

friend, who was again in Bermuda, with Virginia newspapers and bits of gossip about mutual friends. Andrews was reported to be neglecting acquaintances because he had recently taken a wife. Innes, Davis thought, might no longer complain "of the Insolence of Miss Cocke's Beauty--he may have left the Campus Martius, & for ought I know, be in Search of Happiness in the Academic Groves."<sup>43</sup> He was mistaken; this was the time when the Major was removed from his duties as usher because of his military activities. Davis's excuse for being so ill-informed was the usual one--he was busy with pastoral duties. "Two Sermons," he explained, "to steal for Sunday; & one to prepare for Tomorrow, on a mournful Occasion, require my immediate Attention: it's well for you it happens so, or you had been greatly fatigued by Your Friend."<sup>44</sup>

In September there was political rumor to report:

Ld. Dunmore, this mad Montague & Squire, every now & then send an old Woman or two out of Town, that are afraid of having their Brains addled with the Noise of the Cannon.... Squire will let no Boats pass from Hampton to this Place, ever since the Hamptonians rouled him, & set his Vessel on Fire.

I fear that every Person, that can afford it, will be under the Necessity of moving his Family out of Norfolk, as its likely this will be a Garrison Town....

Troops are raising, agreeably to the Ordinance wch. I have sent you, both in the Regular & Minute Service with the greatest Expedition.<sup>45</sup>

The rector of Elizabeth River Parish, so warmly partisan in sympathy with the Virginia rebels, became an active patriot the next year when he joined the army as chaplain in the troop of cavalry commanded by Theodorick Bland.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Davis to Tucker, Norfolk, August 11, 1775, Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Davis to Tucker, Norfolk, September 19, 1775, Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> See letters of Theodorick Bland quoted below; also listing of Virginia State troops, 37 V 36, showing pay as chaplain of the 4th Regiment, and warrant of the Virginia Committee of Safety to the Rev. Thomas Davis for £31/13/9 for two boats purchased by the Northampton Committee for use of the troops on Eastern Shore, June 8, 1776. 8 C 192.

In this capacity he was present at the Battle of the Brandywine. From camp near Philadelphia at the end of September he snatched a moment from Howe to inform Tucker: "You have had an Acct. of the Battle of Brandywine, on 11th 7ber; I need, therefore, only mention that tho' we were forced to leave the Field, the Enemy had little Reason to boast of their Victory." Since Howe was then in Philadelphia he expected a general engagement at any time, but "relying on Heaven, & trusting to the Bravery of our Troops," he declared, "I expect Success." About the final issue of the war he was equally optimistic: "If ever I expected we should be able to maintain our Independence it is now; I have not a single doubt of it: not even the Lethargy confessed of the thirteen States, in this Cause of Virtue, can cloze us out of it."

For Tucker's personal problems--financial insecurity in Virginia so long as the courts remained closed and inability to support a wife if he could settle on a suitable one--the chaplain offered trenchant advice: "I adjure you, my dear Tucker, not to think of returning to Bermuda: what, in the Name of Wonder would you do there? Spin out a childish Existence at your Mother's Apron Strings? For Shame." Give over, then, he urged, "the Thoughts of hermitizing yourself in your little Isle." As to marriage, he counseled patience. "Yet still the Torch of Hymen can kindle Joy in thy Bosom--be it so, thou happy much to be envied Creature, leave Concern & all her vapoury Attendants to the fat Knight & myself, who are continually lamenting being torn from our Elizas;<sup>47</sup> tho' his Sides are as well larded, has as much Contentment in his merry Phizz as ever, & I am equally good humoured, & in as good Flight as you ever knew me."<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Davis's new love was Elizabeth Bowdoin, who lived on the Eastern Shore. Innes's "Eliza" was still Betsy Cocke.

<sup>48</sup> Davis to Tucker, Camp 15 mi. from Philadelphia, 31st Sept. [sic; i.e. September 30, 1777], Tucker-Coleman MSS.

Later in the fall Colonel Bland persuaded his chaplain to undertake the education of the widow Randolph's three little boys, the Colonel's wards by their father's will. Davis, like his friend "the fat Knight," seems to have decided to return to Virginia and to seek appointment to a new parish. Bland informed his sister Frances from Camp White Marsh:

You will see I have considered my dear little Boys and have parted with our Chaplain a worthy man, and well Qualified for the task to superintend their Education. He is a Gent. & a Scholar. our Ideas of Education coincide exactly and I have little Doubt of his raising them up to be ornaments of society which next to the Health & Happiness of my Patsy [his wife Martha] & Fanny will give the greatest Pleasure to Yr affect'e Brother.<sup>49</sup>

In another letter of about the same date the Colonel was more specific about his arrangements with Davis:

I have engaged with some difficulty Mr. Thos. Davis as a Tutor to my dear little Boys. His living with me twelve months has given me I think that Knowledge I wd. wish to have of a man who was to take the Charge of Children of my own.... He is a man of polite taste, and in manners a Gentleman his foibles are triffling and such as his good sense will testify. His candor admits of the openest expostulation at least with me whom he esteems I believe as a Friend, as such I shall be always pleased to be esteemed by him.--I think him a valuable man, & possessd of liberal sentiments, and fine feelings. I hope my Sister will be pleased with the Choice I have made. He is about to enter into the married State with an Amiable Lady and will live in Brandon Parish.... I have explaind to Mr. Davis my full sentiments on the Education of youth both before and since we agreed and I doubt not as they exactly coincided with those of our deceased Friend [John Randolph, the children's father] they will be pleasing to you and advantageous to the boys.<sup>50</sup>

Neither of the plans outlined by Bland was carried out. In 1781 the Randolph children were still without a tutor;<sup>51</sup> Davis visited Matoax as a friend of Mrs. Randolph and of Tucker, who moved there in September of 1778

<sup>49</sup> Theodorick Bland to Frances Randolph, Camp White Marsh, n.d., *Ibid.* Probably November, 1777. See other letters of that period in *Bland Papers*, *passim*, and Campbell's *Chronology*, pp. xiii-xxi.

<sup>50</sup> Bland to Frances Randolph, n.d. [November, 1777], Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>51</sup> Frances Randolph Tucker to Theodorick Bland, June 4, 1781, *Ibid.*

when he married the mistress of the plantation, but the clergyman never lived there. His fiancée and her sister Peggy made a gay round of visits in the Petersburg vicinity the next spring and were Mrs. Randolph's guests part of the time,<sup>52</sup> but Davis did not see her there. He was in Williamsburg early in May and again in September when he wrote to Tucker, bemoaning the break in his relationship with Eliza. He was afraid she had "altered her intentions" to agree with some of her family who did not sanction his suit. (Perhaps her father, John Bowdoin, Northampton's representative in the House of Delegates, thought she could do better than marry a preacher with no estate.) While Davis tried to trust her fidelity, he worried lest she prove false and sent off a poem, "not malapropos," to his friends at Matoax:

O Grace, much too graceless to spare,  
 In Eliza all--all that can please;  
 In her you take all that is dear,  
 And rob me of Comfort & Ease!  
 From hence to the Camp I'll retire,  
 There trust I may find some Relief;  
 Envelop'd in Smoke & in Fire--  
 I shall surely forget all my Grief.<sup>53</sup>

The next year he was out of the army and serving St. Stephen's Parish in Northumberland as rector. As time passed he gradually lost touch with old friends in the lower Peninsula. In later letters to Tucker he complained of near poverty. Doubtless for this reason he moved about--from Northumberland to Alexandria, then back to Elizabeth River Parish, and finally to Hungar's in Northampton, where he died some time after 1808.<sup>54</sup> His letters never mentioned a family, he recorded no will, and his name does not appear

<sup>52</sup> Elizabeth Bowdoin to Frances Randolph, Northampton, April 15, 1778, *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Davis to Tucker, Wmsbg, May 6, 1778, *Ibid.* See also letters of July 24 and September 8.

<sup>54</sup> Goodwin, *Colonial Church*, p. 263.

in genealogical records. From negative evidence, then, one concludes that Elizabeth Bowdoin followed her family's advice, and Davis never married.

MAURY (1752-1788)

Walker Maury, born in 1752, was the sixth child in a family of twelve.<sup>55</sup> His father, the Rev. James Maury (1718-1769),<sup>56</sup> was at that time rector of Fredericksville Parish in Louisa County. He had been educated by his Huguenot mother, Mary Anne (Fontaine) Maury, and at the College of William and Mary, then in London ordained for Virginia. The family lived on a Louisa County plantation (now in Albemarle) about two miles from Dr. Thomas Walker, uncle of Mrs. James Maury. Schooling for one's children was a family affair in that frontier parish, and the rector taught neighbors' children as well as his own in a little log building near his home.<sup>57</sup> When Walker was a six-year-old, young Tom Jefferson came to board with the Maury family while he attended the school. Other boarding students who became good friends of Walker's elder brother James included Dabney Carr and Jack Walker. Bishop Madison and James Monroe also studied there.

Jefferson found his teacher "a correct classical scholar,"<sup>58</sup> who in two years' time taught him Greek and Latin so well that he could read the classics easily all his life. A fellow-clergyman and schoolmaster, Jonathan

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<sup>55</sup> 24 W(1) 1-10.

<sup>56</sup> Sketch prepared from the Maury MSS in the Alderman Library, Helen Bullock, "A Dissertation on Education in the Form of a Letter from James Maury to Robert Jackson, July 17, 1762," Papers of the Albemarle County Historical Society, II(1941-1942), 36ff.

<sup>57</sup> For exact location see map in Marie Kimball, Jefferson: The Road to Glory (N.Y., 1943), opp. p. 140.

<sup>58</sup> "Autobiography," in Andrew A. Lipscomb and Albert E. Bergh, eds., The Writings of Thomas Jefferson (Washington, 1903), I, 3.

Boucher, said of him:

I had formed a very close friendship, and kept up a constant literary correspondence, with the Reverend Mr. Maury, a native of Virginia, educated at William and Mary College, a singularly ingenious and worthy man.... Mr. Maury was of French parents; begotten, as he used to tell, in France, born at sea, reared in England, and educated in America. His particular and great merit was the command of a fine style. It would have been difficult for him not to write with propriety, force and elegance....<sup>59</sup>

He wrote well on many of the subjects that interested him, for he was active in a variety of public affairs: land speculation, the Virginia economy, geography, commerce, educational theory and practice. Yet, today he is remembered only as the plaintiff in the famous Parson's Cause.<sup>60</sup>

After his father's death, in 1769, Walker Maury entered the grammar school of the College of William and Mary--probably in the late summer term of 1770. In November he received a Nottoway Foundation scholarship, which he held until he was promoted from the grammar school to the philosophy school after Christmas two years later. In May of 1774 he received the Botetourt Medal for excellence in the classics<sup>61</sup>--a reflection, no doubt, of his father's superior teaching.

When he graduated in May, 1775, he gave a tavern party for several of his friends which made college history. The guests--including the ushers Innes and Yates--did not bother to secure permission for late leave that evening but stayed on at the tavern until "one of them at least was in Liquor." When they returned to the college, they found the wicket door locked and raised

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<sup>59</sup> Jonathan Boucher, Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789 (Boston, 1925), p. 60.

<sup>60</sup> For a good summary of the case see Richard L. Morton, Colonial Virginia (Chapel Hill, 1960), II, Chapter 27.

<sup>61</sup> In November, when he received the scholarship, he owed £2/8/8 for board. Bursar's Books, 1 W(2) 123; Faculty Minutes, November 22, 1770, December 12, 1772, February 9, 1773, Summer 1774, 13 W(1) 155, 14 W(1) 26, 27, 242.

such a disturbance getting in that the faculty conducted an investigation of their behavior. Trying to relieve his fraternity brothers of punishment, Maury assumed sole responsibility. The faculty decided that he had been guilty of "a single Act of Intemperance into which he was betray'd by an harmless design to give an Entertainment to some of his fellow Students on his departure from College," and considering his record of good behavior required only that he apologize to Professor Gwatkin for disturbing him. The other students apologized for staying out after nine o'clock, and the faculty ordered new locks and took care for the future that the janitor lock the wicket door promptly at that hour and leave it closed--even to tardy professors.<sup>62</sup>

After graduation Maury visited friends in Gloucester. Late in the summer he wrote to Tucker in Bermuda, relating political and military news and rumors. The Virginia Convention, he thought, was "taking every Precaution to put the country in the best Posture of Defence," but not every decision met with his approval. Military appointments, for example, he criticized in these terms:

Two Batalions are to be immediately raised and Station'd in the lower Parts of the Country. The first is to be commanded by Paterick Henery. A very improper Person, in my humble opinion, and indeed in that of the Generality of the Gentlemen here. But he was chosen by a Party merely thro Opposition to a Scotsman, of indisputable Abilities, in that Department. [General Hugh Mercer of Fredericksburg] But alas! that ill fated Term seems sufficient to cast a cloud over the most shining Talents. However, we have this Consolation, that shou'd Troops be sent against us the Continental Congress, or Gen: Washington will set some Experienced Officer over him. A Capt Woodford, who served in a Virginia Regiment last War commands the other. he is adequate to the Task.

Volunteer companies, too, were being recruited and military supplies being manufactured in Virginia. General Washington and the Virginia delegates in

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<sup>62</sup> Faculty Minutes, May 18, 1775, 14 W(1) 244-246.

Philadelphia had sent home accounts of the battle of Bunker Hill and news of plans for the conquest of Canada.<sup>63</sup>

In all these affairs Maury reported as an interested observer, with no mention of personal plans to aid the patriot cause--nor, indeed, to find a suitable post in private life. Yet he agreed with John Page in the opinion that Tucker should have remained in Virginia and taken some "honorable and lucrative Post" either in civil or military office.

The next extant record of Maury's business activities is a letter to Tucker dated July 29, 1781. At that time he was living at Burlington in Orange County, a Grymes family estate about a mile east of the present Barboursville.<sup>64</sup> In March of 1777 he had married Mary Grymes, daughter of Ludwell Grymes, who had left the family home in Middlesex and moved to Orange County a few years earlier.<sup>65</sup> At some time during the war Maury had set up a school in the plantation house, and now in 1781 was planning to enlarge it, using all his college connections and the influence and patronage of F.H.C. brothers to promote it. He himself was preparing lectures for a new course in ethics, natural law and the law of nations with the help of Robert Andrews and some old lecture notes and references preserved from his own class under Professor Samuel Henley while he was in college. A French teacher was being sent over from France through the agency of his elder brother James. Workmen had already been engaged to arrange accommodations for additional students; he now had fourteen or fifteen in residence and hoped to double the enrollment.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Maury to Tucker, Mannsfield, August 24, 1775, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>64</sup> Location given in William Cabell Bruce, John Randolph of Roanoke (N.Y., 1922), I, 55.

<sup>65</sup> 5 W(1) 208.

<sup>66</sup> Maury to Tucker, Orange County, July 29, 1781, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

Tucker was then trying to find a suitable tutor for the Randolph boys. In September he wrote their guardian uncle, Theodorick Bland, Jr.:

The boys are still without, and more than ever in want of, a tutor. Walker Maury has written to me lately and given me such a plan of his school that, unless you procure a tutor before Christmas, I would at all events advise sending them to him immediately after. I know his worth; I know that his abilities are equal to the task; and I know that his assiduity will be equally directed to improve their morals and their understandings as their manners. With this prospect, I would not advise the providing any but a man of superior talents as a private tutor.<sup>67</sup>

By the next spring the three little Randolph boys were attending Maury's school, and their master was especially pleased with the work of Theodorick. A year later they were still doing well, Maury thought, and the school was growing. The French teacher, Mr. Duler, had arrived and was offering instruction in fencing and dancing as well as the polite language, but tuition charges had been increased to the point where Tucker complained of them.

Though the school was growing, Maury was not satisfied with the progress he had made by the fall of 1783. He recognized the advantages of the location far from the vices of a city and in a healthful climate, but during the Christmas vacation suddenly moved his school to Williamsburg. He announced the removal to Tucker in a letter of December 29, 1783, explaining that he had moved the boys' things with his own furnishings because he expected them to remain with him in the new location.<sup>68</sup>

Unfortunately for Maury's reputation as a schoolmaster, only in John Randolph's reminiscences is there a description of the Orange County school. When Randolph wrote of his unhappiness there, he was in his most critical mood and doubtless exaggerated the crudities of life at Burlington

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<sup>67</sup> Tucker to Bland, September 21, 1781, quoted in Bruce, John Randolph, I, 50.

<sup>68</sup> Maury to Tucker, April 19, 1782; April 1, May 15, May 31, July 21, September 14, December 29, 1783, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

in contrast to what he had always known with his gentle mother at Matoax. Forty years after the event he recalled:

Well, at the tender age of nine years, I was exiled from my mother's house and sent to school on Blue Run, in Orange County, in the immediate neighborhood of our late President M---n. There I was tyrannized over and tortured by the most peevish and ill-tempered of pedagogues, Walker Maury. This wretch excommunicated me body and soul. To this day I have a perfect recollection of the shock which the vulgar habiliments and boorish manners of my schoolmates and sordid, squalid appearance of the whole establishment, and economy of the place, inflicted upon me, and, when coachman Toney took leave to return home, my very heart died within me. This cruel punishment was unattended by the slightest good. A more vicious and profligate crew were never got together. Some four or five of us were gentlemen's sons and, as such, heartily envied and hated by our companions, who lost no opportunity to do us an ill turn. The red mud I to this day remember and the joy with which I greeted the broomstraw, old fields and sands of Chesterfield in the holidays. At that time of day, altho' at the close of the War, there had been a complete revolution in manners as well as government among us. You may judge what I was made to endure-- the most thin-skinned, sensitive little creature in the universe.<sup>69</sup>

The chief advantage of the Williamsburg location was that the school was sponsored by the city and enjoyed a close association with William and Mary, which no longer maintained a grammar school as an integral part of the post-war university. Maury's school was housed in the Capitol, with bedrooms and dining hall as well as classrooms in the building. The principal and his family lived in a separate house on the Capitol Square. When the new school was announced in the Virginia papers, Maury was identified as "a gentleman, who for several years has conducted an institution of a similar nature, in the County of Orange, with singular credit to himself, and advantage to the public." Boarding students paid £35 a year and furnished their own bedding; day students paid £8 for instruction in Latin and Greek,

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<sup>69</sup> Randolph to Francis Walker Gilmer, July 2, 1825, quoted in Bruce, John Randolph, I, 55-56.

£2 extra for French, and 20 S. for writing.<sup>70</sup>

Maury's Williamsburg grammar school was remembered by one of John Randolph's friends, Lyttleton Waller Tazewell, far more favorably than in Randolph's memory. Tazewell recalled:

My acquaintance with John Randolph commenced in the year 1784, when he was about 11 years old, I believe. In that year, he, together with his two older brothers, Richard and Theodorick, entered the grammar school, then recently established by Mr. Walker Maury in the City of Williamsburg, where I resided. Before his removal to Williamsburg, Mr. Maury had conducted a grammar school in the County of Orange and the three young Randolphs had been his pupils there. Their progress therefore was well known to their tutor when they re-entered his school in Williamsburg; in which school I had been a pupil from its commencement in that place. This school was established as an appendage of the College of William and Mary, in which there was no professorship of Humanity existing at that time. It was regulated most judiciously, and was soon attended by more pupils than any other grammar school that had been before established or has since existed in Virginia, I believe. I do not recollect the number of scholars exactly, but it exceeded one hundred, and included boys from every state then in the Union from Georgia to Maryland both inclusive. Such a number of pupils made it necessary that they should be divided into classes. The greater proportion of these classes were consigned by Mr. Maury, the principal, to the superintendency of his assistants, of whom there were four. When the young Randolphs entered the school, the number of pupils was not so great as it afterwards became. Richard, the oldest, was placed in the second class under the immediate direction of Mr. Maury himself. Theodorick and John were placed in the fourth class which was the head class consigned to the Superintendency of the chief usher, a Mr. Eliot. To this class I belonged, and, when the class was so augmented, it was engaged in reading and had nearly finished, Eutropius. The book I then used I still possess, and the fact I have stated is derived from a class-roll written on its fly leaf. In a short time after the two young Randolphs joined it, our class had made such progress that it was transferred from the usher's department to that of the Principal. It then became the third class.<sup>71</sup>

Almost immediately Maury began to have disputes with his sponsors and associates. Early in March he applied to Tucker for support. (The old friends were on good terms again. When Tucker had protested the increased

<sup>70</sup> Advertisements in The Virginia Gazette or the American Advertiser (Hayes), January 10, March 20, July 3, 1784; Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser (Nicholson and Prentis), January 17, 24, 1784.

<sup>71</sup> Quoted in Bruce, John Randolph, I, 57-58.

fees, the schoolmaster had offered to give the Randolph boys special attention and to lodge and board them in his own home.<sup>72</sup>) Maury's appeal is quoted in full:

Dr Tucker,

Imagining that the visitation now called, as well to secure the Brafferton estate, as to make timely provision for the Indians Genl Clarke has engaged to send down in the course of the summer, will appoint a master to that school, I take the freedom to remind you of my pretensions, and crave that they be supported by your influence. To obviate those objections wch might originate from the distant situation of the two schools, I wou'd propose that the Indians be taken into the Capitol, where, tis probable they wou'd contract a greater refinement, both in manners, and sentiments, than if detached from that intercourse with the young gentlemen.--Mr. Bracken I am told has absolutely refused to accept it as a compromise, but on such terms as the visitors will not accede to.--Pray dont let the uncertainty of a visitation prevent your coming--there can be little doubt If you take Beverley along with you, & none at all if you can add Col Banister--Are you on such terms with him that you cou'd bring him over to my interest? Tis true, that school can be no object of itself, but if added to the Capitol, will be a very important subsidy.--Our friend Innes thinks that, tho Bracken has refused, yet some of his friends will interest themselves for him; and recommends that nothing be said on the subject, but with the greatest circumspection, and to those only who will favor my pretensions--Here, however, your prudence & friendship, I know will shape out a proper conduct.--Mrs Maury joins in best wishes to Mr Tucker & fireside, with your friend

W Maury<sup>73</sup>

In August Richard Randolph took home a request for help in a subscription drive for money to complete the repairs of the Capitol. Maury explained that the corporation had been unable to pay for the repairs because the citizens were "too poor." He had already engaged the influence of Mr. Wythe, whose scholarly reputation and "well known passion for the improvement of youth" lent special weight to his regular monthly reports to the city fathers after visits of inspection.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Maury to Tucker, January 9, 14, 1784, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>73</sup> Maury to Tucker, March 3, 1784, Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Maury to Tucker, August 6, 1784, Ibid. See also report of Wythe, Madison and others to the Mayor and Corporation of Williamsburg, dated December 1, 1784, 18 W(2) 105.

The next year Maury was still "pestering" Tucker for money. Further repairs were being planned. Maury would use the detached secretary's office as his own private office, with a study in the main building. Partitions in the larger rooms of the building would create smaller ones to accommodate four boys each. The improvements were to be financed partly from a series of student plays, beginning in November, when the federal court sat. For the first performance he wanted to cast Richard as Elidurus and Jack as Evellina in an unidentified drama<sup>75</sup>--probably something he himself had written in imitation of Addison's Cato. (Elidurus was a legendary king of Britain, known to all readers of the Arthurian stories based on the chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth; Richard, then a handsome lad of sixteen, would fit the character and deliver his lines effectively. Jack at thirteen still had a small, slender body, a beautiful face with delicate features and vivid coloring, and a pleasing soprano voice to qualify him for the role of a young lady.) Whether the play was ever presented to a Williamsburg audience we do not know.

The next summer--1786--Maury announced a few changes in routine,<sup>76</sup> perhaps in response to parental criticism of his management of their children. By this time the Randolph boys, certainly, were outspoken about their unhappiness there. Richard, now in college, expressed himself freely against Maury's treatment of his younger brothers, who complained to their parents and family friends. Maury's account of disciplinary trouble with Theodorick is so revealing of his tutorial philosophy and practice that the following letters are quoted in full. To Theodorick Bland, Jr., Maury complained on August 24th, 1786:

<sup>75</sup> Maury to Tucker, Williamsburg, August 2, 1785, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>76</sup> Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser (Hayes), May 31, 1786.

Sir,  
Your nephew and ward The: Randolph was last saturday assisted with cash by Mr Berjn. Harrison of Richmond in making his escape from school, per stage.

The grounds of his discontent, on this particular occasion are these. He has for some time past been assuming the fine gentleman very fast, and of consequence very inattentive to his studies--One afternoon, last week, he came up to say his lesson, powdered & dressed very sprucely with a ring on his finger, wch projected both beyond the knuckle and first joint. Said I, with an air of ridicule rather than ill humour--What huge Mass, have you there, Theo:? 'Tis no mass atall, sir, said he, with much impertinence. I slapped his chops for it. He rejoined, it was no mass at all, with additional insolence--I repeated the blow. He repeated, indeed, Sir, it is no mass, neither did I ever hear the thing called so--it is Miss Woller's [?] ring--and this in a still more insolent tone--I gave him several boxes on the ear--& there the matter was to have rested. As this is an impartial acct, you will judge what is best to do with him. But I can inform you, that, since his last return to school, since the trip to Bermuda--he is changed, from a tractable to an insolent boy, who is soon to be ruin'd, if he is indulged in one tittle.

I have a regard for a boy who has been so long with me, & esteem those who are interested in his welfare, & have therefore, taken the pains to explain the matter to you. I am, Sir,  
Your very obt servt.

W. Maury.<sup>77</sup>

At this time the Tuckers were away from home in search of improvement in Fanny's health. Colonel John Banister, in charge of Matoax during their absence, wrote to Tucker on September 13th:

...Theok. has made me a visit by way of the Stage owing to a Battle with his Master. I prevailed on him to return, but on his arrival in Williamsburg, Mr. Maury made a violent attack which our young Gentleman repelled with such address that a defeat of the Master would have ensued had he not called in his Usher as an Auxiliary; this determined the Battle as Theok. himself writes, against him--I have done nothing in this Matter as you & his Mamma will so soon be at home to take proper Measures in it--Theok. complains of Mr. Maury's dislike to him, & I am well convinced that<sup>78</sup> the former's Aversion is invincible against his present Master....

The next day Maury took up the story in another letter to Bland:

<sup>77</sup> Maury to Bland, Williamsburg, August 24, 1786, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>78</sup> Banister to Tucker, September 13, 1786, Ibid.

Sir,

I am under the necessity of troubling you again on the subject of your Nephew Theo: Randolph, as well as on that of Richd. Theo: returned to school after his last visit to Col: Banister, with such an air of consequence & importance that I cou'd not grant the Col's request to pardon him; besides, I never do forgive an offence of this kind. Shirt flogging proved ineffectual to bring him down; he appears, ever since, to have wished to thwart and perplex me in everything in his power, & made two open transgressions of the rules of the school, for one of wch a youth older and larger than himself had a few days before been corrected.--In all this, as well as his first elopement, he seems to have been supported, or at least, silently countenanced by his bro[the]r. But he has at last thrown off all disguise--On Sunday last, I order'd Theo:, who was absent from the church roll, & wch he had 3 sundays out of four neglected, under pretence, that he had no clean cloths, to go to church, as he was. His bror ordered him not to go--I told Theo: if he did not, he shou'd be flogged, the next morning; he might, however, attend to his brors orders in preference to mine, but it wou'd be at his peril. He wou'd not go. His Cloths, tho' soil'd, did not debar him from passing the streets, as usual, & I thought this mode of punishment wou'd be more effectual & eligible, at the same time, than correction--On monday morning, however, I gave him a gentle flogging.--When the Ushers and boys were seated in the public hall at dinner, Dick Randolph, comes with an imperious air, & demands of Theo: why he was not at dinner at Maupins? I add'd that Theo: was properly seated, & begged to know what right he had to direct Theo:-- He said with a very insulting tone, that I had treated his bror very ill--that he was no longer my pupil--that his father had appointed him as his guardian & patron, & neither I nor any one else shd treat him ill. That it was all private pique for his having been sent to Bermuda. I only wth a great deal of coolness made a few observations, that Theo: was under direction, not his--that he had better attend to his own business--Theo: however, might chuse whom he wou'd obey, but it wou'd not be well to risque the consequences, as he had found by two experiments. He was in fact most grossly insulting--Theo: chose to follow him. Perhaps it might have been better, to have chastized the one, & kept the other in school, by force. Tho', I then thought otherwise--I conceived it best to let them both shew what they were aiming at--That their guardians may, in time, check the premature consequence of the one, and convince the other, that his tutor is implicitly to be obeyed; and unless I cou'd be firmly supported by these, I knew coercive measures wou'd, not avail to render the one more content, wth the discipline of the school nor, to convince the other, that he had no right to interfere.--I hope you will be so obliging as to make Dick, publickly acknowledge the impropriety of his conduct, & send Theo: back again. I fully expected this, or I shou'd have chastized the former on the instant, & compelled the latter to stay where he was.--<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Maury to Bland, Williamsburg, September 14, 1786, Ibid.

St. George first heard of the squabble directly from Maury in a letter of October 24th:

Dear Tucker,

I wrote you twice on the subject of the rupture wth Theo: and Richd--One letter was directed to you at Anapolis--the other, also per post, at Matoax. As to Theo: he has had too little thought either of study, or conformity to the discipline of the school, since the Whitsun vacation, to do any thing wch shou'd be pleasing to me as a tutor, or to you as a parent--To bring him to the reverse of this, was my object; & to effect it, I only did, and attempted to do, what, I shou'd have quarrell'd with you, cou'd our situations have been changed, had you not done and attempted.--Tho Richd had previous to that conducted himself very agreeably, he shewed both imprudence & ingratitude on that occasion.--It, I find, has been thought that I improperly checked Theo: for dressing decently--that I have always endeavor'd to inspire into him--but I never wished to see insolence blended with a fine dress--I do not wish to go into a discussion of this subject--I console myself with a full conviction that I have done my duty--The event will determine whether all parties have done so. From his late conduct I wished to be relieved of Theo:--Richd I recd in my family particularly to oblige you--Neither woud I, in a similar matter, have obliged any other man, because I made a sacrifice of my feelings to accomodate you & him.--You will find, by the acct Innes presents you, that I have charged the whole of the quarters wch Theo: & Jack last commenc'd; because, by the rules & publicly declared terms, of the school the price of the quarter is due, at the commencement of the term. If you remove them, after the contract subsists, it is not surely to be my loss.--You will find, I have had but ten barrels of flour, from Col. Banister, wch I have credited--He did promise to send me ten others, but they were not ready when my orders were presented; & I have since requested him not to send them.--I have just touched on this subject wth a freedom wch our long friendship dictates--and, it is in this light, I hope, you will view it.--

I have to tender you my very cordial thanks for the services you have render'd my friend Andrews & myself in warding off the severe stroke wth wch we were threaten'd, from Innes's Absence.--The small bond of ten pounds is a just debt--The other is pd as it was to have been, by contract--& the plaintiff is upwards of 300£ in my debt. But, this is the work of an incarnate devil, whom I have twice rescued from the gallows.<sup>80</sup>

The financial difficulties referred to in the final paragraph seem to have developed in the building program begun two years before. A newspaper advertisement earlier in the summer stated that the schoolmaster had ventured

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<sup>80</sup> Maury to Tucker, Williamsburg, October 24, 1786, Ibid.



part of his own fortune on repairs.<sup>81</sup> At this point in his career Maury was complaining bitterly to his associates, and about them to each other, without regard for the usual amenities. Certainly, his accumulation of problems demanded special tact at this time if his school was to prosper under his personal management. It is not surprising, therefore, that he became headmaster of the Norfolk Academy in the fall of 1786, when the post was offered to him.<sup>82</sup> During the summer he may have been preparing for a change when he went to Connecticut to receive Bishop Seabury's ordination as an Episcopalian minister.<sup>83</sup> In this action, too, he demonstrated a somewhat militant disagreement with Virginian opinion. It is interesting to note that the Rev. John Bracken succeeded him as headmaster of the Williamsburg school.<sup>84</sup>

His old friendship with Tucker was not renewed, though Innes tried to act as mediator. For another year Maury continued to press querulously for payment of the balance of £8 which he calculated his due. Finally on March 31, 1787, on the verso of one of Maury's letters Tucker entered tersely the payment to Innes for Maury.<sup>85</sup> The next year Maury was dead.

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<sup>81</sup> Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser (Hayes), May 31, 1786. See also Harwood Ledger for repairs paid by Maury, quoted in Mary Goodwin, "Second Capitol," Research Report, Colonial Williamsburg, pp. 80-82.

<sup>82</sup> 1 N 24, 25, 28.

<sup>83</sup> The ordination is recorded without comment in Brydon, Mother Church, II, 472, under date of June 6, 1786.

<sup>84</sup> Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser (Nicholson), January 4, 1787.

<sup>85</sup> Maury to Tucker, December --, 1786; February 25, March 20, 1787, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

BAYLOR (c.1754-after 1784)

Robert Baylor, born about 1754,<sup>86</sup> was the third son of Col. John Baylor of Newmarket, the great horse breeder. His father died in 1772, leaving him lands in Caroline County with stock and tools, a number of thoroughbreds, and forty-odd slaves.<sup>87</sup>

Robert's elder brothers John and George had been tutored at Newmarket by Donald Robertson when he lived there, but Robert attended the school at the parsonage in 1771 and 1772; for the last year he was enrolled in the Latin school.<sup>88</sup> Shortly before his father's death he entered William and Mary,<sup>89</sup> where he was soon admitted to membership in the F.H.C.<sup>90</sup>

In May of 1773 Professor Gwatkin informed Tucker that Baylor had just taken lodgings in the house where Tucker was staying--probably the Prentis home, Green Hill, where their friend Joseph lived with his widowed mother, three brothers and two sisters.<sup>91</sup> Gwatkin explained that he had instructed Baylor to read Blackstone and requested Tucker's "occasional assistance" in his studies and "attention to his moral conduct."<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Genealogists have not found specific data about Robert, perhaps because he left no descendants. His elder brothers were born in 1750 and 1752, respectively.

<sup>87</sup> Will of Colonel Baylor, 24 V 367-373.

<sup>88</sup> Scholars' Accounts in Robertson's MS Account Book, VHS.

<sup>89</sup> Bursar's Books, 1 W(2) 116.

<sup>90</sup> For a translation of the certificate see p. 2 above.

<sup>91</sup> House Histories of Green Hill and the Prentis House, Research Department, CWI.

<sup>92</sup> Gwatkin to Tucker, College, May 4, 1773, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

A month later Baylor left college. On June 7th he wrote Tucker, "I am sorry to inform you that Williamsburg is no longer the place of my residence." While he would most willingly return, his present situation made it impossible to do so "with a prospect of the least happiness." He had not been well for some time and was then setting out for Augusta Springs in the hope of recovering his health. Yet "I receive the greatest satisfaction imaginable," he declared "from the reflection of the many agreeable hours I have spent in the worthy Society which I have the honour of being a Member of, at the exclusion from which I very much repine." He sent a key to his trunk with the request that Tucker put into it the books he had borrowed and have Mr. Prentis deliver it to Mr. Southall with the rest of Baylor's things. He closed the letter with compliments to all acquaintances, especially those at the college, and assurances of his affectionate friendship.<sup>93</sup>

In December he was back at Newmarket when he advertised for a runaway slave.<sup>94</sup> In 1775 he was selling 2,000 acres of the Caroline lands<sup>95</sup> and in 1777 advertising stallions for hire and more lands for sale.<sup>96</sup> During the war years he seems to have stayed at home and managed the plantation<sup>97</sup> while his brothers were in military service. George, a brother-in-law of John Page of Rosewell, was one of Washington's aides in 1776 and by the end of the war had become a brigadier general. The younger brother Walker, a lieutenant of the 3rd Light Dragoons, was injured at the engagement at Brandywine and

<sup>93</sup> Baylor to Tucker, June 7, 1773, Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> VG(PD) 2 D 73:21.

<sup>95</sup> VG(D) 11 Mr 75:32.

<sup>96</sup> VG(D) 7 Mr 77:11 and 41, 3 Oc 77:42, 5 D 77:21.

<sup>97</sup> See Baylor to Tucker, Newmarket, February 7, 1777, Tucker-Coleman MSS, relative to orders for plantation supplies.

resigned his commission in 1780.<sup>98</sup>

The record of the life of Robert Baylor closes with a letter to Tucker in 1784 in which he was discussing details of some legal business his old friend and mentor was conducting for him.<sup>99</sup> From the tone of the letter it seems reasonable to conclude that Baylor's studies in Williamsburg were not pursued at Newmarket, and he never prepared himself for even the simplest law business.

YATES (c.1755-1789)

Yates  
(c.1755-1789)

William Yates was the second son of the Rev. William Yates (1720-1764) and his wife Elizabeth (Randolph) Yates. His grandfather, the Rev. Bartholomew Yates (1677-1734), a native Virginian educated at Oxford, was rector of Christ Church, Middlesex, for thirty years and for a shorter time professor of divinity at the College of William and Mary. His father, the Rev. William, was educated at William and Mary, licensed for Virginia in 1745 and rector of Abingdon Parish, Gloucester, until 1759, when he came to James City County as rector of Bruton Parish. In 1761 he became president of the college and held this position, together with the rectorship, until his death in 1764.<sup>100</sup>

While he was in Gloucester, Yates taught a number of children who later became prominent in Virginia affairs. John Page said of the school:

...in the year 1752, when I was nine years old, my father put me into a grammar school, at the glebe house of our parish, where the Rev'd Mr. Wm. Yates, had undertaken the tuition of twelve scholars.

<sup>98</sup> 6 V 307-308.

<sup>99</sup> Baylor to Tucker, June 24, 1784, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>100</sup> Goodwin, Colonial Church, p. 319; Horace E. Hayden, Virginia Genealogies, (Baltimore, 1959), p. 122.

I found there Lewis Willis (the late Col. L. W.) of Fredericksburg, Edward Carter, (his brother, Charles Carter of Shirley, had just left this school and gone to William and Mary College,) Severn Eyre, of the Eastern Shore, Peter Beverley Whiting, and his brother John, Thos. Nelson, (the late Gen. Nelson,) Christopher Robinson of Middlesex, Augustine Cook, and John Fox of Gloster, Robert Tucker of Norfolk, and Francis Willis of Gloster; so that I made up, or kept up the number which Yates required; but in a short time, his passionate disposition induced L. Willis, and Edward Carter to leave him, and Severn Eyre not long after followed the Carters to our College, where Edward had joined his brother Charles. The two Whitings followed them, and Mr. Nelson, and Col. Tucker, took their sons and sent them to England, to finish their education; and at the end of my year, Robinson, Cooke, and Fox, went to College, and my father and Mr. Willis procured a most excellent tutor for their sons, instead of sending them there. I had been totally interrupted in my delightful reading of Histories, and Novels, for twelve months tied down to get by heart an insipid and unintelligible book, called Lilly's Grammar, one sentence in which my master never explained. But happily, my new tutor Mr. Wm. Price, at Mr. Willis's, soon enabled me to see that it was a complete Grammar, and an excellent Key to the Latin Language.<sup>101</sup>

Yates's "passionate disposition" and strict requirements seem to have made him an unpopular teacher--unpopular with Page, at any rate--but did not interfere with his professional advancement. Young Page finished his preparatory work in the grammar school of the College of William and Mary, where he boarded in the home of President Thomas Dawson, who introduced him to Governor Dinwiddie and Governor Fauquier. He was a student in the philosophy school when Dawson died and was succeeded by Yates, but no reference to his former schoolmaster as president of the college is to be found in his reminiscences. It was Professor Small who influenced him most at this time.<sup>102</sup>

The education of young William Yates doubtless began in Williamsburg under his father's direction and continued in the grammar school of the

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<sup>101</sup> Autobiographical memoir, published 3 R 142-151.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

college after his father's death.<sup>103</sup> In December of 1772 he was promoted to the philosophy school,<sup>104</sup> in which he held a scholarship for six months--until he was appointed assistant usher of the grammar school, succeeding Innes in June, 1773,<sup>105</sup> and received a salary.<sup>106</sup> He stayed on at the college after the two years usually required for a bachelor's degree and was paid a salary through March 25, 1776, after November of 1775 acting as sole usher in the grammar school.<sup>107</sup>

Like his friend Innes in another respect, Yates left college to go into military service. On May 18, 1776, the Congress appointed him muster master for the Southern District.<sup>108</sup> In this capacity he was ordered by the Virginia Council to attend a muster at Gloucester Court House in November of 1776.<sup>109</sup>

The next year he seems to have been an officer in the Virginia Line; perhaps he became a colonel at this time--again like Innes. In July, 1777,<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Nothing is known of his childhood. See Charles Campbell, ed., The Bland Papers (Richmond, 1840), xv, and genealogical chart, Tucker-Coleman MSS, for notation of his mother's re-marriage to Theodorick Bland, Sr., the father of Frances (Bland) Randolph Tucker.

<sup>104</sup> Faculty Minutes, December 12, 1772, 14 W(1) 26.

<sup>105</sup> Faculty Minutes, February 9, March 23, June 12, 1773, Ibid., 26-29.

<sup>106</sup> Bursar's Books, 1 W(2) 130.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.; see also Faculty Minutes, November 1, 1775, 15 W(1) 139.

<sup>108</sup> Charles Campbell, ed., The Orderly Book of That Portion of the American Army Stationed at or near Williamsburg... (Richmond, 1860), p. 39. See also Jefferson to Yates, February 21, 1781, requesting returns of the number of arms sent into the Continental Service while Yates was Muster Master, in Boyd, Papers, IV, 685.

<sup>109</sup> VG(P) 1 N 76:33.

<sup>110</sup> Warrant No. 6250, Gaius M. Brumbaugh, Revolutionary War Records (Washington, 1936), I, 384.

from Petersburg he wrote his friend Tucker that he was impatiently awaiting marching orders, "for every friend to liberty and mankind must exert themselves." He had just married Ann Isham Poythress and was rejoicing that Heaven had blessed him with "such a wonderful wife." Yet, he declared, "I am ready to sacrifice all for my countries good."<sup>111</sup> At this time he was living on a plantation in Prince George County and the next year was known as Colonel William Yates.<sup>112</sup>

His military record was never properly recorded--even when his heirs applied for pension lands--and none of his correspondence for later war years is extant; therefore, his movements cannot be traced. By 1779 he had finished his military service, for in the spring of that year Innes asked Tucker: "What upon Earth has become of Yates? I would write to him but I know not where to direct to him--having heard that he has lately moved to one of his own plantations."<sup>113</sup>

After the war Tucker attended to some of Yates's legal business and their correspondence continued. In June of 1784 his wife Nancy was very ill<sup>114</sup> and died before the end of the summer, aged twenty-four. His step-father, too--Colonel Theodorick Bland, Sr.--died that fall.<sup>115</sup> The next year he married Elizabeth Booth, who survived him. After his death, on December 2, 1789,

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<sup>111</sup> Yates to Tucker, Petersburg, July 14, 1777, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>112</sup> Advertisements in the Virginia Gazette: (D) 6 Je 77:31, (P) 22 Ag 77:32, (P) 29 My 78:41.

<sup>113</sup> Brumbaugh, Revolutionary War Records, I, 343, 384.

<sup>114</sup> Innes to Tucker, March 20, 1779, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>115</sup> Yates to Tucker, June 16, 1784, Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Yates to Tucker, October 13, 1784, Ibid.

she married Colonel Miles Cary. Thus the settlement of his estate, in which Tucker was involved, was complicated by conflicting claims of Blands and Carys.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> See letters of Francis Muir, January 20, February 18, 1792, Ibid.

IV. THE SOCIETY

The F.H.C. Society, which meant so much to the members of Innes's set, was dedicated first of all to Friendship. On the reverse side of their medal they saw the ideal of steadfastness and fidelity to friends in the clasped hands and motto Stabilitas et Fides. A letter of Innes, written on the twenty-third anniversary of the founding of the society, expressed the proper fraternal spirit. Tucker, just returned from Bermuda, had stopped off in Norfolk for a visit with recently bereaved relations and Innes was speaking for the Williamsburg circle when he exclaimed:

All Hail my Dr St George once more safely arrivd into the arms of yr Virginian Friends--The warmth of whose mutual congratulations on yr safe Return hither dares even to vie with the ardors of parental affection in welcoming you to your natalis.

I have a thousand--thousand--things to say would time permit but as I am dubious whether I shall be time enough for the packet--I must only inform you--that all yr Friends are burning with Impatience to see you.

Tucker, Tucker, come reechoes thro' this spacious Dome--we have delayd the Celebration of the Anniversary untill yr arrival...

Leave, Leave St. George as soon as you can the House of woe and sorro--and repair hither to the temple of Mirth and Hilarity--I wd have said Science, too, had I not thought you would have laughd at me--

My Dr Eliza is indispos'd--and I am half Drunk--half melancholy, half overjoy'd--and quite asleep--<sup>1</sup>

Celebrations in the "temple of Mirth and Hilarity" sometimes got out of hand. Maury's tavern frolic was not the only one of its kind. No doubt the "little select friendly Set"<sup>2</sup> of lively young men often met at

<sup>1</sup> Innes to Tucker, n.d. [endorsed Nov. 11, 1773], Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Tucker's phrase when, in memory, he once again took the familiar road from Yorktown and entered Williamsburg, passing the Capitol, then immediately recalling meetings of the PUK and FHC--presumably at the Raleigh or another tavern near the Capitol. Letter to Page, March 31, 1776, Tucker-Coleman MSS. Cf. meetings of the Phi Beta Kappa in the Raleigh.

the Raleigh,<sup>3</sup> where they could dine and dance, drink and talk under the gilded motto in the Apollo Room--Hilaritas Sapientiae et Bonae Vitae Proles. It was after a jovial party in Williamsburg that Davis--who had missed it--warned Tucker and Randolph "not to go on thus." Why was it, he inquired, that "Beverley shou'd be so very much inebriated as I'm told he was?" As for St. George, he added: "Page says you were so drunk that you cou'd scarcely make out a Letter--so intoxicated that you were unable to stand still. Life wou'd not be worth a Pin without these little juvenile Sallies, but it has been the Case too frequently with you lately. Few Men suffer more than you after a Debauch: but, then there are very few (Drunkards excepted) that are less cautious to avoid one."<sup>4</sup>

Rarely did Innes escape special mention when the behavior of his set was criticized. He must have attended this party, for Patsy Cocks was there and presumably Betsy, too. Perhaps he had already learned to drink like a gentleman. Though drunkenness was never one of his failings, he was not less rowdy than his friends. He was usually present at society meetings and always a leader in college scrapes involving his fraternity brothers. He seems to have considered himself adult and responsible at an early age. When Tucker first met him, he was already of gigantic size and looked down physically on all the grown men he knew. As head usher he probably thought himself above the college rules governing the younger boys under his care. For example, he kept two horses when one was illegal and boldly advertised

<sup>3</sup> Major Innis Randolph's statement of family tradition--that "they met in the upper room of the tavern and that their laughter shook the house." 25 W(1) 162.

<sup>4</sup> Davis to Tucker, York, August 5, 1773 (part of a long letter dated July 28-August 6), Tucker-Coleman MSS.

the fact in the Virginia Gazette.<sup>5</sup>

Shortly after the faculty had investigated the disciplinary questions raised by Maury's farewell party, Innes introduced another set of problems which engaged their attention throughout a long meeting on May 27, 1775. President Camm and Professors Jones, Dixon, Henley, Gwatkin and Madison assembled in special session to hear a formal petition of the two ushers and six of the students.

Out of sincere interest in the welfare of the college, the humble petitioners declared themselves "much grieved & exceedingly sorry to observe the repeated Acts of Extravagance, Partiality & unwarrantable Insolence, as well as the grossest Neglect of Duty in the Mistress of the College," Maria Digges. In nine articles the housekeeper was charged with the following specific offenses: Her private table was sumptuously set out with delicacies at the very time that provisions in the college dining hall were "scarce & intolerable." Furthermore, she had "been detected" sending luxuries "out of the College to the People of the Town." She monopolized the services of the college servants to such an extent that the boys were neglected even when they were ill. Losses in the laundry had greatly increased under her management, and no remedy was to be had. She was partial to her little brother Ned, who enjoyed extra candles and special food beyond the reach of the other students. She "often interposed in the Affairs of the College not at all appertaining to her Province." Her greatest insolence was shown when she "more than once unprovoked treated the Gentlemen of the College with scurrilous Language, and by malevolent & unjust Insinuations promoted Discord" among them.

Since her behavior had "created a general Murrmur & Discontent

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<sup>5</sup> He advertised for a bay horse and mare, strayed or stolen on November 5, 1774. VG(PD) 24 N 74:31.

throughout the College," the petitioners thought it "highly proper & strictly their Duty" to lay their grievances before their "Guardians & Protectors" and pray for redress. After mature consideration of the allegations, "the President & Professors agreed that the Ushers & Students should be severally sent for to hear what they had to say in Support thereof" and ordered the testimony "taken down immediately in their own words" and copied into the Faculty Journal.<sup>6</sup>

The petitioners were summoned in the order in which their signatures appeared on the bill of complaints and questioned on each of the nine articles in it. Innes, head usher, appeared first. He deposed that he had seen a variety of special dishes being carried into the housekeeper's rooms and supposed them to be college provisions. On one occasion a year before he had seen a Negro boy carrying meat to Lafong's.<sup>7</sup> While he had never been neglected when he was ill, he frequently had trouble finding a servant to clean his room or run errands. He had seen two sick boys neglected more than a year ago. He affirmed that he had experienced considerable loss of laundry "such as shirts, Stocks, etc." Miss Digges "never meddled with him" or used scurrilous language to his face, but he had been informed that Mrs. Smith, the cook, had abused him before one of the students.

Yates, assistant usher, deposed that Miss Digges had "treated him ill at Mr. Commissary's" and "once treated him amiss in the Passage." He had once heard a Negro boy ask for candles for Ned Digges and a woman's voice reply that "One would do." He had nothing to say in support of the other articles.

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<sup>6</sup> MS Faculty Journal, pp. 233-253, William and Mary College Library; printed 15 W(1) 1-14.

<sup>7</sup> George Lafong, barber and wigmaker; see Thomas K. Bullock and others, "Wigmaking in Colonial America" (CW Research Report, 1957), pp. 93-94.

Joseph Eggleston did not complain about the food or of the house-keeper's inattention when he was sick. He had lost pieces of laundry "before & since Miss Digges's time" but was "not regular in sending them." Though he found Miss Digges complaisant and polite, Mrs. Smith "treated him with Indecency" when he came into the dining hall after dinner.

John White declared that Ned Digges "has had Suppers & Dinners" which the deponent shared. When Mrs. Smith "gave him ill Language," he complained to Miss Digges.

William Steptoe owned himself indebted to the housekeeper for special indulgences and found no fault with her manner or language; however, she sometimes had all the servants engaged when he wanted one to run errands.

And so complaints dwindled as complainants appeared in orderly succession until the last signer--James Monroe--declared "That he never read the Petition, & consequently could not undertake to prove a single Article."

Miss Digges's passionate defense, spread over seven pages of the journal, denied all charges. To prove her innocence she cited conflicting evidence in the depositions of her critics and offered character testimonials from President Camm, Professor Gwatkin, Lord and Lady Dunmore, wives of the Visitors, prominent townspeople, and college servants. She humbly protested "that by undertaking her present Office she never resign'd any right she might enjoy as a Subject of this Country" and for the future requested "a Set of Orders concerning the manner in which she must act" in pursuit of her duties as housekeeper.

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<sup>8</sup> Probably a special friend of Yates, who paid his initiation fee of £4 when he joined the Williamsburg Lodge of Freemasons later in the year. Yates's account, entry for November 9, 1775, Treasurer's Books, 1773-1784, photostatic copy, CW Archives. Monroe had entered college, aged 16, in June 1774. Bursar's accounts, printed 4 W(1) 275.

Professor Gwatkin, master of the grammar school, testified that Miss Digges kept "a very frugal Table" and often shared personal gifts of "Wine, Tea, Coffee, Turkies, etc." with those who dined in the college hall. Ned's extra candles were privately purchased by young Digges or by Gwatkin himself. In his opinion, the housekeeper had been "remarkably attentive" to the students when they were sick. As an example, he explained "that during Mr. Innis's illness the said Thomas Gwatkin gave up Phoebe [the nurse] to take care of him altho' he was very sick at the same time himself.--that Miss Digges has frequently sent the said Mr. Innis Wine to put into his Victuals when sick, and Wine and Water, and mull'd Wine, and...three chickens a day." As to the laundry problem, he declared that he had heard, and believed, that Innes did not send his things to be washed at the proper time and their not being properly marked was the occasion of their being lost. He had never heard any abusive language whatever from Miss Digges and believed that the boys received it from Mrs. Smith only when they went into the kitchen and quarreled with her for things not allowed by the college.

Phoebe Dwit's sworn testimony supported Gwatkin's interpretation of Innes's illness and reaffirmed her own care in nursing sick students.

The final deposition in the day's solemn procession of them was the cook's:

Mary Smith declares she never abus'd Mr. Innis, nor beat his Servant, and that she only sent for Mr. Gwatkin when the young Gentlemen came into the Hall and demanded Dinner about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, but did not treat them with Indecency. And that several of the Young Gentlemen have call'd her Bitch, etc. which may have drawn from her hasty, but never insolent Language.

After weighing the evidence, the President and Professors unanimously acquitted the defendent of all charges and pronounced the bill of complaints to be frivolous, vexatious, and ill supported. A separate resolution explained

that the present hearing had been conducted at her request because of the "stories to her prejudice" circulated round the country and the anonymous letters on the subject sent to the Visitors. Messrs. Innes and Yates were ordered "to confine themselves to the Duties of their respective Offices, and not to enter into Combinations with the Students for the future." Rather, they were advised to "endeavour by their Example and Influence to promote Concord and Harmony in the said College."

Innes received a separate rebuke, which reviewed his record of recent offenses growing out of excessive pride and a warm, passionate temper. He beat the college servants when he thought them at fault instead of reporting them to his superiors. He listened "to the tittle Tattle of Servants" and repeated it so as to create disorders and ill humors among the students. When he was being reprov'd for his part in the midnight disturbance following Maury's tavern party, he interrupted the President and Masters to demand a certificate of innocence. Finally, "so soon" after being required to amend his conduct, he drew up a "Remonstrance in very harsh and severe terms to say no worse of it against a Woman" and persuaded the students to join with him in it.

Strange to say, the faculty did not remove him from office. Perhaps they let him off with a stinging reprimand because they knew him well and, recognizing his basic integrity and his capability for responsible and energetic leadership, wished only to curb his arrogance.

Insolence to the faculty was customarily punished with severity. Thomas Byrd, for example, had been expelled a few years before and refused reinstatement even when two members of the Board of Visitors--his father and

William Nelson--requested it.<sup>9</sup> Trouble with the housekeeper, however, could be cleared with an apology and promise of better behavior.<sup>10</sup>

The first recorded example we have of F.H.C. boys in a college scrape had created a similar stir in 1763. Jefferson, then studying law in Wythe's office, reported to Page in a letter of October 7th:

Affairs at W. and M. are in the greatest confusion. Walker, McClurg and Wat Jones are expelled pro tempore, or, as Horrox softens it, rusticated for a month. Lewis Burwell, Warner Lewis, and one Thompson have fled to escape flagellation. I should have excepted Warner Lewis, who came off of his own accord. Jack Walker leaves town on Monday.<sup>11</sup>

The Faculty Minutes offer supplementary details to the story. A resolution, unanimously adopted by President Yates and Professors Small, Graham, Horrocks and Jones, was spread upon the journal:

That you John Walker, James McClurg & Walter Jones (on account of your injurious Behaviour on Tuesday Night last to a family in Town) are ordered to betake yourselves immediately to Your Friends in the Country with such Letters &c as shall be deliver'd to you by the Society [i.e., the faculty] for them; and that you do not presume to appear in College, or the Town (after Tomorrow) until the 10th Day of Novr next, when you are to return, and make further Submission as the Society shall think proper; otherwise you will be look'd upon as expell'd College.<sup>12</sup>

In December Thompson was accordingly expelled because he had "deserted the College" to escape punishment for his share in the "Violence and Outrage" and ever since refused "to return and submit himself to the Discipline the President & Masters thought proper to direct." To prevent

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<sup>9</sup> Meetings of April 12, 13, 15, 1769, MS Journal, pp. 175-178; printed 13 W(1) 21-22, 133-134.

<sup>10</sup> See cases of John Byrd and Nathaniel Burwell in March and November, 1769, 13 W(1) 21, 137.

<sup>11</sup> Julian P. Boyd and others, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson (Princeton, 1950--), I, 11-12.

<sup>12</sup> October 6, 1763, 4 W(1) 44-45.



similar behavior in others, all the students were strictly enjoined not to entertain or associate with Thompson "under Pain of a most severe animadversion & Punishment."<sup>13</sup>

Innes's impulse to mention "Science" as well as "Mirth and Hilarity" within their "temple" suggests that the F.H.C. had changed somewhat since Jefferson's day, when "it had no useful object."<sup>14</sup> The group in college in the 1770's spoke seriously of "Charity, Friendship and Science"<sup>15</sup> and practiced the first and third ideals as amateurs. Those who had enough interest in science to perform chemical or physical experiments or to collect systematic astronomical and meteorological data joined the Virginia Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge<sup>16</sup> or became corresponding members of the American Philosophical Society. The others were content to read and discuss new theories and amuse themselves with electrical machines.<sup>17</sup>

Jefferson lost touch with the F.H.C. after he left Williamsburg, but Page, living nearby at Rosewell, retained his interest in the society and kept up with younger members. In 1773 he wrote to Tucker:

I am at a Loss to determine whether I am more pleased with the charitable Application of our new Fund, or with the generous Delicacy you have shewn in the Resolves on that Occasion--The present Members have given a striking Instance, of their Judgement, in the Choice of a proper Object of their Charity; & a noble Proof of their Humanity, & the Delicacy of their Feelings, in the Manner in which they bestow it--They did me great Honor, in appointing me their Agent on this

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<sup>13</sup> December 9, 1763, *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>14</sup> Jefferson to Thomas McAuley, June 14, 1819, printed in George P. Coleman, ed., *The Flat Hat Club and Phi Beta Kappa Society* (Richmond, 1916), n.p.

<sup>15</sup> William Nelson, Jr., to Tucker, College, March 30, 1779, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>16</sup> Page, Walker, McClurg, Madison, and Tucker were founders and officers; the 100-odd members are not known.

<sup>17</sup> Tucker to Page, March 31, 1776, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

Occasion--but I thought proper to share it, with Mr. L. Burwell, whose Charities are better known, & who really better deserves that Credit which they had given me--we shall do all in our Power to execute your Plan--I must truly congratulate you, on the Success of your Endeavours to improve our Society--You have brought it to a glorious Degree of Perfection!<sup>18</sup>

The fact that while they were in college this group of fraternity brothers had a near monopoly of the best scholarships and salaried posts as student assistants, suggests superior scholastic achievement. Their personal papers, too, reveal mental alertness and breadth of interest, enthusiasm for polite learning, and youthful excitement about ideas.

While Tucker was on board the vessel carrying him to Bermuda in the summer of 1773, he recorded his most vivid memories of Williamsburg friends. His mind dwelt first on philosophical conversations with Innes and Randolph as they leaned "against one of the Angles of the octagon Wall that encompasses the Magazine" or stood in "the old Field near the College" speculating on the origin of evil and the best way to prevent offenses against the public good. Once again mounting his hobby horse, he galloped off as happy as a prince, reviewing past dialogues on the omnipotence and wisdom of God--the merciful Creator and yet the Author of Evil?--on the awful moral responsibility of public officials, on the injustices and inadequacies of capital punishment. When he recalled their last meeting, he remembered that they had said adieu in the shadow of the Magazine Wall with clasped hands--surely using the fraternal grip of the F.H.C.--and that he had walked away quickly as the blood flowed from his heart into his face.<sup>19</sup>

In Tucker's papers is a catalogue of books prepared by Professor Gwatkin at the request of the members of the F.H.C. "as being the most useful

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<sup>18</sup> Page to Tucker, March 17, 1773, *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Journal of a Voyage to Bermuda, August 6-16, 1773, *Ibid.*

and valuable Books with which it would be proper to begin the establishment of a Library."<sup>20</sup> Gwatkin, one of the young<sup>21</sup> bachelors living on the campus, was closely associated with the students even before he became master of the grammar school in 1773.<sup>22</sup> The F.H.C. boys knew him better than the other professors, for he had general supervision of Tucker's studies and of Baylor's.<sup>23</sup> He was a man of mild and amiable disposition, sociable nature, and wide interests.<sup>24</sup> In later life he became a distinguished student of ancient and modern languages, but at this time, while he was professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, his chief interests were scientific.

Gwatkin's list of 134 titles immediately invites comparison with the better known list of 148 prepared at about the same time by an earlier member of the F.H.C. Society--Thomas Jefferson--for his friend and future brother-in-law, Robert Skipwith.<sup>25</sup> Skipwith wanted a library "suited to the capacity of a common reader who understands but little of the classicks and who has not leisure for any intricate or tedious study." The F.H.C. brothers, on the other hand, wished to supplement the basic reading available in the college library of 3,000-odd volumes.<sup>26</sup> Skipwith requested "improving and

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<sup>20</sup> Printed in Coleman, The Flat Hat.

<sup>21</sup> Born in 1741, he was Jefferson's elder by two years. 26 W(1) 221.

<sup>22</sup> See Faculty Journal, printed in 13, 14, 15 W(1) passim.

<sup>23</sup> Mary H. Coleman, St. George Tucker, Citizen of No Mean City (Richmond, 1938), p. 22; Gwatkin to Tucker, May 4, 1773, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

<sup>24</sup> Memoir in Gentleman's Magazine, cited 26 W(1) 226.

<sup>25</sup> The collection of books in the Brush-Everard House was assembled from Jefferson's list; see Arthur P. Middleton, A Virginia Gentleman's Library (CW pamphlet, 1952).

<sup>26</sup> James Thacker, "Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War," quoted in 8 W(2) 247.

amusing" books; the F.H.C. wanted them informative.

Half of Jefferson's suggestions, therefore, were poetry and general literature--Pope's translation of "Homer's Iliad and Odyssey," Smollett's of Don Quixote and Gil Blas, English versions of Rousseau's Heloise and Emile and of Chinese and Icelandic "pieces," as well as the English classics and all the currently popular novels and plays.

Gwatkin placed the same proportion of emphasis--half--on mathematics, natural philosophy and natural history. In this category he recommended very recent English works--nine studies in mathematics by Thomas Simpson, three of Joseph Priestley's in physics, Richard Weston and Colin Milne on botany--along with d'Albembert and Buffon in French, and, representing the American colonies, Franklin on electricity and Catesby on natural history.<sup>27</sup> Interpretations of Newtonian principles and new books of reference on astronomy, chemistry, geography, and agriculture complete this section of Gwatkin's catalogue. Though science was already Jefferson's "supreme delight," he recommended to Skipwith for scientific reading only Franklin on electricity, Pierre Macquer's Elements of Chemistry, a translation of Buffon, and several titles of practical use on agriculture, gardening and medicine.

Gwatkin's suggestions in literature and the arts were as few as Jefferson's in science; presumably the college library was adequate in those categories. The only light reading on Gwatkin's list was the unspecified novels of Richardson, Fielding and Sterne.

The catalogues give about equal space to history. Gwatkin's emphasis is western Europe; Jefferson's ancient Greece and Rome, with two Virginia histories included in a short modern list--Keith's and Stith's. Equal

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<sup>27</sup> This title appears as "Catesby's Nat: Hist: of Virginia"; Gwatkin seems to have known the contents of the book, though he cited it inaccurately.

attention to ethics, political economy and law is characteristic of both lists; here, too, Jefferson's emphasis is classical and Gwatkin's modern.

Though either catalogue would have provided a five-foot shelf admirably suited to the needs of young gentlemen who aspired to polished, well-informed conversation, only Jefferson's would promise lively recreational reading. Indeed, slavish attention to Gwatkin's program would taint one's learning with a touch of pedantry.

It is not known whether the F.H.C. Society ever collected the private library Gwatkin suggested. At the time the catalogue was prepared, they already had twelve of the titles:

- Francis Hutcheson, A System of Moral Philosophy
- William Woolaston, The Religion of Nature Delineated
- William King, Origin of Evil, translated by Edmund Law
- Samuel Clarke, Discourse concerning the Being and Attributes of God
- Richard Price, Review of the Principal Questions and Difficulties in Morals
- James Ferguson, Astronomy explained upon Sir Isaac Newton's Principles
- Bernhard Varen, Geographia Generalis, translated by Sir Isaac Newton and Dr. James Jurin
- Thomas Carte, General History of England
- Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England
- Bishop Thomas Percy, Northern Antiquities (a translation of Paul Henri Mallet, Histoire de Dannemarc)
- William Robertson, History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and of King James VI
- William Robertson, History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V

The College of William and Mary owns one of the books, the first volume of Hutcheson, which carries the name of St. George Tucker on the back cover and F.H.C. on the title page in Tucker's hand.

The letters of Tucker's special friends preserved in his papers present ample evidence of easy familiarity with contemporary best sellers and with the classics. Tucker threatens Innes with Ermulphus's anathema when

the Major doesn't write.<sup>28</sup> Watching by the bedside of a dying friend, Innes recalls Addison's last words to his stepson, "Attend! and behold a Christian die."<sup>29</sup> Davis calls Innes "the fat Knight" and adapts Hamlet's soliloquy to lighthearted use.<sup>30</sup> Tucker at sea, speculating about Williamsburg friends, wonders if Anne Blair remembers him "whenever Davis passes the Door" and distrusts "the Marplot."<sup>31</sup>

Latin phrases and scriptural references were used freely and aptly. The young men and girls in their social circle enjoyed the current fad of assigning classical names to ladies--Laura, Stella, Belinda, Statira, Aspasia--when personal secrets and gossip were exchanged.

On one occasion, Tucker recalled when he was an old man,<sup>32</sup> the young bachelors in town were hosts at a ball which was enlivened with a poem, The Belles of Williamsburg, "a joint Production" of Dr. McClurg, Professor Madison, and Tucker. The poem, read by Professor Andrews, introduced all the ladies present under classical names "and it was left to the public to make the Application of them." The salute began:

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<sup>28</sup> Tucker to Page, October 24, 1776. For the text of the curse of Ermulphus, see Book III, Chapter 11, of Tristram Shandy.

<sup>29</sup> Innes to Tucker, March 20, 1779. But note that he quotes freely; a pedant would have checked and found "See in what peace a Christian can die."

<sup>30</sup> Davis to Tucker, July 28, 1773, September 30, 1777.

<sup>31</sup> Journal of a Voyage to Bermuda, August 6-16, 1773. When a group of townspeople presented Mrs. Centlivre's Busy Body in Williamsburg in 1736, the role of Marplot was played by a doctor--either Henry Potter or George Gilmer. William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, May 26, 1775, Gooch Letter Book, typed copy, CW Research Department.

<sup>32</sup> Tucker's tribute, "To the Memory of Mrs. Banister," in a MS notebook dated 1818 and after, Tucker-Coleman MSS.

Wilt thou, advent'rous pen, describe  
 The gay, delightful, silken tribe,  
 That maddens all our city;  
 Nor dread, lest while you foolish claim  
 A near approach to beauty's flame,  
 Icarus' fate may hit ye.

With singed pinions tumbling down,  
 The scorn and laughter of the town,  
 Thou'lt rue thy daring flight;  
 While every miss with cool contempt,  
 Affronted by the bold attempt,  
 Will, tittering, view thy plight.

Ye girls, to you devoted ever,  
 The object still of our endeavor  
 Is somehow to amuse you;  
 And if instead of higher praise,  
 You only laugh at these rude lays,  
 We'll willingly excuse you.

Advance then each illustrious maid,  
 In order bright, to our parade,  
 With beauty's ensigns gay....<sup>33</sup>

As each succeeding stanza was read, there was usually lively division of opinion about the identity of the lady described. But everybody recognized Anne Blair, Williamsburg's most engaging belle, in the verses:

See Laura, sprightly nymph, advance,  
 Through all the mazes of the dance,  
 With light fantastic toe!  
 See laughter sparkle in her eyes,  
 At her approach new joys arise,  
 New fires within us glow.

Such sweetness in her look is seen,  
 Such brilliant elegance of mien,  
 So jauntie and so airy!  
 Her image in our fancy reigns,  
 All night she gallops through our brains,<sup>34</sup>  
 Like little Mab, the fairy.

Betsy Cocke, already engaged to Innes, was described as everyone

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<sup>33</sup> Printed in Richmond Standard, July 16, 1788; reprinted and ascribed to McClurg in Southern Literary Messenger, II, 469-471.

<sup>34</sup> Tucker's MS version; the printed text reads "veins."

was accustomed to see her--with her fiancé:

With pensive look, and head reclined,  
 Sweet emblems of the purest mind,  
 Lo! there Cordelia sits;  
 On Dion's image dwells the fair--  
 Dion, the Thunderbolt of War,  
 The Prince of Modern Wits.

When this classical ball was given,<sup>35</sup> the Revolution was in its second year and the fat Major had earned on the battle field a new sobriquet, Thunderbolt of War. His military career began in the spring of 1775, when he organized and led a Volunteer Company in Williamsburg as a sort of patriotic extra-curricular activity while he made his living at the college and studied law privately.

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<sup>35</sup> From the known whereabouts of the hosts and some of the guests, the date may be determined--1777.