



A JOURNAL OF ORTHODOX FAITH AND CULTURE

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Discovered and Discribed by Captain John Smith
Graven by William Hole
1606



EARLY ORTHODOX IN BRITISH AMERICA

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RTE: Nicholas, how did you begin this intriguing research?

NICHOLAS: In November 2008, I was exhibiting books at the Slavic Studies Conference in Philadelphia when a man came up and asked if I knew that the first Orthodox convert in America was a Virginian gentleman who had given George Washington his commission in the British Army. Something happened to distract our conversation and not knowing how to go about finding out more, or who this man was that I'd met so briefly, his comment just stayed in the back of my mind until September 2009, when I was in London visiting the Russian Orthodox Archbishop. At the end of our meeting the Archbishop gave me a copy of the newly relaunched "Sourozh" journal they produce with an article about the history of the Russian parish in London which is coming up to its 300th anniversary in 2013. Since 1717 the Cathedral has been dedicated to the Dormition of the Mother of God. I opened the journal on the train and it mentioned in passing that a Virginian gentleman called Philip Ludwell had been received at the Russian church in London. From the context, this was somewhere between 1720 and 1750.

Opposite: Map of Colonial British Virginia.

At that point I thought, “Surely this has to be the same person,” so I went to Google and began digging up various documents, including Ludwell’s letter commissioning George Washington into the British army. Perhaps the most important thing that cropped up through these searches was a refer-



Nicholas Chapman

ence to the academic work of Olga Tsapina, a Russian at the Huntington Library in California (not a Christian by the way, which makes her work a little more objective. We Christians might be trying to claim trophies, so to speak, while she doesn’t have this motivation.) I contacted her and she told me that in the course of her research on how the Enlightenment impacted Russian Orthodoxy, she’d found documents referring to the reception of Colonel Philip Ludwell in London, in the synodal archives of the Russian Orthodox Church in St. Petersburg.

With this, the information from the church in London began to open up a picture. One of the other important pieces was an article by Gleb Struve, the Russian poet and literary historian, published in the *Virginia Historical Society Journal* in 1949. It was called something like, “John Paradise, Russian Agent”. That, of course, brought up the question, who is John Paradise? John Paradise turned out to be one of Ludwell’s sons-in-law. The Holy Synod documents that Olga found were even more interesting because they recorded that Ludwell was baptized at the Russian Orthodox Church in London on the 31st of December 1738. He was born on December 28, 1716; therefore he was baptized two days after his 22nd birthday.

RTE: Might he have wanted to take this step for some time?

NICHOLAS: Yes, I don’t believe this was just a chance encounter with the church during a visit to London. Twenty-four years later, Ludwell brought his three daughters, Hannah, Frances, and Lucy, to London to be chrismated—note the difference here; he is baptized, they are chrismated, “on the 3rd of April 1762, on the Wednesday of Holy Week,” which means that his becoming Orthodox wasn’t just a passing whim that later vanished. In fact, it stuck.

Secondly, the minutes of the Holy Synod reveal that when Ludwell showed up again with his daughters, there was a different priest at the church who didn’t know who he was. The priest was a little surprised to have this Virginian gentleman appear, claiming to be a member of the parish, and so he cor-

responded with the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg to verify this, which took perhaps weeks or even months.

Olga Tsapina generously quoted chunks of the correspondence between the priest and the Synod to me verbatim. The correspondence shows that Ludwell himself was received with a blessing from the Synod, which of course means that his baptism had to have been organized well in advance. From a very early Virginia newspaper, we know that Ludwell sailed for London on August 5, 1738, so he was in London for a few months, and seems to have traveled there with the intention of being received. That raises the question of how all this began, which we'll come back to in a few moments.

Ludwell also translated the two most widely used Orthodox liturgies: "The Divine and Holy Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom as it is performed without a deacon" and "The Divine and Holy Liturgy of St. Basil the Great as it is performed without a deacon." The originals, dated by one of Ludwell's descendants to 1760, are in the archives of the Episcopal Church in Austin, Texas, who have kindly made me a copy. They have also provided one other short work entitled "How to behave before, in and after Divine Services in the Church." It is not clear to me if this is Ludwell's own work or a translation. I expect the former as the style of it is very similar to notes interpolated with the texts of the liturgies. I do not know on what basis these documents are dated to 1760 or more critically to when in that year. This is important as Ludwell returned to London in August 1760 and remained there until his death in 1767. Ludwell is also known to have translated (with a retrospective blessing from the Russian Holy Synod), Metropolitan Peter (Moghila's) "Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church" which was first published in Kiev in 1640. It seems that an earlier edition of Ludwell's translation was published, but the only one I have seen is an 1898 edition, edited with a preface by J.J. Overbeck, which is in the personal library of Metropolitan Kallistos (Ware).

RTE: Was Ludwell translating from Russian or Greek?

NICHOLAS: The liturgies were translated from Greek and the catechism may have been translated from Latin or Russian. He certainly knew both Greek, Latin and Russian.

RTE: Greek is understandable, but the Russian is surprising.

NICHOLAS: Perhaps not. Russia was actually a major market for Virginian tobacco and on this hangs another whole aspect of this story that needs to be examined in more detail. Furthermore, all of the major figures that crop up in this account are extremely well-educated and the story eventually reaches across England, Russia, Greece, Italy, America, and the Middle East. Philip Ludwell was a Virginia plantation owner, actually, Philip Ludwell III, a major figure in early American history, though he doesn't have much name recognition. His grandfather, Philip Ludwell I, was the first governor of Carolina, and his father, Philip Ludwell II, was the second Rector of the College of William and Mary. All three were members of the governing council of Virginia, and in fact, the minutes of the Holy Synod describe Ludwell as a "high royal official", which is why his conversion was so sensitive. The Holy Synod's response to his political situation is also interesting because they bless him to continue to attend the Church of England, basically in order to conceal his conversion because he is a high royal official.

RTE: Do you know if that extended to receiving Anglican communion?

NICHOLAS: The straightforward answer is: "I don't know." What I can say is that according to the Test Acts, it was a condition of holding Royal Office (as Ludwell did) that you receive communion at least once a year in the Anglican Church.¹ However, these acts were enforced to varying degrees at different times and in different places: Virginia seems to have been particularly lax.

The need to appear Anglican was not limited to Orthodox and Catholic recusants. Thomas Jefferson also pretended to be an Anglican. Jefferson went to church every Sunday, but never received communion and explicitly stated that he was never baptized. Although he was unbaptized and refused to be the godfather at anyone else's baptism, he still maintained his "seat in the church" so to speak. If he was able to do this, it seems entirely possible that Ludwell was also able to attend, but never receive communion.

RTE: So Ludwell did take the oath?

NICHOLAS: It appears that he must have done so. It was illegal to hold any kind of public office without taking the oath; it was a punishable offence.

1 The Test Acts: A succession of Acts of Parliament beginning in 1672 and finally repealed in 1828. The Acts served as a religious test for public office and only those professing the Established (Anglican) Church were eligible for public office or civil employment. Severe penalties were pronounced against recusants (those who refused to take the oath) whether Catholic or Nonconformist, although in practice, nonconformists were often exempted from some of these laws.

Having said that, the degree to which the Test Acts were enforced varied from decade to decade, and by Ludwell's time, they may have been more of a token statute. But having said that, Ludwell's youngest daughter wrote to Thomas Jefferson in the 1770's or 1780's (all of the people in this story wrote huge numbers of letters, and Lucy Ludwell particularly has a huge correspondence with Jefferson) referring to the fact that Parliament is debating the repeal of the Test Act, and that it will be so wonderful if this thing is finally gone. So, clearly it did have some impact on their lives.

RTE: What were the political and religious reasons for the secrecy surrounding Ludwell's conversion, and was there any dialogue between the established Anglican Church and the Orthodox Church at the time of Ludwell's baptism and his daughters' chrismations?

NICHOLAS: That's another interesting question. By the time we get to his daughters' chrismations in the 1760's, the link between the Anglicans and Orthodox are the non-Jurors, who add another aspect to the story. In 1688, the Roman Catholic/Anglo-Catholic Stuart dynasty, monarchs of Scotland from the 14th century and later of the whole of the British Isles except for a short period under Cromwell, came to an end with the last Stuart monarch, James II, overthrown in what is known as "The Glorious Revolution." William of Orange, a Protestant monarch was brought in to rule with his wife Mary, James II's Protestant daughter, and everyone was required to swear an oath of allegiance to the new monarchs. Certain bishops of the Anglican Church refused to swear the oath and became known as the non-Jurors. In the early 18th century, the non-Jurors initiated a correspondence with the patriarchates of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople and the Church of Russia, hoping to be accepted *en masse* into the Orthodox Church. That idea pretty much fizzled out by the mid-to-late 1720's, but the priest who received Ludwell in 1738 had been the go-between between the non-Jurors, Alexandria, and Moscow.

Another interesting facet to this is that Metropolitan Kallistos Ware has already written in some detail about the conversion of Frederick North to Orthodoxy in 1791. Frederick North was the son of Lord North, the British Prime Minister during the American War of Independence, and there is a description of Frederick North being baptized (like Ludwell, in his early twenties) on Corfu. He later founded the Ionian Academy on Corfu, the first modern Greek university. This may also be the key as to why Frederick North



Frederick North's Ionian Academy, Corfu.

decided to convert—he turns out to have been a close friend of Ludwell's son-in-law, John Paradise, who left North money in his will.

RTE: Would we assume that North's conversion was also secret? And did he act through the Ecumenical Patriarchate or a local bishop, or do we simply not know?

NICHOLAS: It was not done under conditions of strict secrecy as North was concerned about its implication for his family and social standing. He did, however, stress that he would not deny his baptism should the question be raised. The baptism was performed by a local Greek Corfiot priest and as far as I am aware no bishops were involved.

RTE: Can we return now to Ludwell's daughters' chrismation? If they were received by chrismation, this must mean that either they were originally baptized Anglican and their reception by chrismation was approved by the Russian Synod, or their father had already baptized them himself as an Orthodox layman.

NICHOLAS: If they were baptized in the Anglican Church and were received by *economia*, then why was he rebaptized? He'd also been a baptized, practicing Anglican. I would say that the evidence points to the probability that he baptized them himself. Ludwell also stood as their godfather at the chrismation, which is very unusual. (At the time of the chrismation his daughters are between the ages of 17 and 26, and Frances, the middle daughter, dies within five or six years of being chrismated. The life span of all three is pretty poor by our standards. Lucy, the youngest, lives the longest and she dies in her late sixties).

Another piece of evidence for his probably having baptized them is that there are no records of Ludwell being in London between 1738 when he was baptized and August 5, 1760. It's hard to believe that he was not in London during that period, but on the other hand, we know that when he turned up with his daughters he wasn't recognized, which would imply that they had spent those years in Virginia. If this is so, it is remarkable that he was able to sustain his faith alone for 22 years, as a 22-year-old convert in a somewhat hostile political environment.

RTE: How do you think he managed this?

NICHOLAS: We know that he read the Church Fathers in Greek, which I will come to later, but more important, in 1738 the Holy Synod not only blessed his reception into the Church, but they blessed him to take the Holy Gifts back to Virginia. That brings up the question as to whether the Gifts were for his own use, or was he expected to distribute them? Olga Tsapina believes from her research that Ludwell's wider household were quite likely all received into the Church, including his slaves, which might partly account for his being given the Holy Gifts. In the Anglican Church in Virginia at that time there was a great shortage of clergy. It was common for Plantation owners to hold non-Eucharistic services on their plantations with their wider households and to travel to church only perhaps once a month. Another fact of early Virginia which is not widely known is that not all slaves were black. There were also white slaves and there is some evidence to suggest that some may have been of Greek origin. Philip Ludwell Lee, a nephew of Philip Ludwell III, had at least one white slave, called Charles Love, who ran away in 1757. Although a slave, he was described as a "Professor of Music, Dancing and Fencing."

Ludwell translated both the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil into English and these translations contain rubrical notes which could suggest they were done to help someone acting as a server for a priest in the altar. When these translations were done is uncertain: one of Ludwell's descendants states the year was 1760, which was when Ludwell moved permanently to London. So it may be that he made these translations for the benefit of his daughters attending the services at the Russian Church in London. On the other hand the originals have now found their way to Texas and in that fact perhaps hangs a tale we can return to at a later date!

I also have a record of all of the times Ludwell received Holy Communion in London. The Ludwells communed as a family more than annually while they were there; roughly bi-annually, which at that time was extremely frequent.

RTE: It's incredible to think that some of the first Orthodox in America were upper-class Anglican landowners and their slaves.

NICHOLAS: Yes. When Lucy Ludwell returns in 1805 to live the rest of her life in Virginia, she writes Thomas Jefferson, saying "I am well thanks to God and the prayers of my spiritual father, the Reverend Jakov Smirnov." This was the priest who served in London for many years and Lucy writes this letter just as she is getting off the boat. Jefferson had just started his second term as president. She also traveled back to Virginia in 1787/88 but returned unexpectedly soon to Europe because of the elopement of her sixteen year-old daughter.

RTE: From the letter it appears that she is still on fire with her chrismation.

NICHOLAS: Yes, Lucy was an exceedingly passionate character. She was married to John Paradise, although she had a crush on Thomas Jefferson whom she seems to have pestered endlessly, but Jefferson always showed incredible grace in dealing with her. Gradually, her enthusiasm overwhelmed her and she slipped slowly into insanity, ending her life in an asylum, so in that sense, her story doesn't have a glorious ending. While her husband was Orthodox, he was also an alcoholic, so some of the details of their lives are not quite as unblemished as we would like. There is a sense of American Manifest Destiny in us wanting clear, clean portraits of people that don't really exist. Converts sometimes try to maneuver history into a neat package, but it really doesn't work.

Nevertheless, from their correspondence, it's obvious that John Paradise and Lucy Ludwell were educated, erudite people who knew everyone. Jeffer-

son and the Adams' came to dinner (she wrote extensively to Abigail Adams), as did John Jay, John Quincy Adams, and almost every other major figure of the Revolutionary period. Her husband, John Paradise, was probably also the first naturalized U.S. citizen, the formalities of which were organized by Benjamin Franklin.

The Ludwells were also very entwined with the Lee family of Virginia. Philip Ludwell III is actually Robert E. Lee's great-uncle, as his sister is the grandmother of Robert E. Lee. Hannah Ludwell, Philip's oldest daughter, then married William Lee, Philip's nephew and her first cousin. So marrying a first cousin was pretty common.

RTE: Though perplexing, because marrying first, second, or third cousins is usually not allowed in the Orthodox Church, and fourth cousins only with permission.

NICHOLAS: Yes, it's certainly uncanonical, but they may not have been aware of the canons, and clearly this was very common in Virginia society at this time. This is partly why the Ludwells are so intertwined with so many known historical figures. They were also closely related to the Harrisons: William Henry Harrison and Benjamin Harrison, grandfather and grandson presidents of the U.S. were direct descendants of Philip Ludwell II. There are an amazing number of connections.

Another person closely involved with the Ludwells is Benjamin Henry Latrobe, who is called the "father of American architecture." Latrobe developed the Hellenic Revival style, which is reflected in his design of the U.S. Capitol. He was brought over to America to begin his work here by William Ludwell Lee, Philip Ludwell's son-in-law (Hannah Ludwell's husband), and Latrobe's first commission was on the Ludwell estate. Thomas Jefferson probably learned about Latrobe from the Ludwells, and it was Jefferson who commissioned him to design the Capitol. Another angle to this would be to reevaluate exactly where Jefferson stood on religion, because not only was Jefferson taught Greek by John Paradise, but John's wife, Lucy Ludwell, acted as Jefferson's agent for acquiring his library while he was in Europe, so she must have had some influence on his reading.

RTE: How might that fit with what we already know of Jefferson's Christianity; for example, his version of the New Testament, the "Jefferson Bible," which excludes the Lord's miracles, leaving only the ethical teachings?

NICHOLAS: There is some evidence that his ideas might have changed later in life, and there also might be passages relating to his religious views that have been overlooked because historians simply didn't have a context for it. For example, I found a letter in which Jefferson is writing either to John Paradise or to Lucy Ludwell, in which he asks in passing, "And how is the Archbishop of Cherson?" Cherson, of course, is on the Crimean Black Sea peninsula. The Archbishop of Cherson was a Greek who was very involved with corresponding with these people and has a catholic missionary view of the Orthodox Church. Jefferson seems to have met or carried on a correspondence with him.

One of the most striking things about this research is that there are so many letters available. All of these people we are discussing were very well-educated and corresponded continually with friends in America, Europe and beyond. There are just so many letters—twenty-six alone in George Washington's correspondence with Philip Ludwell III, who is actually a third cousin of Martha Washington. There were many more letters between Ludwell's daughter and son-in-law and Thomas Jefferson.

Orthodoxy and Political Allegiances

RTE: As an aside, the colonial Americans you are mentioning here seem to all have ended up on the American side in the Revolution. In days when oaths were taken seriously, how could their oaths to the King, calling on God as a witness, be so easily set aside? Do you have any clues as to how the Ludwell and Paradise families justified this and what happened as a result of the Revolution to the friendship between Ludwell's son-in-law, John Paradise, and Frederick North, the son of the British Prime Minister?

NICHOLAS: I think we have all been brought up with a somewhat simplistic understanding of "The American Revolution." I increasingly think it could be equally billed as "The Second English Civil War." There were plenty of people in Britain who supported the American cause and vice versa. After the war ended one third of the population of the original thirteen colonies moved to Canada and the West Indies to remain under British rule. It should also be understood that the British Royal family at the time was Hanoverian (descendants of German princes) who were viewed as illegitimate by any person of Jacobite opinion. I would place the Ludwell/Paradise family in this camp, as Virginia was the last part of Britain to accept the overthrow of



Bruton Parish Church (Williamsburg) where Philip Ludwell III attended and maintained a seat.

the Jacobite monarchs. Ludwell must have taken the oath to the King to hold office, but I do not believe that John Paradise or any of Ludwell's daughters had to do this. It may be that Ludwell understood himself to have pledged allegiance to the rightful king "over the water" i.e Charles Stuart. Furthermore it must be said that British trading constraints on America (which helped to provoke the Revolution) would have had a personal impact on Ludwell's business and made his support for the American cause less surprising.

John Paradise, Ludwell's son-in-law and Lucy's husband, was cradle Orthodox; in fact he was probably third-generation English cradle Orthodox. He was born in Thessalonika in the 1740's, and educated in Padua in Italy where he most probably encountered Republican influences. Arguably, he is one of the most connected figures of mid-18th century European history. He taught Thomas Jefferson Greek, and the author of the book *The Hemingses of Monticello*, about the family of Jefferson's black mistress, refers to John Paradise as one of Jefferson's closest friends. So his support for the American cause is perhaps not so surprising.

There is also an interesting connection between Thomas Jefferson and Philip Ludwell which has all of the elements of a good soap opera. As many know, Thomas Jefferson seems to have had a black mistress, Sally Hemings, although to be fair, she wasn't really a mistress because if her lot had been different she probably would have been his wife. Jefferson's wife died at a relatively young age, and some ten or twelve years after her death, he struck up with Sally. But Sally is not only his slave, but actually his wife's half-sister; their common father is a man named John Wayles.

Now, John Wayles was the Ludwells' servant, and I think that he was the son that Philip Ludwell III never had. Ludwell brought him over from a very poor background in Lancaster in the north of England at the age of nine to be his aide. He grew up in the Ludwell household and was later sent back to Eton for an education. Wayles became a very outstanding figure in colonial Virginia, and was effectively Jefferson's father-in-law twice.

RTE: As part of Ludwell's larger household, did he too become Orthodox?

NICHOLAS: I can't believe he wouldn't have been aware of it, at least, if he was raised as a close servant and perhaps even as the son Ludwell never had.

Ludwell's Conversion and a Nest of Jacobites

NICHOLAS: But now to go back to another question: Why did Ludwell become Orthodox? At the moment there is only one account of his conversion and it is only in two sentences. It comes in a letter from Count Simon Vorontsov the Russian ambassador in London in the 1790's (twenty-eight years after Philip's death) to his brother Count Alexander Vorontsov in St. Petersburg, the Russian Foreign Minister. (This is another far-reaching connection, this time to the Alaskan mission, because Count Alexander Vorontsov turns out to be the main political sponsor of the Russian-American company, and of sending the missionaries to Alaska. I don't believe there is a direct connection between our story and the Alaskan mission, but it's fascinating to have the same people popping up in both.)

Now, in this letter Vorontsov mentions that there was a man called Philip Ludwell who, through reading the early Church Fathers in Greek, became convinced that our church was the one true Church and decided to join it. Although we don't know if this was exactly how his conversion went, it is intriguing that he was reading the Church Fathers. In fact, there were many

people reading the Church Fathers in England, and even allowing for the fact that he read the Church Fathers, how would that lead you to know that there is such a thing as the Orthodox Church? From the perspective of 18th-century Protestantism, you might think that the Church Fathers are just early Roman Catholics. How would you know that the Orthodox Church is its own complete entity, not to mention the true Church? And further, how do you get into contact with the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg to get a blessing to be received into this Church, particularly when you are in your very early 20's? Though certainly, that was a more mature age then, than it is now.

There are two intriguing leads as to how Ludwell came to this conviction. First, through what might be called the Jacobite connection. To return for a moment to the non-Jurors, the Jacobites are the supporters of the Stuart Dynasty that reigned from the early 14th century in Scotland and the early 17th in England, Wales and Ireland, until they were overthrown in 1688. In our story, the colony of Virginia is actually the last part of England to accept the new monarchs, William and Mary of the House of Orange (Holland), and even then the College of William and Mary was so named as to shove it down their throats. So, Virginia society is predominately Jacobite and the non-Jurors are the religious manifestation of the Jacobite Movement, which in early 18th-century England were in dialogue with the Orthodox Church.

RTE: Had many of the non-Jurors gone to Virginia?

NICHOLAS: I don't know, but colonial Virginia society was comprised largely of gentlemen farmers from the south and southwest of England, who had more Stuart sympathy in the first instance. Many of them had fought for Charles I against the Parliamentarians during the English Civil War and in 1651 Cromwell was forced to send troops by ship to Virginia to subject the colony. So Virginia certainly had very strong Jacobite sympathies. I suspect that the founding of the College of William and Mary was in part an attempt to stamp out any non-Juror tendency which may have existed.

We know that in the course of the non-Juror/Orthodox interaction, Metropolitan Arsenios of Thebeais comes to London on a fund-raising trip between 1714 and 1717, just before Philip Ludwell III is born. The Metropolitan writes, "Many people came to talk with me, asking me to receive them as communicants of the Orthodox Church, but I had to refuse them because I had no church. In spite of that, I did receive a few persons into Orthodoxy, all of them secretly." So, it would seem that some of the non-Jurors did ac-



Ludwell family cottage, Bruton, Somerset.

tually convert, but because of the Test Acts, just as we had Catholic recusants—Catholics who had to pretend to be Anglican—we probably also had Orthodox recusants in these non-juror converts.

RTE: How persecuted were non-Anglicans at that time?

NICHOLAS: I think it differed according to time and place. Just as religion was utterly crushed in Communist Albania until the late 80's, in other Communist countries in later decades it may have been not as badly persecuted, but there would have been restrictions on work and education for believers.

Another intriguing character is Henry Compton, the bishop of London at the time of the 1688 Protestant Parliamentary "Glorious Revolution". He is one of the organizers of the coup that overthrows the last Catholic Stuart monarch, James II, and in fact, performs the coronation ceremony for William of Orange and his wife Mary II, James II's Protestant daughter. But Compton was also behind the establishment of the first Greek Orthodox parish in London, which lasted for two years in the 1670's, until Compton also shut it down. Compton was not a Jacobite, in fact he was a leading

anti-Jacobite, if you like, so this Jacobite business was not so much good guy-bad guy—it's a bit greyer than that. In his initial support for the Greek parish, Compton was probably looking for a version of Orthodoxy that could be corrected by Reformed theology. He was certainly Protestant, and when he realized that, to his mind, the London parish was over the top in terms of numbers of icons, he closed it down.

Compton was also a governor of the Levant Company that sponsored the Greek College at Oxford University in 1698. The Greek College was founded with the support of Lord Paget (the British ambassador in Constantinople), the Levant Company, and the Orthodox Church for Greek Orthodox students, but it only lasted three years. The college's existence was cut short in 1705 when the Greek Church forbade further recruitment of students because "the irregular life of some priests and laymen of the Greek Church living in London has greatly disturbed the Church."

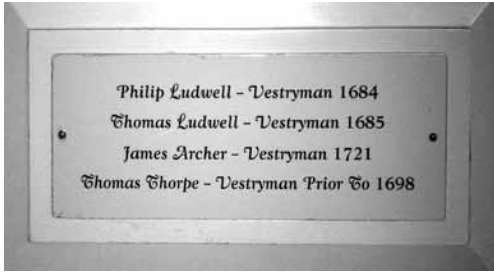
Now, as well as being the bishop of London, Compton also had ecclesial responsibility for the Virginia colony, and arguably, I'd say, to eradicate any non-Juror tendency, he sent James Blair, a Church of Scotland convert to Anglicanism, to Virginia as his dean. Blair is also interested in the Church Fathers, as is William Byrd II, the founder of Richmond, who read them daily. Blair, Byrd, and Ludwell I, followed by their descendants, form a kind of voting block on the Royal Council in Virginia, and they are all vestrymen of the Anglican/Episcopal parish at Bruton, which is colonial Williamsburg. Blair founded the College of William and Mary, and today, Blair House in Washington D.C.—the official state guest house of the U.S. President—is named after him.

These early Virginians are all clearly reading the Church Fathers in Greek, and as seems to be the case in many instances in the ongoing Anglican-Orthodox encounter, they are essentially looking for Orthodox validation for the episcopal legitimacy of the Anglican Church. That is, they want Orthodoxy, but they don't want the whole package. This situation arises even in our own day, where an encounter or a dialogue may actually serve as an inoculation. My aim in inoculating you may be to stop you from getting the disease, but just occasionally this means you do get the disease. I believe that Blair, in trying to inoculate people through reading the Fathers, may actually have caused some people such as Philip Ludwell III to catch it.

RTE: This is off our topic, but does the failed 1768-1777 New Smyrna Greek (or semi-Greek) colony in Florida connect to this story at all? Since many

believe it was founded by Greek Orthodox, is there any indication that the Ludwells knew of it?

NICHOLAS: Initially I didn't think there was any connection. Then I discovered that Dr. Andrew Turnbull, who organized the New Smyrna colony, was an associate of Philip Ludwell Lee, (Philip Ludwell III's nephew). I also



Colonial Williamsburg Bruton Parish Church Vestrymen including Philip Ludwell I.

found a report in the Virginia newspaper from 1771 about events in the Greek Orthodox Church in Menorca. (An island in the Mediterranean which belongs today to Spain but at that time was under British rule.) The New Smyrna colony was gathered at Menorca before sailing for Florida and there

were about 2000 Greek Orthodox on the island at that time. I think there is a lot more to be researched and written on this front.

The Death and Burial of Philip Ludwell III

NICHOLAS: To return now to the Ludwells, Philip Ludwell III died in London in 1767. Ludwell's funeral was at the Orthodox church in London, but because the Orthodox didn't have their own cemetery he was buried in an Anglican church in East London. (In the 18th century, the church did appeal to the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg for permission to have a cemetery, claiming that they had 3000 members, but that's another story). What the records of the Russian church in London say about Ludwell's funeral and burial is: "February 22, 1767. The ailing Philip Ludwell confessed and received Communion and Holy Unction. Present were Peter Paradise and three Ludwell daughters." "March 14th, Wednesday. Ludwell died at 5:00 PM, March 15, 1767. The Canon for the Departure of the Soul was read." "March 22, 1767. Mr. Ludwell was buried in the village of Bow in the crypt in which earlier was a Priest David who was a Jacobite."

I went to the church at Bow to meet the current priest. As it turned out, the church had become interested in the Ludwell family connection about the same time as I did because Philip Ludwell I, the first governor of Carolina, may also be buried there. According to many records there is a Ludwell fam-

ily vault there which has not yet been identified, as many of the vaults were sealed during the plague. But why would the Ludwell vault be there at all? The Ludwell family came from Somerset in the West of England, nowhere near East London. In trying to think of a connection, the vicar mentioned that all of the 18th-century ministers were graduates of Bracenose College, Oxford, and interestingly, I've found a reference to Bracenose as being "a nest of Jacobites". So, it may be that this church was a center for covert Jacobites.

Another mysterious thing with the burial of Philip Ludwell III is that the records state that he is "buried in the village of Bow in the crypt of a Priest David who was a Jacobite...". The rest is unreadable. The last entry regarding Ludwell in the Russian church records, says, "A Greek lady called Anna from Thessalonica, together with the sister of Mr. Peter Paradise..." Here the rest is also unreadable, but it appears that these two came to his grave a day or two after his burial. I believe this could point to the origins of Ludwell's conversion because, as I mentioned, Ludwell's daughter Lucy had married John Paradise, who is Peter Paradise's son. John Paradise appears to be third-generation English Orthodox, which makes his father Peter, second generation. Peter Paradise was the English representative of the Levant Company in Thessalonica, and his wife, whose name I've yet to discover, was apparently half-Greek from Corfu.

RTE: And what was the Levant Company?

NICHOLAS: It was a trading company established by Queen Elizabeth I to look after British trade and political interests in the Ottoman Empire. They had major bases in Salonica, Constantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo, and I have found documents mentioning the Levant Company's connections with the Holy Mountain through the Thessalonica office, and Peter Paradise having been to the Holy Mountain. Now John Paradise, Peter's son and Lucy Ludwell's husband, is English but born in Salonica and educated at the University of Padua in Italy and at Oxford. Part of the reason that he is so well-connected in European history is that he is fluent in seven languages—English, apparently, was his seventh. He also spoke Greek, Turkish, Arabic, French, Italian, and Russian and as I said earlier, was probably the first naturalized U.S. citizen.

Now the plot thickens even further. Gleb Struve, in writing about John Paradise's work for the Russian government, believed that Peter Paradise's wife's father's name is Philip "Ludvill", and Struve thinks that this Ludvill is an Anglican minister at the beginning of the 1700s, a non-juror Jacobite who

translated Metropolitan Peter Mogila's catechism. In fact, we know from the minutes of the Holy Synod that it is actually Philip Ludwell III who is blessed by the Holy Synod to translate Mogila's catechism. So, is there another Philip Ludvill or Ludwell, who is John Paradise's grandfather on his mother's side, and who would have provided the connection for Philip Ludwell III to be received?

I have a hunch that the mysterious grandfather on Paradise's mother's side may be Philip Ludwell I. After serving as the first governor of Carolina, he just sort of vanished off of the radar for the last seven or eight years of his life. He probably died in 1716, but no one is exactly sure why he is buried in East London. The dates would tie up with him potentially moving to London, meeting a Greek, having a child... so if this is true, it may be that Philip Ludwell III and John Paradise have the same grandfather, who may also have become Orthodox. I wouldn't be shocked to find that Peter Paradise and John Paradise are actually blood relatives of Philip Ludwell III, as well as being related by Philip's daughter Lucy's marriage to John. As we've seen, marriages between cousins were common.

To take the story further afield, Lucy Ludwell and John Paradise's daughter (also Lucy) eloped in the 1780's to marry a Venetian Count Barziza, and settled in Venice. They named their son Philip Ignatius, which makes you wonder. I want to find out from the Russian church in London whether Lucy Ludwell I's daughters were baptized Orthodox, which I suspect they were.

RTE: While the name Ignatius might signal that Lucy II became Catholic upon her marriage, it could also have been a family name.

NICHOLAS: There was an active Greek parish in Venice as well, so it wouldn't have been difficult for Lucy Ludwell II to maintain her Orthodoxy if she chose to.

Both surviving daughters of Philip Ludwell III married and lived largely outside of the United States. Lucy clearly did not abandon her Orthodox faith but I have not yet found any evidence that Hannah continued with hers. Lucy's daughter's children born in Venice later moved back to Williamsburg at the time of their grandmother's death. At the very least we can say that the Ludwells were Orthodox in Virginia from 1738 to 1815—a fairly good stretch of time.

RTE: Nicholas, you have a major Orthodox detective story here. What have been the most interesting discoveries for you?



Colonial Williamsburg Ludwell-Paradise House.

NICHOLAS: It's fascinating that so many of the early major figures of independent American history are known to the people in this story. They all seem to visit back and forth, and they correspond extensively. Along with the Ludwells and Paradises, we have George and Martha Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin (who was a neighbor of Philip Ludwell III and his daughters in London for a number of years, and who stood for a portrait of himself commissioned by Philip Ludwell III), John and Abigail Adams, and John Quincy Adams, who was the first ambassador to Russia, where he certainly would have had contact with the Orthodox Church, the two Harrison presidents, Jakov Smirnov, Count Vorontsov, and then Jefferson corresponding with a Russian Archbishop of Cherson.

And these were all international people. Too often we tend to biases that conform to our current stereotypes, and I think that perhaps in the popular imagination, Russians still equal communists; certainly they don't equal western democrats and capitalists. But Catherine the Great's favorite author was Adam Smith, and John Paul Jones, the father of the American Navy, was formerly a Russian admiral of Catherine the Great. We have records of him attending Orthodox services on a ship in the Black Sea.

This brings up the question, to what extent did the Orthodox mentality of the Middle Ages transfer into a more modern idiom with the European Enlightenment? The people we are dealing with in this story—Virginian converts, Russian priests, the Archbishop of Cherson, English families living in Salonica and Venice, the Greek and Russian patriarchates—are all highly educated, erudite people. Where a medieval person would perhaps have accepted the miraculous without any hesitation, when an Enlightenment or post-Enlightenment person (probably including you and I) hear of miracles, we want to believe them, but we also find ourselves doubting. I don't think that a medieval person would have thought that way. So, here we have the question as to how people appropriate the faith.

RTE: And also the question of how your Virginian and English Orthodox converts dealt with these differences of world-view in their social circle. Some of the "Founding Fathers" appear to have been more theist than Christian. Yet the Orthodox Ludwell and Paradise families interacted freely with those of different and even radical beliefs.

NICHOLAS: Perhaps a critical factor is that in some senses Orthodoxy was seen as a *via media* between Protestantism and Catholicism, the strife between which had been at the center of many conflicts of European history.

RTE: Your story also undermines stereotypes of the Founding Fathers' as either unwavering Protestants or scheming masons. Also, they must have had a great store of tolerance to remain close to these Orthodox converts who, no doubt, were privately enthusiastic about their new faith.

NICHOLAS: It certainly seems so and I think there is a lot of work still to be done in understanding the nature of the Founding Father's beliefs and the whole interface between Orthodoxy and the Enlightenment and its effect on Christian belief in general.

This also raises a more general question about Anglicanism and the non-Jurors. What kind of ground was being prepared in those early 18th-century dialogues to bring Orthodoxy into a western context, which is what the non-Jurors wanted? (As part of this synthesis, in initial outreach to the Alexandrian and Russian patriarchates, the non-Jurors included a demand that the patriarch of Jerusalem be recognized as the senior patriarch because they felt that Jerusalem was the more ancient Church.) Also, as you had the non-Jurors in England, you also had the Catholic Jansenists in France, who were

beginning to dialogue with the Church of Russia. I wouldn't be surprised to see that we had some sort of early Quebecois, say, an Orthodox family in 18th-century Quebec.

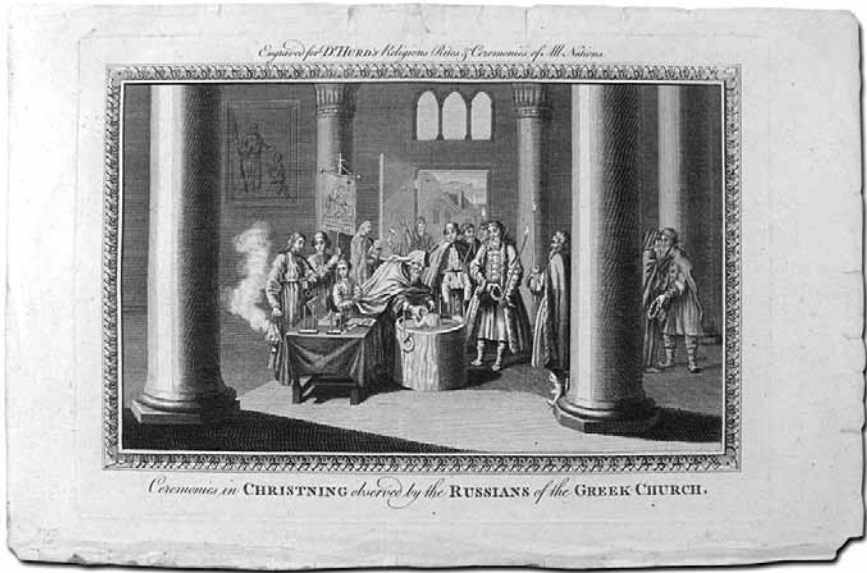
History is also interesting because it puts the present into a larger context. All of these meetings, conversions, the comings and goings, seem to have begun when Elizabeth I founded the Levant Company to engage with the Christian East in the Ottoman Empire. This was the beginning of the Anglicans' endless struggle for legitimacy that is still going on today. This interaction between Russians, Greeks, and Western converts is nothing new. We are cursed with this notion that we are the first people to have done something, that we are unique, that this thing has never happened before, whereas Scripture says that there is nothing new under the sun—and Scripture's right.

Another fascinating thing is that this story moves between the pre- and post-Revolutionary U.S., Russia, Greece, the Middle East, Paris, and Venice, which we've hardly mentioned, except in connection with Lucy II, Lucy Ludwell Paradise's daughter. At this time Venice was a major center of Orthodox publishing and the Fathers and the *Philokalia* were being printed there in large quantities by the Greeks.



Venice's Renaissance-style Orthodox Church of San Giorgio dei Greci (St. George of the Greeks) built in 1539.

Venice, Geneva and London were the three main places in which the Fathers were being published in the 17th and 18th centuries in European languages—English, French, German, and Greek.



Engraving of Russian Baptism from D. Hurd's Religious Rites and Ceremonies of All Nations, printed c. 1780, London. With the parishioners in European dress, this could easily be an engraving of a service in the London Russian parish where Ludwell and his daughters were baptized.

RTE: Nicholas, what do you think we can learn from the Ludwell and Paradise families about the Orthodox Church functioning in a non-nationalistic way? I sometimes hear people speak of “American Orthodoxy”, as if they expect to create a neat patriotic package, but here you have Americans who are essentially “Founding Fathers” themselves, involved with and embracing Orthodoxy in Russia, Greece, North Africa, and the Middle East, with an Orthodox consciousness that clearly extends beyond their own national or ethnic identities.

NICHOLAS: On a personal note I think it is critical to Orthodox self-understanding to rediscover the reality of what St. Paul wrote that “Our citizenship is in heaven” and that wherever we were born or live on this earth we are “strangers and exiles” in a diaspora which will last all of our earthly life. All national boundaries and identities are by nature somewhat temporal and even in our own lifetime we have seen huge changes in national boundaries in Europe and elsewhere. So it is foolish to overly invest in Church structures founded upon current boundaries and identities. These are only of worth in

as much as they serve our salvation. Sanctity is a possibility for all peoples and neither Americans nor Britons, Greeks nor Russians, have any particular monopoly on it. ✦