> Faculty Minutes, June 12, 1773, 14 W(1) 29.

<sup>39</sup> There is no record of law studies, but he practiced that profession and there is no other period when he could have prepared for it.

### III. BROTHERS OF THE F.H.C.

The young men who composed "the little select friendly Set" studied together and played together in college while they prepared themselves to be ornaments and pillars of the community. As it turned out, when the Revolution came, they entered public life separately and the old fraternal ties were loosened though not forgotten. In introducing them to the reader at this point in the narrative of Innes's career, it seems advisable to do so with brief biographical sketches which take them beyond their college days.

#### TUCKER (1752-1827)

St. George Tucker left his home in Bermuda in the fall of 1771 and came to Virginia to study law.<sup>1</sup> In January 1772 he enrolled at the College of William and Mary for a year of academic studies under the direction of Professor Gwatkin, then read law in George Wythe's office. Early in August of 1773 he went home for a few months, returning to Williamsburg before Christmas. He resumed his law studies and in April of 1774 passed the bar examination and was licensed to practice in Dinwiddie County. In the middle of the summer he started a round of visits to friends and relations in Charleston, New York and Philadelphia, returning to Williamsburg at the end of October.

The next year he was admitted to the bar of the General Court. Then his father sent for him to come home to Bermuda, where his legal training would be useful in the family shipping interests. Already the Virginia courts

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<sup>1</sup> For a biography written from his manuscripts, see Mary Haldane Coleman, St. George Tucker, Citizen of No Mean City (Richmond, 1938).

had ceased to function regularly as one of the results of the conflict with Dunmore.

In loyal Bermuda his sympathies were with the rebellious colonies. The family found his presence an embarrassment after the "Gunpowder Plot" in the town of St. George's, where 112 barrels of gunpowder in the town magazine were stolen while crews of Virginian and South Carolinian ships were in the harbor. His father, therefore, permitted him to return to Virginia.

He landed in Yorktown January 3, 1777, and "came home" to Williamsburg, where he found gathered at a ball at the Raleigh in celebration of the victory at Princeton "all his most particular friends," who welcomed him with joyous affection as a returning hero. While he waited for the courts to resume normal business, he busied himself with West Indian trade in salt, ammunition, and other supplies that Virginia needed for the war effort.

In September of 1778 he married Frances (Bland) Randolph, the young widow of John Randolph of Matoax, son of Richard of Curles, and went to live at Matoax. The household included her three small sons--Richard, Theodorick, and John.

His active military service began in the spring of 1779, when he joined the company of volunteers defending Hampton and Williamsburg. When the British under Mathew and Collier withdrew from Hampton Roads, he returned to Matoax and resumed the life of a planter. In the new recruiting following Arnold's invasion, Tucker joined Robert Lawson's volunteers as a major in the militia. He was wounded at Guilford Court House but was able to rejoin Lawson in June for service in the Southside against Cornwallis. As a lieutenant colonel he was back in Williamsburg later in the summer to take part in the Yorktown campaign. His description of the town and the day-to-day events of the campaign is one of the most informative we have.

After Mrs. Tucker died in 1788 he moved his family to Williamsburg, where he built the Tucker-Coleman House, his home for the remainder of his life. In Williamsburg he was a practicing lawyer, judge and professor of law.

RANDOLPH (1754-1797)

Beverley Randolph was the second son of Col. Peter Randolph of Chatsworth and his wife Lucy (Bolling) Randolph. He was born on his father's James River plantation in 1754 and named for his paternal grandmother, Elizabeth (Beverley) Randolph, wife of William of Turkey Island. His father died in 1767 after long and distinguished public service as Henrico justice, burgess, treasurer of the colony, councilor, and surveyor general of the customs of the Middle District of North America.<sup>2</sup>

In 1770, when he was sixteen, Beverley entered the College of William and Mary--at the same time and same age as James Innes.<sup>3</sup> He, too, had a guardian responsible for paying his bills because his father was dead: Col. Archibald Cary of Amthill, who lived across the river from Chatsworth, had married his father's cousin, Mary Randolph, daughter of Richard of Curles.

Just before the Christmas holiday of that year the faculty promoted him to the philosophy school or college proper.<sup>4</sup> Nothing is known of his early schooling; he was probably prepared for college at home by private tutors and spent the first months of attendance at Williamsburg in the grammar school, completing his preparatory work. He accordingly purchased a cap and

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<sup>2</sup> 7 W(1) 123.

<sup>3</sup> The Bursar's Books show payment by Colonel Cary for board due March 25, 1771, in the amount of £9/14/3½. Innes owed on the same date £9/15.  
<sup>1</sup> W(2) 125.

<sup>4</sup> Faculty Minutes, December 13, 1770, 13 W(1) 156.

gown when he returned to school after the Christmas vacation.<sup>5</sup>

There is no record of his graduation. He paid board through March 25, 1772,<sup>6</sup> and perhaps later. He was in Williamsburg often enough in 1773 to attend Masonic meetings regularly; he joined the lodge with Innes and was passed at the same meeting, August 3, 1773.<sup>7</sup>

Randolph's movements for the next few years are difficult to trace. Because of his close friendship with Tucker and his kinship with the widow Randolph of Matoax there are many of his letters in the Tucker-Coleman Collection, but his habitual failure to date them limits their historical utility. His association with Tucker and Innes was especially close in 1774, when he and the Major were courting the Cocke sisters and the three attractive young bachelors were enjoying a gay social life in the lower Peninsula. For example, on the day of Tucker's return from a trip to New York and Philadelphia--October 31st-- he set off immediately for Yorktown to attend a ball honoring the marriage of Robert Nelson and Molly Grymes; Tucker "spent the Evening in the utmost Pleasure and Satisfaction" because Randolph was present, together with all his York friends.<sup>8</sup>

Randolph had been at Chatsworth in August when he advertised 1,000 acres of his Southside lands for sale.<sup>9</sup> His elder brother William, master of

<sup>5</sup> Bursar's Books, February 1, 1771, 1 W(2) 125.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Treasurer's Book of the Williamsburg Lodge, 1773-1784, p. 14. See also George E. Kidd, Early Freemasonry in Williamsburg, Virginia (Richmond, 1957), pp. 20-23, 44, 118-119.

<sup>8</sup> Coleman, St. George Tucker, p. 32.

<sup>9</sup> VG(PD) 11 Ag 74:33.

Chatsworth, was ill at the time and Beverley was managing the estate. When William died in November, 1774,<sup>10</sup> his widow--Mary (Skipwith) Randolph--seems to have stayed on at Chatsworth with Beverley's help in supervising its management. His own share of the family lands were south of the James in Cumberland County on branches of the Roanoke and Appomattox rivers. By the time of his marriage, January 1775, he had already established his own plantation home which he then called Randolphsville--humorously, perhaps. Yet he was still identified with Chatsworth in the newspaper announcement of his wedding.<sup>11</sup> If Randolphsville was the seat later known as Green Park, it was located on Green Creek, a short branch of the Appomattox directly south of Cumberland Court House near the Amelia County line--today roughly half-way on the road to Farmville.<sup>12</sup> When Randolph advertised lands for sale in 1776 and 1777, he gave his address as Cumberland.<sup>13</sup>

At one point in his correspondence with Tucker--December, 1784-- Randolph was thinking of establishing himself at Chatsworth and had engaged workmen to make repairs and alterations.<sup>14</sup> Yet he was living in Cumberland when he became governor in 1788 and died there in 1797.<sup>15</sup>

Randolph was the first of the three bachelors to marry. The Gazette announcement forecast complete happiness for this amiable pair in whom every

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 10 N 74:41.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 21 Ja 75:23.

<sup>12</sup> See Fry-Jefferson Map for location of Green Creek; <sup>the</sup> site of the plantation is not marked because it had not been established when the map was made.

<sup>13</sup> VG(D) 27 S 76:42; (P) 19 D 77:12.

<sup>14</sup> Randolph to Tucker, Richmond, December 6, 1784, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>15</sup> Lyon G. Tyler, ed., Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography (N.Y., 1915), II, 45-46.



manly and tender virtue resided. An accompanying quotation chosen for its suitability was from the Latin epigrammatist, Martial:

Perpetual harmony their bed attend,  
And Hymen still the well-match'd fair befriend.  
May she, when time has sunk him into years,  
Love her old man, and cherish his white hairs;  
Nor he perceive her charms through age decay,  
But think each happy turn his bridal day.<sup>16</sup>

The young couple now moved into the social circle of homes below and around Petersburg with only occasional visits to Williamsburg--notably when he attended meetings of the General Assembly as delegate from Cumberland from 1777 until 1780.<sup>17</sup> That first term his constituents requested, in an open letter published in the Virginia Gazette, that he and his fellow-delegate make an effort to do something about the high price of salt. Recent imports of the scarce article had been landed on the lower James River, where it had been bought by speculators who were reselling it at \$4 per bushel--an unreasonable profit, the Cumberland farmers thought.<sup>18</sup> It was at this time that Tucker was importing salt for the use of the Virginians; one wonders if the profits complained of were partly his.

During these years Randolph complained about the state of his health, with frequent mention of the conventional gout. Yet he was able to do militia duty. He took the oath of office as colonel in the Cumberland Militia in July of 1777<sup>19</sup> and in October of 1780, when Rodney and Leslie occupied Portsmouth and, everyone thought, threatened the whole James River Valley, Randolph

<sup>16</sup> VG(D) 21 Ja 75:23.

<sup>17</sup> 7 W(1) 124.

<sup>18</sup> VG(P) 7 N 77:13.

<sup>19</sup> John H. Gwathmey, Historical Register of Virginians in the Revolution (Richmond, 1938), p. 649.

prepared to march to the southward with Col. Robert Lawson's corps of volunteers. In this emergency presumably Tucker, too, would be marching south shortly and Randolph asked his friend to keep their supply of spirit gin and his new spurs in Petersburg until he could call for them.<sup>20</sup> Since Lawson's Volunteers included cavalry units, Randolph's gout doubtless dictated his choice of that branch of the service.

But Leslie did not come up the James and the emergency passed, to be succeeded by another at the New Year with Arnold's invasion. On January 13, 1781, Randolph informed Tucker: "I propose to set out Wednesday next for the scene of action. I do not know how my gouty limbs will stand it."<sup>21</sup> Later in the month he repeated: "I will go to Petersburg next week to offer my services to my country."<sup>22</sup> By this time Lawson's Volunteers had been absorbed in the Cumberland Militia being recruited hurriedly for service with General Greene. Lawson himself was now a brigadier general in charge of all the Virginia militia on the southern side of the James.<sup>23</sup>

Both Colonel Randolph and Major Tucker were with Lawson at Guilford Court House. On March 12th St. George informed Fanny that all her friends in the corps were optimistic about the outcome of the expected engagement. "We marched yesterday," he wrote, "to look for Lord Cornwallis, who probably marched a different route because he did not choose to fight us. We are now

<sup>20</sup> Randolph to Tucker, Richmond, October 26, [1780], Tucker-Coleman MSS. See also Jefferson's orders to Colonel Lawson, October 23, 1780, in Julian P. Boyd and others, eds., The Papers of Thomas Jefferson (Princeton, 1950-), IV, 64.

<sup>21</sup> Randolph to Tucker, n.p., January 13, 1781, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>22</sup> Randolph to Tucker, n.p., [January, 1781]. The letter may be dated from the quoted sentence and also from another, which reads: "I hear Fanny has presented you with a fine boy." Henry St. George Tucker was born December 29, 1780.

<sup>23</sup> Lawson to Jefferson, February 16, 1781, Boyd, Papers, IV, 629-630.

strong enough, I hope to cope with him to advantage." They had dined with General Greene the day they arrived in camp and had formed a favorable impression of him. In a more personal way Tucker commented: "Beverley has taken advantage of a small lameness in one of my toes to write to his wife that I have the gout. I do not intend to be placed so nearly on a par with him these thirty years."<sup>24</sup>

On the 15th Randolph and Tucker in their first day of fighting earned their share of Greene's commendation. Reporting the battle to Governor Jefferson, the general wrote: "It would be ungenerous not to say that the conduct of the Virginia Militia deserves my warmest approbation. Generals Stevens and Lawson with all the Officers under them did themselves great honor."<sup>25</sup> In a long letter to his wife Tucker sent home a detailed description of the action as he saw it in the battle line. When the inexperienced militia found the enemy behind them as well as in front, they "dispersed like a flock of sheep frightened by dogs," Tucker declared. But immediately, "With infinite labour Beverley and myself rallied about sixty or seventy of our men and brought them to the charge." The Major received a slight flesh wound in the leg when he ran into a bayonet while attempting to rally a group of regulars. Randolph "sustained no other injury than the loss of his blankets which were on his horse." All their friends behaved well, Tucker was happy to say. "Our friend Beverley," he assured Fanny, "showed by his conduct that his character is uniform. He was himself--I need say no more."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Tucker to Frances Tucker, March 12, 1781, printed in Coleman, St. George Tucker, p. 54.

<sup>25</sup> Greene to Jefferson, March 16, 1781, Boyd, Papers, V, 157.

<sup>26</sup> Tucker to Frances Tucker, March 18, 1781, printed in Coleman, St. George Tucker, pp. 55-58.

The militia was discharged after the battle, then re-recruited in the summer for new service against Cornwallis. Randolph does not appear in accounts of the Yorktown campaign--even in St. George's detailed diary. In July Frances Tucker, writing to her husband stationed in Williamsburg,<sup>27</sup> sent a message to Beverley, who presumably was in town at the time--perhaps on business.

After the war Randolph served the Commonwealth in administrative posts of first importance. As president of the Executive Council in 1787 he was lieutenant governor and in 1788 succeeded his cousin Edmund as chief executive. He died in 1797 at Green Park, his home in Cumberland County.<sup>28</sup> His close friendship with Tucker and Innes lasted all his life.<sup>29</sup> After Fanny's death, in 1788, Tucker moved to Williamsburg, where Innes still resided, and consequently saw his old friend Beverley less frequently than in the days when he lived at Matoax.

DAVIS (c.1753-c.1808)

Thomas Davis is known today chiefly from the fact that he read the service at Washington's funeral. At that time he was rector of the Episcopal Church in Alexandria and Washington's pastor.<sup>30</sup>

He was a small child when he came to Williamsburg in 1758 from

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<sup>27</sup> Frances Tucker to St. George, July 15, 1781, printed in Coleman, St. George Tucker, p. 65.

<sup>28</sup> Tyler, Virginia Biography, II, 45-46.

<sup>29</sup> In a letter of June 27, 1785, for example, Randolph informed Tucker that Innes had been a house guest at Chatsworth for the past ten days. Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>30</sup> For an account of the funeral see John A. Carroll and Mary W. Ashworth, George Washington (N.Y., 1957, vol. VII of Douglas S. Freeman's biography), pp. 627-630.

Prince George County with his father, the Rev. William Davis, new master of the grammar school at the College of William and Mary and rector of Westover Parish.<sup>31</sup> The dates of his school attendance are not known because the bursar's books contain no entry of board or tuition charges for him. The reasonable assumption is that he studied in the grammar school under his father's guidance and entered the philosophy school at the end of the decade of the 1760's. In January of 1769 the faculty appointed William Leigh a scholar on the Nottoway Foundation "in the room of Mr. Thomas Davis," who had "left College."<sup>32</sup> He was back at school early in October, 1770, in time to receive appointment as usher of the grammar school<sup>33</sup> and on August 11, 1772, was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts.<sup>34</sup> After graduation he stayed on as usher until June, 1773, when he resigned the position and was replaced by Innes.<sup>35</sup> Two months later he went to England for ordination in

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<sup>31</sup> Edward L. Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia (Milwaukee, 1927), p. 263. From the fact that this Thomas Davis often signed himself Jr., it has been suggested that his father was the Rev. Thomas Davis who was rector of Warwick Parish from 1758. But in 18th-century usage Jr. meant the younger of that name and not necessarily the son of Sr. (Cf. Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., and his cousin Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., the rebel.)

It was the elder Thomas Davis (probably an uncle) who was chairman of a committee chosen by the Norfolk Sons of Liberty to oppose the Stamp Act. This was the committee responsible for the detention of Capt. William Smith, commander of a merchant schooner in Hampton Roads, charged with informing the captain of a British warship about smuggling in the area. In the excitement Smith was tied behind a cart, stoned, tarred and feathered, and placed on a ducking stool. For the correspondence between Governor Fauquier, the Board of Trade, Captain Smith and Captain J. Morgan of the Hornet, see 21 W(1) 165-166.

<sup>32</sup> Faculty Minutes, January 18, 1769, 13 W(1) 19.

<sup>33</sup> Faculty Minutes, October 17, 1770, 13 W(1) 155.

<sup>34</sup> Faculty Minutes, August 11, 1772, 13 W(1) 235.

<sup>35</sup> Faculty Minutes, June 12, 1773, 14 W(1) 29.

the Anglican Church.<sup>36</sup>

Like Tucker, who went to Bermuda that same month, Davis was feeling very sentimental about his Williamsburg friends just before he sailed. He began a long letter to Tucker while he was visiting the Burwells at Carter's Creek late in July and added paragraphs in Yorktown the next week before sending it off. He was greatly disturbed about the health of Martha Cocke, elder daughter of the Williamsburg mayor, James Cocke, for he loved her in a gloomy, hopeless sort of way because his friend Beverley Randolph was the favored suitor.

I was in Wmsburg Yesterday [July 27th, he wrote] & dined with our worthy Friend the Major [Innes]. had the Pleasure of being at the F.H.C. Meeting, but, the Occasion of it greatly sour'd the Enjoyment-- Patsy is dangerously ill, Beverley sicklied o'er with the Pale Cast of Languishment & tho' it may savour of selfishness, yet I don't remember ever feeling more for Distress than I do at the present Moment for him....

Miss [Anne] Blair & myself had three Words & a little Window-Laugh together when I was in Town--Go & learn to be happy from her; but I'd have you be cautious not to trust yrself too far. You are of an amorous Cast; She is well calculated to inspire Love. No more Connundrums, George--they are dangerous Things to deal with-- After your Bermuda Trip apply yrself closely to the Law, so that I may have some of your Company when I return; which will be the last of 10ber, or Beginning of January, I expect....<sup>37</sup>

After an agreeable passage of five weeks Davis arrived in London and received his ordination under circumstances described by the London merchant John Norton in a letter dated September 25, 1773:

Mr. Davis got here the day before Public Ordination, and though late the Bishop was so obliging on a letter I wrote him (setting forth the reason of his late application) did ordain him and wrote me a genteel letter on the occasion, desiring me to forward a Bible and Prayer Book for the College, which I shall comply with.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Davis to Tucker, August 3, 1773, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>37</sup> Davis to Tucker, July 28-August 6, 1773, Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Recipient unknown. Printed 22 W(1) 141.

In October he was still in London but eager to return to Virginia. To Tucker he explained:

In Truth, I think the Time I have been here, except the first Week, has been as badly employed as any Part of my Life: Neither do I see the least Chance for Amendment. A continued round of Dissipation & Folly: it seems to be the reigning Taste here; & a Man is forc'd to go with the Tide. I verily believe that were I to stay six Months longer in this Place, I sh'd turn out a perfect Macaroni. Do you like the Epithet? The cut of my Coat--the Slope of the Hat--my Curls--but, you'll see them when I get to Virginia, so I'll not trouble you with a Description. Besides I sh'd not do them Credit enough, if what my Taylor, Tonsor, Hatter &c say of them. Whether it be the longing Desire I have to see my Friends in Virginia, or the Noise & Confusion of this Place that wearies me; I shan't pretend to determine; but this I am sure of, that I most sincerely wish I was this Moment among you. Mr. & Mrs. Norton & Mr. Athawes are extremely kind. Were I a Relation I cou'd not expect greater Civilities than I have had from them.

He was pleased that he had passed his examinations without having to take Greek, but still enjoying his unhappy romance and remembering Virginia friends with messages. He confessed: "Tho in the midst of as pretty Women as Desire could wish, yet I cannot for my Soul forget (it must out) my dear Patsy. There is surely no Harm in it; all that I mean is that I wish her happy." On a brighter note he added: "I wish Innes Joy upon his A. B. Preferment...."<sup>39</sup>

When the Rev. Thomas Davis returned to Virginia, he began his active ministry in Elizabeth River Parish, Norfolk County, relatively close to old friends in Williamsburg but too distant for frequent visits. In March, 1774, he complained to Tucker that he was in low spirits because of his father's infirmity and the silence of friends. "Will you answer the Question," he inquired, "if I ask how Innes, Yates, Jones and the other Brethren of the F.H.C. are? The first Day of March, I think, was the Time mention'd to pay twenty Shillings into the Treasury. It was not owing to Forgetfulness that I did not send it sooner."<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Davis to Tucker, London, October 15, 1773, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>40</sup> Davis to Tucker, Norfolk, March 19, 1774, Ibid.

Financial problems, too, were worrying him. His lawyer friend, St. George, had been asked to collect an old debt from John Page which had an interesting history related by Mann Page, Jr., in a letter to Tucker:

My Disappointment in not meeting with you in Williamsburg, as I had expected, was really great, & what added much to it was, that I was so circumstanced as not to be able to stay one Day to see you, tho' I was well informed that by that Time you would be in Town. To have transacted the Business you mention, would have been impossible at that Time, neither is it in my Power now to settle any Part. To let you see the Cause of my being unprepared, I must acquaint you with the Manner of my becoming indebted to Mr. Davis. Among the Vices, which prevailed at College in my Time, Gaming had it's Place, I was unfortunate, & lost a Sum of Money, I am ashamed to say how much, to Mr. John Page, Part of it I have paid, but he finding it put me to some Inconvenience generously offered to wait for the Remainder 'till it should be in my Power to pay it without any extraordinary Trouble to myself. Mr. Davis won a Sum of Money of J. Page, & knowing that I owed him Money, he asked me if I would accept an Order if he should get one on me from J. Page, I told him the Terms I was on with J. P. to which he answered, that the same Terms were agreeable to him, & that he would leave particular Orders with Orders with [sic] you not to apply for it, & that he would not even leave it behind him, but that it might be a Security to his Creditors, in Case of his being lost. I am really sorry my old Friend's Affairs are so distressed & would with Pleasure ease them, if it were in my Power. But the Follies & Imprudences of Youth have so embarrassed my own Affairs that I am afraid it will be some Time before I can bring them into that easy State I could wish.<sup>41</sup>

In May the young minister's affairs were more desperate. From Northampton he urged Tucker to immediate action:

You neither being in Wmsburg. nor leaving the Accts. as I desired has perplexed me greatly. However, if you are in Wmsburg when this arrives, you possibly may do something still. If I remember right, Mr. Page's Acct. is £12--or thereabouts--our Friend the Major seem'd to think he could pay some Part, if not the whole of what he is indebted to me; so that I am in Hopes with these & some other Debts You may be able to make up between £15 & £20 Pounds, for Capt. Howard Estes, whom I have desired to ask you for the Money. If it be possible do, my dear George, get him this Sum.<sup>42</sup>

The next summer he was in better spirits and tried to divert his

<sup>41</sup> Mann Page to Tucker, Mannsfield, February 15, 1774, Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Davis to Tucker, Northampton, May 25, 1774, Ibid.