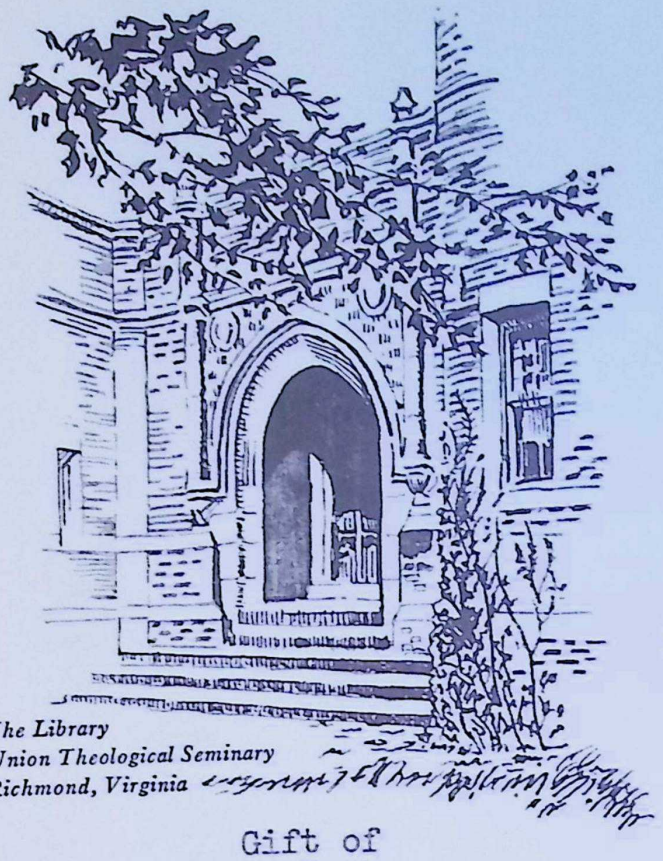
THROUGH CENTURIES THREE

SQUIRES



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THE COLONIAL ARMS OF VIRGINIA

"Under the regal government the coat-of-arms of Virginia was imposing. Two knights, in armor, supported a shield upon which the emblems of England, Scotland, Ireland and France were quartered. The motto *En Dat Virginia Quintum* was changed to *Quartum* after the union of England and Scotland (1707). A half statue of Pocahontas surmounted the shield." (HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY.)

The arms were used by Sir William Berkeley, 1652, when he proclaimed Prince Charles at Jamestown, King of Virginia. Robert Beverley used them as the frontispiece of his History of Virginia, 1705.—Chap. LIX.

Through Centuries Three

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA

BY

W. H. T. SQUIRES, M.A., D.D.

AUTHOR OF

The Days of Yester-Year in Colony and Commonwealth, Peregrine Papers, Who Am I, Arcadie Days, etc.

THIS BOOK IS NUMBER

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IN GRATEFUL AND AFFECTIONATE MEMORY OF

WILLIAM HENRY TAPPEY

WHOSE LIFE WAS AN INSPIRATION AND A TRIUMPH
THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED

Born in the Kingdom of Hanover to Francis Tappe, a soldier who fought Freedom's fight with Blucher at Waterloo, he chose the arts of peace; and, at the tender age of sixteen, laid his hand to honest toil.

Virginia he selected as his home, and a daughter of Virginia for his bride.

With courage, no difficulty daunted, he built an industry which ranked Virginia's modest best.

In the holocaust of civil strife he volunteered his sword; but aided more efficiently with expert mastery of iron and lead.

True to his convictions, as the steel with which he wrought.

Every worthy man and measure found in him a steadfast friend.

To hundreds of ambitious youths, not too proud to work, especially if clad in tattered uniforms of Confederate gray, he opened the door of opportunity.

Children he loved, and music, flowers, art and books, but most of all the Church of the Living God.

For seventy full years he enriched his generation.

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of General Lee's surrender, the Father called him Home.

* * * * *

TO HIM, WHOSE BLESSED INFLUENCE ABIDETH STILL,
THIS TRIBUTE OF A DAUGHTER'S SON, WHO BEARS HIS NAME, IS LAID
A WREATH OF LAUREL, MYRTLE, ROSEMARY.

Gift of Daniel Aguirre

VIRGINIA

1585–1930

From the mist-shrouded strand of thy storm-driven ocean,
From thy calm, purple peaks, where the weary clouds rest,
We pledge thee, Virginia, our loyal devotion,
Home of our fathers the land we love best.

* * *

Not thy beauty, nor bounty, nor pride in thy story,
Through gloom of defeat or in victory's light,
But the sons of thy soil are thy treasure and glory;
Their honor thy crown, and their manhood thy might.

* * *

By thy plains blood be-soaked; by thy battle-girt waters;
By thine honor unsullied THROUGH CENTURIES THREE;
By the strength of thy sons; by the love of thy daughters,
We swear our allegiance, Virginia, to thee.

—W. H. T. S.

FOREWORD

VIRGINIA has held the attention of the world THROUGH CENTURIES THREE. On her shores and waters more decisions have been rendered than in any other land of modern times, France alone excepted. No state ever produced such incomparable leadership from a population so meagre, save Athens at her best.

This story unfolds through a sequence of seven scenes like a Shakespearean drama.

First; twenty-two years of futile effort to plant the Virgin Land succeeded, at last, upon the sand dunes of Cape Henry, April 26, 1607.

Came then the Second Scene, a struggle through eighty-two years (1607-89), to build a nation of British blood and Christian civilization in the heart of an inhospitable wilderness. Every acre was cleared at incredible cost for a fierce foe, sullen and intractable, lurked ever alert in the fringes of the forest. Those sent to help and hearten the colony were often (not always, thank God!) a liability. Their avarice, selfishness and inefficiency laid grievous burdens and heavy to be borne upon a weak and discouraged people. This scene closed with the coming of William and Mary (1689) to the British throne.

Came the Third Scene, eighty-seven fruitful, generous years (1689-1776). Our governors were able, patriotic and efficient, save only the last, but

the laws were heavy, unreasonable, unjust and ground the faces of the poor. Court and parliaments from the English Revolution until the American Revolution were driven by stupidity and blindness almost inconceivable and exasperating to a degree.

But the pioneers pushed ever onward, westward, northwestward, southwestward. Mile by mile they redeemed the land, felled the forests, built their cabins, tilled their fields and farms by riverside, hillside, mountainside. Step by step they plodded an irksome way with sublime faith in God, and fine confidence in themselves. Year by year they garnered their crops, established simple governments, administered rude justice, protected their homes filled with happy, healthy children.

It is a tale to stir the blood of the sluggish, to lift the discouraged, and to lend eagle eyes to those blinded by sensual self-indulgence. Only a virile folk could have won against such odds. The manhood of Virginia and of colonial America is an heritage right royal.

Came the Fourth Scene (1776-1825), with Virginia's leadership paramount. The magnificient generosity of the state, her population, wealth, prestige, loyalty, unity, and culture, the central position of her huge, undivided domain, and especially the ability of her sons, gave her a commanding influence for half a century.

Came the Fifth Scene, as James Monroe left the White House and the work of the Virginia dynasty was done (March 4, 1825). Virginia's influence waned and faded more and more.

The enormous growth of the West, the westward migration of her finest youths, thousands upon thousands of them; the endless debates on tariff, states' rights and especially slavery, growing ever more bitter until the South appealed to the arbitrament of the sword and Virginia was left a desert, swept by fire and sword, rent asunder, without hope, without representation and without a name. A lesser people would have perished from the earth.

The Sixth Scene dawned in disaster, defeat, poverty and despair. For thirty-three years (April 9, 1865-February 15, 1898) every tide ebbed and the undertow swept strong against her. The lioness was dead, they said, and her pelt was a pawn.

The farms were devastated, the fields parched, the cities were ashes, the homes broken and the children hungry. The Virginians accepted their defeat without complaint. They met calumny with silence. They submitted to hopeless poverty. Sidney Lanier wrote Bayard Taylor, "With us of the younger generation in the South since the war, pretty much the whole of life has been merely not dying."

Such as were left, many maimed and all disheartened, fought for the future with the same grim determination that had wrested victory on a hundred bloody battle-fields. It was an agony, often fatal; but it was superb.

The clouds lifted slowly and the day grew gradually brighter. The erstwhile slaves, who were exploited by venal politicians, became again happy and contented laborers. In some respects this struggle is the most inspiring episode; for the fiercer the storm,

the finer the mettle of the ship and the skill and courage of the seamen.

Came the Seventh Scene, still enacting. The destruction of the "Maine" at Havana (February 15, 1898) marked an epoch for Virginia. A new constitution purified her politics and ignorance disappeared as wealth increased. The sons struggle now for industrial supremacy where their fathers fought to preserve their civilization and earn an honest livelihood.

The Virginians of today face their rarest opportunity THROUGH CENTURIES THREE. The future beckons to achievements more splendid than the most optimistic dare describe.

Follow with us, Gentle Reader, and decide whether these claims be too fulsome.

W. H. T. SQUIRES.

Massawomack
Riverview
Norfolk, Va.
Oct. 1, 1929

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Through Centuries Three

A Short History of the People
of Virginia

Book I

FUTILE EFFORTS

1585–1607

I.

SIR WALTER RALEGH

Chief Governor: 1585

The hand of Walter Ralegh lifted the curtain of obscurity from the Western World. He pointed the English people to colonial empire and maritime supremacy.

Ralegh was the Father of Virginia and of America. In his darkest hours of defeat and humiliation he wrote Robert Cecil, Lord Burleigh (August 21, 1602), "I shall yet live to see it an English nation." And live he did though in the dungeons of the frowning Tower of London.

The mother of Ralegh, one of the great women of her time, gave the world four magnificent men, of whom Walter was the youngest and by far the most brilliant.[1]

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, her second son, was knighted for gallantry in the Scotch and Irish wars. Queen Elizabeth gave him letters patent (June,

[1] HUGH DE SELINCOURT, *Great Ralegh*, pp. 2-10.

1578) to such American shores as had not yet been appropriated by any European prince. Technically there were no such regions; but actually the richest, choicest and best lands lay tenantless, naked and untouched.

Sir Humphrey's first venture (1581) proved disastrous. Nothing daunted, he mortgaged his estates and set forth again for the inhospitable shores of Newfoundland (June 11, 1583). He was thoroughly committed to a Northwestern Passage around the frozen shores of Labrador. After months of suffering he was lost in the Azores (September 9, 1583).[2]

GILBERT

Walter (born 1552), thirteen years younger than Humphrey, ran away from Oriel College, Oxford, to aid the Huguenots. He fought the Lord's battles under Conde and Coligni, served with William the Silent in the Low Countries, and acquired from them, with his military experience, an intense hatred of Spain.

He served his Queen in the Irish wars. When the handsome, young captain returned to London, he "presently cast off and spread his new plush cloak on the ground, whereon the Queen trod gently over."[3]

The story, often discredited, is true, we doubt not. It articulates well with the times. We dare say no young captain ever made a better investment, no matter how costly Walter's coat may have been.

The Queen was not young. Forty-nine years lay

[2] THOMAS FULLER, *Worthies of England.*

[3] E. J. PAYNE, *Voyages of Eliz. Seamen*, pp. 173-174.

behind her. Ralegh was nineteen years her junior. But Elizabeth was ever susceptible to masculine charms, and the gallant young captain "possessed a good presence in a handsome, well-compacted body; strong, natural wit and better judgment; a bold and plausible tongue, the fancy of a poet and the chivalry of a soldier; and he was unrivalled in the splendor of his dress and equipage."[4]

From the day he looked into the eyes of the Queen only Leicester and Essex outshone him at the Virgin's court. She renewed and enlarged Humphrey Gilbert's charter. The colonists were to take with them overseas all their rights as Englishmen. The Church was to be established in the English rite (March 25, 1584).

In a month Ralegh had two ships ready.[5] Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, expert and experienced navigators, lifted their anchors, April 27, 1584, and sailed forth upon a voyage destined to make history.

On July 2 they reached the sand dunes of North Carolina. "We viewed the land about us as being very sandie and low toward the water's side, but as full of grapes as the very beating and surge of the sea overflowed them. Of these we found such plentie on the sand and on the greene soil on the hills and the plaines on every littel shrubbe as also climbing towards the tops of high cedars, that I think in all the world the like abundance is not to be found."[6]

NORTH CAROLINA

[4] MRS. ISA CARRINGTON CABELL, in *Appleton's Cyc. Amer. Biog.*

[5] GEORGE BANCROFT, *Hist. of U. S.*, Vol. I, p. 76.

[6] The full text of Capt. Barlow's report to Ralegh is given by C. WHITTLESAMS, *Conquest of Va.*, pp. 59-80.

They coasted along the shores of Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds, and crossed the estuaries of the wide Carolina rivers. At Roanoke Island they were hospitably received by the "gentell" Indians, with whom they fished, hunted, feasted. Many and important observations and discoveries were noted.

ROANOKE ISLAND

The native king, Wingina, was ill of wounds recently received in battle. His country was called Wingandacoa—or so, at least, they understood.

In six weeks the captains had their ships again in English waters. Two "lustie savages," Manteo and Wanchese, came with them. Amadas and Barlow reported to Capt. Walter Ralegh that they had surveyed the coast for 120 miles. On the isle of Wocoken, the southernmost of the islands forming Ocracoke Inlet, they took possession of all lands in the name of Queen Elizabeth. They described the beauties of the country, the calmness of the sea, the magnificence of the trees, the height of the sand dunes, the richness of the vegetation, the strangeness of the animals, the birds, and the tawny inhabitants. Surely this land was like the Garden of Eden. Their report was received with unbounded enthusiasm. Thousands were eager to press overseas. The Spanish claim, laid like a blanket over all America, would not be tolerated.

The Queen declared that her reign had been signalized by the discovery of these enchanting regions, and as a memorial of her unmarried state, she called the new country Virginia.[7]

VIRGINIA

7 JAMES GRAHAME, *History of U. S.*, p. 38.

JOHN OLDMIXEN, *British Empire in America.* "The country was called for the virgin estate of the Queen, or, as the Virginians will have it, because it retained the virgin purity of the first creation."

She made Capt. Walter Ralegh a knight and granted him monopolies, lands and manors in England and Ireland. He became a power at court and took his seat in Parliament. His patent and charter were promptly confirmed.

England was for months in a fever of preparation. Hitherto the colony and dominion of Virginia had been Ralegh's dream,[8] his ideal and ambition. England, growing every year more conscious of her power, should wrest these rich lands in the temperate zone from the avaricious grasp of Spain. The time had come for England to claim the realm discovered for her by the captains of Henry VII, the Queen's grandfather.

The Church desired the colonization of Virginia, a region unsurpassed for missionary effort. Many less honorable and disinterested motives urged the nation to its destiny. Who could say that gold might not be discovered in Virginia? NORTHWEST PASSAGE Who could say that a waterway to India and China might not be found around her shores? Who could estimate the value of Virginia's products once the land was opened? Ships and cargoes, markets, ports and cities, a new world with possibilities beyond the dreams of avarice beckoned to England. Ralegh's enthusiasm committed England to the plantation of Virginia. No failures, losses nor disasters turned the British aside.

James I laid Sir Walter in the tower and cut off his head, but Virginia and America are the offspring of his splendid soul.

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[8] "Visions destined to be more than realized."
WILLIAM STEBBINS, *Ralegh*, p. 43.

II.

SIR RALPH LANE

Deputy Governor: 1585-1586

Sir Walter Ralegh was not permitted to leave England. As captain of the Queen's body-guard of fifty devoted soldiers he kept constant watch over his sovereign and benefactress.

Ralegh selected his cousin,[1] Sir Richard Grenville, a distinguished navigator, to conduct the first colony to Virginia. A fleet of seven sail weighed anchor in Plymouth harbor, April 9, 1585.

Seven men who embarked upon the voyage have left their names securely written on the pages of history.

Grenville was Ralegh's senior by ten years. Like Capt. John Smith, of the next generation, he won his spurs fighting the terrible Turks. Like Ralegh he served his sovereign in the Irish wars, took a seat in Parliament, representing Cornwall (1571), and was knighted by the Queen. He entered enthusiastically into Ralegh's plans for Virginia, and he was, therefore, the logical admiral for the fleet.[2]

Ralegh selected Sir Ralph Lane as first governor. He was ten years older than Grenville (born 1530). As the second son of Sir Ralph Lane of Northamptonshire and Maud, a first cousin of Queen Catherine Parr, Sir Ralph was, by marriage,

QUEEN CATHERINE

[1] MILTON WALDMAN, *Sir Walter Ralegh*, pp. 38-46.

[2] C. WHITTLE SAMS, *Conquest of Virginia*, pp. 101-203.
FRANCIS LESTER HAWKS, *History of North Carolina*, p. 105 &c.

a cousin of Elizabeth. Catherine Parr, the last of Henry VIII's successive wives, outlived her fickle husband, and was the Princess Elizabeth's step-mother and protector.

Ralph Lane entered the Queen's service in 1563 as an equerry. He, too, served in Ireland, and returned to England just before Ralegh invited him to become governor.

One might have guessed that there would be trouble between Capt. Richard Grenville and Sir Ralph Lane, and trouble enough there was!

Among the colonists were Capt. Philip Amadas, who had sailed with Capt. Arthur Barlow upon the first propitious voyage to Roanoke—the voyage which made the colonization of Virginia possible.

Manteo, the Indian chief whom Amadas had brought to England and whom Ralegh later appointed "Baron of Roanoke," returned to his native Chicora.

Thomas Hariot, a famous mathematician, scientist, author, teacher and historian, by his research made this voyage important to Great Britain, Ireland and Virginia.[3]

John White, the third governor of Virginia, and Thomas Cavendish, now only twenty-one, who in later years circumnavigated the globe and charted the seven seas, were among the 108 colonists who sighted the shores of Florida in June. Such a terrific storm (June 26) broke over them that Captain Grenville named the headland off the coast "Cape

[3] "Mr. Thomas Hariot, a man of a strongly mathematical and scientific turn," I. N. TARBOX, *Ralegh and His Colony*. "Harriot and Harriott," *Century Dictionary*.

Fear." And it is still Cape Fear, one of the oldest place-names in America.

They landed at Ocracoke Inlet (June 28), near the sandy island of Wocoken, but established the colony on Roanoke Island, a beautiful, healthy and desirable site save only for the approach. Roanoke could never become a harbor located behind the sand dunes of stormy Cape Hatteras, the "graveyard of the Atlantic." From Roanoke Albemarle Sound stretches away to the north and the broad waters of Pamlico to the south. Four great rivers—the Chowan and Roanoke, the Tar and Neuse—and half a hundred lesser streams here pour their waters into the Atlantic.

ROANOKE ISLAND

Sir Richard Grenville, during July, explored the wide waterways and returned to England.

Evidently Gov. Ralph Lane's first duty was to explore the land, and discover its products, which he did with diligence and precision, and added much to the knowledge of the world. Governor Lane wrote enthusiastically:

"It is the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven; the most pleasing territory of the world. The continent is of a huge and unknown greatness, and very well-peopled and towned, though savagely. The climate is so wholesome that we have not one sick since we touched land. If Virginia had but horses and kine, and were inhabited with English, no realm in Christiandom were comparable to it."[4]

[4] A verbatim account of Lane to Ralegh; *Old South Leaflets*, Boston, Vol. V, pp. 381-404.

Thomas Hariot studied the tobacco plant, its growth, leaves and curing. The colonists learned to smoke, and introduced the custom into England. TOBACCO

More important than tobacco was the potato, whose roots were not only edible but delightful, the value of which to the world let him estimate who will. Indian corn or maize, its rapid growth, palm-like foliage and rich ears which might be boiled, roasted, dried or ground, was also discovered. These three contributions Roanoke Island offered a waiting world.

The savages found these restless Englishmen were anxious to discover gold, precious stones and a waterway to the Pacific. The imagination of the Algonquins was equal to the emergency. Up the Roanoke River was a nation skilled in mining and refining gold! The very walls of their city were studded with gems! And, as for the Pacific Ocean, it was so close by that the tides sometimes overflowed into the channel of Roanoke River! GOLD

Governor Lane made an expedition 160 miles up the Moratoc (March, 1586), now the Roanoke, but in the tractless wilderness through which the tortuous river wound he found no city of pearl and gold, but starvation and privations that threatened to be fatal.

They sailed across Albemarle Sound northward and up an inviting avenue of broad water fringed on its eastern side by the seriated summits of the sand dunes (the very sand dunes that, after three centuries, were to witness the birth of aviation and serve as

the cradle of flying machines).[5] To the west they followed a thickly forested shore extended mile upon mile, then up the matchless expanse of Currituck Sound, beyond which, ten miles over land, they reached the magnificent Chesapeake. Exploring the southern shore they passed the site upon which, a century later (June 8, 1680) the city of Norfolk was built.

On these inviting waters, with unsurpassed exit to the Atlantic, the colony should have been located.

CHESAPEAKE

The Chesapeake, hitherto unknown to the English, was designated on Spanish maps as "Santa Maria."

The treatment of the gentle natives is a chapter we would fain forget. Sir Richard Grenville, in his short stay, began the bloody work. Because an Indian stole a silver cup, he burned their village, Aquasogok, and crop of corn. Sir Ralph Lane, fearing, with some reason, a general massacre of the whites, determined to forestall the Indians.[6] He secured an audience with their feeble but friendly king, Wingina, and his wicked son, Pemisapan. At a signal, the colonists fell upon the king and his rustic court, putting them to death without quarter (June 1).

It was the final, bloody scene in the drama. A year had passed. They longed to leave Virginia. The beauty and plenty that once delighted now palled upon them.

[5] Kitty Hawk, N. C., 1903.

[6] "They conspired to massacre the whites, but were frustrated by Lane in a counter plot. Pemisapan, the wicked son of Ensenore, was slain, June 1, 1586." MARGARET V. SMITH, *Executives of Va.*

A week after the massacre (June 8), Sir Francis Drake arrived with a fleet of twenty-three ships en route from Spanish America to England.[7] As often, a furious storm almost overwhelmed the famous navigator. The colonists begged Sir Francis to take them from this wretched land, a year before "the goodliest under the cope of heaven." Lane himself was anxious to depart. Sir Francis Drake, with all aboard, cleared for England, June 18, 1586.[8]

DRAKE

So ended the first actual English settlement in America. The savages were left without one pale-faced stranger in their forested domain. Virginia was deserted; but this dismal failure carried with it the seeds of future success, for the rescued colonists carried an accurate knowledge of the rich, new land to England.

III.

CAPTAIN JOHN WHITE

Governor: 1587

Sir Ralph Lane, to whom the kindly fates offered a splendid destiny, proved himself no hero. Had he possessed Ralegh's spirit, or Gosnold's patriotism, or Hakluyt's enthusiasm, a few months of hardship would not have discouraged him. Lane

[7] J. A. DOYLE, *Eng. in America*, Chap. IV.

[8] A full sketch of Sir Ralph Lane, by EDWARD EVERETT HALE, *Archaeologia Americana*, Vol. IV, pp. 317-344.

was a weakling and he reaped a coward's reward. Had he remained faithful to this trust and held the continent for his Queen, ample support would have been his. Who may say that the foundations of America might not have been securely laid, then and there, by the hand of Sir Ralph Lane?

Drake's fleet had barely disappeared before a vessel loaded with all needful provision sent by Ralegh arrived at Cape Hatteras. Two weeks later Sir Richard Grenville, also dispatched by Ralegh, toiled up the long coast line with three sail. He decided, in this dilemma, to hold the land for the Crown. Fifteen men were left at Roanoke to guard the English claim and to continue British occupation under Ralegh's charter.

Despite this failure heroic Sir Walter ventured again. He would locate a colony within the Chesapeake sea-gate. He would send sturdy English farmers with their wives and little children, who would build English homes in the Virgin Land and redeem the wilderness by honest toil.

Ralegh appointed Captain John White,[1] a man of years, discretion and experience, who had been with Lane on Roanoke Island. "The Borough of Ralegh in Virginia" was planned with a fort in the midst for protection from the Indians by land and the Spaniards by sea. With the governor, a council of eleven was to form America's initial legislature. The colony subsequently seated at Jamestown followed closely this precedent. King James cut off Ralegh's head but borrowed his ideas!

NEW COLONY

[1] C. WHITTLE SAMS, *Conquest of Virginia*, pp. 241-268.

A new colony, 150 strong, sailed[2] for Virginia, April 26, 1587, twenty years to the day before the Jamestown colonists landed upon the sand dunes of Cape Henry. Ralegh ordered his admiral, Fernando, to call at Roanoke and rescue the fifteen men left by Grenville, then to press on to the Chesapeake, select a site and establish the "Borough of Ralegh."

After a tedious voyage of three months they landed at Roanoke, to find, not the fifteen men on guard but a few human bones scattered amidst general desolation. Manteo had been told that the garrison was attacked by 300 braves from Secotan, Aquascogoc and Dessamonpeake. One was killed, and the rest retired to the sand dunes of Cape Hatteras and were never seen again.

Fernando wished to return to the Spanish Main. He flatly refused[3] to sail to the Chesapeake, but left Captain White at Roanoke and was off in search of Spanish treasure ships.

Manteo, the friendly chief of the Croatans, was baptized August 13 and proclaimed "Baron of Dessamonpeake." Five days later, Mrs. Eleanor White Dare, the daughter of Captain White and the wife of Ananias Dare, one of the council, gave birth to the first child of English parentage. The following Sabbath she was christened "Virginia."

VIRGINIA DARE

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[2] GEORGE BANCROFT, *Hist. of U. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 83-86.

[3] C. WHITTLE SAMS, *The Conquest of Virginia*, p. 251.

"How inextricably are the affairs of life interwoven. Governor White did not mean to land here. But the enemy compelled the colonists to leave the ship, a step fatal to them. Had those fifteen men not been left by Grenville, the colony might have been established elsewhere and succeeded."

When his little granddaughter was but nine days old, Captain White reluctantly returned to England to plead for additional supplies, August 27, 1587. On the beautiful island, whose fertile shores are washed by the tides of the Albemarle and Pamlico, rich with the produce of its fields, abounding in fish and game, the governor left 89 men, 17 women and two little children.

England was preparing for the Spanish Armada. Sir Richard Grenville promised to sail at once to the relief of Virginia; but the Queen strictly forbade it. After months of delay, Ralegh dispatched Captain White with two ships and supplies (April 22, 1588).[4]

Unmindful of their trust and of the lives depending upon them, the captains engaged in the war raging along the coasts of Europe. After a sea fight the two ships returned to port. This sealed the fate of Roanoke. Not again until the Armada was vanquished could Captain White sail to Virginia.

With three ships, provided by President Sir Thomas Smythe and the London Company, he left Plymouth, March 20, 1590, and landed betimes upon the desolate shores of Roanoke Island.

CROATAN

On a tree by the water's edge a plank was carved with these letters: "C R O," but with no cross. A few paces beyond the full word CROATAN was cut upon a tree, but no cross. The colonists promised, if they left Roanoke, their destination would be plainly written with a cross if they were in peril.[5]

[4] JOHN H. WHEELER, *History of N. C.*, pp. 25-27.
[5] SAM'L A. ASHE, *History of N. C.*, pp. 9-17.



QUEEN ELIZABETH

"When Manteo and Wanchese were presented to the Queen and she heard of the land from which they came, its wealth of soil, salubrious climate, lordly bays, magnificent rivers and boundless forests she was so delighted that she herself gave to the new country the name Virginia—a virgin land to bear forever the name of the Virgin Queen."—Chap. I.

Croatan, south of Pamlico Sound and behind Cape Lookout, was Manteo's town. White was eager to sail to Croatan, only a hundred miles away. But the sailors objected. In a violent storm two anchors were lost, and they complained of a shortage of water and provision—mere subterfuges! There are always storms, and there has never been a shortage of either water or provisions in North Carolina. The tars, little better than pirates, promised to return after a trip to the Spanish Main, though, of course, they did not.

The pathetic failure of the Roanoke settlement is a mystery which has never been solved, despite many learned and valuable efforts. Virginia Dare, a maiden of romance, nine days old[6], disappeared from history.

Captain White was an artist. His pictures of Indians and his charts of the new land are preserved in the British Museum.[7]

Sir Walter Ralegh had spent £40,000. He assigned his patents to a company of merchants headed by Sir Thomas Smythe (March 7, 1589) and made a donation of £100 for mission work among the Algonquins. Capt. John White was an humble member of the London Company. Sir Walter Ralegh, the Father of Virginia, has no future direct connection with its history.[8]

RALEGH RETIRES

[6] S. B. WEEKS, *Lost Colony of Roanoke, Amer. Hist. Papers*, Vol. V.

[7] *Va. Hist. Mag.*, October, 1927, has many photographs of Capt. White's pictures.

[8] JAMES GRAHAME, *Colonial Hist. of U. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 41-42.
ALEX BROWN, *Genesis of U. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 1-21.

But it is a fitting memorial and a worthy tribute that the colony of North Carolina, when it became a state, 1792, named its new capital the City of Raleigh.

IV.

SIR THOMAS SMYTHE

President and Treasurer of the London Company: 1589-1618

The name of Thomas Smythe arouses no enthusiasm. He was slightly younger than Ralegh (born 1558), the son of Mr. "Customer" Smythe, whose name and fortune were of his office as collector of customs for London. His mother was Alice, the daughter and heiress of Sir Andrew Judde, sometime Lord Mayor of London.

Thomas was educated at Oxford and began a notable career betimes as a merchant prince.

The Company made one ineffectual effort to rescue Ralegh's last colony, as related. Then for long years Virginia was considered a fishing ground for a few smacks and a trading place for furs. When great Elizabeth died, there was not an Englishman from the frozen shores of Newfoundland to the palm-fringed isles of Florida, but there were many English graves.

The coronation of James I brought the tragic fall of Ralegh and the rise of Thomas Smythe. His life-story is succinctly told upon his marble tomb in Hone Church, Kent.

"To the glory of God and to the pious memory of[1] Hon. Sir Thomas Smythe, K'nt, late Governor of the East India, Muscovia, French and Sommer Island Companies, Treasurer of the Virginia Plantation, prime undertaker of that noble designe and discovery of the Northwest Passage, principall commissioner of the London Expedition agst. pirates, and for a voyage to the ryver Senega upon the coast of Africa. One of the chief commissioners for the navy-roial and sometime Ambassador of His Majesty of Grt. Britain to the Emporeur and Grand Duke of Russia and Muscovia. Rested from his labors Sept. 4, 1626." EPITAPH

Perhaps his service to Virginia was rendered negligible by the very multiplicity of his interests.

How long this dilatory attitude would have continued no one knows, but Virginia found an advocate in Bartholomew Gosnold,[2] whose name and fame have become tarnished by the lapse of time.

This extraordinary man shortened the course to America by sailing directly westward. In the last year of Elizabeth's reign he left Falmouth in the "Concord," a small ship, with thirty men (March 26, 1602). His patron was Henry Wroithesley, the noble Earl of Southampton, ever a staunch and liberal friend of Virginia. Gosnold set his prow into the path of the setting sun, and in seven weeks sighted the headlands of Massachusetts. He charted and named Cape Cod, Elizabeth Islands and Martha's Vineyard. A beautiful sheet of water was christened

[1] ALEX BROWN, *Genesis of U. S.*, Vol. II, p. 1015.

[2] J. G. PALFREY, *Hist. of New Eng.*, Vol. I, Chap. 2.

"Gosnold's Hope." Unfortunately, our hero's name was lost to both Massachusetts and Virginia. "Gosnold's Hope" is now Buzzard's Bay, and "Gosnold's River," in York County, Virginia, is now Back River.

Gosnold freighted the little barque with furs and fish and returned safely in four months! The celerity, ease and safety of this voyage made a new record. Enthusiasm for North Virginia; the luscious fruits, beautiful flowers, teeming fish and valuable furs, hospitable harbors, lordly rivers and inviting shores, which Gosnold described, filled England again with the ardor that an older generation had known when Barlow and Amadas made their first voyage for Ralegh.

NORTH VIRGINIA

Richard Hakluyt, of Westminster, led a movement which brought speedy results. Martin Pring, with two ships, the "Speedwell" and "Discoverer," sailed from Bristol (April 10, 1603), a few days after the Queen's death. He followed Gosnold's route and was back in six months, confirming all Gosnold's claims. He had explored the Penobscot, Kennebeck, Piscataqua and other rivers of Maine.

Two years later Southampton and Arundel, his brother-in-law, dispatched Capt. George Weymouth[3] to seek again the elusive Northwest Passage to the Pacific (Easter Sunday, 1605). Weymouth returned with a rich cargo of sable, deer, otter and beaver skins, and with five Indians he kidnapped; but he had not discovered the Northwest Passage.

Popular interest was so keen that even the stupid

[3] MCKEEN, *Maine Hist. Soc. Collection*, Vol. V.

Scot on the throne and the stolid Treasurer Smythe were moved to action. King James issued letters-patent to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt and their associates "to make habitation and plantation and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America commonly called Virginia." The huge territory was divided in twain, with a neutral strip between. To the London Company the older, southern, Roanoke-Chesapeake district was assigned, between the 34th and 38th degrees north latitude, from Cape Fear to the Potomac (exactly the coast-line of North Carolina and Virginia).

Two Virginias

North Virginia, recently heralded by Gosnold, Pring and Weymouth, was assigned to the West-of-England or Plymouth Company. Their coast extended from the 41st to the 45th degrees; from Long Island Sound to the River St. Croix (the coast-line of the present New England states).

The extremely valuable strip between the Potomac and Long Island Sound might be entered by either company, but neither was to encroach within one hundred miles of the other.

In this charter, as in Queen Elizabeth's earlier documents to Ralegh, it is expressly stipulated that the colonists did not forfeit their rights as English citizens; but they and their children were to enjoy the same privileges in the new land which they and their ancestors possessed in the mother country.

The members of the two companies were appointed by the Crown and retained at pleasure. They were to govern the colonies, but there was a local

council (seven in Virginia), appointed by the London Company. The council was to elect one of their number president within twenty-four hours after landing upon Roanoke Island (on which unlikely spot the colony was to be seated). It is a matter of interest that this senate, with many changes through the years, continued to function until the Revolution. And it probably suggested to James Madison the pattern for the senate of the United States.

CHARTER

The land was dedicated to Jesus Christ, the Church of England was established by law, and the heathen were to be converted and educated.

It is evident that "the people" were ignored. Their only privilege was to redeem the land from the wilderness, fight the Indians, discover and work gold mines, build the commonwealth for the King; pay taxes, create all wealth possible for the London Company and be governed according to the ideas of Sir Thomas Smythe, his heirs and assigns.

The document is a faithful reflection of James I. Nor can one fail to detect the fine Italian hand of Smythe, knowing his intimacy with the King, his autocratic ideas and his domination of the London Company. No doubt every word was as familiar to Smythe as to James.

AUTOCRATS

A sinister shadow of autocrat and plutocrat fell over Virginia.

During the busy summer of 1606 James enjoyed writing a code for the colony. He labored under the delusion that he was a statesman. Gosnold, too, was busy gathering a select company for the great

venture. He found a young soldier of fortune, just back from incredible adventures upon the continent, Capt. John Smith, of Willoughby. He also found a clergyman, a friend of Hakluyt, Rev. Robert Hunt of Cambridge, a man of God indeed!

At Blackwall, under the frowning bastions of London's towers, in which Sir Walter Ralegh was then a prisoner, three little ships were made ready—the "Sarah Constant," "Godspeed" and "Discovery." One expects Bartholomew Gosnold[4] to be appointed admiral of this fleet; not so. Evidently he was not the choice of Sir Thomas Smythe. Gosnold was placed in command of the smaller "Godspeed" and Christopher Newport was appointed admiral. However, Sir Thomas Smythe[5] knew then (what all know now) that the royal instructions placed Gosnold's name first in the council, a royal hint that he was to be the first president, but that good fortune did not befall.

NEWPORT

After long centuries there is no desire to do injustice to Sir Thomas Smythe. But if, in five and thirty years, he conferred a single benefit upon Virginia, despite his position, influence and wealth, we cannot detect it. Blessed be the day he was deposed (November 18, 1618).

Governors came and governors left Virginia, but the colony felt his heavy hand until they wrapped him in his shroud and laid him under his costly tomb at Hone.[6]

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[4] JOHN FISKE, *Old Va. and Her Neighbors*, pp. 60-100.

[5] LYON G. TYLER, *Va. Biog.*, Vol. I, p. 19.
MISS MARGARET VOWELL SMITH, *Va. Executives.*

[6] *Records of Va. Company*, Vols. I and II.

VIRGINIA

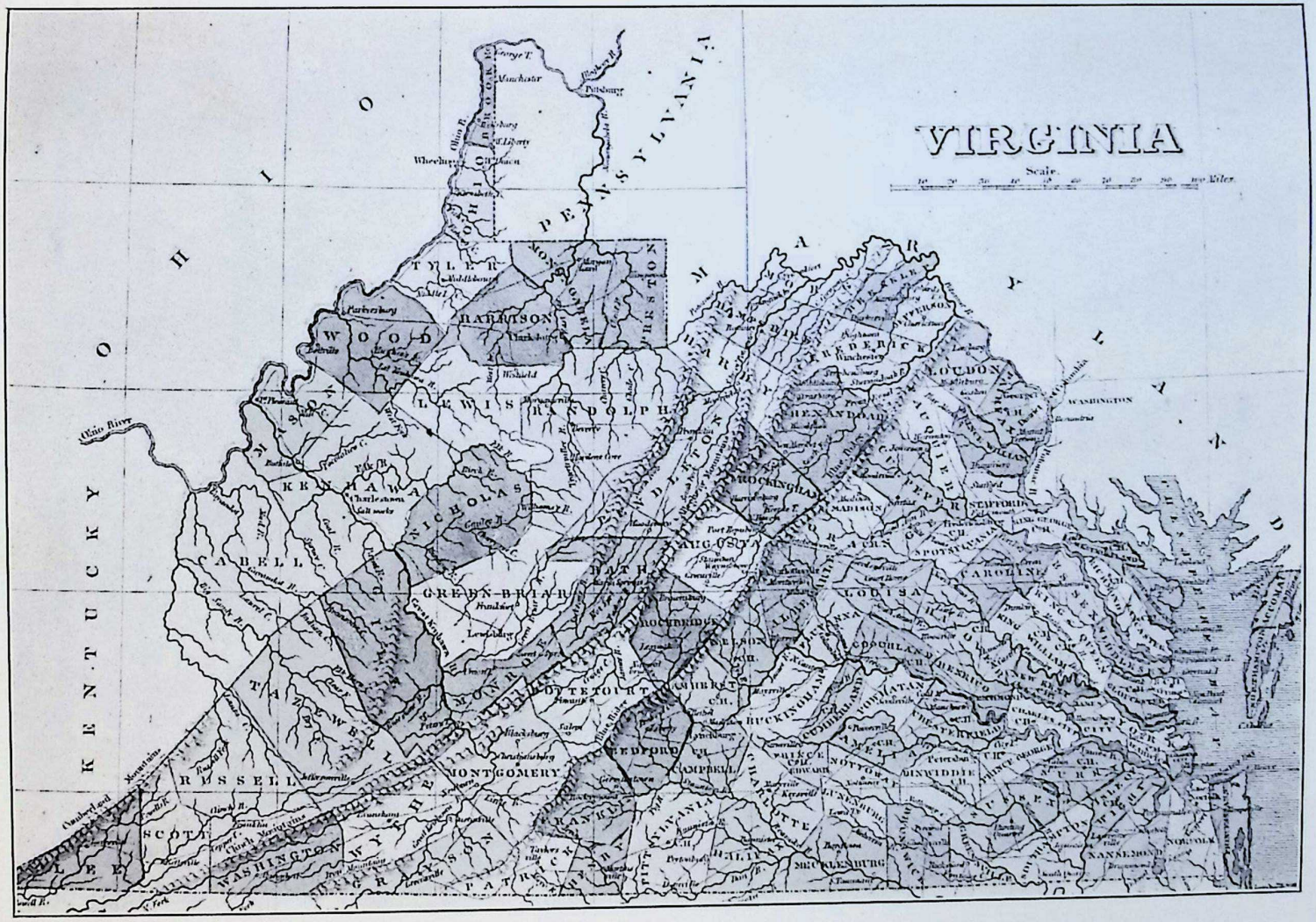
Michael Drayton (1563-1631) celebrated the planting of Virginia in a poem of twelve stanzas, of which we quote four:

Britons, you stay too long,
Quickly aboard bestow you,
And with a merry gale
Swell your stretched sail
With vows as strong
As the winds that blow you.

And cheerfully at sea
Success you will entice
To get the pearl and gold,
And ours to hold,
Virginia,
Earth's only paradise.

And in regions far
Such heroes bring ye forth
As those from whom we came;
And plant our name
Under that star
Not known unto our North.

And as there plenty grows
Of laurel everywhere,
Apollo's sacred tree,
You it may see
A poet's brows
To crown, that may sing there.



This map, drawn before 1821, was published by Anthony Finley, in Philadelphia, 1824.

Book II

THE PLANTATION

1607-1689

So sharply are the eras of our history defined that one may place his finger on the day and even on the hour that marks the transit of Virginia's destiny from scene to scene. And so it came about that at four o'clock of an April Sabbath morning, the 26th in the old calendar, or May 6 in the new, the forecastle guard who cried that he discerned mountains of sand rising from the gray, murky waters in the uncertain light that precedes the dawn made, all unconsciously, a great and last mark upon the history of Virginia, and of America, and of the world.

V.

EDWARD MARIA WINGFIELD

President of the Council: May 13–Sept. 10, 1607

Capt. Christopher Newport began that memorable voyage Dec. 19, 1606.[1] Had Gosnold been at the

[1] CAPT. GEORGE PERCY, *Observations*, gives the date "Saturday the twentieth of December."

LYON G. TYLER, *Annals of Va.*, p. 5.

helm he would have put the "Sarah Constant," "Godspeed" and "Discovery" directly over seas and saved many precious months. But Newport was not the man to welcome any suggestion—certainly none from a rival.

It was almost February before Land's End sank below the horizon.[2]

Fierce storms greeted them off Cape Hatteras and not until April 26 did the tempest subside.

Newport knew Virginia's water gate for Sir Ralph Lane and Thomas Hariot had charted and described the magnificent bay, which the Indians called Chesapeake.

That night the royal instructions were unsealed and the seven councillors' names read: Gosnold, Smith, Wingfield, Newport, Ratcliffe, Martin, Kendall. It was ordered that the president should be elected at once. The election was postponed, evidently a political move of Newport's; it left him in sole command.

FIRST COUNCIL

They built a shallop on the beach (Monday, April 17) and made a sortie, eight miles inland, frightening a party of Indians, who were roasting oysters on Lynnhaven Bay and who found that sea food "very large and delicate in taste."

On Tuesday they found a dugout, forty-five feet long, and feasted on strawberries "foure times bigger and better than ours in England."

On Wednesday, "we set up a Crosse at Chesupioc Bay, and named that place Cape Henry."[3]

[2] For a detailed account of the voyage see SQUIRES' *Days of Yester-Year*, Chap. I.

[3] GEORGE PERCY, *Observations*, p. 11.

Newport took possession of the land for King James and Robert Hunt dedicated it to the Lord Jesus Christ. The low-lying peninsula opposite Cape Henry was christened Cape Charles, the oldest place-names in Virginia except, of course, those of Indian origin.

On Thursday they sailed seventeen miles westward and halted at Point Comfort. The further cape they called Point Hope (Newport News Point).

Captain Newport pushed up[4] the channel of the mighty river, called by the Indians "Powhatan," to its confluence with the Appomattox (now Hopewell). He was absent from May 1 until May 12, and selected Archer's Hope (five miles east of Jamestown) as a desirable site for settlement, except for shoal water off shore. On the evening of May 13, the little fleet cast anchor five miles beyond Archer's Hope in deep water over against Jamestown Island. The long voyage begun at Blackwall, London, almost five months before (December 19) was finished at last!

RIVER POWHATAN

It was Newport's selection and from his decision there was no appeal. We note Newport's second egregious error—and a costly, almost fatal, error it proved.

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[4] MASTER GEORGE PERCY gives the following dates:

May 4. They visited the Werowance of Paspihe (about ten miles above Jamestown).
May 5. They entertained the Werowance of Rapahanna.
May 8. They came to "Countrey of Apamatica" (Appomattox River).
May 12. They visited Archer's Hope (near Jamestown).
May 13. They dropped anchor at Jamestown.

The day closed with still another calamity for Virginia—the election of Wingfield as president. This selection, we imagine was of Newport.

JAMESTOWN

He would have none of Gosnold. Smith was still a prisoner, demanding trial, but denied it.

Had Gosnold been placed in the chair, with Smith as his able and devoted lieutenant, three frightful years of violence, pestilence and famine would likely have been saved Virginia. The superstition which attaches to the number thirteen was doubly justified that unfortunate day in May, 1607.

In the early morning, May 14, the adventurers leaped ashore. Robert Hunt, their beloved chaplain, held morning prayer under a "rotten sail" between two trees. Every man fell to his respective task. They cleared the forest, turned the sod, laid out the fort on a narrow neck of lowland, spread their nets, manned the boats, built cabins and booths for shelter—a scene full of hope.

Newport had strict orders from Sir Thomas Smythe to discover a waterway through Virginia to the Pacific. With twenty men he explored the "Powhatan." But the stubborn river turned and twisted like a huge, tawny serpent, growing ever narrower and shallower, until all progress was blocked by the falls.

Here they erected another cross[5] and repeated the dedication of Cape Henry (May 24). They

[5] GEORGE PERCY, *Observations*, p. 18.

"The foure and twentieth day wee set up a crosse at the head of this River, naming it King's River, where we proclaimed James, King of England to have the most right unto it." (Richmond.)

called the "Powhatan" the "King's River." Here too, they visited the king—a real king, the noblest of his race. It is to admire the aged but adroit Powhatan in this unequal struggle. He chose to meet his foes at the most distant point in his realm, the falls; when they were divided and without their ships and cannon. His village of twelve wigwams hung on the hills overlooking the falls.

One of his warriors protested his hospitality to the pale faces.

"Why," he replied, "should we be offended at the coming of these strangers? They hurt us not, nor take anything by force—they want only a little ground, which we can spare." EMPEROR POWHATAN

Newport was pleased and deceived. Powhatan was neither pleased nor deceived.

In every encounter with the English, Powhatan was master of the situation. Newport presented him with a hatchet, which he received with satisfaction.

Newport little guessed that Powhatan had planned to strike the unprotected settlement while they were divided and drive the helpless colonists into the river.

Wingfield, ruling at Jamestown, would not permit the use of firearms, but kept them under lock and key. No fort nor palisade should be built, and the men were not to drill—lest they rise against him!

The savages fell upon Jamestown on all sides simultaneously. A cross-bar, fired from a ship, struck a tree, tore away the branches and fell in the midst of the savages like a bolt from heaven. Otherwise the colony would have been exterminated,

as Powhatan intended. A boy was killed and seventeen wounded.

After this painful experience Maria permitted Kendall to build fort and palisades and to mount the cannon from the ship. Daily drill was also begun.

Newport was about to return, and Maria desired Captain Smith deported, but Smith and his friends demanded a trial so insistently that it could not be denied. The first American trial by jury honorably acquitted Smith and awarded him $200 damages against Maria, which the Captain generously presented to the colony.

Captain Smith took his seat in the Council and the following Sunday the heart of godly Robt. Hunt was rejoiced when all parties took Holy Communion together—a pledge of reconciliation, but a delusive hope.

HUNT

The Indians, too, observing the colony in good posture for defense asked for peace—another delusive hope.

Newport left June 22.[6] There were 104 men, miserably provided. With midsummer an epidemic of dysentery began its ravages. The food was unwholesome, the water impure, the sun blazed upon them with unaccustomed heat. Flies by day and mosquitoes by night spread the pestilence. In a month fifty died, and the living were scarcely able to bury their dead. On August 22, Bartholomew Gosnold passed away—a martyr to Virginia. Wing-

[6] JOHN SMITH'S *True Relation*, p. 35.

"Captaine Newport, having set things in order, set saile for England the 22d of June, leaving provision for 13 or 14 weeks."

field defended himself by writing, "There were never Englishmen left in a foreign country in such miserie as we were in this new discovered Virginia." To make their misery more acute, Maria, who held the keys, "feasted sumptuously" every day. The indignation of the remaining colonists could no longer be restrained. Three of the Council—Smith, Ratcliffe, and Martin—determined to depose him. On September 10, they came to his tent with a warrant charging embezzlement of the common funds, misappropriation of stores, a plot to deliver Virginia to Spain and a purpose to seize the little "Discovery" and, with Captain Kendall, desert the colony.

The charges were exaggerated and some of them wholly false. Maria's greatest crime was utter incapacity.[7] His place was behind the lace counter in London. He was sent to Virginia by his fellow merchant, Sir Thomas Smythe, and he was placed in the chair, though notoriously unfit, by Christopher Newport. That Virginia survived is a miracle.

[7] For Wingfield's defence see EDWARD DUFFIELD NEILL *Eng. Colon.*, pp. 21-23.

VI.

CAPT. JOHN RATCLIFFE

President of the Council: Sept. 10, 1607–Sept. 7, 1608

Virginia was only four months old (Sept. 10, 1607), yet the seven councillors were reduced to three—Ratcliffe, Martin and Smith. This trium-

virate, destined to rule for a year,[1] elected Ratcliffe president. He had, it is thought, served as a soldier in the Low Countries. The London Company placed him in command of the smallest vessel in the fleet, the "Discovery." It was he who favored giving over the enterprise and returning to England before they entered the Chesapeake. He signed his name "Radcliffe comenly clled," but Captain Smith tells us his name was Sicklemore and described him to the London Company as "a poor counterfeit creature," whom he sent home lest the colonists cut his throat. Perhaps Smith was too severe in his condemnation, for, unfortunately, he burnished his star by deprecating his contemporaries.

Ratcliffe reigned, but Smith ruled, so long as he was at Jamestown, which was not a great part of the time.

The tang of a Virginia autumn was now in the air, that healthiest of seasons, when the foliage of the gum trees takes to itself all the colors of the rainbow, and the harvest moon shines with unwonted brilliancy over river and forested shore. Houses must be built and food provided against approaching winter. Smith set forward a building program.

Of the 104 men Newport left in June, only forty survived. Taking five men with him in the shallop they had built at Cape Henry, Smith sailed down the "Powhatan" (James) to Kickatan (Hampton). These Indians, the most warlike in Virginia, scorned to trade with the bold Captain until he kidnapped their idol, Okee, an

KICKATAN

[1] LYON G. TYLER, *Amer. Nation*, Vol. IV, p. 51.

image made of skins stuffed with moss and ornamented with copper chains. Okee was ransomed and the shallop loaded with provisions.

Captain Smith made other less sensational trading voyages, but he returned always to find trouble at Jamestown. Wingfield was a prisoner in the "Discovery," which Newport had left in Virginia. Wingfield sought to justify himself by representing to the London Company that the triumvirate ruled by "whipping, lawing, beating and hanging."

President Ratcliffe had a quarrel with the blacksmith, one James Read, and James struck him. They sentenced Jim to be hung. To save his neck, Jim turned state's evidence and revealed a plot, hatched by Wingfield and Kendall, to seize the "Discovery" and sail to England. Kendall (from the first a contentious, dark-browed breeder of trouble) was found guilty and shot.

As the days grew colder and shorter great flocks of wild fowl, covered the river. The forests, too, were filled with deer and turkey. A Virginia farmer regards such plentiful game as a sign of a severe winter; and so it proved, one of the coldest on record, both in Virginia and Europe. While the game lasted the hungry colonists were fed as from Heaven.

The restless Captain was never content unless he was afoot. With the instinct of an explorer every winding river was a challenge, and every forest beckoned him to come discover. Now it was the sluggish Chickahominy, most marish and treacherous of Virginia streams, that tempted him.[2]

[2] LIVINGSTON FERRAND *Basis of Amer. Hist.* describes Indian customs &c.

Opechancanough, Powhatan's ablest brother, inveterate foe of all white men, guarded this stream and its marginal swamps. He killed two of Smith's companions, Embry and Robinson, and then captured the Captain himself, sinking in the slime, half dead with frost and exposure.

So redoubtable a foe was not to be dispatched like a common soldier. They toyed with Smith as a cat plays with a mouse. He was taken to all parts of Powhatan's domain, even as far north as the Patuxent. He was brought before Opitchapan, Powhatan's next younger brother and his heir. Thence they marched him to Powhatan's great headquarters at Werowocomoco on the Pamunkey. (Near Gloucester Point on York River). Here he won the affection of Pocahontas, who saved him from a dreadful death at the peril of her own life. This story has been much discussed by the wisest historians, but there is no denying that the lucky and plucky young Captain came back to Jamestown loaded with presents and that Pocahontas was henceforth his devoted friend.

CAPTURED

In Jamestown, as ever, Smith found endless turmoil. President Ratcliffe had admitted Capt. Gabriel Archer to the Council—another bitter enemy of Smith. Archer charged that Captain Smith was responsible for the death of Embry and Robinson, as he had led them into danger. By this extraordinary logic Smith was condemned and would have been executed but for the timely arrival of Newport (Jan. 2, 1608).

Newport brought 120 recruits, and some tawdry

presents for Powhatan. He sent Smith with twenty men to Werowocomoco to prepare Powhatan for his visit. They found the Indian potentate seated "on a bed of mats with a pillow of leather embroidered with pearl and white beads, and clothed with a robe of skins as large as an Irish mantle."

When Newport arrived Powhatan declared that barter was beneath his dignity. Let Newport deposit his gifts and Powhatan would take what he fancied, making Newport a handsome present in return. Newport agreed, but Powhatan's gift was only four bushels of corn, when they had expected at least twenty hogsheads.

Smith, who acted as interpreter, now took a hand, playing a string of blue beads, which, he declared, reflected the exquisite colors of the rainbow and were worn in civilized countries only by the greatest kings. Powhatan was deceived in his turn and paid for them an exorbitant quantity of provisions.

BLUE BEADS

The visit ended happily for all parties. Powhatan gave Newport an Indian lad to be a hostage, and Newport presented a lad named Savage[3] to Powhatan.

Newport also visited Opechancanough further up the Pamunkey (York) and returned betimes to find Jamestown in ashes.

Capt. Newport reported to the London Company after his first voyage:

[3] Thomas Savage has many descendants in Virginia. We suppose this is the oldest American family, unless "Refining John" Martin's descendants survive.

JENNINGS CROPPER WISE, *Accomacke*, pp. 29, 39, 70.

"We have fallen on a land that promises more than the land of promise. Instead of milk we find pearls, and gold instead of bronze." It is true that he carried home a small nugget of gold. It is also true that both gold and pearls are found in Virginia; but this land was not a Golconda, and that is what Sir Thomas Smythe and King James desired. The most enthusiastic gold digger was Capt. John Martin. He talked so constantly of the precious ore that Smith named him "Refining John."

With a load of Virginia soil, which they ardently hoped would assay gold, Newport sailed away April 10, 1608, reaching Blackwall May 21. Wingfield and Archer returned with Newport. This colony suffered no loss by their departure.

Ten days after Newport left Capt. Francis Nelson arrived in the "Phoenix." He had left England with Newport, but contrary winds forced him to the West Indies. Matthew Scrivener, a new member of the Council, came with Nelson. When Nelson sailed for England, June 2, he carried a chart of Virginia and a manuscript, "A True Relation of Virginia," which were prepared by Capt. Smith, and published the following August (13), the first book written in Virginia.

GOLD DUST

"Refining John" Martin,[4] anxious to learn the value of Newport's cargo of dust, left with Nelson.

Capt. John Smith could never abide long in wretched Jamestown. The Chesapeake now beck-

[4] He received Martin's Brandon in 1616. Left an only daughter, Dorcas, who married Capt. George Bargrave. If this family survives it may claim to be the oldest in America.

oned to him. With fourteen men he accompanied Capt. Nelson as far as Cape Henry. Off Cape Charles they discovered and named Smith's Islands. Then they coasted the eastern shore to Tangier, which they called Russell's Islands. They sailed up the Wighcocomoco (now Pocomoke) River and named a group of islands Limbo (Watt's Island).

On the western shore Smith visited the Patuxent, which he had previously seen as a prisoner. Then they charted the Bolus (Patapsco) passing the site of Baltimore. They returned (June 16) to the mighty Potomac and penetrated to the falls, passing the site of Washington. After three weeks in the Potomac they explored the Rappahanonock, where Smith nearly lost his life at Stingray Point. They returned safely to Jamestown (July 2), having traveled 3,000 miles in seven weeks.

BALTIMORE

It is astonishing that Capt. Smith could have charted the bay and the numerous estuaries of the rivers, great and small, so accurately; especially when his lack of equipment is considered. His maps are works of genius.

At Jamestown matters were in the usual turmoil. Ratcliffe was impossible. His "pride and unreasonable needless cruelty," his profligate use of the public stores and other excesses demanded redress. Smith and Scrivener were the other members of the Council, and Smith was determined to finish the exploration of the Chesapeake, for he had not reached the head of the bay. Who could tell whether the long-sought Northwest Passage to the Pacific might not be discovered by sailing further up the Chesapeake? The

record is confused, but we judge that Ratcliffe was to serve until the end of his term, with Scrivener at Jamestown to watch him.

In three days Smith and twelve others were off again. The Massawomacks, dreaded northern warriors (later known as the Iroquois or Five Nations), were invading the territory of the Susquehannas at the mouth of the river known since by their name.

Returning, they discovered two wide rivers which flow from the south into the Chesapeake. They were astonished at the magnificent pines along Chesapeake (now Elizabeth) River. It is probable that the trees standing on the grounds of the Naval Hospital in Portsmouth are a part of the primeval forest which called forth their admiration.

They visited the Nansemond, loaded their boat with corn and arrived at Jamestown September 7, 1608, three days before Ratcliffe's term expired.

Scrivener had seized Captain Ratcliffe and held him prisoner for a time. He also harvested the first Virginia crop, which had been planted in the spring. But the "sicknesse" had not spared the recruits of 1608, for "many were dead and some sicke."

On September 10 Capt. John Smith was elected president to succeed Ratcliffe, "as by course it did belong," which means, we suppose, that his term would come before Matthew Scrivener, the only other member of the Council. He "received the letters-patent and took upon him the place of president."

John Ratcliffe left the colony, but returned and was killed by Powhatan after eighteen months, ending a tragic but inglorious career.[5]

[5] "Nor do we think it quite nice in Dr. Squires to call Ratcliffe a rascal. We only hear the talk of his enemies." TYLER'S *Mag.*, Jan., 1929, p. 216.

VII.

CAPT. JOHN SMITH

President of the Council: Sept. 10, 1608–Sept. 10, 1609

Capt. John Smith had his faults, and they were conspicuous,[1] but indolence was not one of them. The slow and painful task of reconstruction was now committed to his energetic hands. There were daily drills again; and Capt. George Percy was sent down the river to trade with the natives.

On the broad Atlantic, Captain Newport hastened to Virginia for the third time. He brought the "Mary and Margaret" to anchor at Jamestown when Smith had been president about three weeks.

Capts. Richard Waldo and Peter Wynne, newly appointed to the council and destined to brief and tragic careers in Virginia, came with Newport. The first women colonists were also aboard, and there were more presents for Powhatan!

There were only sixty survivors. The "Sicknesse," the Indians and other fatalities devoured the colony.

In the last supply were many artisans, who were to forward cargoes of tar, pitch, turpentine, soap-

[1] HENRY CABOT LODGE, *Eng. Colonies in Amer.*, Chap. I.

ashes, cedar and other valuable wood, medicinal roots and bark.

Newport's first duty was the coronation of Powhatan. Smith and four companions went to Werowocomoco. After a feast and dance arranged by Pocahontas, Smith invited the great Werowance to come to Jamestown and get himself crowned by Newport.

CORONATION

"If your king has sent me presents, I also am a king and this is my land. Newport ought to come to me, and not I go to the fort. Neither will I bite at such bait! As for the Manakins [a hostile tribe above the falls in James River] against whom he promises me aid, I can avenge my own wrongs; and as for any salt water beyond the mountains all the tales you hear from my people are false." Thus truthfully and emphatically, Powhatan set at rest, forever, the idea of a northwest passage through Virginia.

As Powhatan would not go to the presents, the presents must come to Powhatan. Newport journeyed to Werowocomoco with 50 men, and was hospitably received. The foolish ceremony progressed well until Powhatan was required to kneel before Newport. He positively refused. A royal scarlet mantle was flung over his broad, bronzed shoulders. At last, however, Newport pretending that Powhatan had bowed his head slightly made the most of it and clapped the crown upon the Indian's head. The English fired a volley which startled and displeased him. He presented his old moccasins and old coat to Newport. This we record

with unalloyed delight! Powhatan alone had not made a fool of himself! When Newport asked him to furnish guides for an expedition into the Manakin country, he again refused.

The London Company laid a triple obligation upon Captain Newport. (Smith had the idea that Newport himself was father to the thought). He was to bring a lump of gold, or one of Ralegh's lost colonists, or definite information of the Northwest Passage. In a vain search for one or all Newport arranged a journey into Manakin-land.

Captain Smith was not permitted to go. How that prohibition must have irritated the energetic young President! It was only natural that he predicted failure; and his prognostication was verified.

Newport marched "four days" into the tractless wilderness above the falls. None can guess how far he penetrated the lovely upland valley of the James. Surely he covered fifty miles, which would have brought him into Buckingham County. Perhaps they glimpsed the hazy ramparts of the Blue Ridge upon the far western horizon. After six weeks they were back (November 17), but without the lump of gold, or the lost colonist, and they had not discovered the Northwestern Passage.

EXPLORATION

Captain Newport took Ratcliffe and sailed home (December 1, 1698).

At the Christmas season the first wedding was celebrated in Virginia. Anne Burras, who accompanied Mrs. Forrest to the colony as a maid, married a carpenter, John Layton.

The new year (1609), dawning, brought no happi-

ness to Virginia. The first calamity befell in two weeks when Capts. Richard Waldo, Matthew Scrivener and Anthony Gosnold (a brother of Bartholomew), were drowned near Hog Island.

Captain Smith was away as usual. He explored the Appomattox, to the falls (Petersburg).

When he returned he received an invitation to Werowocomoco. Powhatan wanted workmen to build him a house, and he again demanded a grindstone, also 50 muskets, 50 swords, a rooster, hen and a liberal supply of beads.

Captain Smith sent six carpenters to build the house—the remains of which, known as Powhatan's chimney, may still be seen near Gloucester Point, if indeed Powhatan's chimney was Powhatan's chimney, which some deny.

POWHATAN'S CHIMNEY

Smith followed the carpenters slowly, stopping at Warrosquyoake (Smithfield) the first night. Michael Sicklemore, "a valiant and hardy soldier," perhaps a brother of the past president, was to explore the Nottoway and Meherrin valleys to find, if possible, a trace of the Ralegh colonists. The Werowance gave him a guide.

WARROSQUYOAKE

When Captain Smith arrived at Werowocomoco, Powhatan disclaimed any invitation. He talked long and earnestly with the bold, young captain. He was weary of the hopeless struggle and planned to abdicate (which he did a few years later). Opitchapan, his next younger brother, was his heir, then Opecancanough, then the youngest brother Catatough, then his two sisters were to succeed, and finally his two daughters.

During the wrangles that ensued, Smith's life was saved again by Pocahontas, who came at midnight through the forest to warn him of impending danger.

In early spring the Indians made a treaty of peace. Captain Wynne, the only other councillor, died in April and Smith again became the sole member of the council in Virginia.

Michael Sicklemore returned. He had visited the Chowanacks (Chowan River, N. Car.), but no one there had ever seen or heard of the Roanoke colonists.

Provisions became scarce at Jamestown. As the Indians and whites were now friends, Smith scattered the colonists along the river. A number repaired to the oyster banks, twenty miles below Jamestown (Burwell's Bay). The colony was thus saved from starvation from May 20 until June 14.

Capt. Samuel Argall, destined to fill a large, but not honorable place in our history, arrived (June 20). His chief motive was the Indian trade, which was prohibited any private person. But Captain Sam was a cousin of "Cousin Tom" (Sir Thomas Smythe), so the point was not raised.

Argall had great news to tell. A new and much enlarged charter was about to be granted the London Company. The old form of local government by a president and council was to be abolished. The boundaries were to be extended, and a great fleet with hundreds of colonists was preparing.

Argall's report was correct.[2] King James signed a second charter, May 23, 1609. The London

[2] For text of the three Virginia charters: WM. MCDONALD, *Select Charters*, pp. 1-23.

Company at once elected the following officials: Thomas, third Lord Delaware, governor and captain-general of Virginia; Sir Thomas Gates, lieutenant-governor; Sir George Somers, admiral; Capt. Christopher Newport, vice-admiral. Popular enthusiasm was again keen and 500 colonists in nine ships with abundant provisions sailed for the Chesapeake.

SECOND CHARTER

Alas, it seemed as if the very stars in their courses fought against us! As so often before the fleet was struck off the Carolina coast by the "tail of a hurricane." One ship sank and all on board were lost. The supplies were largely rendered useless by salt water. Worst of all, the "Sea Venture," with Gates, Somers and Newport aboard was wrecked upon the Bermudas.[3]

This wreck is forever to be remembered, for it probably supplied the background for Shakespeare's "Tempest." The seven ships remaining rode out the storm and finally entered the James.

Captain Smith supposed that they were Spaniards and prepared to fight. The Indians volunteered to fight with the English. Great was the joy when the English ensign was sighted at the masthead! Among the new arrivals were Ratcliffe, Archer and "Refining John" Martin. They promptly demanded that Smith resign. His authority, they contended, was held under a charter abrogated months before, was not Lord Delaware now governor of Virginia?

There was a long and bitter "discoucyon," and at last they compromised. Smith, in the absence of

[3] Chap. IX.

the proper officers and documents, should end his term (now only a few weeks); and after September 10, Capt. Francis West, a younger brother of Delaware, was to rule until definite instructions arrived. Captain Smith offered to resign in favor of "Refining John," but Martin wisely declined the offer.

SMITH OUT

There were too many mouths to feed at Jamestown. Two other plantations were made. Captain Martin led 120 men to Ragged Island (directly across the James from Newport News). The Warrosquyoake Indians, who lived near, were friendly. Capt. Francis West with 120 others ascended to the falls.

It would seem that so long as the colonists were weak and starving the natives were inclined to aid them, but they viewed their aggressive developments with alarm. Both new plantations were attacked.

Smith went promptly to the aid of Captain West. He purchased a site for a fort at the falls (Richmond). It was to become a trading centre. The Indians complained that the English were harder to manage than the Manakins.

Matters were at last adjusted and Captain Smith was returning by boat when a bag of powder, on which he lay, exploded and he was so dreadfully burned that he jumped into the water, whence his friends were scarcely able to save him from drowning. At Jamestown his old foes did not hesitate to take advantage of his wretched condition, "near bereft of his senses by reason of his torment."

Only a week of his term remained; yet they would have deposed him, had not his old soldiers defended

him. He ended his year (September 10) in peace, and was confined upon one of the ships as a prisoner.

The "Diamond," "Lion," "Unitie," "Blessing" and "Falcon," five of the original fleet of nine, weighed anchor and dropped down the river. Thirty "unruly youths" were deported, and Captain Smith left Virginia never again to set foot on the land he had so often saved.[3]

[3] EDWARD D. NEILL, of St. Paul, Minn., in *Capt. Jno. Smith, Adventurer and Romancer*, attempts to prove by the deadly parallel that Smith lied because he was silent in one report and detailed in a later report. Dr. Neill does not prove his point. Very rarely, if ever, is an argument from silence conclusive.

VIII.

CAPT. GEORGE PERCY

President of the Council: Sept. 10, 1609–May 24, 1610

George Percy was one of the original adventurers[1] who erected the cross at Cape Henry. Few, indeed, survived these twenty-eight months of anguish. Percy was a broken man; his system probably poisoned by malaria. He had arranged to leave in the same ship with Captain Smith, but the importunity of the colonists and the urgency of the new triumvirate, Ratcliffe, Archer and Martin, prevailed with him and he received the letters-patent under the old charter as the fourth and last president of the council (September 10, 1609).

[1] *Observations*, by Master GEORGE PERCY.
Narratives of Early Va., pp. 5-23.

Captain Francis West would likely have been chosen, but he was at the falls and did not return until October 2.

The selection of Percy was disastrous both for the man and the colony. The Captain served in the Low Countries and returned to London in time to join the first colonists. His "Observations" are frequently quoted.

Of all the leaders this commonwealth has known in its long and eventful history, Captain Percy was probably the noblest born. He was the eighth son of the eighth Earl of Northumberland; and his mother, Catherine Neville, was of a family that has placed queens upon the English throne. A volume might be written on the renown of the family of "Hotspur," their mediaeval and modern alliances, their royal and near-royal prestige. It is a painful paradox that the fortunes of the colony sank lowest when a son of "Hotspur" was chief executive—and he a true soldier, a brave man and worthy gentleman.

HOTSPUR

In the days of early autumn the colony was fairly prosperous. Three ships, the "Discovery," the "Virginia," and the "Swallow" rode at anchor before Jamestown or Old Point. There were seven smaller boats, among them the shallop built at Cape Henry. In the store were provisions for ten weeks, a good stock of merchandise, a fine crop of grain (made by white hands and red). Twenty-four cannon bristled on the ramparts or on ships, 300 muskets and ammunition, seven horses, 500 swine, 500 hens, goats, sheep, nets, tools and 300 people, one-third of whom

had become acclimated. It was October, in a wholesome land; albeit Jamestown was built upon an impossible site.

It boded ill that "Refining John" Martin retreated to Jamestown from Ragged Island. That was poor strategy, and worse economy. But they were rid of Captain John Smith now, his name and policies were anathema.

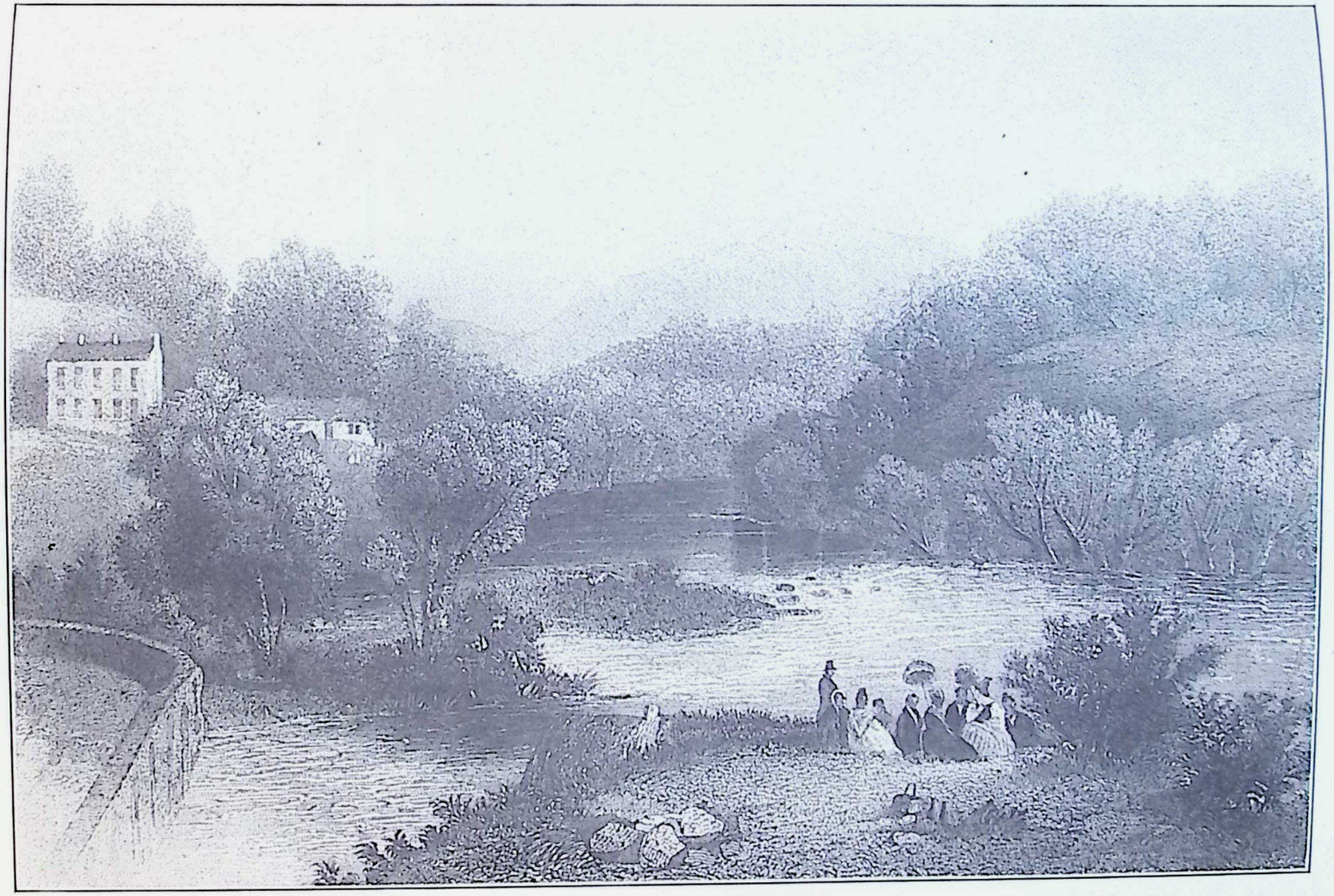
The single benefit from the dark months that followed was the fortification of Old Point Comfort. Captain John Ratcliffe built a breastwork which in compliment of President Percy was christened "Fort Algernourne." George Percy's Norman ancestor, William Algernourne de Percy came over with the Conqueror. When Captain James Davis arrived in the "Virginia" from North Virginia with "16 proper men," he was placed at the new fort (October 3).

After the departure of the fleet (October 4, 1609), there is an ominous silence in the record of about "ten weeks." We judge that no exertion was made so long as the "ten weeks' " supply lasted. But when the bitter cold days of December gripped the land, famine and pestilence stalked abroad. Plainly something must be done.

STARVATION

Captain Ratcliffe and Francis West agreed to treat with the Indians for corn. Ratcliffe sailed in the "Virginia" to Werowocomoco—the familiar strategy of Captain John Smith. Ratcliffe would do as Smith had so often done; force Powhatan to feed them.

They landed sixteen men. Powhatan shrewdly



THE MEETING OF THE WATERS

This fine old engraving of the lower Shenandoah was made almost a hundred years since by an English artist. It is the land of Morgan, Jackson, Ashby, Early, Holliday and Byrd.

agreed to fill the "Virginia," but when the English dropped their firearms and began to load the provisions the Indians let fly a fatal volley. Ratcliffe and fourteen others fell at the first volley, mortally wounded. Two escaped and came finally to Jamestown. The other nine returned to "Fort Algernourne" in the "Virginia."

Ratcliffe's mutilated corpse[2] on the icebound shore at Werowocomoco is vindication of Captain John Smith. Ratcliffe borrowed his strategy, but could not emulate his service.

Meanwhile the colony awaited in vain the return of Captain Francis West. He induced the savages to load the "Swallow," but instead of returning to Jamestown he deliberately left the colonists to their fate and sailed away to England, arriving at Lyme six months later, and passing his brother, westward bound, upon the broad bosom of the ocean.

During this frightful winter, Virginia Laydon was born, the first child of English parentage in America, except Virginia Dare. Unlike the North Carolina Virginia, the first Virginia Virginia grew to womanhood in the colony. In 1632, when she was 22, the colony voted her father, John Laydon, a grant of "500 acres of land, situated in Elizabeth City County. In 1625 there were living at Elizabeth City John and Anne Laydon and their children, Virginia, Alice, Katherine and Margaret Laydon—all born in Virginia. Some future genealogist may be able to trace the descendants of these children, when perhaps the fortunate representatives

VIRGINIA LAYDON

[2] EDWARD EGGLESTON, *Beginners of a Nation*, p. 38.

of this first Virginia marriage may receive special recognition."[3]

The situation was growing constantly worse at Jamestown. Percy wrote afterward in his "Trewe Relacyon" that during a single month "more than half died." Famine and "sicknesses" slew them within their fort, and Indian arrows were ready to strike every pale face who set foot beyond the palisades.

Captain Smith's bitterest enemy, Gabriel Archer, fell a victim to the "sicknesse" and was buried at Jamestown.

One prefers to draw the curtain of oblivion over these blackest days.[4] The story is too horrible for telling. President William Stith (1689-1755) of William and Mary, the first Virginia historian, wrote these lines:

"Those who had starch made no little use of it in this extremity; and the very skins of their horses were prepared by stewing and hashing into a dainty and welcome food. Nay, so great was the famine that the poorer sort took up an Indian that had been slain and buried, and ate him; and so did several others one another that died, boiled and stewed with roots and herbs. And one among the rest killed his wife, powdered her up, and had eaten part of her before it was discovered; for which he was afterwards severely executed. In short, so extreme was the famine and distress, at this time, that it was, for many years after, distinguished and remembered by the name of the starving year."

FAMINE

[3] LYON G. TYLER.

[4] For a detailed account of the Starving Time, see *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 17-19.

Far overseas deliverance was preparing, although the victims at Jamestown knew it not. And not deliverance only, but happiness, prosperity and success at last!

Captain Samuel Argall reached England November 11, 1609, and a month later Captain Smith arrived. When Lord Delaware heard the dreadful reports he determined to answer the call of duty, cost him what it might. During the starving time in Virginia, the London Company was active, and on April 1, 1610, Lord Delaware set sail for Virginia.

IX.

SIR THOMAS GATES

Lieutenant-General and Deputy Governor:
May 24–June 10, 1610

As Lord Delaware was too ill to undertake the voyage to Virginia, he appointed Sir Thomas Gates, his deputy, with Admiral Sir George Somers and Capt. Christopher Newport. Sir Thomas sailed in the "Sea Venture" for the Chesapeake by way of the Azores.

Beside the three officers the ship carried four passengers whose names will never be forgotten in Virginia: Master John Rolfe, Rev. Richard Bucke, who was to succeed good Robert Hunt, long gone to his reward, William Strachey, poet, historian and

secretary, and Capt. George Yeardley, thrice governor of Virginia.

When "eight days" from our seagate the "Sea Venture" was caught in the "tail of a hurricane" south of Hatteras. The "Catch" went down with twenty on board and the "Sea Venture" driven afar was finally wrecked upon the Bermudas (July 28). Fortunately no lives were lost.[1]

BERMUDA

For eight months they lived on the "Devil's Isle," as they called their involuntary home. In two "home-made" vessels aptly christened "Patience" and "Deliverance," they left Bermuda (May 10, 1610) and arrived at Old Point Comfort May 21, 1610, making a propitious voyage of 600 miles in ten days.

Captain Percy, at Fort Algernourne, cordially greeted those whom he had long given up for lost.

But what a tale of horror George Percy had to tell! Instead of a prosperous colony of 500 happy people building a British commonwealth, he related the incredible agony of the Starving Time.

JAMESTOWN ABANDONED

Gates pushed on to Jamestown, repaired directly to the church to meet such as could walk. Richard Bucke made a long and "sorrowful prayer." Captain Percy surrendered the letters-patent, even those King James had sealed in his mysterious box, November 20, 1606. For a fortnight they canvassed the situation. The emaciated survivors of the Starving Time clamored to "go home." The 140 Bermuda adventurers had their fill of adventure. They, too, were anxious to go. Gates

[1] Page 62.

and Newport decided to sail up the coast to the fishing stations of Newfoundland, as summer was coming.

"Refining John" Martin was the hero of the hour. He vigorously protested the abandonment of Virginia. Martin, Yeardley and Gates were the last to step aboard.[1]

The little fleet made indifferent progress. Capt. Edward Brewster met them at Mulberry Island Friday afternoon with a message from Lord Delaware. He had come (Wednesday, June 6) and was much displeased that Jamestown had been deserted. He ordered Gates to return at once.

When the sun set Friday evening they landed once again on the familiar strand, which they had left the morning before.

[1] For a detailed account of this incident see SQUIRES' *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 16-26.

X.

THOMAS, THIRD LORD DELAWARE

Governor and Captain-General: June 10, 1610–March 28, 1611

Lord Delaware's chief contribution to this colony was a stable government. He was, to be sure, an autocrat, albeit his reign was brief and beneficial. The Council was merely an advisory board, to be consulted or dismissed at pleasure.

The population of Virginia was painfully meagre. There were 60 who survived the Starving Time, and 140 who arrived from Bermuda. Delaware[1] brought 150 men, so there were less than 350 on the James, and perhaps ten or twelve at Old Point. The London Company had sent over more than 800, three-fourths of whom were dead!

Manifestly the governor's first duty[2] was to repair the little village, the sixty houses of which were falling to ruin. In the midst the fort, a triangular breastwork with watch towers in each corner, faced the river, 420 feet long. The three streets of the village paralleled the sides of the fort. The largest building was the church, sixty feet long and twenty-four wide, with a tower at the west end, and two bells. The governor had pews[3] of native cedar—the first furniture made in Virginia, and more beautiful wood for church or home could not be found. The communion table was of black walnut, another hardwood from our forests. The baptismal font was a log "hewn hollow like a canoa."

CHURCH

The palisades across the neck of land were repaired and the gates were hung again.

It was the idea of Sir Thomas Smythe to make Virginia a garrison, not an agricultural state. Delaware, Gates and Dale evidently followed the "Treasurer." Their colony was to be an outpost of the British army, not a commonwealth of farmers and

[1] PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE, *History of Virginia*, Vol. I, has scholarly sketches of each administration from Delaware to Fauquier.

[2] LORD DELAWARE'S *Relation*.

Narratives of Early Virginia, pp. 209-214.

[3] JOHN ESTEN COOKE, *Hist. of Va.*, p. 86.

homesteads. Jamestown was strictly a communist experiment. All was held in common and each was fed from a common store.

At 6 a. m. the bells called to daily toil. At 10 a. m. they rang again, for the first shift was done, and prayers were then said in the church. At 11 a. m. food for the day was distributed. At 2 p. m. the bells called again to labor and at 4 p. m. the day's work was done. After Delaware's arrival "every man endeavoreth to outstrip other in diligence."

There were two chaplains, one of whom, Rev. Richard Bucke, "a verie good preacher," fills a large place in our early annals. A sermon was delivered every Thursday and two on Sunday. The Governor and council attended the Sabbath services in full regalia and with as much circumstance as in Westminster Abbey. A guard of fifty halberdiers in red uniform marched behind the councillors. Delaware sat in a green velvet chair in the choir, with a velvet cushion to kneel upon. The councillors arranged themselves on either side. The service was much like one at Gibraltar or some British military post.

Sir George Somers suggested that he and Argall could secure a cargo of provisions, wild pork, fish, and other supplies from Bermuda. Unfortunately Sir George died on the voyage, and his ship returned to England with his remains. FOOD
Capt. Samuel Argall was separated from the Admiral on the voyage, and was driven northward. Returning, August 30, he discovered a magnificent sheet of

water within the enlarged boundaries of Virginia, and named it Delaware Bay.

Two days after the departure of Somers and Argall (June 17) Delaware sent Robert Tyndall to fish near Cape Henry. He explored the Eastern Shore for two weeks and returned July 1.

Misery and misfortune had not forsaken Jamestown even in its improved condition. The new arrivals were not acclimated and were ignorant of the fatal effects of flies by day and mosquitoes by night. "Not less than 150 died of pestilent diseases, of callentures and feavors" during the three summer months. All the recruits were ill.[4]

Capt. John Smith's plan of planting a colony near the Chesapeake was revived. Instead of Ragged Island, however, Kickatan (Kecoughtan or Hampton) was wisely selected. Lord Delaware had conferred the name of Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, upon the magnificent estuary of the James. The cumbersome title was shortened at once to Hampton Roads.

The Indians unintentionally assisted in the founding of Hampton. On his journey down the James, July 6, Sir Thos. Gates noticed a small boat washed ashore. He sent Humphrey Blunt, a sailor, to rescue it. He was ambushed and killed by the Kickatan Indians. Blunt's Point has since had a permanent place in our geography. Gates punished the tribe severely. He drove them from Kickatan (July 9). Their werowance, Pochins, was a son of Powhatan.

BLUNT'S POINT

[4] The ships in which they travelled were unspeakably vile, floating lazar-houses.

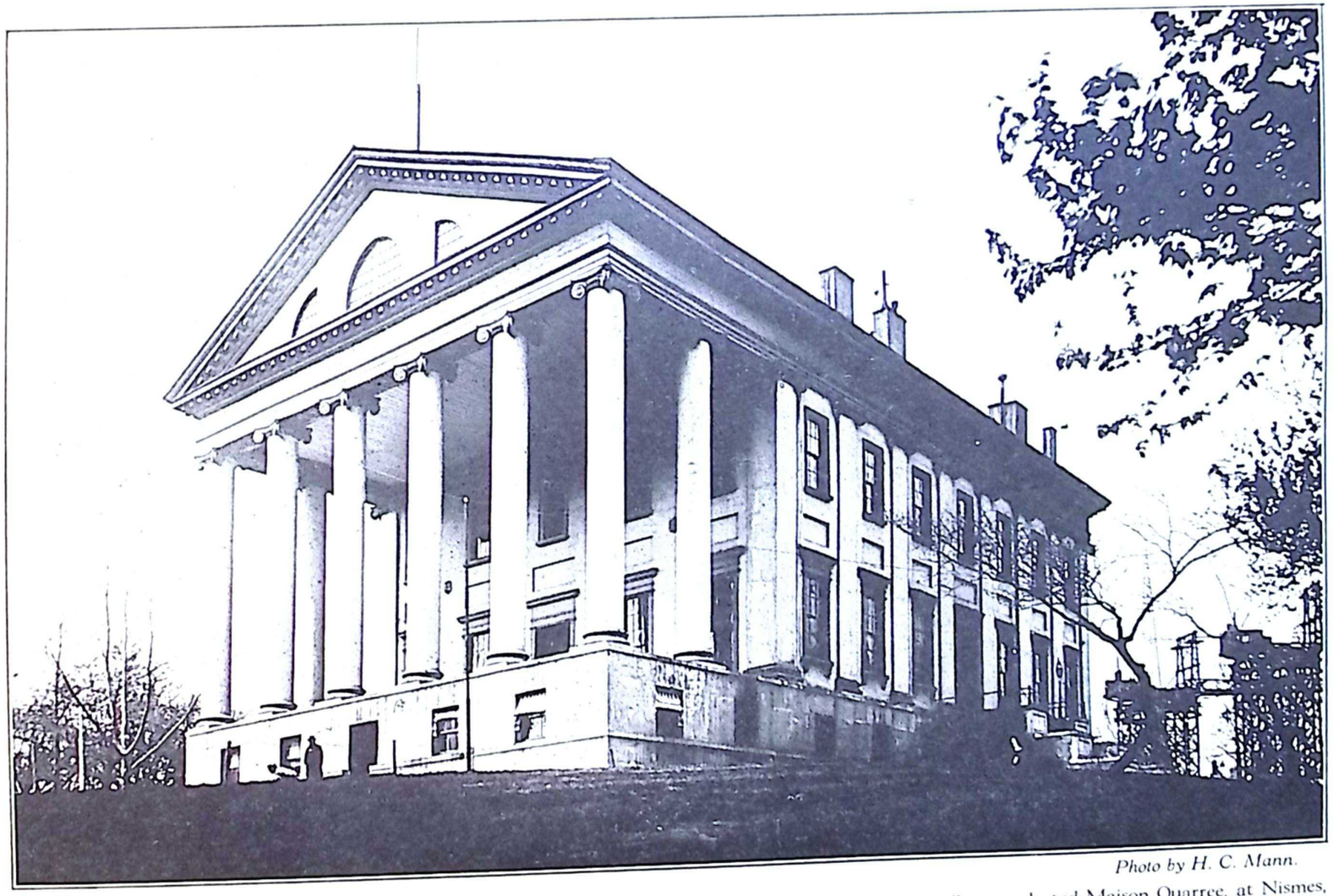


Photo by H. C. Mann.

The Old Capitol is the most historic building in America except the National Capitol. Thomas Jefferson selected Maison Quarree, at Nismes, France, as the design. The cornerstone was laid in 1786, and in 1788 the building was first used.

Here Aaron Burr was tried; here the Confederacy made its capitol; here President Davis was inaugurated, February 22, 1862; and Stonewall Jackson lay in state (1863). Here, too, President Davis faced the unspeakable Underwood after two years in prison.

The Old Capitol is preserved intact in the New Capitol.—Page 554.

Delaware reported Kickatan "a delicate and necessary seat for a city, or chief fortification, being so near the mouth of our bay." As a protection against the Spaniards, whose arrival in Virginia was forever expected, Sir Thos. Gates threw up two forts on Hampton River and called them for the king's sons, Henry and Charles (July 9, 1610). Fort Algernourne at Old Point had not been abandoned; and it was noticed that those who lived at Old Point had largely been free from the fatal "sicknesses" that decimated Jamestown.

Hereafter future immigrants should spend their first months at Old Point and Kickatan. "They stand in a wholesome aire having plentie of springs of sweet water." Sir Thomas Gates, having done his tasks well, sailed for home July 15 in the "Blessing," Captain Newport commanding.

The autumn days of 1610, like those of the year preceding, passed quietly. No doubt as frost fell on river, forest and miserable village the sick became stronger and the plague abated. Delaware sent Argall up the Potomac to trade with Japazaws for corn, where he found Henry Spilman, an English colonist of good family and repute, whom Pocahontas had saved when Captain Radcliffe was murdered a year before. Spilman adopted the Indian mode of living and learned their language. With his aid Argall secured a cargo of corn for Christmas.

SPILMAN

Delaware recognized the necessity of a plantation at the falls (Richmond). Like Newport and Martin the governor clung to the hope that gold might yet

be found in the uplands of Virginia. Capts. Edward Brewster and George Yeardley marched up the James with 100 men. Near the Appomattox Queen Opussoquionuske made the soldiers a feast, and when the colonists were off their guard, 120 Appomattox braves fell upon them, killing fourteen. The officers rallied their men and beat the savages off, burned their villages and crops, but could not overtake them.

At the falls they re-established the fort, and the governor spent much time there during the winter. As always the natives gave trouble and in one foray several men were killed, including William West, Delaware's nephew.

The werowance of the Paspaheghs had been especially treacherous and troublesome. During the winter he and his braves had constantly sniped those who stepped beyond the palisades of Jamestown. The island had been bought of the Paspahegh tribe. Capt. George Percy punished them severely.

Lord Delaware was ill. The transatlantic voyage, the fatigues of office, the climate and hardships of the wilderness had completely wrecked his health. The dysentery, so fatal to hundreds of others, attacked him and he suffered of a "violent ague." Gout and scurvy followed and his physician admonished him that a delay of twenty days would likely prove fatal. Sir Thomas Dale, his deputy, left England March 17, but Delaware could not await his arrival.

Ill

Delaware sailed from Virginia March 28, 1611, but his memory abides. He was really the founder of

the commonwealth. Before his coming its success was problematical. Indeed Virginia had proved worse than a failure. But after Delaware the colony was firmly established.[5]

[5] "The administration of Delaware though ludicrously ostentatious was yet wholesome. Under him the settlement was restored to order and contentment." R. A. BROCK, *Nar. and Crit. Hist. of Am.*, Vol. III, Chap. 5.

XI.

CAPT. GEORGE PERCY

Deputy-Governor: March 28–May 10, 1611

Captain Percy again exhibited the same painful lack of executive ability which had previously proved all but fatal to Virginia.

The London Company was thoroughly discouraged. They would probably have taken their losses and abandoned the enterprise, but for the strenuous efforts of Sir Thomas Gates and Lord Delaware, who insisted that this colony was not a Mexico or Peru to pour a prodigious flood of gold into the coffers of the shareholders, but a land greatly favored by nature. The magnificent forests, producing timber, tar, turpentine, balsams; the noble rivers alive with fish, especially sturgeon; mines that would probably be discovered; the rich soil; the Indian trade, especially for pelts—"In a word it is one of the goodliest countries promising as rich entails

DISCOURAGED

as any kingdom of the earth, to which the sun is so near a neighbor."[1]

Many members of the London Company wished to separate the Bermudas from Virginia. King James granted a charter (March 12, 1611) to the "Somers Island Company." Sir Thomas Smythe was elected treasurer, an office he had for so many years held in the parent organization.

Next year (1612) sixty colonists were seated on the Bermudas, and that little state came into being. It is a modest but valued gem in the British crown. Bermuda is the eldest daughter of Virginia.

After Lord Delaware's departure thirty settlers arrived aboard the "Hercules." In this ship Captain Percy went to Old Point to greet the new governor, the Lord High Marshal Sir Thomas Dale.

[1] SAMUEL PURCHAS, *His Pilgrimes.*

XII.

SIR THOMAS DALE

High Marshal and Acting Governor:
May 10–August 1, 1611

He is one of Virginia's great, but forgotten, benefactors. His was the ablest hand, without exception, that had yet touched the helm of this infant state. A stern disciplinarian, his keen eye at once detected the source of colonial weakness. Dale is often condemned for those very traits which saved the day.

The High Marshal came over in the "Starr," Captain Newport commanding, which with the "Prospect" and "Elizabeth," made quite a fleet and had aboard 300 colonists, twenty of whom were women.

Rev. Alexander Whitaker, aptly called the "Apostle of Virginia," was aboard.

As soon as Dale landed at Hampton River he asked about the crops. It was May 12. There were no crops! Neither Captain Percy nor one of his men had put a seed in the fertile soil!

On the morrow Dale had them out and at it. Those whom Dale had brought were for the most part carpenters, smiths, gardeners, fishermen, tanners and many practical young farmers. They put in a late crop at Kickatan near Forts Algernourne, Charles and Henry. They brought ashore 100 cows, 200 hogs, horses, goats and poultry. Perhaps we owe as much to the humble kine as we do the Lord High Marshal. Since he brought this herd of cows, nobody in Virginia has been hungry. We hear less of the "sickness," too; for famine and pestilence walk ever hand in hand.

No Crops!

Newport put the "Starr" up the river to Jamestown, with Sir Thomas Dale and Captain Percy aboard, Sunday, May 19. The frown on the Lord High Marshal's brow deepened, when they dropped anchor, for the men were playing bowls in the streets. That was Percy, not Dale. Dale was a martinet in discipline and a Puritan in theology and had been trained in the strictest school on earth, the Low Countries. The Dutch did not bowl on Sunday, and they hadn't time to bowl on

Bowls

other days. It was the last of bowls at Jamestown, so far as history records.

Dale followed the Delaware precedent. He repaired at once to the church, where Rev. Mr. Poole preached, and William Strachey read his commission. The feeble hands of Captain Percy formally surrendered the seals.

The next day (Monday, May 20) Dale held a meeting of the council, brief and much to the point. Captain Brewster was ordered to repair the church; Captain Newport and his sailors were to build a wharf, and every mother's son of them had a task assigned—building, repairing, digging, fishing, trading or guard duty.

The Marshal expected to establish a new town somewhere, he didn't know where. But he saw as Smith and Delaware had seen that the colony could not stand on one leg, and that leg as feeble as Jamestown.

With one hundred men he examined the Nansemond River to the head "despite of the Indians then our enemies." But he decided against a plantation there, or upon Ragged Islands.

He next examined the James to the falls (June 15) and on the way was especially pleased with a great peninsula, in the "curls" of the river which lacked only 200 feet of being an island, so completely did the current turn upon itself. Dale's military eye saw at once that a few resolute men and a cannon or two might here defy Powhatan and all his braves. Behind such a palisade was land enough, when properly tilled, to support thousands.

DUTCH GAP

The bluffs were high, healthy and crowned with a noble forest. "I have surveyed a convenient, strong, healthy and sweet seat to plant the new town in."

Marshal Dale's energetic program of course bred much discontent. There were plots more or less serious. The offenders were promptly and severely punished. Lax days were done in Virginia.

The Virginians ever expected and dreaded the Spaniards, our hated hereditary foes. At last a Spanish sloop dropped anchor (June 17, 1611), before Fort Algernourne and called upon Captain Davis to surrender. Davis replied in energetic, if inelegant language, inviting the Spaniards "to go to the devil." Instead, however, they went to Havana, leaving three prisoners with Captain Davis. He forwarded them promptly to Dale at Jamestown.

The Marshal was not a little excited. He was sure the sloop was scouting for the Spanish fleet, and asked that 2,000 soldiers be dispatched to Virginia at once. He proposed to build (or rebuild) five strong fortresses to hold the country; namely, Fort Algernourne, Fort Kiskiack (Yorktown), Jamestown, Henrico and a fort at the falls (Richmond). SPANIARDS

At last Dale heard the dreaded news. Six "tall ships" were standing within the capes and bearing down under full sail upon Old Point. Captain Davis and Marshal Dale did not doubt for a moment that the Spanish peril had at last arrived and they prepared to do and to die, if need were, as true Englishmen.

But instead of the Spaniards, it was Sir Thomas

Gates, with Lady Gates, their two daughters, 280 men, twenty women and 200 more cows.

Profound was the relief and great the joy at their coming.

XIII.

SIR THOMAS GATES

Acting Governor: August 1, 1611–March 1, 1614

Sir Thomas Gates found the colony orderly and prosperous, a pleasant contrast to his arrival in May, 1610, only fourteen months before!

The new governor approved the severe regimen of the Marshal and continued his rules. In fact both Dale and Gates walked the path which the distant treasurer, Sir Thomas Smythe, had marked for them. Smythe had the rules printed in London and delivered them personally to Dale. They were termed the "Divine, Moral and Martial Lawes." Stern discipline was needed; but both officers seemed to forget that the colonists were guaranteed all the rights of English subjects.

Fortunately, Gates and Dale were friends. To Dale's great honor, be it said, he accepted a subordinate position after having been for a time the autocrat of Virginia.

Two weeks after Sir Thomas Gates arrived, William Strachey sailed for home in the "Elizabeth" (August 17), taking with him for publication his interesting and valuable "Historie of Travaile in

Virginia Britannia," an important contribution to our early colonial literature.

The High Marshal was now at liberty to build his new town of Henricopolis, named like Cape Henry and Fort Henry for the popular Prince of Wales (1594-1612). Governor Gates heartily approved the project and in a month Sir Thomas Dale was ready (September 1, 1611). HENRICOPOLIS

With 300 adventurers he sailed up the James. In ten days the Marshal had built a palisade across the neck of the peninsula from the river's edge to river's edge.

William Stith,[1] born seventy-eight years later (1689) near the deserted site described Dale's village:

"It lay from river to river upon a plain of high land, with very steep and inaccessible banks, and the neck without, being well empaled, gave it all the security and conveniency of an island. It had three streets of well-framed houses, a handsome church and the foundation of another laid to be built of brick, besides storehouses, watch-houses and other public conveniences. Upon the verge of the river bank stood five houses inhabited by the better sort of people, who kept continual sentinel for the town's security.

"About two miles from the town into the main he ran another palisade from river to river, two miles

[1] THOMAS JEFFERSON on WILLIAM STITH, *Notes on Virginia*, p. 192: "The Rev. Wm. Stith, a native of Virginia and president of its college, wrote a large octavo volume of small print. He was a man of classical learning and very exact, but of no taste in style. He is inelegant and too minute to be tolerable even to a native of the country whose history he writes."

in length, guarded with several forts, with a large quantity of corn land impaled and sufficiently secured. Besides these precautions, there may still be seen upon the river bank within the island the ruins of a great ditch, now overgrown with large and stately trees; which, it may be supposed, was defended with a palisade to prevent surprise on that side by crossing the river. And for a still further security to the town he intended, but never quite finished, a palisade on the south side of the river as a range for hogs; and he called it Hope-in-Faith and Coxendale. It was about two and a half miles long and was secured by five of their sort of forts called Charitie Fort, Elizabeth Fort, Fort Patience and Mount Malady, with a guest house for sick people upon a dry and high situation and in a wholesome air. On the same side of the river also, Mr. Whitaker, their preacher, chose to be seated, and he empaled a fine parsonage with one hundred acres of land, calling it Rock Hall."

WHITAKER

By the middle of January, 1612, Marshal Dale reported: "Henrico is much better and more worth than all the work ever since the colony began, therein done." It is a cumbersome sentence, but we are entirely ready to believe it, for Henrico was superior to Jamestown in location, climate and construction. Brick was largely used in the town. He reported (February 12, 1612) that his hospital at Mount Malady had eighty beds ready.

Meanwhile Governor Gates had been busy at Jamestown. The "Starr" was loaded with goodly timbers from the forest. Unfortunately Mrs. Gates

died and the Governor sent his two daughters home with Captain Newport. This was Newport's fifth and last voyage to Virginia. He afterward made three successful voyages to India, and died (September 1, 1617), at Bantam, on the Island of Java. "The Admiral of Virginia[2] lived on the ocean; the ocean is his tomb and his monument. The city of Newport News, in Virginia, whether named for him or not, will be his monument in America."

Captain Newport's two sons, Edward and Richard, lived (1642) in Northampton.[3]

The woes which had previously afflicted the colony were fading. Jamestown in Governor Gates' days "hath two rows of houses of framed timber and some of them two stories and a garret higher, three large storehouses joined together in length, and he (Gates) hath newly strongly empaled the town. This ile and much ground about it is much inhabited."

At Kickatan "they live well with halfe the allowance the rest have from the store" because of abundance of fish, deer, fowl, and other foods.

The "Sarah Constant," which had been Newport's flagship when the first tiny fleet came to Virginia in 1607, visited the colony again in June, 1612. By her Rev. Alexander Whitaker sent Sir Thomas Smythe his book "Good Newes From Virginia." If he had given more news in his "Good Newes" and less homily, his book would be priceless.

SARAH CONSTANT

[2] ALEXANDER BROWN, *Gen. of U. S.*, Vol. II, p. 958.

[3] If this family survives, it would rank with Savage, Martin and Delaware (West) as the oldest in America.

Many of Dale's men deserted to the Indians. They preferred the freedom of the natives to the harsh discipline of Dale. They became "long hunters" and roved the vast spaces beyond the frontier; an important, but unappreciated[4] asset to the colonies.

During the summer of 1612 Marshal Dale drove the Indians from the peninsula between the "curls" of the James and the Appomattox or Bristol River. This made Henrico more secure and opened a huge boundary of land for cultivation. Rev. Alexander Whitaker's idea of the Indians is interesting: "There were great witches amongst them and they were very familiar with the divill." (We have no doubt that they were very "familiar with the divill"!)

Capt. Samuel Argall succeeded Christopher Newport as "Admiral of Virginia." He arrived at Old Point September 17, 1612, with sixty-two recruits and supplies, and found the colony flourishing as never before. The haggard days of the "Starving Time" were only a frightful memory.

In the autumn, Marshal Dale and Admiral Argall made a bloody campaign against the Nansemond Tribe, near the site of Suffolk.

Dale's experiment at Henrico was so successful that he planned a new plantation on the Eastern Shore to be called "Dale's Gift."

The Prince of Wales died November 6. The grief at home was reflected in Virginia. Sir Thomas Dale was especially devoted to the young prince. He

[4] The long hunters continued until the Revolution. Boone, Gist and many others are referred to in subsequent pages.

served as an officer in the retinue, which had escorted Prince Henry from Scotland to England.

Samuel Argall sailed up to Potomac and secured 1,400 bushels of corn and some Indian hostages from Japazaws, the werowance of the Potomac. (Dec., 1612-Jan., 1613.)

He made a similar expedition in the "Treasurer"[5] to the headwaters of the Rappahannock, which he called the Pembroke. Beyond the site of Fredericksburg he saw buffaloes and discovered "sun-dry mines."

Pocahontas disappeared from our history after Smith's departure. Argall was astonished to learn that she was visiting Japazaws. He bribed the false werowance and his squaw with a copper kettle[6] to bring Pocahontas aboard the "Treasurer." Argall hoisted anchor (April 13, 1613) and hurried to Jamestown with his distinguished guest, the "Non-parella of Virginia." On board and in the village the Princess was treated with "ceremonious respect."

KIDNAPPED

Powhatan was beside himself with anger.[7] He begged that no harm be done her and promised to comply with all the High Marshal's demands.

Seven prisoners, three old muskets, an axe, a saw and a canoe of corn were sent to ransom Pocahontas. When he learned that Pocahontas was well and happy, he was not so keen to trade.

The "Elizabeth" sailed for England July 1 with the first small consignment of Virginia tobacco.

[5] The ship was named for Sir Thomas Smythe, we imagine.

[6] They say the kettle is a valued relic now in Princess Anne County.

[7] RAPHE HAMOR, *Amer. Hist.*, S. B. Hart quoted at length, Vol. I, pp. 214-218.

Master John Rolfe experimented during the summer of 1612 raising the weed for export. How little could the London Company guess that all the wealth of Mexico and Peru combined would not suffice to purchase the tobacco that would be grown on the fields of Virginia.

So discouraged had the London Company become because the colony was a commercial failure and had taken a tragic toll in human life, that they considered removing the colonists to Bermuda. There at least they would be safe from Indian outrage.

Perhaps the vigorous protest of Sir Thomas Dale saved the colony. "If anything otherwise than well befall me, let me commend unto your carefulness the pursuit and dignity of this business, than which your purses and endeavors will never open nor travail in a more meritorious enterprise. Take four of the best kingdoms in Christendom, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this country either for commodities or goodness of soil."

DALE'S PROTEST

Meantime news came that both the French and Dutch had invaded the extended boundaries of Virginia. Capt. Samuel Argall was forever ready for a fight by sea or land.

With Gates' permission he sailed to Mt. Desert Island, Maine, and laid waste a small settlement the French had made, bringing back to Jamestown, August, 1613, a few prisoners.

Dale added them to his motley and picturesque collection at Jamestown—Indians, Spaniards, renegade English and now a few French.

Argall sailed northward again in October, with three ships. He spent eight days at Mt. Desert, then he captured a settlement of French fishermen at St. Croix and reached Port Royal (Annapolis), Nova Scotia, October 20. ARGALL He reduced the little French village to ashes, October 30. A storm drove him into the harbor of New Amsterdam, where the Dutch promptly surrendered to Virginia.

While Argall was conquering the entire continent for Virginia, Marshal Dale planted a new colony at New Bermuda, or Bermuda Hundred, on the James.

When the "Elizabeth" sailed again (March 1), Governor Gates returned "home." Of him Sir Edwin Sandys said to the London Company (November, 1619):

"Sir Thomas Gates hath the honor to all posterity of being the first that by his wisdom, industry and valour, accompanied with exceeding pains and patience in the midst of many difficulties had laid the foundation of the present prosperous state of the colony."

He served as the ninth and thirteenth executive. It is probable that he returned to Virginia and died here in 1621.

XIV.

SIR THOMAS DALE

Acting Governor: March 1, 1614–April 16, 1616

The departure of Sir Thomas Gates left Marshal Dale again the energetic and efficient autocrat of Virginia.

Pocahontas rather enjoyed her captivity. After many conversations with Rev. Richard Bucke, the governor, and Master John Rolfe, the tobacco planter, she desired to become a Christian and Mr. Bucke baptized her. She took the name Rebecca. Her real name was Matoaca, which the Indians would not tell lest some one "cast a spell" upon her.[1]

Dale determined to force the issue with Powhatan and have peace if he had to fight for it. He took Pocahontas with him in the "Treasurer" and sailed to Werowocomoco, "the time of the yeere being Aprill" (1614). Powhatan was alert to every move the English made. When the "Treasurer" cast anchor Powhatan was gone, but his braves reviled the English and reminded them of Captain Ratcliffe's fall on those very shores. As Dale was not Ratcliffe he punished the Indians, burned Werowocomoco and sailed up the Pamunkey (York River) to Machot (near West Point).

Nantaquaus, Pocahontas' favorite brother, "the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit I ever saw

[1] For the romantic story of Pocahontas see SQUIRES' *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 27-38.

in a savage,"[2] and another brother visited Pocahontas. She told them she expected to marry John Rolfe.

Meantime Rolfe and his friend "Master Sparks," called upon Powhatan to ask Pocahontas of him, but he declined to see them. Rolfe wrote Dale a long epistle[3] asking permission to wed the Indian princess. Dale was much pleased, for it meant good will between the races. Powhatan agreed and sent his brother, two sons and a daughter to the wedding, which was celebrated in the church at Jamestown, April 5, 1614. Her uncle Apachisco gave her in marriage,[4] the most romantic bride that ever was in Virginia.

Capt. John Smith was at that time charting the shores of North Virginia to which he gave the name "New England." (March-April, 1614.)

The relentless Chickahominy tribe maintained a primitive republic in the midst of Powhatan's kingdom. They never acknowledged his overlordship. They sent commissioners to Marshal Dale asking not only peace, but they desired to become Englishmen!

CHICKAHOMINY

Dale sent Captain Argall and fifty men to make a treaty, which was satisfactorily concluded. Six points were agreed to, to-wit: 1. The Chickahominies were henceforth to be loyal subjects of the British King. 2. They were never to shoot any English

[2] CAPT. JOHN SMITH.

[3] For the text of it see TYLER, *Annals of Virginia*, pp. 235-239.

[4] Powhatan could never be persuaded to set foot in Jamestown nor upon an English ship.

settler. 3. If the dreaded Spaniards arrived they were to send 300 bowmen to fight them. 4. They must give notice when they expected to visit a settlement. 5. They were to present the governor two bushels of corn annually, and His Excellency was to present them with two hatchets. 6. Eight aldermen were to see that the treaty was kept and in return were to have a red coat, a copper chain and a picture of King James himself![5]

Captain Argall sailed home in the "Treasurer," June 18, 1614, with all these wonderful tales to tell, and the land had peace for eight years.

The ancient Virginians were not communists. Dale allowed each man to have three acres for his very own, and to labor for himself one month. That was the beginning of better things.

Capt. George Yeardley had about fifty families at Bermuda Hundred, who being on a dangerous frontier, were especially favored, and prosperous. They worked only one month per annum for the common store, and each had his own farm.

The summer of 1614 was a tobacco festival. The weed was in great demand and could be shipped in small bulk. It brought $2.50 the pound in our currency.[6] The Virginians were very jealous for their leaf. "Even England shall acknowledge the goodness thereof." Some declared Spanish tobacco superior.

[5] JOHN DALY BURK, *History of Virginia*, Vol. I, pp. 170-171.

[6] Tobacco sold at Danville Oct. 1, 1928, at the average price of 15 cents the pound.

"Refining John" Martin of Brandon was cured of the gold fever, but now this energetic promoter had the silk fever. He had discovered a weed that would grow silk, like cotton is grown. Martin was not so fortunate in his schemes as Rolfe. SILK

After centuries three, if "Refining John" Martin's ghost walks abroad in Virginia[7] he may have the satisfaction of knowing that the greatest rayon works in the world are in the fields which did not yield him silk.

On October 20 Capt. Raphe Hamor published his "True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia," and dedicated this valuable history to Treasurer Sir Thos. Smythe.

The days of Powhatan were numbered. His last interview with the English is at once interesting and inexplicable. After the happy marriage of Pocahontas and Rolfe, Sir Thomas Dale sent two of his deputies, Raphe Hamor, the Secretary of the Council, and Thomas Savage, who had once been Powhatan's hostage, to Machot (near West Point), asking his youngest daughter, a child of twelve years, as his wife. The Marshal had heard "bruit of the exquisite perfection of his youngest daughter, and would gladly make her his nearest companion, wife and bedfellow." He expected to live the rest of his life in Virginia, and his object was to secure for both races a "perpetual friendship."

Powhatan recognized Thomas Savage immediately. "My child," he said, "you were my boy and I gave

[7] At Hopewell, Ampthill, Roanoke and Waynesboro.

you leave four years ago to go and see your friends; but I have never seen nor heard of you, nor of my own man, Namontack, since, although many ships have gone and returned."

THOS. SAVAGE

He then replied to Secretary Hamor: "I gladly accept my brother's salute of love and peace, which whilst I live I will punctually and exactly keep. But as to my daughter, I sold her, a few days since, to a great werowance for two bushels of roanoke."

As the conversation proceeded Powhatan admitted that he gave Hamor only an excuse, but insisted that he urge the matter no further, as the English had one of his daughters already, and under no circumstances would he agree to part with another.

"There hath been enough of blood and war; too many have been slain already on both sides; and on my occasion there shall never be more."

He asked particularly of Pocahontas and Rolfe, "how they lived, loved and liked." When told that Pocahontas was so happy that she never wished to return to her own people, he laughed heartily, and said he was glad of it.

This is our last glimpse of Powhatan, he fades from view with the same lofty spirit, the same sylvan dignity that he had ever shown.

One cannot understand the Marshal. He did not expect to remain in Virginia. He had a wife in England. Lady Dale was Elizabeth Throckmorton, having the same name and being nearly related to the wife of Sir Walter Ralegh. As Dale was ever an able, truthful, and conscientious man, the entire episode is inexplicable, unless there

LADY DALE

were purposes and motives which do not appear, as we deem likely.

During the year 1614 Sir Walter Ralegh, still in the tower, gave the world his classic history.

Thomas Rolfe was born at Varina. His parents named him for Sir Thomas Dale, "who was probably his god-father." John Rolfe succeeded Raphe Hamor as Secretary to the colony.[8]

The James River at the mouth of Appomattox spreads into a beautiful lake. Bermuda, City Point (Hopewell) and Shirley crown three promontories which thrust into the placid water. This was now the center of the colony. The one thought, topic and hope of the planters was tobacco. Marshal Dale required each farmer to plant a few acres of corn. Peace with the Indians permitted the planters to extend their fields in every direction. Formerly the whites had applied to the Indians for food, but in November, 1615, the Indians were buying food of the whites.

"The great blessings of God have followed this peace, and it, next under Him, hath bredd and plentie—everie man sitting under his fig tree in safety, gathering and reaping the fruits of his labours with much joy and comfort." PEACE

Fishing, too, was a source of prosperity. Sir Thomas Dale at one drawing of the net took 5,300 fish "as big as cod."

During the summer Captain Argall had arrived from

[8] RICHARD HILDRETH, *History of U. S.*, Vol. I, p. 116, falls into two unimportant errors. He states that Rolfe was made Secretary after his visit to England and that he succeeded William Strachey.

England with twenty recruits. The colonists were grouped into six plantations. Henrico was far west.

At Bermuda, 119 were settled under Captain Yeardley. Rev. Alexander Whitaker was now their pastor.

West and Shirley Hundred had twenty-five men settled probably during the winter and spring of 1614-15.

Jamestown had fifty men. Rev. Richard Bucke was the rector.

John Rolfe spells Kickatan "Kequoghton." Here twenty men were seated.

The smallest and most recent plantation was at Dale's Gifte on the Eastern Shore, on Old Plantation Creek. Seventeen men under Lieutenant Cradock were busy fishing and making salt.

Rolfe estimates that there were 357 persons in Virginia, "a small number to advance so great a worke."

On the twentieth of April, 1616, Captain Argall made a memorable voyage to England. Upon the decks of the "Treasurer," a ship which figures so frequently in our story, many prominent characters were leaving Virginia, some, alas, forever. The Marshal, Sir Thomas Dale, Capt. John Martin, Master Secretary John Rolfe, Pocahontas, their year-old son, Thomas Rolfe; perhaps Capt. Francis West, Capt. James Davis and "ten or twelve" Indian youths going to receive an education.

They left the colony "in great prosperity and peace," under the capable hand of Capt. George Yeardley. After a safe voyage, the "Treasurer" landed in England June 3, 1616.

XV.

CAPT. GEORGE YEARDLEY

Lieutenant-Governor: April 16, 1616–May 25, 1617

Sir Thomas Dale left Capt. George Yeardley in charge. The new executive, unlike Dale and Gates, was not a martinet, but a gentleman of mild manners and equable temper.[1] It speaks well for his brief term that there was little trouble.

The planters were rapidly becoming expert tobacconists. One, Lambert, discovered that the leaf cured better if strung on poles, instead of drying in heaps like hay. Lambert's method is followed today.

The Chickahominies had been "good" for more than two years, but were getting restless again. Captain Yeardley punished them Christmas week, 1616, burning their village and killing twelve.

Wily Opechancanough offered Yeardley his services as intermediary, and the governor unwisely agreed not to conclude peace with the tribe until Opechancanough had conferred with them.

The shrewd old savage persuaded the Chickahominies that the whites would have exterminated them had it not been for him. They were so terrified and so grateful, that they unanimously elected Opechancanough werowance.

Alexander Whitaker, the noble "Apostle to Vir-

[1] EDW. CHANNING, *History of U. S.*, Vol. I, p. 187, incorrectly includes Yeardley with Dale and Gates.

ginia," was drowned attempting to cross the James (March, 1617). He was born and educated at Cambridge, the son of Rev. William Whitaker, and probably like his intimate friend, Sir Thomas Dale, a Puritan. He wrote of the marshal, "Sir Thomas Dale, with whom I am, is a man of great knowledge of divinity and of a good conscience in all things, which be rare in a martial man."

DROWNED

The Apostle was especially interested in plans for a college, the conversion of the Indians, the education of the youthful braves and the material welfare of the colony. His death was a calamity. He left a son from whom many families prominent in colony and state are sprung.

Meantime much Virginia history was making overseas. Captain Argall reached Plymouth in seven weeks (June 3, 1616). Pocahontas immediately became the fashion of the day, a romantic maiden of whom so many tales had been told.

Capt. John Smith, about to set forth upon a second voyage to New England, drafted a long letter to Queen Anne, commending Pocahontas, and acknowledging his debt to her:

"Notwithstanding the constant war with the Indians, this tender virgin would not spare to dare to visit us, and our wants still supplied, when her father sought to surprise us. The dark night could not affright her from coming through irksome woods and with watered eyes give the intelligence with the best advice to escape her father's fury, which had he known he would surely

LETTER TO QUEEN ANNE



Photo by H. C. Mann.

THE EXECUTIVE MANSION

Twenty years after the Capitol was built, the Governor's "Palace" was erected in the Square. A frame residence, described by President John Tyler, was replaced by the present modest but substantial mansion, which has served all the executives for a century.

After the surrender General Chas. Devens made his headquarters here.—Chaps. LXXXV and CXI.

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Virginia Historical Society
RICHMOND, VA.

have slain her. Jamestown, with her wild train, she as freely frequented as her father's habitation; and during the time of two or three years she, next under God, was still the instrument to preserve the colony from death and confusion; which, in these times had once been dissolved, Virginia might have lain as it was at our first arrival to this day."

Pocahontas wore her laurels with becoming grace. Lady Delaware presented her at court, and Queen Anne received her graciously. But the stupid King took offense because Rolfe, a commoner, had married a princess! The Spaniards accurately judged King James "the wisest fool in Christendom."

Capt. John Rolfe was preparing to return with Captain Argall in the "Treasurer," when Pocahontas developed a fatal case of smallpox. She landed at Gravesend, died and is buried there under the chancel of St. George's Church.[2]

Captain Samuel Argall left Gravesend March 21, 1617, the day after Pocahontas died. He returned to Virginia as lieutenant-governor, Lord Delaware still retained his post as "governor and captain-general."

[2] For a detailed description of the church at Gravesend see *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 44-47.

XVI.

CAPT. SAMUEL ARGALL.

Lieutenant-Governor: May 25, 1617–April 9, 1619

With rare exceptions our governors have been men of ability and probity. It is with reluctance that one writes of Samuel Argall.[1] He had ability and courage, but in plain English he was a scoundrel.

A kinsman of Sir Thomas Smythe, a native of Bristol, and an intimate friend of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, of the "Court Party," henchman of James I, Argall's reign brought only disaster. Argall had the autocratic power of Delaware without his disinterested patriotism, and the mailed fist of Dale without his integrity.

The London Company tried and "vindicated" this pirate for cruelty and rapacity in New France. The cousin of Mr. Treasurer Smythe and the partner of the Earl of Warwick would likely be "vindicated."

Raphe Hamor, historian and poet, and Totocomo, who married Matachanna, a sister of Pocahontas, came with Argall.

Powhatan considered Totocomo very shrewd. He sent him to England to count the people; to visit their werowance and to see their God.

Totocomo did his best!

Beginning at Plymouth he cut his stick every time he saw a man. But, alas, he never finished his census!

[1] J. A. DOYLE, *The Eng. in Amer.*, Chap. 6.

Unfortunately he conceived a deep-seated enmity for white men and confirmed Opechancanough in his bloody conspiracy.

The "Treasurer" also landed 100 new colonists (May 25, 1617). Yeardley had the militia drawn up to receive the new governor. He relinquished to Argall a goodly harvest and cattle, the property of the company, for Virginia had greatly prospered.

Powhatan surrendered his great mat at Machot to his next younger brother, Opitchapan, and retired to Orapax (perhaps in New Kent county), weary of the cares of state. He was a man of seventy when first the Tassantassees (English) came sailing into the Chesapeake. Ever since there had been strife in Uttanoughmuck (Virginia).

OPITCHAPAN

Totocomo brought him sad news from England. He was greatly distressed, but pleased to learn that little Tom, his grandson, had been spared and left in England with his father's brother, Henry Rolfe.[2]

Thomas Rolfe returned to Virginia, married and left an only daughter, Jane Rolfe, who married Col. Robert Bolling, "by whom she had an only son, the late Major John Bolling, who was the father of Col. John Bolling and several daughters married to Col. Richard Bolling, Col. John Fleming, Dr. William Gay, Mr. Thomas Eldredge and Mr. James Murray, so that this remnant of the imperial family of Virginia, which long ran in a single person, is now increased and branched out into a very numerous

[2] "Intense devotion to their children has ever been a trait of the American Indians." REV. FRANK H. WRIGHT.

progency."[3] Of Powhatan's children, John Randolph of Roanoke acquired most renown, but Mrs. Woodrow Wilson is today the most prominent.

Samuel Argall almost succeeded in attaching to his name the odium of introducing Negro slavery. He sent the "Treasurer" to the West Indies for a cargo of slaves, but they were sold in Bermuda. He encouraged the Dutch to bring the first Africans to Jamestown.

Argall removed laborers from the lands of Lord Delaware to work his own farms, and Captain Edward Brewster, Delaware's manager, protested. Brewster brought the news of Delaware's arrival to Newport at the Starving Time.[4] He fought many hard battles with the Indians, and proved a valuable citizen. Argall courtmartialed him for contumacy and sedition and condemned him to be shot.

EDWARD BREWSTER

Only with great difficulty did the clergy and court persuade Argall to pardon him. The cruel pirate, now our governor, agreed, if Brewster would leave Virginia, and never utter a word derogatory to him.

When the London Company reviewed the matter, such indignation was aroused that Lord Delaware at once sailed for the colony. Unfortunately, he died at sea, "at the mouth of Delaware Bay"[5] June 7, 1618.

As Delaware sailed westward Ralegh sailed eastward from South America on his last voyage to

[3] REV. WILLIAM STITH, *Hist. of Virginia.*

[4] Chap. IX.

[5] SAMUEL PURCHAS, *Pilgrims.*

England. Had the "Father of Virginia" wisely landed on these shores, he had ended his days in peace; instead, he was beheaded (October 29) at Westminster.

Powhatan died in April at Orapax.

Captain Yeardley, a friend of Sandys and the Earl of Southampton, was elected to succeed Delaware—a signal defeat for the Smythe-Warwick-Argall party. Warwick sent a private messenger in haste to acquaint Argall.[5] He surrendered his office to Captain Powell and absconded (April 9, 1619).

[5] MARY NEWTON STANARD, *Story of Va. First Century*, pp. 130-135.

XVII.

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL POWELL

President of the Council: April 9–19, 1619

Captain Powell, governor for ten days, was an "Old Virginian," one who landed at Cape Henry April 26, 1607.

He assisted Captain John Smith in the exploration of the Chesapeake; and he traced the excellent maps Captain Smith published with his history (1624).

Having survived many misfortunes Captain Powell, his wife and daughters, were victims of the First Massacre (1622).

XVIII.

SIR GEORGE YEARDLEY

Governor and Captain-General: April 19, 1619–November 18, 1621

The arrival of Sir George Yeardley, like the coming of Lord Delaware, nine years before, marked an era for Virginia and America.

King James gave the governor-elect an audience,[1] November 22, 1618, knighted him and discussed at length the evangelization of the natives.

Yeardley in the "George" (January 19, 1619) arrived at Jamestown (April 19). He surrendered to Argall, two years before, an abundant supply of the Company's goods—all was gone with the late governor, dissipated, consumed or stolen. Instead of plenty, there was an actual scarcity of corn.

The Virginians rejoiced to be rid of the vindicated pirate. The new executive's first act was to abolish martial law. The discipline of Dale was obsolete. Virginia was to be a dominion of homes and farms, not a garrison.

Yeardley brought the Virginia Magna Charta, the bulwark of our liberties. A General Assembly was to rule henceforth. The Governor was to be appointed

[1] DR. EDWARD DUFFIELD NEILL, of St. Paul, Minn., never let an opportunity slip to publish something derogatory to Virginia. In *Va. Governors*, p. 15, he quotes: "Here be ships ready for Virginia and one Capt. Yeardley, a mean fellow, goes as governor. To grace him the King knighted him, which hath set him so high that he flaunts it up and down the street."

That is evidently the pen of venom.

by the London Company (later by the Crown) and the Council of State was likewise appointed. Our parliament, a House of Burgesses, was to be elected, two representatives from each of eleven plantations.

Sir George Yeardley and the Council[2] released from their labor contract all who had been in the colony three years. When an immigrant was anxious to come and had not funds, the Company provided passage, reckoned at $90 in our currency, and let him work it out. This arrangement was a great benefit to the colony, and to the Company, and to the strong young men, many of whom acquired farms and some became men of great influence.

Captain John Martin went to the Eastern Shore with Ensigns Rossingham and Harmon Harrison. The modest item is cited because Harmon bought Brandon of Martin's heirs and founded a family[3] which have given many notable men to Virginia and two presidents of the United States.

The first General Assembly met for the first time, Friday, July 31, 1619, "one of the most important movements of modern times."[4] As the acorn holds the oaken forest in its tiny shell, so this Assembly was the germ of representative government, destined to influence all governments in the New World, and ultimately in the Old.

[2] Capt. Francis West, a brother of Lord Delaware.
Capt. Nathaniel Powell, the seventeenth executive.
Master John Pory, Secretary.
Master John Rolfe, former Secretary.
Rev. William Wickham.
Samuel Macock, "a Cambridge scholar."

[3] On the Harrison family, see *Va. Hist. Mag.*, Chap. LXXV.

[4] ALEXANDER BROWN.

The election was probably by universal male suffrage, servants excluded. The twenty-two Burgesses[5] little recked how significant was their meeting.

"The most convenient place we could find to sit in was the Quire of the Church, where Sir George Yeardley, the Governor, being sett downe in his accustomed place those of the counsel of Estate sat next him on both handes, excepte onely the Secretary, then appointed Speaker who sat right before him; John Twine, clerk of the General Assembly, being placed next the Speaker, and Thomas Pierse, the Sergeant, standing at the barre, to be ready for any service the Assembly should commaund him."[6]

"But foreasmuche as men's affaires doe little prosper where God's service is neglected all the Burgesses tooke their places in the Quire till a prayer was said by Mr. Bucke, the Minister, that it would please God to guide and to sanctifie all our proceedings to his owne glory and to the good of this Plantation."

"Prayer being ended, to the intente that as we had begun at God Almighty, so we might proceed

[5] Their names were:

Thomas Dowse and John Polentine (Henrico).
Samuel Thorp and Samuel Jordan (Bermuda).
Capt. Thos. Graves, Walter Shelley (Chas. City).
Ensign Rossingham, John Jefferson (Flowerdieu Hundred).
Capt. Jno. Ward, Lt. Jno. Gibbs (Ward's Plantation).
Thomas Davis, Robt. Stacy (Brandon).
Capt. Wm. Powell, Ensign William Spence (Jamestown).
Thos. Paulett, Edw. Gouraing (Argall's Gifte).
Jno. Boys, Jno. Jackson (Martin's Hundred).
Capt. Christ. Lawne, Ensign Washer (Lawne's Plantation).
Capt. Wm. Tucker, William Capps (Kiccowton).

[6] Collections of the NEW YORK HIST. SOC., Vol. III, p. 329, quoted in *Annals of Va.*, pp. 249-278.

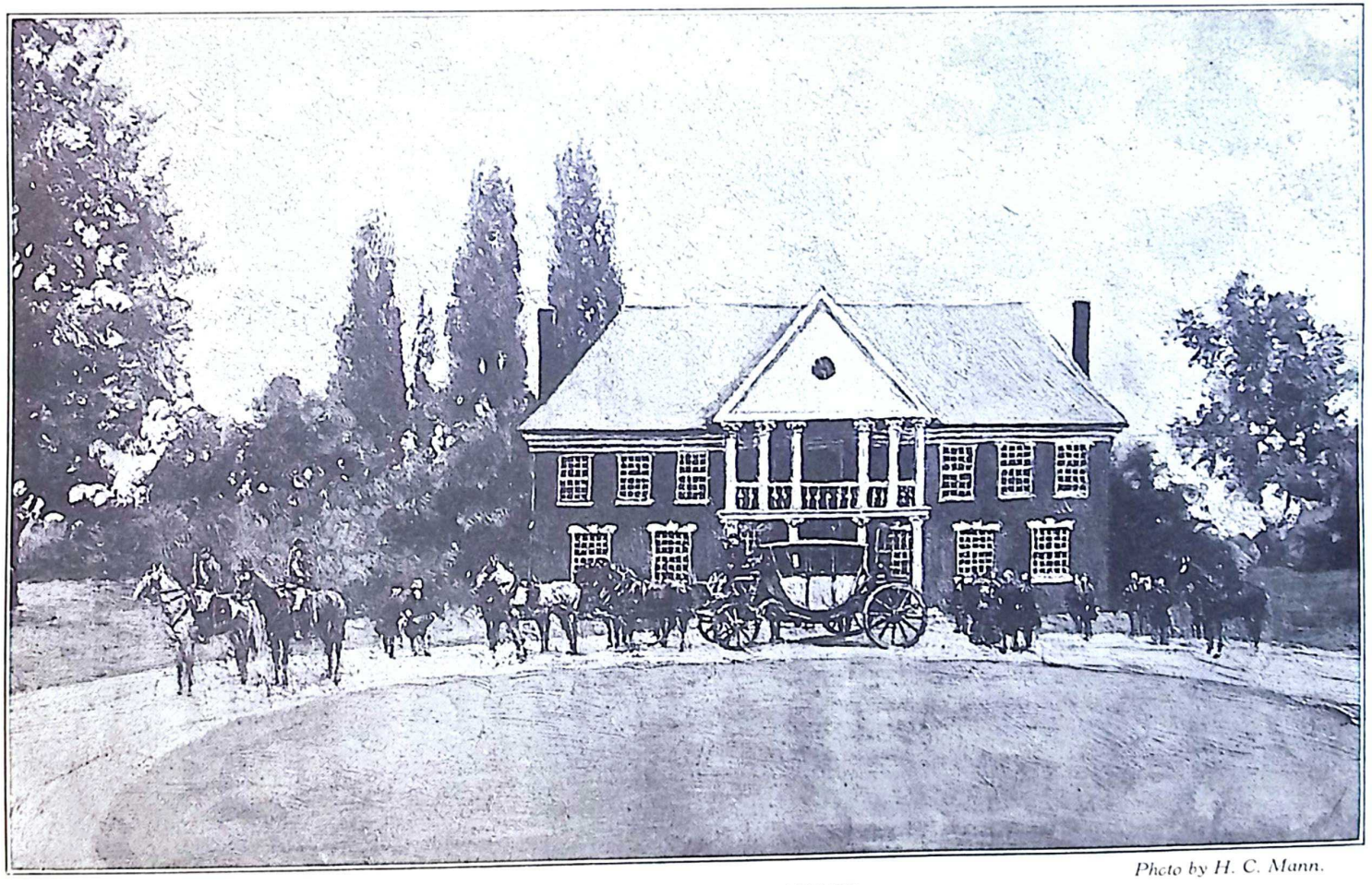

Photo by H. C. Mann.

THE COLONIAL STATE HOUSE

Built during Spotswood's term, it was used until Richmond succeeded Williamsburg as the State Capital. After Yorktown the French soldiers were lodged there, and it was burned. A lady of Williamsburg painted it, and the photograph is reproduced from the painting. It will soon be restored in its original form on the original site.

with awful and due respecte toward the lieutenant, our most gratious and dread soveraigne, all the Burgesses were entreated to retyre themselves into the body of the churche which being done, before they were called in order and by name, and so every man (none staggering at it) tooke the oathe of Supremacy and then entered the assembly."

The first business was to decide whether the two burgesses from Brandon be admitted. Captain Martin's charter made him almost an independent king within his large grant up the river. They decided that they would not admit them unless "our very loving friend, Captain John Martin, Esquire, master of the ordnance, would relinquish some of his privileges."

"Refining John" stoutly refused.

The secretary of the colony, John Pory, had been in Parliament six years. He was a member of the Council but the burgesses elected him Speaker.

The Great Charter and sundry other important documents were read.

Many interesting questions were discussed, chiefly the Indians, the Church, corn, flax, tobacco and land-grants. They legislated against "idleness, gaming, drunkenness and excess in apparel."

The best tobacco was worth three shillings, f. o. b., Virginia (72 cents); seconds, 18 pence (36 cents); and lower grades should be "burned before the owner's face," so jealous were they for the reputation of the Virginia product.[7]

This first Assembly passed a resolution that should

[7] Chap. XIV.

be lettered in heavy gold and hung before all law-makers. OUR INTEREST IS TO EASE ALL THE INHABITANTS OF VIRGINIA OF ALL TAXES AND PUBLIC BURTHENS AS MUCH AS MAY BE.

After a fortnight this memorable legislature adjourned, August 14, 1619.

"Thus early was planted in America that representative system which forms the soundest political frame wherein the spirit of liberty was ever embodied, at once the safest and most efficient organ by which its energies are exercised and developed."[8]

The same month which brought to Virginia its greatest blessing in constitutional liberty witnessed its greatest calamity—the importation of the first slaves. In this new, empty land, where labor was scarce and expensive, and where cheap labor was sorely needed the temptation was irresistible.

"This year," wrote John Rolfe, "about the last of August, came in a Dutch man-of-war that sold us 20 negars." They came from Guinea, West Africa.[9]

During this summer, Captain Francis West secured a grant of land near Shirley for his nephew, Henry, fourth Lord Delaware, and called it Westover.

In the winter (December 4), thirty-five settlers arrived in the "Margaret," at Kickatan, and made their homes at Berkeley Hundred, between Westover and Shirley. Two centuries later President William Henry Harrison was born there, and during the cruel Civil War the eyes of the world were focused upon it

[8] JAMES GRAHAME, *Hist. of Eng. Colon. in Amer.*, Vol. I, p. 67.

[9] GEO. BANCROFT, *Hist. of U. S.*, Part I, Chap. 8.
G. W. WILLIAMS, *Negro Race in Amer.*, Part II, Chap. 12.

in the duel between McClellan and Lee. They called it "Harrison's Landing." The leader of this company, Fernando Yate, wrote home: "If I had the eloquence of Cesaro and the skillful art of Appellese I could not pen neither paint out a better praise of the cuntrie than the cuntrie itselfe deserveth."

A census of the colony (March, 1620) returned 887 persons. There were probably more.

The London Company did not like heathen names and ordered that:

"Kecowtan, hereafter shall be called Elizabeth City for the name of his majesties most vertuous and renowned daughter."

This borough included both shores of Hampton Roads. The "Chesapeake River" became the Elizabeth, and the beautiful name Kickatan disappeared from our geography.

Sir Edwin Sandys, the new treasurer, was Virginia's enthusiastic friend. In one year he sent over 1,261 new immigrants and among them a cargo of wives; ninety young women of unimpeachable character, carefully selected.

The cost of their passage, estimated at 120 pounds of tobacco ($80) was charged to their future husbands. The young Virginians flocked to Jamestown and the courting went forward fast and satisfactorily to all parties. Rev. Richard Bucke was busy uniting the happy young couples, and the brides were carried off joyously on horseback or by canoe to their new homes.

"These new companies were received with such

fondness" that sixty more "young, handsome and chaste" maidens were sent over to become the mothers of future Virginians.

The "Temperance" arrived "from Canada," in December, 1620, with the news of the "Mayflower." The colony of Puritan Dissenters (Separatists or Brownists) decided to remain at Cape Cod instead of pushing on to Hudson River as they first intended.

Sir George Yeardley was relieved by Sir Francis Wyatt. Many are the years that have passed and many the governors that have come and gone, but Sir George Yeardley's brief administration of two years was the most significant ever in Virginia.

XIX.

SIR FRANCIS WYATT

Governor and Captain-General: November 18, 1621–May 17, 1626

He came sailing into Hampton Roads with a great fleet, nine ships, and hundreds of colonists. It was a sight to hearten all true patriots. Surely a better day for Virginia now trembled at dawn. Alas, futile vaticination! Two frightful storms, wholly unforeseen, glowered below the horizon, ready to rise and break in fury.

Sir Francis Wyatt came of a family long distinguished. His wife, Margaret Sandys, was the grand-

daughter of an Archbishop of York, and the niece of Sir Edwyn Sandys, the new treasurer of the London Company, whose zeal for popular government, both in England and Virginia, was so pronounced that King James once exclaimed, "Choose the Devil, if you will, but not Sir Edwyn Sandys."

Among those who came with Sir Francis were:

Dr. John Pott, Rev. Hawte Wyatt, a brother of the governor, who left many children in the land, and redoubtable William Claiborne, a Virginia stalwart of whom much must be said.

George Sandys, an uncle of Lady Wyatt, wrote a popular translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses at Jamestown, published in 1626.[1]

Sir Francis brought a new constitution, granted by the Company (July 24, 1621) which confirmed all that Yeardley had secured. Trial by jury was provided, and the General Assembly was to meet annually. Above all it incorporated this covenant: NO LAW SHALL BE VALID IN VIRGINIA UNTIL IT HAS BEEN PASSED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

"This famous ordinance furnished the model of every subsequent form of government in the Anglo-American colonies."[2]

But the happy prospects before Virginia that November day (1621) were too good to last.

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[1] For sketches of Edwin and George Sandys, see *Encyclop. Brit.* George was the seventh son of the Archbishop of York. JAMES GRAHAME, *Eng. Col. in Amer.*, Vol. I, p. 76, quotes WILLIAM STITH, who wrote that Ovid was translated in 1623.

[2] JOHN FISKE, *Old. Va. and Her Neighbors*, Vol. I.

The "sicknesse" returned with fury redoubled. Sir George Yeardley wrote (1620) "about 300 of the inhabitants dyed this year." That was one-fourth the colony! The scourge grew worse. More than 1,000 died during Wyatt's first year, either on shipboard or after landing from the pestilential ships.

THREE HUNDRED DIED

"Such a pestilent fever rageth this winter among us; never known before in Virginia, by the infected people that came over in ye 'Abigal,' who were poisoned with beer, and all falling sick and many dying, everywhere dispersed the contagion."[3]

Of 5,000 immigrants who came in five years (1619-24) the colony gained only 200 inhabitants!

A worse calamity now befell. For eight years there had been peace. Fields of tobacco and corn extended for miles along the lordly rivers and the edges of the forest. The Indians, docile and friendly, accepted the hospitality of the whites, came to their cottages and left as friends, traded with them, ate at their tables. Many farmers employed Indian servants, many hired Indian hands. Many pagans declared themselves Christians and were baptized.

So completely were the planters deceived that they loaned the savages boats to paddle to conferences where the murder of the colonists was planned! As the fatal hour approached the Indians were even more friendly than before. They came that very morning to sell deer, turkey, and fruit to those they expected to murder at noon.

[3] GEORGE SANDYS.

Opechancanough (pronounced in Virginia "O-pe-can-oe") was the arch-demon. He shrewdly foresaw, none more clearly, that the unending stream of settlers encroaching ever farther inland would sooner or later occupy all the fertile lands which the Great Spirit had given the Indians.

The blow was to be struck simultaneously at noon, March 22, 1622. He knew well enough that only by surprise could the bloody work be done. The red men could not hope to win in battle array.

An Indian boy, Chanco, lived with Richard Pace four miles from Jamestown and was a Christian. Chanco revealed the plot to Pace, who warned Wyatt. The Governor sent messages in every direction but time was too short to save the outlying districts from the impending blow.

When the hour arrived the savages everywhere fell upon their victims. Many were cut down, even before they suspected evil "with their own tooles, most barbarously, not sparing either age or sex, man, woman or child." As they worked in the fields, passed along the roads or sat in their homes they were ruthlessly slain. In an excess of hatred the Indians "fell again upon the dead bodies making as well as they could a fresh murder, defacing, dragging and mangling their dead carkasses into many pieces." FIRST MASSACRE

"One of the first to fall was Rev. George Thorpe, a member of the Virginia Council.[4] He had apparently won the favor of Opechancanough with whom he often discoursed upon the Christian religion."

[4] T. J. WERTENBAKER, *Virginia Under the Stuarts.*

Virginia has survived many shocks. She rallied from this disaster also—the more difficult because of the plague. One-fourth of the people, 347, perished that doleful day in March. Six members of the council and one deputy governor were among the slain. There were said to be 1,258 inhabitants in Virginia before the massacre.

A war of extermination began. "All trade with them must be forbidden and without doubt either we must clear them or they us out of the country."

As the savages would not fight in the open the Virginians determined to starve them. When the corn was standing (June-August) they raided the Indian settlements systematically and cut it down. For years this drastic but effective policy was relentlessly followed. Both races were committed to "mortall warre and flesh in each others bloud of which the Causes have been the late massacre on the Savages parte."

STARVE THEM

The news of the massacre brought consternation to England. The Court Party made the most of the disaster.

From the Tower of London much antiquated armor, helmets, coats-of-mail and steel jackets, now obsolete, were sent over. Imagine farmers on the James clad in steel armor once used in Scotch, Irish and French wars!

Our long-time hero, Captain John Smith,[5] volunteered to come overseas and clear the savages out of Tidewater Virginia, if the Company would provide

[5] The rejection of this offer is urged as evidence against the Captain by ALEX BROWN and C. WHITTLE SAMS.

100 soldiers and thirty sailors. They heard the redoubtable captain with applause, but nothing was done. He could have saved us years of agony and bloodshed.

George Sandys led an expedition against the Tappahannocks. Sir George Yeardley struck the Wyanokes. Captain William Powell assaulted the Appamattock braves. Captain John West made a foray against the Tanx-Powhatans near the falls. In the autumn (1622) Yeardley chastised the Nansamonds. In June (1632) Captain William Tucker killed forty Indians in Opechancanough's town.

The Indian power was broken when Sir Francis Wyatt invaded the Pamunkey country with sixty men. Opitchapan assaulted him with 800 bowmen, the flower of Indian chivalry. Though they fought two days not a Virginian was killed. "Since then they have not greatly troubled us, nor interrupted our labours."

The Massacre of 1622 was the indirect cause of the dissolution of the London Company.[6] The direct cause was the hatred of King James.

Captain Nathaniel Butler, at royal command, wrote a bitter, partisan attack upon the colony, "The Unmasking of Virginia." The Company refuted Butler's charges with another book, "A Trewe Answer"; but, unfortunately, many of Butler's charges could not be denied.

Captain John Smith "ascribed the misfortunes of the colony and the slenderness of income derived from it to the neglect of military precautions, the rapid

[6] The first American college was destroyed in the First Massacre. W. GORDON MC CABE, *First Univ. in Amer.*, *Va. Hist. Mag.*, April, 1922.

succession of governors; the multiplicity of public officers; and, in general, to the inability of a numerous body of men to conduct an undertaking so complex and arduous. He recommended the annexation of the colony to the Crown, the introduction of greater simplicity and economy of government and the abandonment of transporting criminals to its shores."[7]

JOHN SMITH

The King was pleased with these criticisms, and a Quo Warranto was issued against the Company (June 26, 1624). It ceased to exist.

Fortunately, Virginia lost nothing by this revolution. James did not press matters too far. He did not long outlive the London Company, for he died March 27, 1625, after a spiritless reign of two-and-twenty years.

His death was the best contribution James I made Virginia.

[7] GRAHAME, *English Colonies in Amer.*, Vol. I, p. 76.

XX.

SIR GEORGE YEARDLEY

Governor and Captain-General: May 17, 1626–November 13, 1627

When the late King delivered the mortal stroke to the London Company it is significant that the commission which took over the government of the colony met, every Thursday, at the residence of

Sir Thomas Smythe. If the court party could not rule they did not hesitate to ruin. The Company was wrecked, but not Virginia; which, as a royal colony, prospered more than before.

The London Company had become a "Seminary of Sedition," to quote the Spanish ambassador. Nevertheless the King reappointed Sir Francis Wyatt, the popular governor, and named eleven councillors to sit with him. How interesting the names of those long-gone Virginians!

Captain Francis West, Sir George Yeardley, George Sandys, Raphe Hamor and Captain John Martin have crossed this narrative. Sir John Harvey, Samuel Mathews and William Claiborne will appear in the immediate future. Captain Roger Smith, Abraham Piercy, one of the richest men in the colony, and Captain Israel Maddison.

Yeardley was to succeed Sir Francis on his departure; and Sir John Harvey was to follow Yeardley in case of death or removal. The Virginians thanked the King that none of the "enemies of the former government" were returned to the colony. This was a tactful hint that the Vindicated Pirate, Captain Samuel Argall, now influential with the court party, would not be welcomed here.

The General Assembly was not mentioned on either side the water, and the silence is significant. Had King James lived he might have attempted to abolish the colonial parliament.

Charles I continued Sir Francis Wyatt in office. But his father's death (September, 1625) soon after King James' death (March 27, 1625) made Wyatt's

return to Ireland necessary. When he left Virginia, May 17, 1626, Sir George Yeardley became our executive for the third time.

Despite revolution at home and the distresses of the colony, Virginia made steady progress in population and wealth. After the massacre only 911 were said to be left in the plantation. "In 1624 the population scarcely exceeded 2,000 souls."[1] The figures are conjectural.

The General Assembly held informal meetings, and accomplished their will by proclamation, which expedient availed. The meetings and pronouncements were called "The Governor, Council and Colony of Virginia assembled together."

They congratulated Prince Charles upon his ascension to the throne and hoped that the new King would follow his father's friendly attitude toward Virginia. We commend these ancient politicians. If the old King had once proved himself a friend to this colony, history fails to record it, but let that pass. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum.*

King Charles replied that he wished to preserve inviolate all the former interests of Virginia. He lathered the Virginians with these fair words before he shaved them. "It might be said," he continued, "that the plantation was wholly built on smoke which would easily turn into air if either English tobacco was planted or Spanish imported." He desired the colonists to turn their efforts to pitch, tar, potash, iron, stones, vines and bay-salt. But he failed to state how much bay-salt

CHARLES I

[1] BURK, *Hist. of Va.*, Vol. I.

would have to be evaporated to buy one hogshead of tobacco. King Charles was not famous for intellect nor perspicuity, and he was not a master of economics. The Virginians should not raise tobacco—but all they raised must be sold to the King, and to no one else, at three shillings. That was Charles' logic. He promised to destroy all the tobacco plants in Great Britain and to prohibit importation from Spain (August 6, 1627).

Sir George Yeardley, our noble and useful Governor, died (November 14, 1627). The Council referred to him as "a main pillar of this our building and thereby a support to the whole body."

Yeardley's name and fame have grown dim. He deserves of posterity more than he has received; for his services to constitutional liberty cannot be overestimated. He left three children in Virginia —Argall, Francis and Elizabeth—whose "descendants are now scattered over the United States."[2]

[2] ALEX. BROWN, *Gen. of U. S.*, Vol. II.

XXI.

CAPTAIN FRANCIS WEST

President of the Council: November 14, 1627–March 5, 1629

The King expressly provided that Sir John Harvey was to succeed Captain Yeardley. Fortunately for the colony Harvey was in the naval service of the

Duke of Buckingham,[1] and the Council, anxious to escape obnoxious John Harvey, elected Capt. Frank West, of "Westover," and proclaimed him (December 4, 1627).

The new executive was especially charged to be vigilant against the Indians, and as the supply of powder was always depleted, the colonists were strictly forbidden to use it for weddings, Christmas[2] or other celebrations.

King Charles ordered "His trusty and well-beloved Burgesses of the Grand Assembly of Virginia" to assemble.

"In obedience to His Majesties Commands wee have given order that all the Burgesses of Particular Plantations should shortly be assembled at James City that by the general and unanimous voice of the whole Colony his Majesty may receive a full answere" to several royal propositions. These early Virginians were profusely loyal in their protestations, "whole for monarchy," and yet exceedingly sensitive in their financial nerve. They refused to sell their tobacco upon the terms offered by the royal monopolist. They pled poverty. A thousand new immigrants had recently arrived and must be provided for, and the cost of living was too high. The King was, of course, displeased, but it is significant that he did not threaten to abolish the General Assembly.

ROYAL TOBACCO MONOPOLY

[1] E. D. NEILL, *Virginia Vetusta.*

[2] The custom of setting off fire-works at Christmas in Virginia dates from the earliest colonial days.

"The Governor and Council were directed to exact oaths of allegiance and supremacy from every inhabitant of the colony."[3] Obedience to this command caused trouble when the King's favorite, Lord Baltimore, arrived: but King Charles did not foresee that.

After sixteen months (November 14, 1627-March 5, 1629) Captain West was sent "home" to represent the colony at court, and to guard its interest. He strenuously, but vainly, opposed the dismemberment of Virginia's territory by the Baltimore grant.

More than a thousand persons came to Virginia in 1628, and the population was estimated at 3,000.

Warfare with the natives continued with the customary ferocity on both sides.

[3] JAMES GRAHAME, *Eng. Col. in Amer.*, Vol. I, p. 81.

XXII.

DOCTOR JOHN POTT

President of the Council: March 5, 1629–March 24, 1630

Dr. John Pott was elected deputy-governor. Sir John Harvey was still abroad. He had been appointed "Governor and Captain-General of Virginia" a year before (March 28, 1628), but it took him two years to get to his job. In the meantime he demanded a raise of salary!

Dr. Pott is the most enigmatical of governors. His story reads like a romance. When he arrived he was promptly (July 26, 1621) elected "physician-general" of Virginia. He had a "chest of Phisicke and Chirurgery," and was recommended by a famous English surgeon as a "Master of Arts well practiced in chirurgery and physique." He was expert in the "distilling of water and many other ingenious devises." The chances are that the popular doctor was a bit too fond of his strong waters, that he was a prince of a good fellow, that he poisoned the Indians, that he hated the Court Party, that he ardently supported colonial democracy, that the powerful Earl of Warwick, and Lord Baltimore and Sir John Harvey hated him, that the common people loved him, especially the very common people. He owned a residence in Jamestown across the street from his enemy, Sir John Harvey. He patented the land on which Williamsburg was built, which he called "Harrop," from the ancient homestead of the Pott family in Yorkshire.

Dr. Pott's term was brief and troubled. The Indians were restless. Old but relentless Opechancanough roused the Pamunkeys and Chickahominies, and the Nansemonds joined them. They carried off many prisoners, leaving savage desolation behind. No quarter was asked or given (August 12, 1629).

The Assembly met in the autumn (October 16, 1629) with four councillors and forty-six burgesses from twenty-three plantations, and determined to invade the Indian towns thrice each year until the last Indian was driven from the colony. They

authorized the planting of a settlement on the Pamunkey (York) River at Chispiake (near Yorktown).[1]

During October "George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, visited Jamestown with his wife and children. Dr. Pott and the council suspecting Baltimore's motives, tendered him the oath of supremacy, which the King strictly enjoined upon them to require of all new-comers. This oath, Baltimore, as a Catholic, refused to take, and he soon sailed away to press his suit in person at court. During his stay at Jamestown Baltimore was treated coldly; but when one Thomas Tindall 'gave him the lie and threatened to knock him down,' the Council vindicated Virginia hospitality by putting the offender in the pillory for two hours. As Baltimore was unable to take his wife and children with him back to England, they were hospitably cared for at Jamestown for some months. Baltimore obtained a charter in England which resulted in the first spoilation of Virginia territory as defined in the charter of 1609 by the establishment of Maryland as an independent colony."[2]

LORD BALTIMORE

[1] JOHN FISKE, *Old Va.*, Vol. I, p. 212. "The frontier was fast receding. The perpetual retreat of barbarism was one of the significant factors of English-speaking America, until the census of 1890 announced that a frontier no longer existed."

[2] LYON G. TYLER, *Cradle of the Rep.*, p. 53.

XXIII.

SIR JOHN HARVEY

Governor and Captain-General: March 24, 1630–April 28, 1635

He had been governor for two years before he arrived; and the pity of it is that he ever arrived. Sir John was a noble, or should we say ignoble, sailor who "walked among the colonists as he did the deck of a ship." He was a protege of King Charles, which was no recommendation, and his reign in Virginia was a feeble, distant echo of his master's reign overseas.

His first gesture upon arriving was pure buncombe. He stoutly demanded conformity to the Established Church. As there was practically no non-conformity in the colony his initial demand was pose.

It so happened that the most influential man in Virginia, Captain Samuel Mathews of Denbigh, was a Puritan. On him the new governor fawned. At the same time he determined to crush his popular predecessor, Dr. John Pott, who was promptly dismissed from the Council and charged with "pardoninge wilful murther, markinge other men's cattell for his owne, and killing up their hogs." The only delight we take in our sailor governor is his English.

The Governor ordered the Doctor to remain within the bounds of his plantation, "Harrop." But the Doctor wanted to go to Hampton, and to Hampton he went.

Harvey clapped him into prison. Many friends offered bail, but the Doctor declined and remained in jail. Hampton never had a more popular prisoner. On July 9 they tried and found him guilty of "marking other men's cattel and killinge up Hoggs." But it took them three days to force it through. The Doctor's entire estate was to be confiscated!

KILLING UP HOGGS!

Ah, it is not the last time in our history that partisan politics hath given the blind goddess of Justice an oblique squint.

As soon as they convicted Dr. Pott they suspended judgment "until his Majestie's pleasure" be known. Harvey wrote the King asking a pardon for Pott . . . More oblique squints!

Mrs. Pott rose from a bed of illness and made the dangerous voyage overseas to kneel before the King.

Meantime the ignoble sailor was busy making other foes. He was an expert at making himself unpopular. "He was so haughty and furious to the Council and the best gentlemen of the country that his tyranny grew at last unsupportable."[1]

Harvey was anxious to discover a silver mine hidden in our western mountains. He sent 170 men on the errand, but it was so well hidden they found it not. Nor has any one else.

The Governor, despite his initial zeal for conformity, invited the Puritans to remove from Massachusetts to Delaware Bay, that so they may escape the "coldness of their climate and the barrenness of their soil." The invitation was extended just as a new village, Boston, was settled (1630).

[1] ROBT. BEVERLEY, *Hist. of Va.*, p. 50.

Over Virginia's protest and in spite of the efforts of Colonel Francis West and William Claiborne, both in England to prevent it, the King granted a huge boundary of land north of the Potomac to Lord Baltimore.

Claiborne made a settlement (March, 1631) on Kent Island at the head of Chesapeake.

As the Indian war grew less acute settlements extended along York River, and trade with the Indians was resumed, after having been strictly prohibited for almost ten years.

Two handsome new churches, one at Jamestown, the other in Isle of Wight (now St. Luke's, near Smithfield) were evidence of growing wealth and security. The Assembly decided to build a town on the height of land at "Harrop," and every fortieth man was required to live there! It was the genesis of Williamsburg.

Our history has been punctuated by periods of great activity in trading real estate, called "booms."[2]

FIRST BOOM

Lord Baltimore unwittingly started the first land boom. Harvey caught the idea from Baltimore and at once began (1633) making extensive grants of valuable land "with such absolute formalities as to give the proprietors the rights of sovereign authority." Other rights were so overridden that the courts were busy for two centuries after with litigation touching these and later grants.

The year 1634 is crowded with impressive and important items.

[2] This word, coined by the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, July 18, 1878, is now a part of our language.

Leonard Calvert arrived in Hampton Roads with the "Ark" and "Dove" bringing Maryland's original colonists, "twenty gentlemen and 200 laboring men well provided." They were coldly received at Hampton.

The King commanded the Virginians to grant all needful aid to the new colony, named for Queen Henrietta Maria, a French Catholic, daughter of Henry IV. The Virginians, however, resented the establishment of the new colony within their bay, upon lands which their toil and bloodshed through twenty years had made secure. Strict for the Church of England they might tolerate Dissenters on Delaware Bay, even though Puritans were not welcomed to the bosom of the colony. How then could they be expected to hail a Roman Catholic colony on the Chesapeake?

Religion aside, there was the tobacco trade, not to mention the fur trade, into which Maryland might (and did) cut as a competitor.

Governor Harvey did all he could for Maryland. His one idea in life was to please the King. He wrote:

"Many are so adverse that they crye and make it their familiar talke that they would rather knock their Cattell on the heades than sell them to Maryland."

When Leonard Calvert established St. Mary's he sent William Claiborne word that he would not molest him if Claiborne would agree to hold his plantation as a tenant of Lord Baltimore. Claiborne laid the matter before the Virginia Council and they, to a man, advised that

KENT ISLAND

he agree to no such thing—all except Harvey; he was for Baltimore.

Bad matters were made worse by a false rumor that Claiborne was inciting the Indians against St. Mary's and was carrying on illicit trade with them.

Claiborne was very angry and with the Kent Islanders fitted out a miniature man-of-war called the "Cockatrice," which Calvert captured after a lively fight. A few weeks later Claiborne landed a small army at the mouth of the Potomac and defeated Calvert in a pitched battle. The excitement in Virginia was intense. The colony was all for Claiborne. The Virginians were particularly incensed that their governor should take the part of Lord Baltimore.

TRAITOR

The Council at Jamestown was as stormy as the Potomac. Sir John so far forgot his dignity that he knocked Captain Stevens' teeth out with a cudgel.[3]

Sir John Harvey conferred a lasting benefit by organizing the plantations into eight original shires (counties). "Lieutenants were appointed to each as in England and in a more especial manner to take care of the war against the Indians; and as in England, sheriffs shall be elected, as in England to have the same power as them, and sergeants and bailiffs when the law requires."[4]

The eight original shires were James City, Charles City, Henrico, Warwick River and Elizabeth City, along the northern shore of the James; Warros-

[3] After Stevens' death his widow married Sir John Harvey.

[4] JOHN BURK, *Hist. of Va.*, Vol. II, p. 43.

quyoake (Isle of Wight) to the south; Charles River, on the York, and Accowmack, on the Eastern Shore.[5]

Benjamin Sym left 200 acres of land on the Pocoson River and the increase of eight cows "for the maintenance of a learned man to keep upon the said ground a free school for the education" of the children of several plantations (1634). This, the oldest school in America, is still in operation at Hampton.

During the troubled days of Sir John Harvey's administration unscrupulous traders took advantage of the sequestered planters. The colonists, it was complained, were forced to pay from forty to sixty pounds of tobacco for a pair of shoes. As tobacco was worth 72 cents in Virginia and about three times as much in London (especially if the unprincipled traders could smuggle it in) our fathers were paying from $30 to $40 in Virginia or $90 to $120 a pair in London. Such prices would purchase golden slippers like the angels wear. The Virginians wore moccasins or went without.

GOLDEN SLIPPERS

King Charles was not at all worried about shoes but he was much interested in profits on tobacco. In 1634 he demanded that the Virginians sell their tobacco to him at his own royal price.

The Assembly drew up a courteous but emphatic "Deniall," and all of the members signed this early declaration of financial independence.

Sir John Harvey, the governor, much afraid of royal displeasure, pocketed the paper instead of sending it home. Judge if the Virginians were angry!

[5] HENING, Vol. I, p. 2244.

Dr. Pott, the convivial physician, traveled into all parts of the colony, telling the planters in very plain English what kind of a man their governor was. He also invited them to sign a petition and remonstrance which he carried with him.

Sir John in a terrific rage had the doctor arrested again and put in irons. When the Council met and one of them asked the Governor why Dr. Pott was in irons he answered that they would be informed at the gallows. Sir John Harvey might know that no gallows for Dr. Pott would ever be erected in Virginia.

DOCTOR POTT

George Menifie, the merchant prince of Jamestown, rebuked Sir John Harvey for not sending the General Assembly's "Deniall" to King Charles. Harvey struck Menifie violently on the shoulder and shouted: "I arrest you of suspicion and treason to his Majestie." Thereupon John Utie, of "Ultiemaria," gave the Governor "a very great and violent stroke upon the shoulder and said with a loud voice: "I arrest you for treason," whereupon the rest of the councillors crowded about Harvey and laid hold upon him.

Dr. Pott was present. He raised his hand, at the window, "when straight about 40 musketiers which before that time lay hid, ran with their pieces presented."

Dr. Pott called: "Stay till there be use of you!"

They forced Sir John into his seat and his erstwhile friend, Samuel Mathews, stood before him and "poured out the recital of the peoples' wrongs."[6]

[6] J. T. WERTENBAKER, *Va. Under the Stuarts*, pp. 60-84, has an able chapter on Harvey.

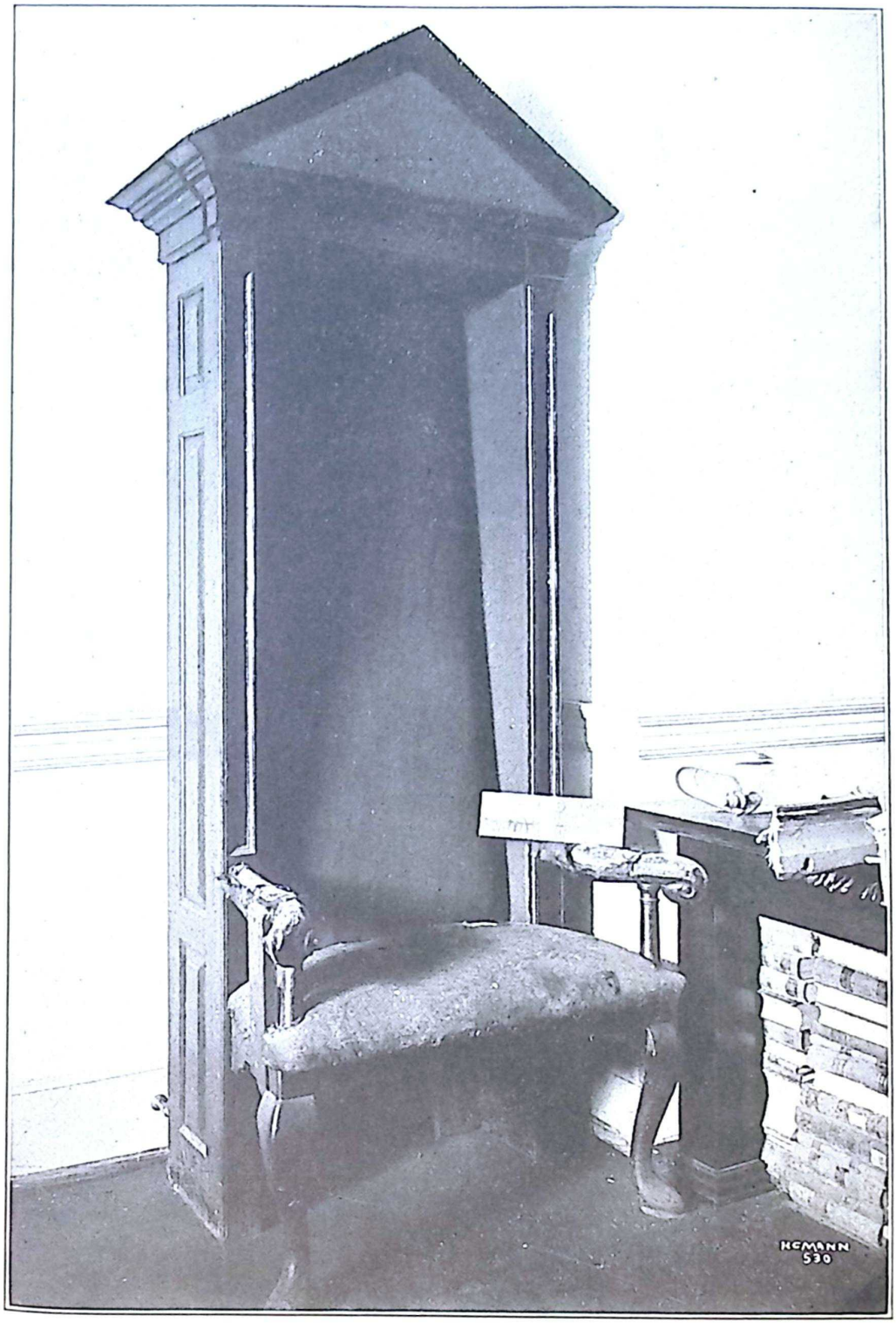

Photo by H. C. Mann.

THE SPEAKER'S CHAIR

of the Virginia House of Burgesses, used until the Revolution, is carefully preserved.

He demanded that Sir John go to England for trial but Sir John steadfastly refused.

But when the Governor found that the whole colony was against him and when he became aware that sentinels were placed "in all ways and passages so that no man could travel or come" without their knowledge, and when he realized that these sentinels though ostensibly to protect him were really to watch him, and when the news came that the people of Lower Virginia were determined to call the Governor to account for his misdeeds, Sir John changed his mind and decided that he would go home on the very first ship. And on that ship he went, but he did not go alone.

The Governor wrote an irate message to the Assembly and ordered them to adjourn.

"Notwithstanding his threats the Assembly proceeded according to their former intention"—precisely as one would expect.

Sir John demanded his royal commission and other documents, which they declined to surrender.[7]

[7] *Va. Hist. Mag.*, April, 1894.

XXIV.

CAPTAIN JOHN WEST

Deputy-Governor: April 28, 1635–January 18, 1637

The Council elected Captain John West, the youngest brother of Lord Delaware, deputy governor, "till the King's pleasure was known." He was the

third of three brothers to hold the office. The Burgesses ratified Captain West's election with enthusiasm. Thomas Harwood was appointed to go to England with Sir John Harvey and lay Virginia's grievances before the King. Captain Francis Pott, in command of the fort at Old Point and a brother of Dr. John Pott, was sent, too.

When that ship sailed out the Capes she carried three interesting if not congenial passengers—the deposed governor, the Assembly's attorney and Captain Pott. A trio, indeed!

Harwood and Pott decided to hasten to London and "make friends and the case good against him before he could come." But when they landed Sir John persuaded the mayor of Plymouth to put the two representatives under arrest and seize all their precious papers.

Sir John hastened to London and complained aloud of the outrageous treatment he had received at the hands of the refactory and rebellious Virginians.

King Charles was very angry. He might have taken a timely lesson from Sir John Harvey had he been gifted with intelligence, but the Stuarts were dull.

"To the King the conduct of the colonists appeared open and audacious rebellion against his authority." He declared that Harvey should go back as governor of Virginia if only for a single day. And if he were innocent, as the King believed, he should go back to stay. The King flatly declined to receive the two commissioners from the Assembly or hear a word they had to say! That was Charles I.

Before the Privy Council (December, 1635) the Virginians were much embarrassed. They feared to mention Maryland lest it arouse the court against them. The Queen was especially interested in that colony.

Nor did they wish to tell of the "Deniall" which Governor Harvey had suppressed. It was so emphatically opposed to the King's wishes. Harvey's proclamations, his illegal taxes and exactions were exactly in line with the Stuart policy in England. To condemn Harvey was to condemn themselves.

The Virginians, therefore, fell back upon the rather weak expedient of Harvey's personal unfitness, his unpopularity, his lack of executive ability, of diplomacy and of his general contentiousness. "He so carried himself in Virginia that if ever he returned back thither he would be pistolled or shott."

Harvey won his case. He would likely have won in any circumstance. Five of the Virginia council, whom he named as especially obnoxious to him were cited to appear and be tried for treason.

Harvey did not particularly wish to return to Virginia "to be pistolled or shott." It was not an idle threat as well he knew. But there was no help for it. Had he not been vindicated? However, he tarried as long as he dared and did not reach Old Point until January 18, 1637—nearly two years since he left the Capes.

RATHER SLOW

In these two years the colony had greatly expanded under the mild but efficient hand of Captain John West. Thirty-six ships came in for cargoes of tobacco, in the fall of 1635, but as the crop was poor half of them returned empty.

Elizabeth City shire, which originally surrounded Hampton Roads, was far too large. Population was thickening, especially along the southern littoral. A new county was formed in 1636, between the Atlantic and the Warrosquyoake (Isle of Wight) line, called New Norfolk. Adam Thoroughgood[1] represented this section in the House of Burgesses.

The new county, still too large, was split into two (1637), Upper Norfolk (Nansemond) and Lower Norfolk (Norfolk and Princess Anne counties).

Warrosquyoake was changed to Isle of Wight.

During the year 1636 Governor West reported that 1,606 new settlers had arrived. He complained bitterly and justly of the unspeakable condition of the ships and the frightful diseases they brought to Virginia.

[1] For a detailed account of Adam Thoroughgood and his home on Lynnhaven Bay, perhaps the oldest residence in America, see EDITH TUNIS SALE, *Interiors of Va. Houses*, pp. 3-13.

XXV.

SIR JOHN HARVEY

Governor and Captain-General: January 18, 1637–November, 1639

Sir John Harvey was ever slow in getting to work. He made his headquarters at Hampton. "He read his commission in the church at Elizabeth City" and the Council met him there. Hampton was for a time the capital of Virginia. He called the General Assembly to convene at Jamestown February 20, 1637, and promoted Adam Thoroughgood to the Council.

Adam's story reads like a tale of fiction. He was the seventh son of William Thoroughgood, of Grimston, County Norfolk, England, and sought his fortune in Virginia while yet a lad of nineteen (1621). He evidently worked out his transportation, as he is described as a "servant" to Edward Waters. "Servant" is used in a technical sense and carries no social opprobrium. Every young man today who is employed in office, factory or farm is a "servant," one who serves for wages.

Adam was alert, and in five years, 1626, he bought 152 acres of land at Kickatan from John Grundy. This realty lay between the fields of William Capps and William Claiborne.

In three short years more (1629) Adam was chosen to the House of Burgesses. Virginia was generous to the "boy" who came to her shores only eight years before in the "Charles."

Others were moving westward, up the James, or northward to the Northern Neck, or southward toward the Carolina line. Adam was a wiser youth. He turned eastward (June 20, 1635) and secured an immense acreage fronting Chesapeake and Lynnhaven bays. His first patent, 5,350 acres, was afterward increased. Adam Thoroughgood took up what others passed by, and acquired fame and fortune.

When the unspeakable Harvey returned in 1637 he invited this prosperous young man of 35 into the Council, the highest honor open to any colonial Virginian before the Revolution. Colonel Thoroughgood was justice of the Court, Lower Norfolk County.

His brother John, who remained "home," was also

a young man of parts. In 1630 he was knighted and is known as Sir John Thoroughgood. It was a rising family. Adam died in the spring of 1640, while still young, aged only 38.

Harvey began well, promoting Adam Thoroughgood, for which we are grateful three centuries after. He issued a pardon to all his enemies except Captains John West, Samuel Mathews and other "leaders." We consider Harvey's hatred a badge of honor. Sir John appointed sheriffs and minor officers, who would likely be his friends. He was a Bourbon by reflection. His Queen was a Bourbon by blood, and his King by marriage. Voltaire said of this family, which cursed France and Europe so long, "They learned nothing and they forgot nothing"—a true picture of Sir John Harvey.

VIRGINIA BOURBONS

His proclamations, fines and extortions grew worse. Any one who opposed the petty tyrant was apt to have his estate confiscated for "treason." The whipping post was busy and we know not how many ears were clipped off.

Samuel Mathews, John Utie of "Utiemaria,"[1] and William Pierce were sent to England for trial.

As soon as they were beyond the Capes the rapacious Governor seized their estates. The man whom Governor Harvey most honored by his hatred was Samuel Mathews. He wrote, "if he stood tother should fall, and if hee swomme, the other should sinke," which sentence is an excellent exhibition of Harvey's English, culture, intelligence and spirit.

[1] No connection with Vice-President Charles G. Dawes, unless it be a prophetic connection. *W. and M. Col. Quar.*, July, 1895.

When it was reported to the Virginia representatives overseas that their estates had been confiscated they appealed to the Privy Council for justice, and Sir John was ordered to restore all he had seized, which he did reluctantly and at the last moment (January, 1639).

We must give Sir John Harvey some credit. He determined to make a city out of Jamestown, not realizing that it was economically impossible. Twelve brick houses were built, a new brick church,[2] a replica of that near Smithfield was begun, but not finished, and warehouses were provided.

The fertile, empty lands north of Maryland, claimed by Virginia, were actually settled by the Swedes and became New Sweden.

Peter Minuet with two ships, colonists and abundant supplies, entered Delaware Bay (April, 1658) and settled at "Minqua Kill" (Wilmington). Peter and his Swedes feared the Dutch at Manhattan, but he does not seem to have given a thought to Harvey and the English. The civil war was rapidly approaching in England, the King was utterly inefficient and so English claims might be lightly considered. Dutch colonists joined the Swedes at Fort Christina, and New Sweden was soon fairly well established and prosperous.

NEW SWEDEN

Sir John Harvey could not keep his itching fingers off the tobacco trade. He laid an export tax of tuppence per hogshead on all tobacco leaving the Chesapeake. It was small but exasperating. He also laid a tax of sixpence upon all recruits arriving.

[2] See Chap. XXIII.

Powder and shot were demanded of all masters whose ships entered the Capes.

These nuisance taxes were reported to the Privy Council. At last the Councillors made up their stolid minds to remove the King's favorite. Charles' troubles were thickening overhead, and he had neither time nor heart for Harvey.

XXVI.

SIR FRANCIS WYATT

Governor and Captain-General: November, 1639–February, 1642

Sir Francis Wyatt of happy memory was appointed to succeed Harvey, but was ordered to retain his council, and especially his unpopular secretary, Richard Kemp. He was to right all wrongs, public and private.

Lest Hampton aspire to become the capital of Virginia, it was ordered that Jamestown should continue to be the seat of government (1639). The King commanded that Henry, Lord Maltravers, be assisted in settling Carolina. When Sir Francis Wyatt arrived in November (1639) he promptly summoned Sir John to answer his accusers. Wyatt was too shrewd to send Harvey home. He knew how easy it is to incriminate one three thousand miles away.

"I am watched so narrowly," Harvey wrote, "that I have scarce time or privilege for these few lines,



Photo by H. C. Mann.

"Others moved westward, up the James, or northward to the Northern Neck, or southward toward the Carolina line. Adam Thoroughgood was a wiser youth. He turned eastward and secured an immense acreage fronting Chesapeake and Lynnhaven Bays. He took up what others passed, and acquired fame and fortune."—Chap. XXV.

which due humbly crave of you to acquaint his Majesty how much I groan under the oppressions of my prevayling enemies who teare from me my estate by an unusuall way of inviting my creditors to clamour."

Sir John was reaping as he had sown. He did not recall his efforts to make beggars of Mathews, Utie and the Wests. He forgot his threat not to leave Mathews "with a cow taile."

"I am denyed my passage for England notwithstanding my many infirmities and weaknesses of body doe crave help beyond the skill this place can give."

The new Governor, holding Harvey, determined to do justice to Rev. Anthony Panton.

This rector came over (1630) to minister to the scattered settlements along York River. He was a great friend of Captain John West, and a bitter enemy to Richard Kemp, Harvey's staunchest partisan. When Panton called Kemp a "jackanapes," Kemp had him arrested for mutiny. The courts were servile and Panton was fined £500 and ordered to apologize in every parish, after which he was banished "with paynes of death" if he returned. (October 8, 1638.)

JACKANAPES

Panton appealed to the King. The whole matter was placed in Wyatt's hands for review and adjudication. Wyatt ordered Harvey's land at Jamestown and on York River sold to reimburse Anthony Panton and other creditors, and Kemp was ordered to answer for his persecution of Panton.

At last Wyatt could find no further excuse to

detain Harvey and Kemp. They sailed for home at once, and began their intrigues against Wyatt, as their foes had previously pulled the wires against them.

The Privy Council, weary and disgusted (who can blame them?) cleared the decks once for all.

Wyatt was ordered home and Sir William Berkeley, who had no interest with either party, was appointed "Governor and Captain-General of Virginia."

His commission was dated August 9, 1641, and he arrived at Old Point the following February.

In the autumn of 1641 Captain Thomas Rolfe, the son of John Rolfe and Pocahontas, petitioned the General Assembly for leave to visit his grand-uncle, Opechancanough, and his aunt, Cleopatre. He was twenty-five years old.[1]

[1] JOHN H. WHEELER, *Hist. of N. C.*, p. 28, quoting WILLIAM STITH.

XXVII.

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY

Governor and Captain-General: February, 1642–June, 1644

A new day dawned for Virginia with the arrival of Sir William Berkeley. The sky cleared, as when a strong wind sweeps from out the north.

The new Governor was a younger son of Sir Maurice Berkeley, of Hamworth, Middlesex, and a brother of Lord John Berkeley, of Stratton. He was born at Bruton, Somerset, July, 1608. He

graduated from Merton College, Oxford (1629), and traveled extensively on the Continent.

He was young for so exacting a position; yet "he brought to the little capitol at Jamestown all the graces, amenities and well-bred ways of the Cavaliers,"[1] and he was a "person not only of superior rank and abilities, but distinguished by every popular virtue, of upright and honorable character, of a mild and prudent temper and manners at once dignified and engaging."[2] For a generation Berkeley stands in the foreground of our narrative.

ROYAL ORDERS

King Charles laid upon him several urgent charges, to-wit: The executive should be deferred to when a councillor is elected: The Established Church must be nurtured: Every Virginian must take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance or be expelled: Every youth when sixteen must join the militia: Strict prohibition of arms or ammunition in the Indian trade: Every settler in Virginia to receive a bonus of fifty acres if he came before 1625: The Assembly must meet annually: If Jamestown is impossible a new Jamestown may be built but its name must be retained: All tobacco must be sent to England and all imports come from England.

When Sir William met the Assembly, April 1, 1642, the most astonishing good will prevailed after the bitter strife and personal encounters of Harvey's term. Credit must be given the charming personality of the popular, young governor.

[1] JOHN ESTEN COOKE, *Hist. of Va.*

[2] JAMES GRAHAME, *Eng. Colonies*, Vol. I.

The Virginians were pleased with King Charles' items above except the last. Restricted commerce touched a sore spot. "Freedom of trade is the blood and life of a commonwealth," were their very words, well said.

Berkeley was directed to require a bond from the master of every ship that left the Capes, obliging him to land his cargo at some port in Great Britain.

FEE SYSTEM

The fee system, which we consider a synonym for "graft system" has been a curse to this commonwealth since the first. We have never understood why an officer, who is paid a salary by the state, should insist upon a second salary when he serves the taxpayers of the state. Perhaps some day a Virginian may arise who will have the courage to denounce and abolish this pernicious system of fees.

George Sandys was urging the re-establishment of the London Company. When James I abolished the Company the Virginians were much displeased; but after eighteen years they changed their minds. "The present happiness is exemplified to us by the freedom of yearly assemblies, warranted upon us by his majesty's gracious instructions." The Virginians wanted no change.

With all England against him, and the King dodging his enemies, this loyal resolution from Virginia was as balm to his soul. He fled to York from an angry Parliament. He answered (July 5, 1642): "Our Trusty and Well-Beloved, our Governor, Council and Burgesses of Virginia" that he proposed to keep them under his "immediate care,"

which meant that the London Company would not be resurrected. As Charles could not take care of his own nation, family, or indeed, his own head, his promised protection for Virginia has a humorous accent.

Governor Berkeley was, in his earlier days, a real benefactor to Virginia. Under his hand the Assembly abolished slavery as punishment for crime, cleared up as best they might the disputed titles to land, provided for the Established Church (meagerly to be sure), decided to be polite to Maryland (as Maryland had evidently come to stay), confirmed peace with the natives (destined to be brief), adjusted tax-rates; in fact, Virginia in 1642 had about as free a hand as she has in 1930.

The Virginians could not understand the Civil War at "home." The Virginians came mostly from the south and southwest of England; they were strong for Church and King; they were cavaliers.

Wherever there are Englishmen there will be Puritans. Virginia was no exception. The early and devoted "Apostle to Virginia," Alexander Whitaker, a loyal son of the church, was yet a Puritan in education and sympathies. He wrote: "Here neither surplice nor subscription is spoken of." The rites of the church in XVII Century Virginia were simple enough to please the most critical Puritan. Captain Samuel Mathews and Captain Richard Bennett were Puritans; but they worshipped according to the simple and beautiful English ritual.

PURITANS

In 1642 Captain Bennett, who had large estates in

Nansemond County, sent urgent letters to Boston asking for three Puritan ministers to settle in Virginia. Three distinguished clergymen came, with letters of recommendation to Governor Berkeley from Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts. Rev. John Knowles, "a ripe scholar educated at Old Cambridge"; Rev. William Thompson, an alumnus of Oxford, and Rev. Thomas James, of New Haven, Conn.

Berkeley would none of them, Winthrop or no Winthrop. They were "compelled to depart the colony with all convenience" (March 1, 1644).

Many colonists in Nansemond who sat for years under Puritan divines at "home" were very decidedly Puritans. Their "hearts were much inflamed with desire" to hear these Puritan divines.

The religious question was also a political question. At the time the three preachers came to Virginia the battle of Edgehill was fought (October 22, 1642), beginning the Civil War. Berkeley was "passionately devoted to the House of Stuart,[3] and he was "very malignant toward the way of the churches" in New England. Virginia was with her royal, loyal governor. He was presented (1642) with an "orchard and two houses belonging to the colony."

CIVIL WAR

In 1642 the name Nansemond was substituted for "Upper Norfolk County." Accomac became Northampton, Warwick River County became Warwick and Charles River became York.

The Indians were getting restless again, especially along the frontiers and more especially toward the

[3] J. T. WERTENBAKER, *Va. Under the Stuarts.*

west and southwest. The long, deep channel of York River protected the colony along the north, but the upper frontiers in their nakedness invited the calamity about to fall—the second massacre.

The Indians heard of the Civil War at home. They judged it a good time to exterminate the white men. As in 1622, Opechancanough was the arch-demon. He planned this attack, as he planned the first massacre. Friday, April 18, 1644, was the day set and it was Good Friday. Stranger still, Governor Berkeley, in his concern for the King, ordered Good Friday, April 18, to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer. There were not wanting those who felt that the massacre was God's judgment because of the expulsion of the Puritans.

The Indians separating in small bands, flying squadrons, attacked their victims before dawn, cutting down the first person to appear at the door of the cabin, breaking in and murdering the entire family, then pillaging and setting the home in flames.

The record of that frightful day has never been written. Authorities do not agree upon the number slain—none estimate less than 300, none more than 500. The savages could not penetrate the more thickly settled districts nearer the Chesapeake.

The colonies rallied and took frightful revenge.[4] The governor led the planters, time and again, into the recesses of the forest. It was difficult to find the savages so they cut down their corn and destroyed their villages.

[4] "No Indian was to come south of York River under pain of death." R. HILDRETH, *Hist. of U. S.*, Chap. II.

In the first massacre (1622) one-fourth of the colony perished. Even though the number killed may have been greater in the second massacre (1644) there were almost 20,000 people in Virginia; and they were coming a thousand each year. The homes of the planters were filled with happy, healthy children, Virginia born. Their farms and fields were spreading in every direction. On the edge of the great forests of oak and pine, each hardy pioneer built his log cabin further northward, westward, or southward than the last. They usually chose a bubbling spring, or a dashing brook or the bend of a magnificent river for their home. Many families still live upon grants made in the XVII and XVIII centuries.

SECOND MASSACRE

The Governor married soon after his arrival. Lady Berkeley was Frances Culpeper, of Warwick County, "whose father lost life, liberty and estate in the king's service." In later years Berkeley moved to a splendid estate of a thousand acres, "Green Spring," near Jamestown. "Here he had plate, servants, carriages, 70 horses, 1,500 apple trees, besides apricots, peaches, pears, quinces and 'mellicottons'."[5]

Sir William planned to return to England for a year. He desired to see how it fared with his royal patron. He appointed his secretary, Richard Kemp, once so unpopular, his deputy, and sailed June, 1644. While he was on the high seas the King met a disastrous defeat at Marston Moor (July 2).

[5] JNO. ESTEN COOKE, *Hist. of Va.*, p. 183.

XXVIII.

SECRETARY RICHARD KEMP

Deputy Governor: June, 1644–June 7, 1645

Unlike his friend and patron, Sir John Harvey, Richard Kemp learned by experience.

He went home (1640) to explain to the Privy Council his treatment of Rev. Anthony Panton, which he did to their satisfaction (as the rector was in Virginia, 3,000 miles overseas). He made a good impression for they sent him back with Berkeley as secretary to the colony. And we hear no further complaint of Richard Kemp; and none when Berkeley left him to govern the colony for a year. (June, 1644-June, 1645.)

It was a busy year. The Indian war was pushed with vigor.

The Assembly (October 1, 1644) placed the first prohibition enactment upon our books. The approval of the county court and a license from the governor must be secured before one opened an inn.[1] No debts for "wines or strong liquors" could be recovered by law.[2]

The Council conferred (October, 1644) with Captains William Claiborne, Henry Fleet and Argall Yeardley, son of the late governor, relative to an expedition against the Rappahannock Indians.

[1] Called an ordinary in Virginia, and contracted often to "ornary." Really both name and contraction were most appropriate.

[2] E. D. NEILL, *Virginia Carolorum.*

An annual thanksgiving was enacted "For God's glory and the public benefit of the Collony to the end that God might avert his heavie judgements that are now upon us, that the last Wednesday of everie month be sett apart for a day of ffast and humiliation, and that it be wholly dedicated to prayers and preaching."

"That the 18th day of April be yearly celebrated by thanksgivinge for our deliverance from the hands of the Savages."

XXIX.

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY

Governor and Captain-General: June 7, 1645–April 30, 1652

Governor Berkeley returned after a year spent in the camp of his unfortunate sovereign Charles I. His loyalty abated not, he was unshaken in his devotion to the Stuarts.

A letter from Margaret Worleigh, whom Opechancanough held prisoner, informed the Governor that the relentless chief desired to make peace. The missive was, of course, inspired by Opechancanough, but the negotiations failed (June 16, 1645).

The Assembly needed money and ordered (November 20, 1645) "each owner of 100 acres of land should pay annually four pounds of tobacco. Each three-year-old cow and breeding sheep, three pounds

of tobacco. Each horse or mare 32 pounds, each goat two pounds, every tithable person 20 pounds."

Not more than thirty pounds of tobacco should be charged for a gallon of Canary, Malaga, Sherry, Muskadine and Allegant wine. Not more than forty pounds of tobacco for Aqua Vitae or Brandy, nor more than eighty pounds for English Strong Waters.

"No merchant of Jamestown shall retayle wine or strong waters and tavern keepers shall not charge above the established price."[1]

The year 1646 brought peace. In early spring (March 17) the savages decided to sell their land and retire west of the Blue Ridge. From this last campaign and the horrors of the Second Massacre we have two old Virginia cities, Petersburg and Fredericksburg.

"The first owner of the present site of Petersburg was Thomas Pitt."[2] As this was the extreme southwestern frontier, Fort Henry was built there.

On the northwestern frontier Capt. Henry Fleet built a fort at the falls of the Rappahannock and garrisoned it with sixty men from Hampton.[3]

In the summer of 1648 Governor Berkeley led his men against the Indians between the James and Appomattox Rivers. "Herebout Sir William Berkeley conquered and took prisoner the great Indian Emporour Abatschakia after the massacre in Virginia." Abatschakia and Apachisco are names for Opechancanough, and with him fell

OPECHANCANOUGH KILLED

[1] E. D. NEILL, *Va. Carolorum*, pp. 189-191.

[2] ARTHUR K. DAVIS, *Three Cent. of an Old Va. Town.*

[3] E. D. NEILL, *Virginia Carolorum*, pp. 187-189.

the forlorn hope of his people. He was nearly a hundred years old, so feeble that he must be carried in a litter and he could not open or close his eyes. The governor intended to send him to England. But a soldier at Jamestown, who had seen and so far as we know had experienced the bloodshed and anguish for which the aged chieftain was responsible, shot him. He lived three days, and was indignant that curious crowds looked at him.

"If I had taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner," he said, "I would not have made him a show to the people." A proud and invincible spirit we must admire.

Nicowance, the new werowance, was anxious to make peace. The Indians agreed not to come below the falls (Richmond) and gave up Tidewater Virginia except the peninsula between the York and Rappahannock (October, 1646).

The Virginians took nothing for granted and Capt. Abraham Wood, the father of Petersburg, one of the most interesting Virginians of the Seventeenth Century, agreed to keep ten men at Fort Henry for three years for 600 acres of land.

Lieutenant Thomas Rolfe, the grandson of Pocahontas, received 400 acres on the Chickahominy to keep sixty men at "Fort James" for three years.

The Indian massacre gave rise to results wholly unforeseen. Rev. Thomas Harrison, rector of Elizabeth River Parish (Norfolk) opposed the Puritans, who were especially numerous along the Elizabeth and Nansemond. The horrors of the massacre, he concluded, were a judgment upon

1,000 Puritans

the colony because of the expulsion of the Puritans. He became their powerful protagonist, refusing steadfastly to conform. In February, 1648, he wrote Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts that there were one thousand Puritans in Virginia. It was evident that the Governor, Assembly and overwhelming majority of Virginians were determined to stamp out dissent.[4] Thomas Harrison and the Puritans left the colony for Maryland, calling the plantation Providence, "within sight of the dome of the present capitol of that state." Providence became the center of Puritanism in Maryland for many trying years while St. Mary's remained the center of Roman Catholic influence in that distracted colony.

The loss of the Puritans was a calamity to Virginia. The Church of England was Calvinistic and evangelical. Conformity meant merely the reading of the Book of Common Prayer, almost every sentence of which is a quotation from Holy Scripture. It is, therefore, difficult for a Puritan of the present to understand the migration of those ancient Puritans. The issue was, of course, political as well as religious. The tragic events at "home" were always reflected in this loyal colony.

The loss was made good by the increasing arrival of King Charles' devoted cavaliers. They settled in all parts of the colony, but especially fore- More Cavaliers gathered to the Northern Neck. In 1648 a new county, Northumberland, was made from

[4] JOHN FISKE, *Old Va.*, Vol. II, p. 14. "He acted with so much energy against the Puritans that not less than 1,000 of them left the colony." Many moved into North Carolina.

the territory previously called Chickacoan. "A road by land through the forest has just been opened from Maryland to Virginia. This will make it but a two days' journey" from St. Mary's to Jamestown.

During the first week of the new year, 1649, seven ships were in the James from New England, seven from London, two from Bristol and twelve from Holland.

"The population[5] of the colony, about 15,000 persons, included 300 negroes."

"There were 200 horses and mares, 50 asses, 20,000 cattle, 5,000 goats, 3,000 sheep, five water mills, four windmills and six breweries."

In September, 1649, a single ship brought 320 royalists. All the homes, from the mansions of the governor at Jamestown and Green Spring to the humblest on the frontier, were open to them. They were persons of rank "among the nobility, clergy and gentry, men of the first rate, who wanted not money or credit and had fled from their native country as from a place infected with the plague." They were filled with "horrors and despairs at the bloody and bitter stroke of the King's assassination at the palace of Whitehall." (January 30, 1649.)

The first act of our General Assembly, October, 1649, was to lament the execution of "the late most excellent and now undoubtedly sainted king." And any one who defended his execution "shall be adjudged an accessory post factum to the death of the king." And any who "by words or speeches endeavor to insinuate and doubt, scruple

CAVALIERS COME

[5] This estimate is too conservative. There were probably 20,000 people in Virginia.

or question of or concerning the undoubted right of his majesty that now is to the colony of Virginia and all other his majesty's dominions," was also a public enemy. His Majesty was a friendless and indolent boy of nineteen, a refugee at the Hague, later Charles II, who gave to Virginia the soubriquet "His Old Dominion." And that's about all Virginia received for a loyalty, so intense that Rev. Thomas Harrison and his thousand Puritans had to move out![6]

The Virginians were not unmindful of the widowed Queen. She obtained leave of the French king to establish a new royalist colony in Virginia—but nothing ever came of it.

The Scots proclaimed Charles II but Cromwell made short shift of him at Dunbar (September 5). Many Scotch prisoners were scattered among the Virginia planters.[7]

Captain Abraham Wood, Edward Bland, Sackford Brewster and Elias Pennant left Fort Henry (Petersburg), August 27, 1650, with Indian guides, and crossed the Nottoway, Meherrin, Staunton and Dan following the path known for so many years as Occaneechee Trace.[8] OCCANEECHEE TRACE

Bland planned to establish a colony along those racing rivers and among the rolling hills, to be "New Brittaine," but he died three years later and nothing was done.

[6] The sentences quoted have the Berkeleyan touch. No doubt he wrote them.

[7] Scotch names are numerous in Princess Anne County, which probably received a large consignment of Scotch prisoners.

[8] Known through the Nineteenth Century by the homely name "Boydton Plank Road."

After Cromwell's victory at Worcester (September 3, 1651) other hundreds of fine young Scotch soldiers were shipped to Virginia.

In March, 1652, Parliament's ships sailed up to Jamestown. There was a long discussion and Virginia surrendered "to prevent the ruin and destruction of the plantation."

Sir William Berkeley, with gallant courage worthy a better cause, wished to resist Sir George Aiskew, the British commander. But that was manifestly useless, and there were many influential Virginians thoroughly in sympathy with the liberal political principles of Parliament.

The General Assembly drew up eleven items very favorable to Virginia as our terms and sent them to the English commander. The three commissioners appointed to rule Virginia—Richard Bennett, William Claiborne and Edmund Curtis—were accepted. They were liberal and ample and will remain an "honorable and lasting record of the spirit and intelligence of Virginia."

Governor Berkeley retired in disgust[9] to Green Spring. The Assembly elected Richard Bennett governor, even the same who three years before had fled Virginia.

[9] "They sent a small power to force my submission; which, finding me defenceless, was quietly (God pardon me) effected."—Berkeley. JOHN ESTEN COOKE, *Hist. of Va.*, p. 199.

XXX.

RICHARD BENNETT

Acting Governor: April 30, 1652–March 30, 1655

The most prosperous and happy years that Virginia experienced during the painful history of the Seventeenth Century were thrust upon her. We did not welcome the commonwealth; the very name of Cromwell was anathema, and yet commonwealth and Cromwell gave to Virginia the best government she had ever known! Three magnificent men, republican stalwarts, conscientious Puritans, presided during these eight years. The first of the three was Richard Bennett, once driven from Virginia as a heretic and obnoxious citizen. Rarely if ever has this commonwealth seen so sensational a revolution in such brief space.

Richard's uncle, Edward Bennett, "an eminent London merchant" and a cousin of Henry Bennett, Lord Arlington, received a grant (October 24, 1621) of valuable land along the southern shores of Hampton Roads, because "hee had been att a verie great charge for transportinge of people to Virginia."

In the First Massacre (March 22, 1622) more than fifty settlers were slain "at Edward Bennett, his plantation." Edward Bennett himself never set foot in the colony.

Richard appeared[1] first in 1629, a very young man

1 The sketches of the governors of Virginia prepared by the late ROBT. A. BROCK and published in *Hardesty's Hist. and Geogr. Encyclop.*, Va. Edition (1884), have been freely and frequently consulted.

and a Burgess from "Wariscoyak." In 1632 he was a justice of the county and was promoted to the Council (1639) by Governor Wyatt. The family were strict Puritans in a community always Puritan, Nansemond County. Richard's brother, Philip, was the messenger who went to Boston asking for Puritan clergymen.

Richard Bennett went to Annapolis but did not remain long, for two years later (1651) he was living on Bennett's creek.[2]

The colony surrendered (March 12, 1652), and six weeks later (April 30, 1652) Bennett was elected governor and Claiborne secretary of state. Thirteen prominent Virginians were appointed councilors, including Captain John West, Captain Samuel Mathews, Argall Yeardley,[3] a son of the late Governor Yeardley and the first native born Virginian to acquire the honor, and Captain Thomas Harwood. The minutes of the meeting ended with these words:

COUNCIL

"God save the commonwealth of England and this country of Virginia."

Both Virginia and Maryland were making history overseas. Lord Baltimore had ingratiated himself with Cromwell as he had previously won the favor of Charles I.

Samuel Mathews asked Parliament (August 28, 1652) to restore Virginia's original boundaries, insisting that the Baltimore grant was an infringement of Virginia's chartered rights.

[2] Nansemond County.

[3] Chap. XX.

Lord Baltimore objected. He used the ingenious argument that it was better to keep the great colony of Virginia divided. If one colony revolted, the other would prove valuable as a base of operations. He buttressed this logic with six cogent reasons which he urged so adroitly that he completely won Cromwell. Had he not done so Maryland might have been a part of Virginia today. Samuel Mathews reluctantly agreed.

The ever widening frontiers invited more Indian troubles. The Assembly commissioned Captain John West and William Hackradine to bring Totopotomoi (pronounced Potomy) to Jamestown, pledging his safe return. The venerable werowance was the feeble successor of Powhatan and Opechancanough. A treaty was made by which the "commissioners of York and Lancaster counties[4] should immediately proportion among the Indians living in these counties the several tracts assigned them such places to hunt in as were most convenient at once for the Indians and the inhabitants." TOTOPOTOMOI

Sir William Berkeley, residing at Green Spring a few miles from Jamestown, was always departing the colony. He would resort to Prince Charles in Holland, and offer him his sword, and his life, too, if need were. But somehow Sir William could not get going—to use the phrase of the streets. He never set his loyal foot on the ship for which he was forever waiting. Governor Bennett and the Puritans were tolerant. This same Berkeley had harried this same Bennett out of Nansemond with a thousand of his friends.

[4] Virginia's great northwest with no definite westward limits.

At their fall meeting (November 25, 1656) the General Assembly granted restless William Claiborne, Captain Henry Fleet and Abraham Wood permission to discover new lands during a period of fourteen years next succeeding.

Governor Bennett's first problem came from the Eastern Shore. Many thrifty Dutch settled there and wild rumors were afloat that they were conspiring with the Indians against the English. There were complaints that the Shore was not properly represented in the Burgesses and suggestions that an independent colony, like Maryland, should be organized across the Chesapeake.

There were riots and disorder (June, 1653). One mighty voice cried out that the county officers were a "company of asses and Villyanes" which strong asseveration was received with applause and satisfaction.

The Governor managed the situation so tactfully that no further trouble ensued.

In the decade from 1650-60 it is estimated that the population of the colony increased fifty per cent, rising from 20,000 to 30,000. There were in Virginia at this time only 400 Negroes—one in eighty.

The cavaliers gravitated to the Northern Neck, a magnificent land between the mighty Potomac and the lesser Rappahannock, with splendid forests, abundant springs and brilliant flowers. Here one might expect great leaders to rise. We suppose the Northern Neck of Virginia has given the world more distinguished men in proportion to its population than any territory, unless it be Athens and Judea.

NORTHERN NECK

"Roger Green, a clergyman of Nansemond, asked permission for himself and others for a tract of land to those who should first settle near Roanoke River."[5]

"A company of Virginians made their way from Nansemond to Albemarle and established a settlement there. The Virginia Burgesses granted them lands and promised further grants to all who would extend these settlements to the southward.

"Emigration from Virginia began. Settlers singly and in companies crossed the border and made scattered and solitary clearings within the wilds of North Carolina. Many of these people were mere adventurers; but some of them were of more substantial stuff and founded permanent settlements on the Chowan and elsewhere."[6]

No poet or historian has yet arisen to narrate the glories of Nansemond. There the non-conformist movement began. There the first Puritan governor was found. North Carolina and Annapolis, Maryland, were settled from Nansemond. There, too, Bacon's Rebellion ended. NANSEMOND

Claiborne never gave up his claim to Kent Island. With Bennett he was now master of the situation, but the situation was full of peril. Baltimore "encouraged his adherents to resist and a cruel war ensued with much blood shed."[7]

As the white men encroached more and more upon their sylvan domains the Rappahannock Indians

[5] E. D. NEILL, *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 233.

[6] HENRY CABOT LODGE. The Senator never had a good word for Virginia if he could avoid it. He does not even call Roger Green's name.

[7] TYLER.

Also E. L. GOODWIN, *Col. Church in Va.*, p. 274.

began to grow restless. So lightly did the Assembly regard the peril that it ordered the militia of only three adjacent counties, Northumberland, Lancaster and Westmoreland,[8] under Major John Carter, father of "King" Carter, to subdue them (November, 1654).

Instead of carrying the usual fire and sword into their villages, Major Carter made an effort, partially successful, to civilize them. A cow was offered every Indian who would turn in eight wolves' heads. The plan was not so much to exterminate the wolves, although that was worthy, as to civilize the Indians. Indian children might be adopted by worthy families, but in no case should they be enslaved. To Major Carter's eternal credit be it said that these humane measures made war unnecessary.

HUMANE

During these happy days "when Virginia, under the authority of the commonwealth enjoyed a government almost entirely republican,"[9] there was one cloud upon the economic horizon, the oppressive Navigation Acts which victimized the Virginia planter in the interest of England.

The thrifty Dutch were willing to buy fine tobacco and did not haggle at the price. Washington Irving leaves no doubt of the typical Dutchman's love of good leaf. Rotterdam and Flushing were ready to trade. But the Virginia sea-gate was closed by law. When the Dutch ships disappeared from the Chesapeake, freight rates doubled! Prices on all English wares also doubled.

[8] All on the Northern Neck.

[9] JNO. D. BURK, *Hist. of Va.*

Simultaneously the price of tobacco declined. The leaf was "not any good" (but London did not return it, you may be sure of that). The market was glutted—Maryland and Carolina were shipping tobacco now.

It is the same familiar argument, which the gentle merchants and benevolent bankers have handed the Virginia farmers through centuries three! The price of tobacco fell until it brought only one-third what was paid by the Dutch.

But might the Virginia farmer sell this tobacco to Amsterdam if London was glutted? No, indeed, that was against the Navigation Acts! And might the planter buy his goods in Rotterdam if he could get what he wanted at one-half the price in London? No, indeed, that was against the Navigation Laws! And might not a Dutch bottom carry the planters' crop to London (if to London it must go) if he would do it for half an Englishman charged? No, indeed, it was against the Navigation Laws!

NAVIGATION LAWS

The planters felt that the British shaved them up one side, and down the other.

At last they decided that Richard Bennett had better join Samuel Mathews in England. Surely the obnoxious Navigation Laws would be repealed if Oliver Cromwell, Parliament and the nation could be made to understand how onerous and unjust was the burden placed upon them by "special privilege" in the Seventeenth Century.

Ah, vain and futile hope! The English merchants and ship masters had millions invested.

They must be allowed a reasonable rate of interest on their money. And their own attorneys decided what constituted a reasonable profit.

XXXI.

EDWARD DIGGES

President of the Council: March 30, 1655–March 13, 1658

The second Puritan governor, Edward Digges, was the son of Sir Dudley Digges, Knight, Baronet of Chilham, Kent, England, where he was born (1620) thirty years before he sought these hospitable shores (1650).

This young man of thirty-five was called by the General Assembly to the governor's chair, March 30, 1655, when Governor Bennett was sent to England. He filled the difficult position for three prosperous years (March 13, 1658), when he, too, was sent abroad.

The first problem presented him was the appearance at the falls of the James of a strange, fierce tribe of Indians who had come over the Western mountains, 600 strong. Many feared they were the advance guard of large populations on the move from the north and west. Others were certain that they had chosen the most strategic position in the colony (Richmond) and intended to make it an Indian military base. Both were mistaken.

The Assembly acted promptly. The recent success of Major Carter with the Rappahannocks was precedent.



Photo by H. C. Mann.

GOVERNOR EDMUND RANDOLPH

The original portrait, which was not considered a good likeness, was lost. The portrait in the State Library, of which this is a photograph, was made by F. J. Fisher.

* * * *

Edmund Randolph was one of the most brilliant statesmen who occupied the Governor's chair. He aided in writing the Constitution of the United States and urged its adoption, although he declined to sign the famous document. He was succeeded by his cousin, Beverley Randolph.—Chaps. LXXVII and LXXVIII.

This distinguished family was founded by William Randolph of "Turkey Island," who came to Virginia before Bacon's Rebellion.

"This present Grand Assembly do presently send forth a party of 100 men at least, under the command of Captain Edward Hill, and that they shall first endeavor to remove the said new come Indians, without making of war."

Captain Hill was one of the colony's picturesque characters. The Master of Shirley and long a Burgess, he had in his younger days been active in the war against Lord Baltimore. His tempestuous career continued true to form. But his conduct was now a disaster and a disgrace.

An old historian states that Colonel Hill did "perfidiously and barbarously murther five of their kings that came in expectation of a better reception and brought much beaver with them to begin the intercourse of commerce."

There was a fierce and bloody battle,[1] and Colonel Hill met a tragic defeat. Totopotomoi, the successor of Powhatan, fell fighting with the English. One hundred braves, Chickahominies and Pamunkeys, once our foes, also fell obstinately holding their ground until the last.

When the Assembly met (December 1, 1656) they cashiered Colonel Hill, declared him henceforth incapable of holding any office, civil or military, in Virginia; but they did not state their reasons.

Colonel Abraham Wood of Fort Henry (Petersburg) was appointed to continue the war; but the Rickahecrians, like the Arabs, folded their tents and as silently stole away.

Restless Edmund Scarborough, "a violent Vir-

[1] In what is now Hanover County.

ginian," brought here a number of negroes purchased from the Dutch at New Amsterdam (New York) which was the beginning of a steady movement of African slaves southward. This continued until the Civil War, since which there has been a steady migration of freedmen northward.

EDMUND SCARBOROUGH

Nansemond had a representative in the Council, Colonel Thomas Dew, a large land owner on Nansemond River. In December, 1656, a resolution was passed "permitting that gentleman to make discoveries of the navigable rivers between Capes Hatteras and Fear, with such other gentlemen" as would accompany him at their own expense.

Seventy-one years since the Roanoke colony disappeared into those same mysterious regions of the south.

Edward Digges retained his personal popularity. The Assembly writing Oliver Cromwell (December 15, 1656) said:

"He hath managed under your Highness with so much moderation, prudence and justice that the colony prospers."

Governor Digges was sent "home" to assist the other commissioners. "Join yourself to our friends, Colonel Mathews and Mr. Bennett and of the success of your transactions you are desired to give the country an account by the first ships."

Like some of the earlier colonists, Governor Digges was a silk-worm enthusiast. He had propagated many at "Bellefield," his plantation on the York; and he imported three Armenian silk experts, the

first of that nationality to come to Virginia, so far as we know. Unfortunately no commercial success attended this effort.[2] SILK

The year 1657 brought civil and religious war to Maryland. The Catholics made their headquarters at St. Mary's, the Puritans made theirs at St. Leonard's, not far away. There was a bloody battle near Annapolis in which the Puritans were completely victorious. Lord Baltimore sent Josias Fendall to Maryland to represent him. So complex were the interests involved—religious, political, social, sectional and economic—that Cromwell himself could not grasp the true situation.

Matters had grown intolerable in Maryland. Each faction had friends and abettors in Virginia, which was the refuge first of one party then the other. Virginia had always claimed that Maryland was an infringement of her chartered rights. It was finally decided to effect a compromise that should settle once and for all the internal strife in Maryland, and the perplexed misunderstanding between that colony and this.

For five years Colonel Samuel Mathews had been in England, watching the interests of Virginia (1652-57), then the General Assembly sent Governor Bennett, then Edward Digges to assist the other two.

It was an unprecedented situation. A past-governor, Bennett, the present governor, Digges, and the governor-elect, Mathews—all in England. The local affairs of Virginia seemed to have been managed by the Council.[3]

[2] Chap. XIV.

[3] The only instance, so far as we recall, when the legal governor of Virginia was not within the bounds of colony or state.

"At last, Lord Baltimore by 'the friendly endeavors of Edward Digges' negotiated with Mathews and Bennett, all being in England, an agreement for the recovery of his province. The proprietary covenanted so far to waive his right of jurisdiction as to leave the settlement of past offences and differences to the disposal of the proprietor and his council; to grant the land claims of 'the people in opposition' without requiring of them an oath of fidelity, but only some engagement for his support, and, lastly, he promised for himself never to consent to a repeal of the law whereby all persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ have freedom of conscience there."

LORD BALTIMORE

At the Christmas season, 1657, Josiah Cole and Thomas Thruston, the first Quakers, created an uproar at Jamestown; for the persecution of the humble Friends had become a passion in England. Religion to Fox George and the Friends was strictly subjective. All forms or ceremonies should be abolished. He carried Puritanism to a logical (or illogical) extreme.

The story of his persecution is a sad one. The more they were fined, imprisoned, whipped, jeered and stoned the more rapidly the new sect grew.

The colonists followed the lead of the mother land. Massachusetts was exceedingly bitter against the "accursed sect," as they were called.

The two Quakers were driven from Virginia and took refuge on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. From Maryland they passed on to the savage Susquehannah Indians. Among the pagans they found a refuge denied them in Christendom.

XXXII.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL MATHEWS

President of the Council: March 13, 1658–January, 1660

It is unfortunate that the memory of Captain Samuel Mathews has grown dim. The struggle of the early Virginians for justice was the struggle of Samuel Mathews.

He came to Virginia at the time of the First Massacre (1622) when less than a thousand people lived on the Chesapeake. The young man of twenty-three was promptly invited into the Council. He led a force (1623) up the river against the Tanx-Powhatans.[1] James I appointed him a commissioner to investigate the state of the colony (1624).

In 1632 he rebuilt the fort at Old Point. His influence during the troubled years of Sir John Harvey's administration has been fully narrated.

When the Puritans left Nansemond and other sections of Virginia, Captain Mathews, though a Puritan, remained. When the Puritans triumphed both in England and Virginia, Captain Mathews was sent to Cromwell's court. It was especially hoped that he could secure the annexation of Maryland and get some relief from the navigation acts.

For five years he did his best, but Lord Baltimore was more than a match for Mathews, Bennett and Digges combined.

[1] With Capt. John West. Chap. XIX.

The General Assembly elected Mathews governor while he was abroad. He returned to his duties, March 13, 1658.

At the first meeting of the Assembly in the spring of 1658 Governor Mathews, by the advice of his council, dissolved the Burgesses. But they declined to be dissolved:

"The said dissolution as the case standeth is not presidentell neither legall according to the lawes, now in force."

The governor replied that the Burgesses might continue their meeting, provided it was soon adjourned.

This answer made the Burgesses very angry. They considered the matter at length and, to make clear their position, they passed a resolution vacating the office of Governor and all the Council. It was logical. If they had the power to elect, they had the power to reconsider their former election.

DEMOCRATIC

The Burgesses then re-elected Captain Mathews governor, "with all just rights and privileges belonging to the Governor and Captain-Generall of Virginia." They re-elected all the Council, except two, Nathaniel Bacon, Sr.,[2] and Francis Willis.

It is significant that the Governor and Council accepted the verdict of the Burgesses. Virginia was in 1658 a republic. The principle and precedent were established, but the Restoration was so near that the good effect was lost—for a time.

From the earliest days the natives on the Eastern Shore had been friendly and tractable. But as

[2] Chap. XLIII.

they were pushed ever further northward, and as their lands in Maryland were also being rapidly settled by white men, the Assateagues, who lived about where the state line crosses the Delmarva[3] peninsula, committed many petty depredations.

Colonel Edmund Scarborough, "King" of the Eastern Shore, wrote Governor Josias Fendall that Governor Mathews had ordered him to march against the Indians. He planned to leave Occahannock in ten days with 300 men and sixty horses. He asked Maryland to co-operate in his plan to starve the Assateagues into submission, and to hold the Nanticokes in check.

ASSATEAGUES

It took Governor Fendall so long to decide that the war was over before his reply was received. The Assembly (March 13, 1660) voted 7,500 pounds of tobacco to defray the expenses of the "late war in Accomak."

The popularity of Governor Mathews did not wane, for in March, 1659, the Burgesses resolved that the "Honourable Colonel Samuel Mathews be Governor and Captain-General for two years," after which a new executive was to be elected from the Council. All councilors were to hold office for life, unless recalled.

Oliver Cromwell's days were almost done. During his reign the liberties of this colony were preserved and enlarged and Virginia enjoyed an era of prosperity such as it had never known previously, and the like of which, unfortunately, it was not to experience again for two long generations.

[3] Geographers and lexicographers do not know this word, but it must come into use to designate the fair peninsula between the Atlantic and Chesapeake.

Mighty Oliver died at Whitehall Palace, September 3, 1658. He had "dignified his usurped dominion by the most liberal justice and fearless magnanimity."[4]

Richard Cromwell resigned his exalted position as Protector, April 22, 1659, and in six weeks the sensational news reached Virginia.

There came also many rumors of a restoration. More and more the nation was looking to Prince Charles, as the future and lawful King. The Virginians were much excited. Sir William Berkeley and the large and influential royalist element in the colony were jubilant.

The able and patriotic governor, Captain Samuel Mathews, died as the new year (1660) began.

[4] JAMES GRAHAME, *Eng. Col. in Amer.*

XXXIII.

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY

Governor and Captain-General: March 13, 1660–April 30, 1661

The Assembly declared that the "Supreme power" of government lay with them as representatives of the people.

A new executive must be elected, as the wisest could little guess what news the next ship would bring. Sir William Berkeley had been an able and popular governor for a period of ten years. The Assembly resolved:



Photo by H. P. Cook.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM BERKELEY

From a portrait in the State Library, copied by Mrs. Jeffrey Montague, from an original, a Sir Peter Lely, owned by Mrs. Marguerite du Pont Lee, of Washington, D. C.; presented to the Library by Fairfax Harrison. Thomas Fortune Ryan allowed Mrs. Montague to bring the portrait from his estate in Nelson County to be copied for the Library.—Chaps. XXVII to XXXVI.

"That the Honourable Sir William Berkeley be Governour and Captain Gen'll of Virginia, and that he govern according to the ancient laws of England and the established laws of this County and that all writs issue in the name of the Grand Assembly of Virginia."

William Claiborne continued as secretary of state and Theodoric Bland was elected Speaker of the Burgesses.

Theodoric, the first of the Blands,[2] was now a man of thirty (born in London, January 16, 1630). He came to Virginia in 1654 and married Anne, daughter of Governor Richard Bennett. Claiborne and Bland were pronounced Puritans.

An unusual tribute was paid Captain John West, the aged councilor. Recounting the many debts the colony owed the family of Lord Delaware, Mr. John West, "the now only survivor," was exempted from payment of all taxes during the remainder of his life. When Virginians, then or now, remit taxes the world should take notice!

A resolution of sympathy for Virginia was received from Peter Stuyvesant. The Dutch wished to renew their former trade with this colony, and would like to enlist as many young Virginians as would enter the service at New Amsterdam. The commissioners, Nicholas Varlett and Brian Newton were well pleased with their hospitable reception. DUTCH

General Monk reached London in February. By the first of May Virginia heard that Charles was to

[2] Master of Westover and founder of one of the great colonial families of Virginia. TYLER's *Cyclop. Va. Biog.*, Vol. I, p. 129.

ascend the throne of his fathers. And indeed, on May 29, 1660, Prince Charlie became Charles II.

One of our earliest historians states that the people of the colony repaired to the retreat of Sir William Berkeley, his plantation at Green Spring, a few miles from Jamestown, and with loud acclamation proclaimed him governor.[1]

This ovation followed his election by the General Assembly. It was a "notification" new in America then, but very familiar now.[2]

Berkeley delivered an eloquent address to the Assembly:

SPEECH

"When I came first into this countrie I had the Commison and Commands of my most gracious master, King Charles, of ever blessed memory. When God's wrath lay heavie upon us for the sins of our nation, my ever honoured master was put to a violent death, and immediately after His Royall Sons sent me a Commicon to governe here under him. But the Parliament, after the defeat at Worcester sent a small power to force my submission to them, which finding me defenceless was quietly (God pardon me) effected. But this parliament continued not long after this, but another supreme power ousted them, who remained not long neither, nor his sonne after him. And now my intelligence is not enough to tell me what incorporate, mixt or individual power there is.

"Under all these mutable governments of divers natures and constitutions, I have lived most resign-

[1] ROBERT BEVERLEY, *Hist. of Va.*, Book I, Chap. 4.

[2] A surmise, and no authority for the statement.

edly submissive. But, Mr. Speaker, it is one duty to live obedient to a government, and another of a very different nature to Command under it.

"You have, Mr. Speaker, with great wisdome and providence taken care of my obedient prostrating to the Supreame power the authoritie you would entrust me with, for which I give you my humble thanks; for this wisdome of yours hath animated my caution of assumeing this burden, which is so volatile, slipping and heavy, that I may justly feare it will break my Limbs."

He declined the office.

The Assembly insisted. If a new Protector arose at home, he could resign. The responsibility would rest upon the Assembly. If Prince Charles is crowned, as King, he will send his long faithful servant a new commission.

To this Berkeley agreed and it was recorded that he should serve Virginia only until some authority was established at London.

He wrote Governor Peter Stuyvesant these interesting sentences:

"I am but a servant of the Assembly's; neither do they arrogate any power to themselves further than the miserable distractions of England force them to."

Charles II promptly sent loyal Sir William his commission (dated July 31, 1660).

The era of the Commonwealth came to an end with great joy in Virginia. Little cause had Virginia to rejoice. With the restoration of the Stuarts, Virginia's miseries began and became ever more

acute until the colony was reduced to hopeless ruin and even more hopeless rebellion.

The great desire of the typical planter in Virginia at the time of the Restoration (and his confident expectation) was relief from the oppressive Navi-

RESTORATION

gation Acts, which had first been enacted by the Long Parliament in 1651. The unquestioned loyalty of the Virginians to the House of Stuart deserved recognition. Virginia was the first unit of the far-flung British empire to declare for Prince Charlie as she had been the last to desert him in his hour of peril. He acknowledged the debt by calling her his "Old Dominion."[3]

Much, too, was expected from Governor Berkeley's influence. He was *persona grata* at the cavalier court and his brother, Sir John Berkeley, was even more influential with the new monarch.

Alas, futile hope! Charles II's finger of oppression proved thicker than mighty Oliver's thigh.

The first meeting of the General Assembly (October 11, 1660) was held in two taverns. The Council sat at the inn of Thomas Woodhouse and the Burgesses used the ordinary of Thomas Hunt. They decided to build a state house.

Berkeley had explicit orders from across the ocean, which he passed down in plain English. Religious liberty was now at an end. Strict conformity to the Established Church, with heavy penalties, was the order. All past offences were forgotten and forgiven.

[3] Of this moot question we believe JOHN ESTEN COOKE, *Hist. of Va.*, p. 218, has the correct account.

BENSON J. LOSSING, *Encyclop. U. S. Hist.*, Vol. 7.

The London Company was once again trying to get itself revived. The Assembly decided to send Governor Berkeley overseas to watch the colony's interests at court—as Mathews, Bennett and Digges had done.

He reached London in the summer of 1661. City and nation were still in a delirium of joy. Puritanism was gone. All the blue noses had blossomed into red, and purple! As a young blade Berkeley wrote a play, "The Lost Lady." He had the satisfaction of seeing the play upon the boards. Sir William is, so far as we recall, our only Governor who was a playwriter.

"Berkeley's visit with his brother, a favorite of the King and high in power, tended to develop the worst and restrain his better traits, so that Berkeley before and Berkeley after the Restoration did not appear the same person."[4]

[4] EDWARD DUFFIELD NEILL, *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 284. Dr. Neill was a keen, accurate, harsh, sometimes unjust and always unsympathetic historian of Virginia. It is to applaud his tireless and valuable research, to admit his discriminating scholarship but to deplore his spirit.

XXXIV.

COLONEL FRANCIS MORYSON

Lieutenant-Governor: April 30, 1661–December 23, 1662

The Assembly of 1661 elected Francis Moryson deputy-governor. His father, Sir Richard Moryson, served King James and Francis won his title in

King Charles' service. When the royal cause became hopeless he left (September 23, 1649) for Virginia; but it is a miracle that he arrived, for he was shipwrecked in Assateague Bay. After commanding at Old Point, the Burgesses elected him Speaker (1655). He gave the church at Jamestown "a splendid service of church plate, which is preserved by the church in Williamsburg."[1]

The Established Church was very popular again. Two shillings were levied on every hogshead of tobacco exported for its support. Heavy fines were imposed on Quakers and all non-conformists. George Wilson, a Quaker, who boldly ventured to Jamestown was clapped into prison. He wrote a letter from "that dirty dungeon in Jamestown."

The generous Burgesses voted themselves 250 pounds of tobacco for each day they were in session. And so well pleased were they with their services to Virginia (not to mention the salaries) that they decided not to hold any new elections. Instead of adjourning, the Governor prorogued the meeting from time to time. There was not an election for fourteen years. That was longer than the Long Parliament! The Stuarts were in the saddle again!

King Charles was fleecing the patient English, why should not Berkeley fleece the less patient Virginians. He handed the office of treasurer to Major Henry Norwood, a relative.

William Claiborne was invited out and Thomas Ludwell became Secretary of State.

[1] LYON G. TYLER.

Edmund Scarborough, the picturesque "Baron of the Occahannock," became his Majesty's surveyor-general.

When the white men ceased to fear the Indians they were less cruel to them. Captain Giles Brent, a wealthy planter, was heavily fined for binding Wahanganoche, the werowance of the Potowmack. Colonel Moore Fauntleroy was censured for mistreating the Rappahannocks.

To break the economic shackles impoverishing the colony, the Assembly encouraged flax culture and shipbuilding. Just more resolutions.

The Assembly made a Christmas present, December 23, 1662, to the poor husbands of the colony in these words:

"Whereas oftentimes many babling women often slander and scandalize their neighbors for which their poore husbands are often brought into chargeable and vexatious suites and cost in great damages" the ladies are hereafter to be ducked for every judgment of 500 pounds of tobacco awarded against them.

POORE HUSBANDS

Berkeley did not accomplish much by his prolonged visit; in fact, he accomplished nothing. The King ordered him to return, and he reached Virginia December 23, 1662.

His salary was £1000 to be raised by another tax of two shillings on every hogshead of tobacco. More taxes for the planters!

As the salary of the present governor is $5,000 and as money was then worth about ten times what it is now; and as there were then only 30,000 in the

colony we cannot find words strong enough to condemn the payment of such a salary to such a man at such a time!

The Navigation Acts were bad enough, the multiple and multiplied taxes were still worse, but more trouble was in the offing.

Charles II wrote the Virginians (December 5, 1662), that on September 18, 1649 (while he was yet a fugitive and his prospects were not worth a sixpence) he had given his favorites all the land "bound by the rivers Tappahannocke or Rappahannocke, and Quirlough or Patawomacke and Thaspayoke"—in other words the Northern Neck.

HUGE GRANTS

He now revoked the iniquitous grant, but issued a new patent "to other favorites for a term of years." It was the beginning of a multitude of evils.

Instead of good courts, good laws, good roads, good schools and many other good things, King Charles gave his "Old Dominion" some good advice! He suggested that they build towns and become industrious, like the New England Puritans. He thought they should tolerate all religions.

Did he promise relief from the Navigation Acts making beggars of the planters? No. Did he suggest a reduction in the taxes and fees grinding the faces of the poor? No. Did he assure the Virginians that the farms they had wrested from the wilderness should not be imperilled by his gifts to licentious and profligate favorites? Oh, no, but King Charles gave them good advice.

Edmund Scarborough, a "violent and prejudiced

partisan,[2] a passionate royalist, an intense Virginian seated securely on Occahannock Creek reminds one of a mediaeval German baron of the English palatinate. The Occahannock Colonel was an uncompromising cavalier. Whatever Colonel Edmund was, he was uncompromising. In that respect he resembled Colonel William Claiborne whom he succeeded as surveyor-general.

The Colonel decided to divide the Eastern Shore into two counties, he also decided to restore the ancient name "Accomac," he further decided to put himself in Accomac, and make it twice the size of Northampton, and Occahannock Creek should be the boundary.

Northampton was more thickly settled, it was largely Puritan, and it had another colonel on Cherrystone Creek. Colonel Obedience Robins was the only man in Virginia able to thwart Edmund Scarborough. EASTERN SHORE

The Lord took Obedience Robins to Himself in 1662, and Edmund Scarborough did the rest!

The good folk of Northampton were much displeased, and complained bitterly that Colonel Scarborough "did outwit" their commissioner. No doubt; Colonel Edmund Scarborough would be apt to outwit any one in any bargain.

Having "fixed" the boundary of Accomac, Edmund turned to the more delicate and dangerous task of drawing the northern boundary from bay to ocean, which would, of course, also be the inter-colonial line.

[2] E. D. NEILL.

On September 10, 1663, the General Assembly directed Colonel Scarborough to take five surveyors and two burgesses and locate the line from bay to ocean. Civilization began on the Eastern Shore along the bay side, and not along the ocean side.

He notified Maryland that he expected to survey the line, but started before they could possibly reply —and with forty mounted men!

He reached Annamesseck Sunday night, October 11, 1663. The people thereabout, mostly Quakers and other Dissenters, thought they were in Maryland (I think so, too), but Colonel Scarborough decided they were in Virginia, so he placed the "broad arrow" of confiscation upon every farm and cabin, the owners of which did not acknowledge Virginia.

Judge if Governor Calvert were angry. He came in person to protest Scarborough's high-handed procedure. Governor Berkeley promptly and politely disavowed Scarborough's campaign. The line was finally agreed upon, but it was drawn in favor of Scarborough, Accomac and Virginia, as a glance at the map shows.[3]

Charles Calvert was Governor of Maryland at this time, having succeeded Philip Calvert, his illegitimate half-brother. The Calvert-Scarborough line was accepted in 1688, but the courts did not close the controversy until 1894, after more than two centuries of litigation.

[3] The boundary from bay to ocean across Delmarva was supposed to run due east, but Col. Scarborough gave it a decided northward slant

XXXV.

SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY

Governor and Captain-General: December 23, 1662–May 5, 1677

No state, and but few countries have been so frequently trimmed on all sides, as Virginia.[1] Bermuda was once part of Virginia. Maryland and Delaware were plainly within our chartered limits.

Virginia, under the enthusiastic leadership of Thomas Jefferson, and in a frenzy of generosity, presented the United States with an empire now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. Still later the county of Kentucky became an independent commonwealth, and most recently President Lincoln punished Virginia by erecting the State of West Virginia.

To the south our boundaries once touched Cape Fear. What is now North Carolina had fully a thousand inhabitants in 1663 (probably many more).

Charles II paid some of his political and financial obligations by presenting (March 24, 1663) Southern Virginia to his friends. Had not his father presented Northern Virginia to Lord Baltimore? The patentees were Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, Prince Charles' most faithful friend, and grandfather of Queens Mary and Anne; George, Duke of Albemarle, General Monk, who brought Prince Charles

[1] GEO. H. GASTON, "*Boundaries of Va.*", *Tyler's Quarterly*, April, 1929.

to London for his restoration; William, Earl of Craven; John, Lord Berkeley, the brother of our Governor; Anthony Ashley-Cooper, later Earl of Shaftesbury, one of King Charles' infamous cabal, a friend of John Locke; Sir George Cartaret, also later a proprietor of New Jersey; Sir John Colleton and Sir William Berkeley, our Governor.

The grant was to "all the country between the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans, between 31 degrees and 36 degrees north latitude." The southern line is now Florida's northern boundary, and the northern line was 31 miles south of the present Virginia-Carolina boundary, as Charles II intended. Governor Berkeley grasped the opportunity to add thirty minutes to the thirty-six degrees north latitude, and by so doing an immensely valuable strip of land south of the Byrd line was lost to Virginia forever; and lost by the avarice of Virginia's governor, whom the colonists trusted, and who was at that time drawing the princely salary previously described.

CAROLINA GRANT

"Colonel Byrd of Virginia, who was born not long after the charter of 1665 was made, and who lived during the administration of Berkeley, states, and no doubt truly, that Sir William Berkeley, who was one of the grantees and at that time governor of Virginia, finding a territory of 31 miles in breadth between the inhabited part of Virginia and the above mentioned boundary of Carolina, advised Lord Clarendon of it. And his lordship had interest enough with the king to obtain a second patent to include it dated June 30,

BYRD'S TESTIMONY

1665."[2] Had it not been for Berkeley's avarice, Edenton, Durham, Greensboro, Winston-Salem and a great section of East Tennessee would be a part of Virginia.

Governor Berkeley visited Carolina, as the new colony was called; the Latin and feminine for Charles. He appointed William Drummond governor. Berkeley and Drummond were fast friends, destined to become mortal enemies.

Drummond returned to Jamestown, became a burgess, and was Bacon's staunchest supporter. He was executed by Berkeley (January 20, 1677). A daughter married Governor Samuel Swann of North Carolina.[3]

The glorious days of peace and happiness confidently anticipated by the Virginians failed to arrive. As the planter plowed his corn or cured his tobacco he had reason to regard himself a fool for denouncing Oliver Cromwell and shouting for Prince Charles.

If King and Governor had conspired deliberately to ruin Virginia, they could not have succeeded better.

Many prisoners taken in the Civil War were sent here as servants. Their resentment increased as the years passed, and surely they had reason. An insurrection was planned for September 13, 1663, and there is no telling how frightful the blow might have been, had not one

BIRKENHEAD

[2] F. L. HAWKS, *Hist. of N. Car.*, Vol. II, pp. 441-462.
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT and GAY, Vol. II, Chap. 12.

[3] We do not believe Lake Drummond was named for William Drummond. See SQUIRES' *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 155-157.

Birkenhead, a veteran of Cromwell's army, revealed the plot.

Berkeley set the militia at the rendezvous and arrested the conspirators as they arrived. Four were executed. It was a warning, which, unfortunately, Berkeley did not heed.

From Birkenhead's rebellion (1663) until Bacon's rebellion (1676) Virginia sank ever lower in the economic scale. Thirteen dismal years of mis-government, oppression and ruin, culminated in Bacon's futile attempt, and its aftermath of misery and revenge. The laws were hard on "servants," and harder still on slaves, of which there were then not many. The Dissenters were especially marked for legal persecution. John Porter, Burgess for Lower Norfolk County, was dismissed from the House for being "loving to Quakers" and attending their meetings. Two Quakers wrote George Fox, "We have been in Virginia, where we have had good service for the Lord" (1663). Roger Green, a Presbyterian clergyman, who led the first colonists into the Albemarle district and who was now at Jamestown, gives us in his book, "Virginia's Cure," a realistic picture of the colony:

BAD TO WORSE

Of the Burgesses and other prominent men, he wrote, "They were usually such as went over servants[4] thither, and though by time and industry they may have obtained competent estates." Yet they had neither culture nor refinement. Roger Green intended to disparage Virginia but Adam

[4] On "servants," see Chap. XXV.

Thoroughgood, Abraham Wood and many other deserving young men found her a generous mother.

Major Thomas Walker[5] of Gloucester reported that he had 70,000 mulberry trees, and claimed a bonus for silk culture.

When the Dutch surrendered New Amsterdam (July, 1665) Berkeley fully expected the Dutch to retaliate by striking Virginia. It was rumored that Admiral de Ruyter was off the Capes. The governor had the militia ready. He wrote home that 2,000 foot soldiers and 1,500 cavalry were armed should the Dutch invade the colony.

John Fawsett, the king's attorney for Accomac, added no little to the joy of life by arresting (November 16, 1665) Cornelius Wilkinson, Philip Howard and William Darby for acting a play, August 27, entitled "Ye Bare and Ye Cubb." They were required to give sample to the court in costume, which they did so well (as we judge) that His Honor declined to punish them!

Fire and plague devastated London in the mad Restoration days and disaster visited Virginia (1667).

"In April we had a most prodigeous storme of haile many of them as big as Turkey Eggs, which destroyed most of our young Mast and Cattel."

Before the farmers recovered the Dutch fleet, long expected, stood within the Capes (June 4).

DUTCH

Twenty tobacco ships were waiting off Newport News for a convoy. The "Elizabeth," an old man-of-war carrying forty-six guns, lay

[5] His grandson, another Thomas Walker, brought the Albemarle pippin into Virginia. His grandson was Thomas Walker Gilmer, the one hundredth governor of Virginia.

off Mulberry Island. Admiral Abraham Crimson ran up the British colors, saluted the tobacco fleet in good English, lay broadside the "Elizabeth" and gave her three volleys. She surrendered. Her captain was not aboard—he was attending a wedding! The fleet surrendered. Crimson took what he could, and what he could not he destroyed, and sailed leisurely away.

After the Dutch the weather began again. "It fell to raining and continued for 40 days together." The storms culminated August 27 with the "most Dreadful Hurry Cane that ever the Colony groaned under. The night of it was the most Dismall tyme that ever I knew or heard of." Ten thousand houses were blown down, the grain lay flat, tobacco was torn to shreds, practically everything was destroyed. To cap the climax of misery an extra tax of fifty pounds of tobacco was laid upon every head in the colony. The leaf was selling at "half-a-penny a pound"—one cent.

The year before (1666) Berkeley[6] reported that the king's customs on the Maryland-Virginia tobacco trade netted the royal libertine a good 100,000 pounds sterling. We submit that in purchasing power the king was taking five million dollars annually out of the pockets of ten thousand poor farmers on Chesapeake Bay (reckoning four or five to a family).

STILL LOYAL

And in return the gifts he made to his royal favorites put a potential flaw in every title to every

[6] Gov. Berkeley finds a sympathetic historian in JAMES W. CAMPBELL, *Hist. of Va.*, pp. 253-258.

farm and patent, lease-hold and homestead in Virginia! But Virginians are easygoing and loyal to a degree. They stood for it, and still shouted for merry King Charlie!

Indeed the following summer (July 22, 1668) the planters forwarded the king a present, 300 pounds of native silk, which he graciously acknowledged (November 25). If it was an advertisement of the new Virginia product we suppose the gift was justified.

The year 1669 passed quietly. John Lederer, a German, left the falls, May 20, and explored the James well into the Valley. He crossed to the headwaters of the Roanoke and returned by the Occaneechee Trace to Fort Henry (Petersburg) July 18, bringing much exact information of the western highlands.

Two years later (1671) General Abraham Wood sent a party under Capt. Thomas Batte from Fort Henry. They crossed the Blue Ridge, not far from the site of Roanoke City, and discovered a new river which the Indians called Kanawha, "river-of-the-woods."

The good folk of Gloucester and the other counties of the Middle Peninsula were much incensed because jail birds had been shipped into their communities (April 20, 1670). Ship-masters were thereafter held responsible for the immigrants they brought. It must be remembered that political and religious prisoners were "jail-birds" when Charles II reigned. One of his jail birds was John Bunyan, another George Fox, another Algernon Sidney.

JAIL BIRDS

During this year suffrage was restricted to "free-holders and housekeepers."

Governor Berkeley wrote (1671):

"There are in Virginia above 40,000 persons, of which 2,000 are black slaves, 6,000 Christian servants, for a short time, and the rest have been born in the country, or have come in to settle or in hope of bettering their condition in a growing country."

"Yearly, we suppose there come in about 1,500, of which most are English, few Scotch, fewer Irish, and not above two or three ships of negroes in seven years." The paragraph is of prime importance, as it gives the basic population of Virginia.

Five years had passed since the calamities of 1667, and another year of disasters befell (1672).

In order to escape the effects of the grinding monopoly much tobacco had been moving to the Northern colonies. Parliament did not leave the Virginians this small relief, but clapped a prohibitive tax of one penny a pound on inter-colonial shipments. As tobacco was worth only half-a-penny a pound the tax was impossible.

Lower Norfolk, which secured much of the New England trade, asked Parliament to repeal the unjust tax. They received a harsh reply. It was mutiny "to desire a thing contrary to his Majesty's Royall pleasure and benefit."

The misery of living was increased by a second war with Holland. That always gave the Burgess an excuse for extra taxes to "protect" the colony. The protection the farmers received for all the taxes

did not amount to a box of pop-crackers. But Virginians are loyal, and submitted.

Every poor man had his cow. There were 50,000 humble kine for 40,000 people. In the winter of 1672-73 a disease swept away half the kine, a calamity worse than the "Hurry Cane" of 1667. Berkeley reported that the colony was full of indigent persons who could barely support themselves—but if he ever raised so much as his little finger to help the indigent persons he failed to mention it.

It makes one angry, even today, to read Lord Baltimore's criticism of Virginia. The poverty was due to a want of "industry and thrift." That age-long fable has been heralded constantly through centuries three. All who live north of the Potomac are patterns of "industry and thrift." All who live south of the noble stream (though they may labor in the fields from 4 a. m. until 8 p. m.) lack "industry and thrift."

INDUSTRY AND THRIFT

The British admiralty, if there was such a thing in the days of Charles II, had two unseaworthy men-of-war at Old Point to protect Virginia. In July (1673) nine Dutch vessels sailed into our seagate and dropped anchor in Lynnhaven Roads.

At this inopportune time eight sail stood down the bay, tobacco ships from Maryland. After a hot running fight for three hours the Dutch captured nine ships. The Virginia fleet of forty vessels was saved by retreating up the James and Nansemond, where the Dutch did not follow.

Commerce was at a standstill and Virginia was completely ruined. The governor, once so popular,

was absolutely detested. As his age and his infirmities increased he became more irritable. His friends were offended and fell away.

Many of the planters were anxious to throw off the yoke of British bondage and accept a Dutch protectorate. Holland, having lost New York, might readily have gained Virginia.

The Virginians needed only a leader and the leader was already on the banks of the James—Nathaniel Bacon.

Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, is thought by many to have possessed the most brilliant intellect the Anglo-Saxon race has known.

Sir James Bacon, of Friston Hall, Suffolk, was Sir Francis Bacon's first cousin. His son, Rev. James Bacon, rector of Burgate, Suffolk, was the father of Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., who was born at Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk (1620), and came to Virginia in 1650. He was our deputy governor (1688-90) after serving many years in the Council. From first to last old Nathaniel Bacon was a conservative, staunch, partisan of Berkeley, wholly out of sympathy with his ardent cousin.

BACON FAMILY

"The older Bacon was a wealthy politic old man, childless and intending to make his namesake and kinsman his heir."[7]

Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., came to Virginia (1674) when he was 27 years old. His father, Thomas Bacon of Friston Hall, Suffolk, was a first cousin of the Virginia councilor.

[7] CHAS. C. CAMPBELL, *Hist. of Va.*

Nathaniel was born January 2, 1647. He spent much time on the continent (1663) and studied law for a while (November 22, 1664) at Gray's Inn, London. The restless young blade married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Duke of Benhill Lodge, Suffolk. Her large patrimony was confiscated because of her husband's career.

His father sent Nathaniel to Virginia, where his cousin had amassed a large estate. Nathaniel Bacon did not come like Adam Thoroughgood and Abraham Wood. It cost £1800 to get Nathaniel and Elizabeth comfortably settled at "Longfield," their plantation at the Curles of the James, between the City of Henricus, long gone, and the City of Richmond, not yet come. "He sold his lands in Suffolk to Sir Robert Jacon for £1200."[8]

Life was not tranquil for long at "Longfield." The Doegs, a tribe of Potomac Indians (the only Indians we ever heard of with a Scriptural name—and a bad name at that) claimed that white men had cheated them (and I suspect they had) so they stole some hogs to get even.

Then the whites killed some of the Doegs, and the Doegs killed a planter in Stafford County. Colonel George Mason and Colonel Gyles Brent retaliated by shooting up the wrong tribe. One would expect that of a Brent, but not of a Mason. The savages raised the war-whoop along the entire frontier of Maryland and Virginia. DOEGS

Colonel John Washington, who came to Westmoreland eighteen years before, and Colonel George

[8] E. D. NEILL, *Virginia Carolorum.*

Mason treated the savages so cruelly that they were censured by the better elements of both colonies.

The Assembly declared war and planned for an army 500 strong. It is interesting to note the disposition of the army and the location of the proposed forts.

One fort was to be thrown up (mere breastworks with an abatis) at the falls of the Potomac (between Washington, D. C., and Alexandria); another at the falls of the Rappahannock (Fredericksburg); another on the Mattaponi (Caroline county); another on the Pamunkey (Hanover county); still another at the falls of the James (Richmond); another at the falls of Appomattox (Petersburg); another on the Blackwater in Surry (near Waverly); another at the head of Nansemond (Suffolk), and one in northern Accomac (near Pocomoke City).

Thirty-three colonels were commissioned, and as if in all conscience that were not enough to frighten the Doegs into peace, eight additional colonels were authorized to treat with the natives. If colonels could save Virginia, Virginia would be mightily saved! I suppose America has never seen so many magnificent titles in so small an army. There were a great many people in Virginia who thought the army was more for politics than for protection. And there were many nice, fat contracts that the governor granted to his choice friends. There had not been an Assembly elected in fourteen years, and the right to vote had been taken from all except "freeholders and housekeepers." The non-landed class might pay taxes—plenty of taxes at

FORTY-ONE COLONELS!

every turn, direct taxes and indirect. And what did they get but a pink receipt—if it was pink, perhaps it was purple (half mourning).

"New and heavy taxes" were put upon the people.

Young Nathaniel Bacon was invited to a seat in Berkeley's Council. But he could not submit to the irascible old man like his accommodating cousin of the same name.

He did not like an Assembly elected fourteen years before—nor the unequal, unjust and unjustifiable taxes—nor the irritable old governor's petty tyranny, incapacity, fawning favoritism, and all that—nor was he able, nor was he willing, being a man of red blood, and a bit heady himself, to flatter and cajole the old Governor.

The Curles of the James were still on the frontier for the growth of the colony had not been westward (up the valley of the James) but up the Chesapeake and northwestward along the Potomac. Bacon's plantation at the Curles was therefore surrounded by the rough and hardy woodsmen and the outraged farmers. He was loath to accept leadership in so hazardous a venture; but when he visited their camp on the Chesterfield side, and when the news of his coming filled the huntsmen with enthusiasm, and when they gathered around him in their coon-skin caps, their leather breeches and their moccasins and cried aloud for joy, "A Bacon! A Bacon!" and when they drank damnation to their souls if ever they proved unworthy of his leadership—which they never did—this noble young English hero, only twenty-nine years old, and

THE POOR FIND A LEADER

less than two years in Virginia, yielded to their entreaties and Bacon's Rebellion, the most important, significant, romantic and tragic event in the colonial history of the thirteen American colonies began.

Bacon made a speech which was a kind of bill-of-rights, or should one say, a bill-of-wrongs? He touched upon the questions already discussed in these papers. Of course his oration was not prepared for publication nor edited! But John Daly Burk, who wrote an excellent history of Virginia 130 years ago, has reproduced the speech, with his vivid Irish imagination; and we must say he did it well.[9]

BILL OF WRONGS

The poor farmers and hunters, for there was not a colonel among them, surged forward and signed their names or made their mark on a huge round robin. They were Bacon's patriots to the end.

He first dispatched an urgent petition to Governor Berkeley, asking a commission to protect the women and children along the exposed frontiers from savage fury.

Berkeley acted with unreasonable deliberation. Bacon, while he waited, moved across York River and struck the Pamunkeys, whom the New Kent frontiersmen rightfully thought were playing a double game. Pretending to be loyal friends to the Virginians, they were aiding the Susquehannocks in murder and rapine.

As the Indians would not come out of the forests to get whipped and as the Susquehannocks struck southwestward along the Occoneechee Trace, Bacon

[9] BURK, *Hist. of Va.*, Vol. II, pp. 160-162.

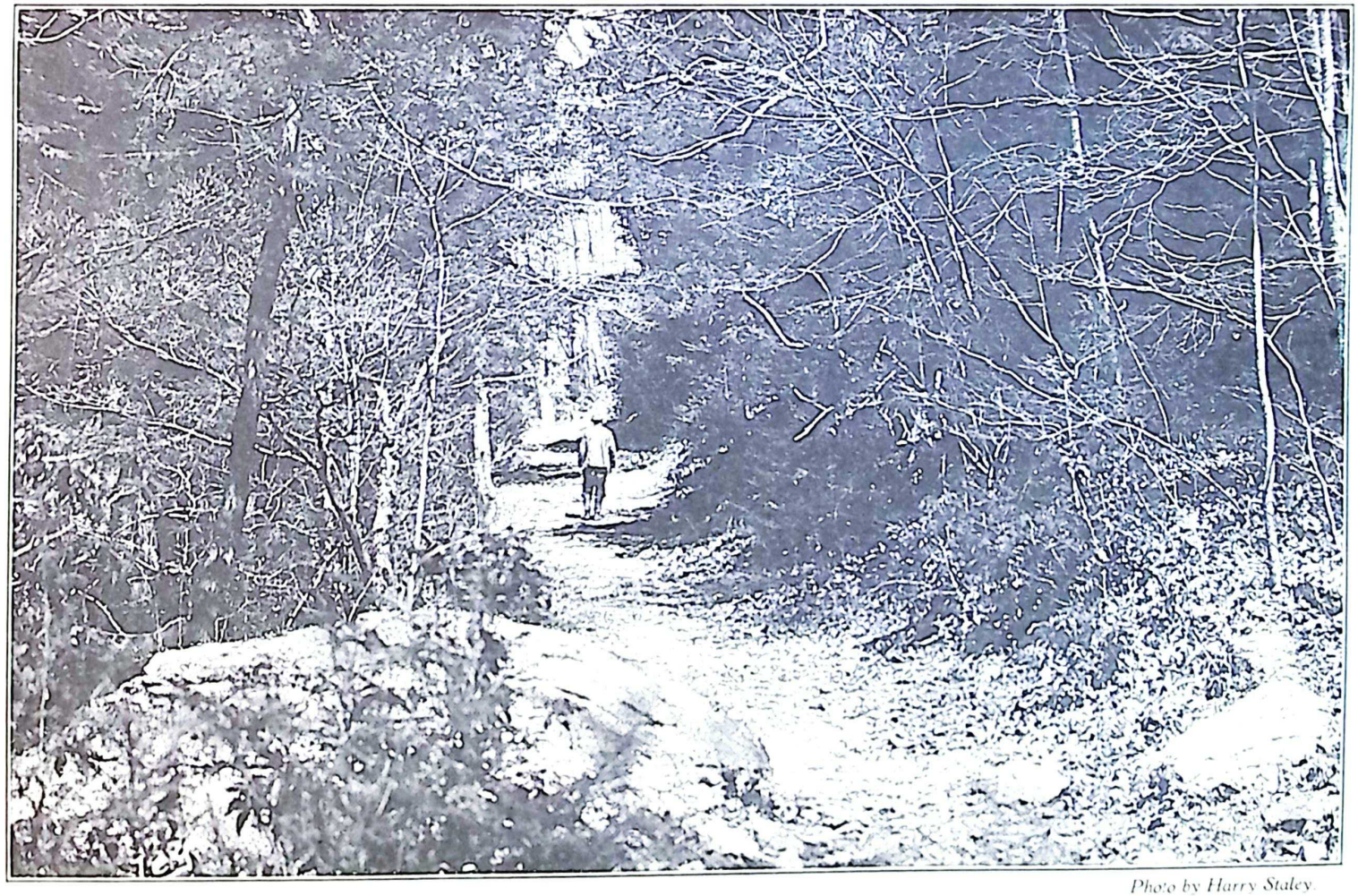

Photo by Harry Staley

THE TRACE

To President Hoover's Camp, 1929

In Virginia and the South, the Indian path was always called a "trace." In New England such a path was called a "trail." Trace is the better word. Many traces crossed Virginia. Occaneechee Trace, from Petersburg to Georgia; Boone's Trace, from the Yadkin to Kentucky. The Five Nations had a trace passing Leeburg, Charlottesville, Lynchburg and Danville.

Shenandoah Valley was crossed in every direction by ancient Indian traces.

crossed the James and the Appomattox, at Fort Henry (Petersburg) and followed the savages to Long Island (Clarksville).

It was a hard road even for weathered veterans. The Indians simply would not feed them. When Bacon arrived at Occoneechee (Clarksville) he found to his delight that the Susquehannocks and Occoneechees were having a war among themselves. Persicles, werowance of the Occoneechees, had defeated the Susquehannocks.

Bacon made the great strategic blunder of his career. He should have retained the friendship of Persicles, as Persicles had done his task for him. Bacon should have retreated promptly to Fort Henry (Petersburg) with Indians friendly to him on the frontiers. He was too energetic. He needed some of his astute cousin's *sangfroid*. FIRST BLUNDER

He attempted to force Persicles to feed his men. The werowance refused. There was a frightfully bloody battle, lasting two days. Persicles, his wife, children and many of his braves were slaughtered. Bacon fed his men, and secured the plunder, but at what a price!

When the victorious army returned to Fort Henry Bacon found himself the idol of the people. His decisive victory over the Occoneechees had been widely heralded.

A new election was being held and Bacon was returned as a Burgess from Henrico county.

When the sheriff, a partisan of Berkeley, attempted to read a proclamation against Bacon, Bacon did not permit it, but violently snatched it from him.

While Bacon was on the Occoneechee Trace Sir William with 300 soldiers marched (May 3, 1776) to the upper York and thence to the Curles of the James. He was very angry that Bacon had pursued the savages without a commission. Berkeley proclaimed him a rebel.[10]

It was this proclamation which Nathaniel Bacon would not permit the sheriff to read.

The new Assembly met June 5, 1676. Fifty devoted followers, as a guard of honor, went down the river with Nathaniel Bacon. When they reached Jamestown Bacon sent Berkeley a message asking whether he would be permitted to take the seat to which Henrico had elected him.

The governor replied by firing upon the Baconians from the fort. Bacon landed, under cover of night, entered the town and had a long talk with his friends, Richard Lawrence and William Drummond, previously the Carolina governor, at Lawrence's home.

Berkeley heard of the conference. A great hue and cry was raised. Capt. Thomas Gardner, who commanded an old English man-of-war, the "Adam and Eve," captured Bacon and Sheriff Howe, of James City, brought him, a prisoner, to Berkeley.

CAPTURED

[10] Much has been written on Bacon's Rebellion:
CHAS. MC ANDREWS, *Narratives of the Insurrections.*
Bacon and Ingram's Rebellion, MASS. HIST. SOC., Vol. I, pp. 27-80.
MRS. ANNE COTTON, *Account of Late Troubles in Va.*
THOMAS MATTHEW, *Beg. Prog. and Concl. of B. Rebel.*
HOWARD R. BAYNE, *Rebellion in Va., Soc. of Col. Wars.*

The old man greeted the young hero with these words:

"Now I behold the greatest rebel that ever was in Virginia."

Berkeley was right. Bacon was indeed, our greatest rebel to that time, but High Heaven knows we have seen many and greater since!

Sir William asked Bacon if he still considered himself a gentleman. If so, he was willing to give him a parole on his honor. If he would be "good" he should resume his seat in the Council and have the commission.

When the Assembly convened, June 5, Bacon entered and kneeled before the governor, who exclaimed:

"God forgive you. I forgive you." Some one asked, "And those who were with him?"

"Yea," said the Governor, "and all who were with him."

A few days later, June 9, Bacon made this confession:

"I, Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., do hereby most readily, freely and most humbly acknowledge that I have been guilty of diverse late unlawfull mutinous and rebellious practices, etc. And I do hereby upon my knees, most humbly begg of Almighty God and of his Majesties, said governor, his gracious pardonne."

Bacon took his seat. His prisoners were set free, his "guard" returned to their homes.

Next day, June 10, the Assembly declared war on Indians, the useless forts were abandoned, and a

commission was prepared (but not signed) for "Nathaniel Bacon, Jun's, Esq's. gen'll and commander-in-chief of the forces raised."

The curtain fell upon the first act of Bacon's Rebellion.

Bacon waited long and impatiently for the commission. He took "civil leave" of the Governor and returned to "Longfield." His wife, he told Sir William, was ill.

When he reached the Curles-of-the-James his old soldiers thronged about him begging protection from savages. When he explained that Governor Berkeley had never given him the promised commission, they were very angry. They "sett their throats in one common key of oaths and curses, and cried out that they would have a commission or else pull downe the towne."

BOB-TAYLE ARMY

They started, all, for Jamestown, and the Governor; and their army grew with every passing mile. It was midsummer, June 22, when they halted two miles from the little capital. At 2 o'clock next day these determined men came stalking into the village to know the reason why. "Now tagg, ragg and bobtayle carry a high hand," wrote a councilor.

Bacon drew up his "tagg and ragg" army before the state house.

Two of his fellow councilors asked innocently what they wanted. He answered in emphatic terms that they wanted a commission "against the heathen who daily, inhumanly murder us and spill our brethren's blood," they did not want any more taxes.

The councilors promptly delivered the long desired

commission. Bacon read it and returned it. It was not satisfactory. He then outlined what the commission must contain.

Berkeley was almost insane with rage. He rushed out, throwing his hands up wildly and declaring that before he would sign such a commission he would have his hands cut off. He wildly tore his coat open and called to Bacon:

"Here, shoot me, 'fore God, fair mark."

Bacon assured him: "I come not, nor intend to hurt a hair of your honor's head."

But he demanded a commission properly and amply drawn. After much persuasion the infuriated old man yielded and the paper was delivered.

Next morning Bacon[11] entered the state house with an armed guard and demanded that recent letters sent the king, in which he was described as a rebel and traitor, be officially denied. And that a justification of all his conduct in Virginia be sent His Majesty, signed by the Governor, Council and Burgesses.

LIKE CROMWELL

When this was done the radical young dictator demanded many important and useful reforms. All were passed, as it were by the edge of the sword.

Bacon reminds one of Oliver Cromwell before the Long Parliament.

News came that the Indians murdered eight persons on the frontiers.

Volunteers flocked to Bacon's standard as he marched to the falls (Richmond). Bacon made his

[11] *Strange News From Va.* Being a full and true Account of the Life and Death of Nath. Bacon, Esqr. Who was the only Cause and Original of the Late Troubles in that Country. Library of Congress, Wash., D. C.

third blunder in leaving Jamestown. He should have sent one of his lieutenants to settle with the savages, and he should have remained with Berkeley until he had settled a definite policy. In fact, Bacon could well have forced Berkeley, or one of the Governor's friends, to defend the frontiers; that was the Governor's first duty.

As might have been expected, Bacon was no sooner out of Jamestown than Sir William repudiated all he had done. He moved across to Gloucester and appealed to the loyalty of the Middle Peninsula. It was cowardly, in one who had asked Bacon if he were "still a gentleman," thus to strike Bacon in the back when he was fighting the blood-thirsty savages.

Cowardly

Bacon made another oration offering to lead his army first into Gloucester to settle with Berkeley, once and for all. To this they cried, "Amen."

With 600 foot, 700 horses and provisions for two months, Bacon arrived at Middle Plantation (Williamsburg).

Berkeley fled to Accomac, where Bacon could not follow (July 9, 1676). His flight was really an abdication. Drummond suggested that Sir Henry Chicheley[12] be proclaimed governor. This wise suggestion was not followed.

Instead of inaugurating a new governor Bacon invited sixty-nine of the richest men in the colony to meet for a conference at Middle Plantation (August 3). And they came, colonels, councilors, burgesses and all.

To them Bacon also made an oration. He was

[12] Chaps. XXXVII and XXXIX.

an effective speaker. He enjoyed making a speech as much as he enjoyed fighting the Indians, or dictating terms to the angry old governor.

He demanded that the honorable sixty-nine take three oaths.

1. They were to assist him in the war against the Indians.

2. They must assist him against the Governor.

3. They must assist him if King Charles sent troops to aid Berkeley.

The first oath was easy, the second they were willing to swallow, but the third!

Bacon locked them in. They swore all together, and he released them.

As "general by consent of the people" and with four other councilors he ordered an election for a new House of Burgesses to assemble, one month later (September 4, 1676). Again he suggests Oliver Cromwell.

Instead of making Sir Henry Chicheley governor, Bacon took him prisoner. He also seized the plantations of Thomas Ludwell, Colonel Daniel Parke, General Lawrence Smith and the Green Spring estate of Sir William Berkeley.

As the Occoneechees and Susquehannahs were ravaging the frontiers, Bacon turned upon the Pamunkeys, their nearest allies.

Unfortunately, it was more difficult to find the savages than to punish them. The army beat the forest wastes vainly until they were "tyred, murmuring, impatient and hunger starved." PAMUNKEYS At last Bacon found them. Some were slain, but most of them fled.

When the "General by Consent of the People" reached civilization again, he was, as always, greeted with bad news.

Two of his staunch supporters, Captains William Carver of Norfolk and Giles Bland, pursued Berkeley. But instead of taking Berkeley, Colonel Philip Ludwell captured them, and Berkeley hanged Captain Carver as a traitor.

Bland was still his prisoner. Berkeley with his "navy" of sixteen little ships led by the "Adam and Eve" returned to Jamestown, September 7. "Collonell Lawrence forsooke his own howse with all his wealth and a fair cupboard of plate entire standing," which the Governor quietly appropriated the next day.

Bacon had dismissed his faithful and wearied soldiers; only 150 remained. But as he marched down the James volunteers flocked to his standard. Women brought food and passed it to the hungry army. They declared that they would enlist if there were not men enough to drive Berkeley out of Virginia.

The Governor had Lawrence's "fair cupboard of plate" only a week when Bacon was at him again (September 13, 1776). He made his camp at Green Spring, the Governor's handsome estate, and enjoyed his mansion as Berkeley enjoyed Lawrence's.

The Governor had 1,000 men with him in town and on his boats.

By the light of the harvest moon Bacon's weary, but enthusiastic soldiers threw up their breastworks and dug in. As they could not get their impro-



Photo by Harry Staley.

SHENANDOAH

"Spotswood led a company of gentlemen over the dim Blue Ridge to a land of valleys, mountains, plains and brimming brooks, which the Indians called Shenandoah, 'The beautiful Daughter of the Stars.' "—Chap. LI.

vised fortress completed, Bacon hit upon an ingenious plan much criticized. He sent his horsemen to the neighboring plantations and brought the wives of four councilors, including Mrs. Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., herself! BREAST-WORKS

"Next morning he presented them to the view of their husbands and friends in towne upon the top of the smalle worke hee had caste up in the night, where he caused them to tarey till hee had finished his defence."[13]

I tremble to think how angry (I mean how mad) those women were!

When the ladies were removed to safety, and the ramparts finished, Berkeley's guns and the ships opened a cannonade; but did no harm. (September 15.)

Next day (September 16), the Governor's men, more than an hundred strong, dashed out of Jamestown across the shallow waters of Sandy Bay toward Bacon. The Baconians delivered one volley. That was enough. The attacking party broke and fled. Had Bacon followed his fleeting foes he might have captured town, Governor and all.

That night Berkeley and his friends silently departed. Their ships dropped down the James twenty miles.

Bacon entered the deserted village. It was reported that Colonel Brent had declared for Governor Berkeley, and was advancing from the Potomac with an army, 1,000 strong.

[13] "Cotton of Acquia Creek."

After a long debate they decided to destroy Jamestown. If Bacon remained there he would be trapped between Berkeley and Brent. If he left Berkeley would immediately return.

The night of September 17, 1676, the little town was fired. Church, storehouses and residences were burned and destroyed. Drummond and Lawrence fired their own houses. Berkeley saw the conflagration from afar and cursed the cowardice of his soldiers. It never occurred to him that he was to blame for the misery of this colony.

Bacon retired again to Green Spring and Berkeley sailed to Accomac where "he rested two or three days" before crossing the York River to meet Colonel Brent. But Colonel Brent never came. His army melted away as he approached Bacon; and Bacon was again the master of Virginia, but his position was one of acute peril. It was rumored that royal troops were already on their way to Virginia.

MASTER OF VIRGINIA

Bacon gathered the Gloucester planters to their Court House and asked whether they were with him if British troops arrived; and "jointly with the present army stand or fall in defense of the country."

Rather than submit to slavery under Charles II and Berkeley he would "acquit the colony." He argued that 500 frontiersmen, fighting in their familiar forests, fields and swamps, would be more than a match for four times as many who were aliens. In that he was correct. He had wild dreams of a new colony far to the southwest in the Occoneechee

country with its capital near the present site of Clarksville, Virginia. The planters were not pleased to take the iron-bound oath, but at last they yielded and all swore together.

The young general had long been ill of dysentery which became malignant. His headquarters in Gloucester were at the residence of Dr. Pate,[14] on the north shore of the York. His condition became alarming. In his delirium he asked if the house were well guarded. And had the King's troops arrived?

No one knows when our young hero died (October 1 or 18, or 26). And none knows his place of burial. Lawrence had good reason to fear the vindictive old Governor. The tomb of Cromwell had been violated at the Restoration. Bacon's body was probably sunk into the placid depths of the York. If so the waters have kept their secret well.

DEATH

His enemies sought to blacken his name. "He was a hard drinker," and "he died by taking too much brandy." But no such statement was ever officially made.

"He was a person of great natural parts, which notwithstanding his juvenile extravagances he had endued with many elaborate acquisitions and by the help of learning and study knew how to manage them, to a Miracle, it being the general vogue of all that knew him, that he usually spoke much sense in a few words, and declared that sense

[14] BEVERLEY says Dr. Green.

opportunely.[15] His only child, Mary Bacon, married Hugh Chamberlain, physician to Queen Anne.

No lieutenant in Nathaniel Bacon's army was able to continue his work. His primitive army chose Joseph Ingram, who was popular with the soldiers. They tossed their coon-skin caps into the air "crying out as loud as they could hollow 'God save our new general'."

The Berkeleyan partisans declared that Ingram was of humble origin; "he was a vain fool"; but his career shows otherwise.

"He was a young man of good standing at home, known as Esquire."[16] He was a "grotesque personage who had been a rope dancer."[17] His name would label him Scotch, and he probably came to Virginia a year before with Sir Thomas Grantham.

Ingram retreated to West Point and concentrated his forces. By so doing, he unconsciously repeated the strategy of Powhatan. Before him a magnificent waterway, York River, opened to the sea. Two rich peninsulas lay to right and left. New Kent had always been favorable to Bacon, and many of his devoted followers were drawn from the frontiers immediately behind him.

STRATEGY

[15] The most scholarly and satisfactory account of Bacon's Rebellion is found in *Va. Under the Stuarts*, T. J. WERTENBAKER, pp. 115-194.

Also W. WARE, *Nath. Bacon.*

J. A. DOYLE, *Eng. in Amer.*, Chap. 9.

JOHN BURK, *Hist. of Va.*, Vol. 2.

GEO. BANCROFT, *Hist. of U. S.*, Part II, Chaps. 10-11.

EDWARD EGGLESTON, *Century Mag.*, July, 1890.

[16] LYON G. TYLER.

[17] JNO. ESTEN COOKE.

Major Robert Beverley, the enigma of the colony, was a partisan of Berkeley. He captured Captain Thomas Hansford, the youngest and boldest of Bacon's officers, a native Virginian and "the first martyr to American liberty." Twenty men were taken with him at the home of Col. George Read (Yorktown). His trial was soon over, and of course, Hansford was condemned. He asked only that he "be shot like a soldier, and not hanged like a dog."

Berkeley's headquarters were at "Arlington," the Custis plantation on Old Plantation Creek. Captain Hansford was hanged on the shores of the Chesapeake, a mile distant (Cape Charles City). To the sympathetic crowd he said, "he died a loyal subject and a lover of his country."[18]

Major Beverley made another sortie to York River and captured Major Cheiseman and others.

Berkeley's "coarse brutality and savage joy" were shown at the Major's trial. His devoted wife stepped forward and courageously declared that she was responsible for her husband's participation in the rebellion. She kneeled to the Governor and "desired of his honor that she might be hanged and he pardoned."

GENTLEMAN?

Berkeley spurned her "with a vile insult." It was he who had asked Bacon if he were still a gentleman! Major Cheiseman died in prison before they hung him.

[18] He left four children: Elizabeth m. Rd. Burr; Mary m. Wm. Hewitt; Thos. and William.

ST. GEORGE TUCKER published *Hansford*, an historical novel (1857) well worth reading though stilted and sentimental.

Berkeley left "Arlington" with four ships and 100 men, crossed the Chesapeake to Gloucester county and landed at Dr. Pate's home, the very house in which Bacon had died! Thousands flocked to his standard; but it was a political army. When Joseph Ingram marched upon them from West Point, they melted away. Six hundred surrendered at one time.

Only in Isle of Wight did the royalists register success. Couset defeated and killed Captain Graves at a plantation, since known as "Bacon's Castle." We are sure Bacon never saw that castle, but the ancient homestead marks the end of Bacon's Rebellion.

Resistance to Berkeley faded, and the rebellion died with the year 1676.

Meanwhile Virginia history was made at the court of Charles II. The King was enraged. He ordered troops at once to Virginia.

"As recruiting officers, beating drums for men to enlist in the Virginia campaign, marched up and down the streets of London, there was much discussion among merchants whether sending troops to the colony was wise."[19]

The King offered a general pardon to all offenders, except Nathaniel Bacon, and appointed three officers to repair at once to Virginia—Adm. Sir John Berry, Sir Herbert Jeffries and Colonel Francis Moryson.

Berkeley was to be relieved, his record investigated, the wrongs and injustices found were to be righted and a detailed report made the King.

[19] E. D. NEILL, *Virginia Carolorum.*

Sir Herbert Jeffries as lieutenant-governor (November 11, 1776), set sail with 1,000 soldiers before the month was out.

Captain Grantham spent the winter of 1672-3 in Virginia. He was a friend of "General" Ingram. In the "Concord" Captain Grantham anchored in York River, January 1, 1677, and brought news of the troops coming. GRANTHAM

He persuaded the victorious army in Gloucester to lay down their arms. He persuaded "General" Ingram to give up the hopeless struggle. All the insurgents surrendered January 16, 1677, at Tyndall's Point (Gloucester Point). Peace was brought by the tactful Grantham, not by the tactless Berkeley.

Drummond and Lawrence, who had been active in the rebellion, disappeared. Lawrence was never located. William Drummond was captured in the swamps of the Chickahominy. The old Governor was at "Littletown," Colonel James Bray's plantation.

"Mr. Drummond," he cried with delight when his former friend was led before him, "you are very welcome. I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond, you shall be hanged in half an hour."

"What your honor pleases," was the brave Scotchman's reply.

It was then 1 o'clock. He was tried, his wife's ring torn from his finger, his estate confiscated and at 4 o'clock he was strung up at Middle Plantation (Williamsburg), January 20, 1677.

"Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned." Sarah,

his widow, crossed the seas and appealed directly to the King. After Berkeley had been dead three months, the Lord Chancellor of the realm said:

DRUMMOND

"I do not know whether it be lawful to wish such a person alive, otherwise, I could wish Sir William Berkeley so, to see what could be answered to such barbarity, but he hath answered it before this."

The King restored their estate to Sarah and her children.

When the three commissioners, their fleet and troops entered our seagate January 29, 1677, Berkeley (as ever in a wretched humor) met the gentlemen at Kickatan (Hampton), aboard their flagship, the "Bristol."

It was not a love feast. Berekeley said there could not be two governors in Virginia. He had been three times appointed "governor." Sir Herbert Jeffries was on his own showing only "lieutenant-governor." There could be no dispute as to precedence.

When the royal commissioners told Sir William Berkeley that they were amazed, shocked and grieved at his insatiable thirst for blood, the old man went beside himself with rage. He was determined that the punishment of these traitors should continue, and continue it did.

A new Assembly met at Green Spring, Berkeley's plantation, February 20, 1677. Only Berkeleyan partisans were elected.

All the Governor had done was rubber-stamped.

His courage, justice and integrity were commended. Rebels were fined and declared incapable of holding office. Petitions for relief from Nansemond, Isle of Wight, and Gloucester were answered with brutal harshness.

Berkeley at last prepared to sail. Sir Herbert Jeffries called at Green Spring to bid him a courteous farewell. "Berkeley's mansion was a plain brick building, containing a hall, six rooms and a garret. The bricks were not brought from England, but were made on the spot. It stood two miles north of James River and five miles from Jamestown."[20] As he left the mansion, the Governor's carriage awaited him. When the driver gathered up the reins, a "strange man" pushed him off his seat and drove Sir Herbert to the wharf.

Sir Herbert noticed much merriment at Green Spring as he left. Later he heard that their driver was the "common hangman," even he who had put away so many of Berkeley's political foes. The whole colony "rings with the odium and disgrace cast upon us," Sir Herbert wrote the King. It is only fair to Sir William Berkeley to add that he disclaimed any knowledge of the incident and regretted it. Lady Berkeley never disclaimed it.

HANGMAN

At last Sir William sailed from the Chesapeake, a dying man. When the Virginians knew he had really gone they kindled bonfires and fired salutes to express their joy.

His reception in England was as cold as his departure from Jamestown had been warm. He

[20] E. D. NEILL, *Virginia Carolorum.*

understood that the King was very angry. "That old fool hath put to death more people in that naked country than I did here for the murder of my father." He did not live to report to His Majesty, for death overtook the old cavalier at Twickenham (July 13, 1677).

XXXVI.

SIR HERBERT JEFFRIES

Lieutenant-Governor: May 5, 1677–December 17, 1678

Sir Herbert Jeffries, "a judicious and conciliatory" gentleman, did his feeble best for the poverty-stricken, war-blasted, tax-ridden colony bleeding at every pore.

The King's three commissioners needed the records of the Burgesses. Major Robert Beverley, the same who captured Hansford and Chieseman, refused to give the records to the Commissioners; although he allowed them to be read in his presence. They "took them from him by violence." The Burgesses protested. A King of England would not dare to seize the records of Parliament.

The King was very angry and Lord Culpeper, three years later, asked the Burgess to rescind the action; but they declined.

Sir Herbert immediately concluded a peace with the Indians.[4] The werowances agreed to pay three

[1] DAVID I. BUSHNELL, *Native Tribes of Va., Va. Hist. Mag.*, April, 1922.

arrow heads and seventy beaver skins annually for large, rich reservations. At the conference the Queen of the Pamunkeys, the widow of Totopotomoi, "wore a turban made of a three-inch plait of black and white wampam, her robe of deer skins with the hair on the outside was ornamented with a twisted fringe, six inches deep from shoulder to feet." Her son, a youth of twenty, reputed to be the son of an English colonel, was with his mother. FASHION PLATE

The Commissioners' report was detailed and damaging to Sir William Berkeley. Sir John Berry and former Governor Moryson sailed for England, leaving Sir Herbert to manage as best he could. Jeffries had hard going with the intense partisans, Philip Ludwell, Robert Beverley, Edward Hill and Thomas Ballard, who did their utmost to discredit him. Not until October, when the Assembly was to meet again, was the King's proclamation of amnesty for all offenders published.

The Assembly forbade the use of such epithets as "traitor," "rogue," and "rebel." It shows the healing touch of time.

Fairs and marts were arranged that the Indians might bring their produce for trade, under strict supervision.

North Carolina had 4,000 people and, like Virginia, was torn by civil strife.

New York reported a population half as large as Virginia, 20,000; 3,000 of them were on Manhattan Island.

During his second summer, Sir Herbert was

mortally ill. William Sherwood wrote, August, 1678, "The colony would be as peaceful as could be wished except for the malice of some discontented persons, who endeavor by all ye cunning contrivances, to bring a contempt of Colonel Jeffries, our present, good governor. Those persons are Lady Berkeley, Colonel Phillip Ludwell, Colonel Thomas Ballard, Colonel Edward Hill, Major Robert Berkeley, all of which are cherished by Mr. Secretary Thomas Ludwell (who acts severely)."

DIED

Sir Herbert Jeffries' troubles were soon over. He died December 17, 1678.[2]

[2] "He died in November, 1678." T. J. WERTENBAKER. *Va. Under the Stuarts*, p. 221.

Some authorities, December 30.

XXXVII.

SIR HENRY CHICHELEY

Deputy-Governor: December 17,[1] 1678–May 2, 1680

The continued delay of Lord Culpeper, and the death of Sir Herbert Jeffries[1] left government in abeyance. The colony was doubly fortunate. Sir Henry Chicheley, a "kind, sober, moderate man," was an influential councilor, and had among his effects at "Rosegill," his elegant home in Middlesex county, a commission which King Charles sent him

[1] Or December 30, or November, 1678.

(February 28, 1647) as Berkeley's deputy. Under it he served sixteen troubled months.

Sir Henry was an officer in King Charles' defeated army. He had the honor of being a prisoner in the Tower of London for his glorious King. Sir Henry, with other cavaliers, escaped to Virginia where he met and married the rich and attractive widow of Colonel Ralph Wormeley (1652), into whose elegant home, "Rosegill," on the Rappahannock, Sir Henry fitted to gentlemanly perfection.[2]

The two qualities Virginia needed at this time were vigor and firmness. Sir Henry had neither. His critics declared that he was "old, sickly and crazy."

The Assembly met at Jamestown (April 25, 1679), which was somewhat rebuilt, but never restored. Matthew Kemp, the Speaker, was one of Berkeley's "wicked and pernicious councillors, aiders and assistants against the Commonality," who had suffered from Bacon's heavy hand.

Captain William Byrd was granted a fine tract "beginning on the south side of James River one mile and a half below the falls, and so continuing five miles up the river in a straight line, and backwards one mile in the woods, and on the north side of said river beginning at a half mile below the falls and thence continuing five miles up the river and two miles backward into the woods." He owned 1,200 acres of land on Shockoe Creek. This grant greatly enlarged his estate—decidedly

RICHMOND

[2] Description and pictures, *Va. Hist. Mag.*, July, 1922.

the most strategic site in the colony. He agreed to seat 250 persons on the tract.

Sir Henry Chicheley took energetic measures to protect the colony from future inroads. He had "fower houses for stores or garrisons erected and built at the heads of the fower great rivers."[3]

Some reforms were secured, but not many. The fee system, an unjust and unreasonable tax,[4] was well fastened upon the colony. However, excessive fees, claimed by collectors of customs, were limited. The royalists were demanding damages to be paid by the colony for their losses during the rebellion! Sir Henry was able to check these attempted raids by the Green Spring partisans.

FEE SYSTEM

His term ended May 2, 1680,[5] with the long anticipated and frequently delayed arrival of the Governor, Thomas Lord Culpeper.

[3] Potomac, Rappahannock, James and Mattaponi (or Appomattox)

[4] The Fee System is still an unsettled issue, 1930.

[5] Or May 10.

XXXVIII.

THOMAS, SECOND LORD CULPEPER, BARON THORSWAY

Governor and Captain-General:
May 2–August 10, 1680

This noble family filled a large place in our colonial history. John Culpeper, father of Thomas, was a devoted follower of Charles I. One of Prince Charles' first acts, after his father fell was to grant the Northern Neck of Virginia to John Culpeper and the Earl of Arlington.[1]

During the Commonwealth the grant was of course worthless, but when Charles II was crowned it became immensely valuable.

The indolent King did not intend to interfere with the colonists located in Virginia, but such profligacy naturally filled the colony with alarm.

King Charles appointed Thomas Culpeper[2] governor and gave him some plain instructions:

"It is our will and pleasure that for the future noe Generall Assembly be called without our special directions, but that upon occasion you doe acquaint us by letter with the necessity of calling such an Assembly and pray our consent and directions for their meetings."

Culpeper was to submit a draft of all laws to the

[1] ROBERT R. HOWISON, *Hist. of Va.*, two volumes, has been constantly used as reference.

[2] EDWARD D. NEILL, *Fairfaxes of England and America.*
Also *Va. Hist. Mag.*, 1925, and other issues.

King, to be edited and corrected before they were presented to the Assembly. Fortunately time and space made this tyrannical program impossible.

His Majesty impressed upon Culpeper that he MUST have revenue. Tom understood that language perfectly. In fact "revenue" explains his presence in Virginia.

King Charles was to receive two shillings on every hogshead of tobacco that left the Capes. The shillings were to be sent the "King's Most Excellent Majesty," his heirs and successors forever, for the better support of the government. Tom knew well enough that the licentious monarch needed the shillings to support the most corrupt court England ever knew.

REVENUE

The King insisted that Lord Culpeper go to Virginia, but Tom would not go. The King finally set December 3, 1679, as the last day Tom was to show his face in England, but Tom didn't go. The King ordered him aboard the "Oxford," but Tom did not go. The Captain of the "Oxford" was commanded to get Tom and take him to Virginia to be governor; but the Captain declared that he could not find Tom!

King Charles, very angry, threatened to appoint another governor. Tom knew there was danger, so he sailed (February 13), and reached our sea-gate May 2. On May 10, he took up his duties at the miserable little village of Jamestown, which his soul loathed.

Thomas Culpeper met the Assembly at Jamestown, June 8, 1680. The small rich clique known

as the "Green Spring faction" held the trump hand. And Lady Berkeley, his Excellency's able widow, was the acknowledged leader. She married Colonel Philip Ludwell, but she was "Lady Berkeley" until her death. She was born Katherine Culpeper, and was related to the new governor. No little hope was pinned by the Green Spring faction to Lady Berkeley's influence with "Cousin Tom."

LADY BERKELEY

Culpeper restored Philip Ludwell to his seat in the Council. He wished to dismiss the Enigmatical Major Beverley, but the Burgesses insisted that the hard-boiled Major was their "unanimous choyce," so Culpeper let him be.

At this meeting (June 8, 1680) Culpeper, Governor; Ballard, Speaker; Major Beverley, Clerk, an act was passed authorizing the purchase of fifty acres of land in Lower Norfolk County of Nicholas Wise for 10,000 pounds of tobacco, a site for a city to be named Norfolk.[3]

NORFOLK

The legislature wished to establish a city in every county, and force the farmers to load and unload there instead of using their own wharfs—a foolish law.

Culpeper proclaimed pardon for all Baconian offenders. But the estates of Nathaniel Bacon, Gyles Bland, Anthony Arnold, Richard Pomfrey, John Isles, Robert Stokes, John Whiston and William Scarborough, executed for treason, were forfeit to the King.

[3] H. W. BURTON, *Hist. of Norfolk*, pp. 2 and 3.

We consider this roll of dishonor a roll of great honor.

When Lord Thomas suggested the levy of two additional shillings per hogshead for the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Burgesses point blank refused. When he urged it they declined to debate it. "The House doe most humbly desire to be Excused if they doe not give their approbation to his Majesties bill." But Culpeper had a trump up his sleeve. He told the Burgesses if they did not vote his Majesty's two shillings he proposed to collect all back quit-rents.[4]

Culpeper won. They passed the law. But they repealed a former tax of two shillings per hogshead,[5] and exempted Virginia ship-masters.

Culpeper had been here three months. He was anxious to get away. The "James" sailed August 10, 1680, with Tom on deck, and his departure was certainly welcomed.

He gave King Charles a roseate account of the colony. No optimist could have painted a more beautiful picture—but the King knew Tom.

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[4] Quit-rents were paid the feudal lord for protection. It was a small tax, but should never have been laid in Virginia. If back quit-rents for years with interest added were now demanded the colonists would be worse than embarrassed.

[5] Chap. XXXIV.

XXXIX.

SIR HENRY CHICHELEY

Deputy-Governor: August 10, 1680–December 17, 1682

While Culpeper fabricated fairy tales at court, Lord Baltimore wrote (July 19, 1681):

"The people there are as ripe and ready for another rebellion as ever they were." The tobacco situation drove the planters mad. No other crop could be substituted, for the cost of transporting a heavy commodity was far greater than the product would bring. The one thing that kept the Virginians quiet, if not contented, was an abundance of food and fuel. In this respect at least they were better off than the miserable English who died along the hedge-rows and the Scots who froze in the streets.

"We are at peace with all (1681), or, at least, in war with none. But that which bids fair to be the speedy and certain undoing of this Colony is the low, or rather, no price of the only product of our lands, and our only commodity, tobacco; for our thriving is our undoing and our buying of blacks hath extremely contributed thereto; by making more tobacco. We are too many for that, and too few for anything else."[1]

King Charles granted Pennsylvania to William Penn, that the Quakers might have one spot on earth where they would not be molested.

"Rosegill," the beautiful home of Sir Henry was destroyed by fire (January 25, 1682).

[1] Letter of COL. NICHOLAS SPENCER, Chap. XLI.

John Buckner (February 21) was punished for printing the laws of 1680 without permission. The lawmakers of Stuart days dreaded the power of the press—as indeed all tyrants have reason. A mightier force for progress, enlightenment, and human freedom has never been discovered than the humble printing press. Every printer is a master-teacher.

No Printing

Major Beverley—even the Major whom we learned to dislike very much in the days when he captured Hansford at Yorktown and turned him over to Governor Berkeley to be hung—the Major now steps forth as the champion of the people! He was particularly active in advocating a tobacco holiday. Thanks largely to Beverley, the stage was set; the Assembly called by Sir Henry Chicheley, and all were ready to forbid tobacco planting for a year. Carolina and Maryland were about to fall in line, and at last a beam of hope for future prosperity fell upon this poverty-stricken land.

But the Burgesses came to disappointment. Charles II strictly forbade the Assembly to meet; and he was determined that there should be no tobacco holiday. It would interfere with his tobacco revenue. In fact, the cheaper the tobacco, the more money the King had for his favorites at Whitehall!

Nor was that all. England had troops in Virginia, since Bacon's Rebellion. The King coolly notified the Virginians that he was no longer able to maintain them. If Virginia did not pay the soldiers (their wages were long in arrears) they must go without.

Angry is not strong enough to describe the Burgesses. They had hoped, planned and prayed for relief from their burdens; and for years. The King's veto arbitrarily, unjustly and unreasonably closed their one door of hope. They declined to pay a farthing to the soldiers. The British soldiers could go hang—or starve—for all they cared! MAD

Sir Henry Chicheley was torn between his love for Virginia and his age-long loyalty to the crown. The King ordered it. He must obey. The General Assembly adjourned until November 10, 1682, by which time another large crop of tobacco would be ready for shipment to the warehouses in London and another year's revenue would have been added to the royal exchequer. By that time the Governor, Baron Culpeper, would return to Virginia.

Many planters were willing, voluntarily, to forego their crop, provided the other (selfish) planters would do the same. Manifestly, if half the planters voluntarily raised no tobacco the rise in price would bring great reward to the selfish souls who would cash in on the generosity or misfortune of others. TOBACCO CUTTING

A movement was started to cut all plants of those willing to desist and to cut also the plants of those who were unwilling to omit one crop for the general good.

They began in Gloucester. Many planters awoke of a fine May morning (1682) to find their tobacco trimmed. The cutting spread to Middlesex and New Kent. Many young men rode by night, leaving devastated fields behind.

Rumor named Major Robert Beverley as the leader of the night-riders. Chicheley arrested him (May 11, 1682) and confined him on the "Duke of York," then in the Chesapeake.

Beverley made a formal demand of the Governor to know why he had been arrested. His question was never answered.

Beverley escaped from the ship and returned to his plantation in Middlesex, for he was Chicheley's neighbor. The Governor had him re-arrested and sent to the Eastern Shore. After a while he was allowed to return home under surveillance.

XL.

THOMAS, SECOND LORD CULPEPER, BARON THORSWAY

Governor and Captain-General: December 17, 1682–May 28, 1683

When King Charles heard that Virginia was again on the verge of rebellion, he ordered Lord Culpeper to return at once.

As the King was not to be cajoled, Sir John got himself reluctantly aboard the "Mermaid" (October, 1682).

By December he again took in hand the tangled skein of colonial affairs.

Governor Tom found an investigation difficult. Chicheley had pardoned everybody, for the old man

was anxious to keep peace. Three scape-graces were, however, condemned for night-riding. Culpeper hung two of them promptly (perhaps too promptly and not necessarily justly), but he pardoned the third, a mere boy, because he was "extremely young." As for Major Beverley, nothing could be proved.

The Governor was himself, by all odds, the most dangerous person in Virginia. He betrayed the colony to the royal monopolists. These are his words:

"I soe encouraged the planting of tobacco that if the season continue to be favorable there will bee a greater cropp by far than ever grew since the first seating. I am confident that customs next year from them will be £50,000 more than ever heretofore in any one year."

It was, of course, to the King's interest that the crop should be large, just as it was to the interest of the planter that it should be small. The monopolists ground the planters into the dust of poverty while they fixed the price to the consumer in London—in other words they double-crossed both producer and consumer. There are no adjectives in the dictionary strong enough to describe the avarice and injustice of this king and governor.

DOUBLE CROSSED

Tom's tobacco policy was bad, but mild beside his coin trick.[1] He "is remembered by a financial scheme which he invented—otherwise a trick. He fixed values by proclamation. By official edict the value of crowns, rix dollars and pieces-of-eight was raised from five shillings to six, at which rate

[1] OLDMIXON.

they were to be legal tender. His own salary, however, was exempt from the proclamation, and when the perverse Virginians insisted that he, too, should be paid at the legal rate, he issued a second proclamation reversing the first."[2]

Tom attempted to secure copies of the records of the General Assembly. But the hard-headed clerk, Major Robert Beverley, point-blank refused either to surrender the originals or to permit copies, unless ordered by the Assembly (January 10, 1683).

"Few of our governors deserve less of posterity. To him a high and useful office was only a means of extorting funds by methods fair or foul." Berkeley's salary of £1000 per annum was exhorbitant. Culpeper demanded £5000 and £150 additional for a "palace." He must also have a stipend as "captain of infantry."[3]

From England he received good sound pounds sterling to pay the soldiers; but the soldiers received their pay in thin, worn and doubtful Spanish coin bought cheap by the gubernatorial manipulator. He probably cheated the soldiers out of $5,000 in our money. When he was offered the very coins he brought to Virginia he refused them.

Coin Trick

His career was nearly run. When he reached England, he was arrested (July 25, 1683), and Virginia again became a royal province.[4]

[2] JOHN ESTEN COOKE, *Hist. of Va.*, p. 299.

[3] T. J. WERTENBAKER, *Va. Under the Stuarts*, p. 239.

[4] He died, 1690, leaving his estate to his daughter Katherine, who married Thomas, fifth Lord Fairfax. Their son Thomas, the sixth Baron, lived at Greenway Court and was the patron of the youthful Washington. Thomas' brother Robert was the seventh, and Bryan, a cousin, the eighth, in whose family the proud title remains.



(Photo by courtesy of the Norfolk-Portsmouth Chamber of Commerce.)

"They began at a point on the sand dunes between the Atlantic and Currituck Sound, 36 degrees, 30 minutes north latitude, and followed westward through the tangled recesses of Great Dismal."—Chap. LIV.

The Swamp is a place of great beauty.

XLI.

COLONEL NICHOLAS SPENCER

President of the Council: May 28, 1683–April 16, 1684

Colonel Nicholas Spencer, a kinsman of Culpeper, became executive as president of the Council.

He was a merchant in London but moved to our hospitable shores (1659), and located a generous boundary of land in Westmoreland County, where the parish of Cople was named in his honor.[1]

Colonel Spencer's term[2] was troubled by an incursion of the Senecas. For twenty years some tribe from the Northwest descended annually upon our borders.

When Baron Effingham arrived, Colonel Spencer resumed his seat in the Council, and served the colony until his death (September 23, 1689).

[1] He was a nativé of Cople, Bedfordshire.

[2] *A description of Va.* (1683), *Va. Hist. Mag.*, October, 1920.

XLII.

FRANCIS, LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM

Lieutenant-Governor: April 16, 1684–October 20, 1688

Thomas Lord Culpeper left Virginia May 28, 1683. He was arrested when he landed July 25, 1683. Baron Effingham received his commission

from the King, Charles II, September 28, 1683. He took the oath of office October 28, 1683, met the Council at Jamestown February 21, 1684, and convened the General Assembly April 16, 1684.

Of the many bad governors England sent us, Effingham was perhaps the worst. He was "unscrupulous, deceitful, over-bearing, resentful, persistent, a dangerous foe to the representative institutions of the Colony."[1]

Virginia was so outrageously mismanaged, the petty tyrants and their nagging tyrannies so exasperating, the taxes, levies, fees, imports and duties were so galling, the economic condition of the farms had sunk to such a low level, and the people were so helpless, that if matters grew worse, the colony would not survive. It is to echo and apply Macduff's bitter cry for Scotland—"Oh! Virginia, Virginia; when shalt thou see thy wholesome days again!"

MACDUFF

To the honor of the Burgesses, be it recorded, that they fought like tigers for their rights and checked every move Effingham made. They battled within the law for the preservation of the Colony.

A compromise was finally effected. Major Beverley was to plead guilty of tobacco cutting and so forth; he was to be duly condemned; then pardoned. This pleasant, political play was much in vogue when the Stuarts reigned.

The Baron was expressly forbidden to "allow any person to use a printing press on any occasion whatever."

[1] T. J. WERTENBAKER, *Va. Under the Stuarts*, p. 240.

The Burgesses had been our Supreme Court. It was not logical nor ideal, but it worked well, and the Assembly was angry when King and Baron took this prerogative from them. They had to submit; and henceforth the judiciary has been separated from the legislature in Virginia.[2]

Unfortunately, the Court of Appeals was now the Governor and Council. Fortunately, the Council was a very superior body of men.

The King demanded the right of repealing any law made in Virginia, simply by a proclamation. The Assembly objected; but Baron Effingham refused to forward any petition overseas.

Governor Berkeley reported (1671) that there were 2,000 negroes in Virginia; in 1684 Effingham reported 4,000.

During the reign of Charles II, many Presbyterians settled along the Maryland-Virginia borderland. They were a long distance from Jamestown and from St. Mary's. Francis Makemie, the "Apostle of American Presbyterianism," lived among them. He married Naomi, daughter of William Anderson, Burgess from Accomac County, and was permitted to preach for many years undisturbed.[3]

PRESBYTERIANS

Charles II died (February 6, 1685) in the fifty-fifth year of his age. One would like to say something good for him, but about the only epitaph

[2] The Baron did the right thing the wrong way.

[3] L. P. BOWEN, *Days of Makemie*, for a detailed account of Francis Makemie, his life and influence, p. 524.

veracity permits is that, bad as he was, he was better than his brother.

Baron Effingham was officially notified betimes, and James II was proclaimed at Jamestown "with great solemnity." But there was no enthusiasm. The Virginians "were by no means pleased to have a Roman Catholic Monarch upon the English throne." Many openly talked of rebellion.

JAMES II

Baron Effingham wrote James II, "Their tongues ran at large till I secured some and deterred others." The Baron admits civil and religious tyranny over his signature.

The Duke of Monmouth fell at Sedgemoor, and James II wrote: "Our rebellious subjects taken in arms shall be transported to our dominions in America and left there to serve their masters for ten years at least." The prisoners were sold as temporary slaves, at from ten to fifteen pounds each. (September to December, 1685.)

PRISONERS

Hundreds of these fine Protestant patriots from England's Southwest were brought to Virginia, but they did not serve ten years. One may be sure that England would never submit to James II for a decade.

James II ordered Effingham to permit the free exercise of all Christian religions in Virginia. The Virginians were indignant, for they argued that it was a step toward Romanizing England. The Quakers and Presbyterians, who were forever petitioning for religious liberty, were as angry as the Churchmen of the Establishment.

At this critical junction (October 22, 1685), Louis XIV, the first cousin of James and his intimate adviser, revoked the famous Edict of Nantes. The Huguenots fled to the number of 300,000. Many reached Virginia, and the tale of their sufferings, their persecutions and the horrors through which they passed aroused the colony. Wild rumors, absurd of course, that King James and King Louis were planning a new St. Bartholomew's Massacre by the aid of the French and Indians, set the frontiers wild.[4] HUGUENOTS

Baron Effingham added fuel to the flames by declaring that no Burgess need take the oath of supremacy and allegiance.

Then he received orders to "put Virginia in a state of defense."

There was talk of expelling Effingham, as Berkeley and Harvey had been expelled; but cooler heads prevailed. Governors and politicians have always counted on the patience of the Virginians. They sent Colonel Philip Ludwell to Whitehall Palace, to lay their grievances before James II. But when the Colonel got over the King was gone.

On November 5, 1688, William III landed at Torbay. The news was hailed in Virginia with intense delight. The Dutch have always been popular in Virginia. We were to have a Dutch King, of the noble house of Orange, the heir of the royal Stuart line.

The Virginians were not notified until February

[4] FAIRFAX HARRISON, *Parson Waugh's Tumult*, *Va. Hist. Mag.*, January, 1922.

19, 1689, when William and Mary were proclaimed with "solemnity and thanksgiving."

With the coronation of William and Mary, Virginia entered a new era. Her troubles were not ENGLISH REVOLUTION ended, but Virginia's enlarging borders, her solid institutions, her definite policies, her knowledge of her rights, her determination to maintain them at what cost soever grew ever apace.

During the troubled years of Francis Howard, Baron Effingham, the first centennial of our planting slipped by unnoticed. One hundred years before, Sir Walter Ralegh was appointed the first governor of Virginia.

The Virginians of 1685 had no heart, in their poverty and struggles, to celebrate the centenary—if anyone thought of it; and there is no evidence that anyone did.

XLIII.

COLONEL NATHANIEL BACON, SR.

President of the Council: October 20, 1688–May 16, 1690

Lord Howard of Effingham made an extended visit to Albany (summer of 1688) to sign a treaty with the powerful Five Nations of Western New York. Nathaniel Bacon, Senior, as President of the Council, acted as the Baron's deputy.

Nathaniel Bacon[1] is a familiar name; but it

[1] EDWARD D. NEILL, *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 400.

would be difficult to find two men more dissimilar than the two Nathaniels of our early Colonial days—the young patriot, who was buried twelve years before under the waters of York River, and his cousin, the wealthy, cold-blooded, shrewd, diplomatic politician, with whom our narrative is concerned.

When Baron Effingham returned from Albany, New York, he did not tarry long, but blessed Virginia by taking his final departure (October 20, 1688) and old Nathaniel Bacon continued in office for two sensational and revolutionary years.

There were now twelve colonies along the extended seaboard and the future boundaries of the United States were slowly taking shape. Georgia alone was without a settlement. Virginia, the oldest and largest colony, had 50,000 inhabitants. Massachusetts came next with 44,000. Maryland ranked third, with 25,000; New York was fourth, with 20,000; Connecticut had 19,000; Pennsylvania (with Delaware), perhaps 12,000; New Jersey stood seventh with 10,000; the two Carolinas had about 8,000 combined; Rhode Island claimed 6,000 and New Hampshire was the smallest, with slightly less than Rhode Island. These figures are conjectural. Virginia had considerably more people than the authorities give in this estimate.

TWELVE COLONIES

Effingham reached London to find his royal master fled. But Colonel Philip Ludwell was there to call him to account.

He charged that the Baron collected an illegal fee of 200 pounds of tobacco every time he affixed

the seal of the Commonwealth. He charged an illegal fee of thirty pounds of tobacco for registering every land survey. He charged the Baron with duplicity in establishing ports in the several coun-
JUSTICE FOR THE BARON ties; also that he made violent personal attacks on many who opposed his tyranny. He accused the Baron of using funds which belonged to the colony. He proved these heinous charges so effectively that the Baron was ordered to remain at home on half pay.

"Remaining at home on half pay" began an abuse which did Virginia enormous harm. Henceforth absentee executives drew large salaries as "Governors of Virginia" and sent a subaltern to do the actual work, the first of whom was Francis Nicholson.

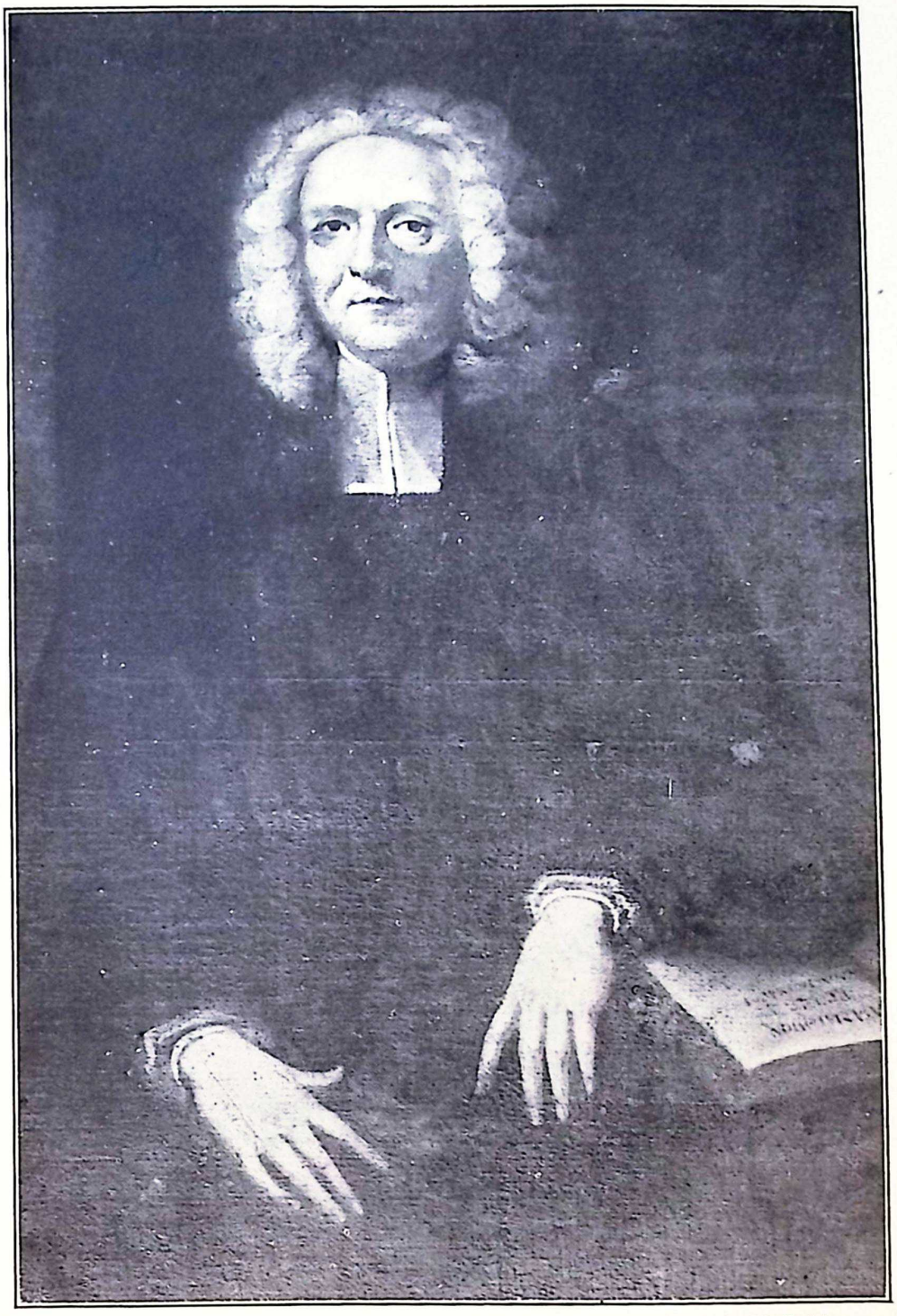

Photo by H. C. Mann.

COMMISSARY JAMES BLAIR

(*From portrait in the State Library*)

"He passed to his long home, and left no children, but the College of William and Mary is his monument. Commissary James Blair was the most valuable and influential citizen in all the years of Colonial Virginia."—Chaps. XLIV, XLV, XLVIII, LVI and LVII.

Book III

THE DOMINION OF VIRGINIA

1689—1776

XLIV.

COLONEL FRANCIS NICHOLSON

Lieutenant-Governor: May 16, 1690–
September 11, 1692

Francis was erratic. Perhaps the historians have been too severe with him.

He was a soldier, an ensign at eighteen. To the end of his long, useful and troubled career he was still a soldier, a staunch Tory and strong for the Established Church. Much trouble would have passed him by but for a temper like a West Indian hurricane, and a vituperative tongue with which he lashed his foes.

In New York he made a bad record, and was forced to fly the fury of the Dutchmen. Considering his New York record it is astonishing that they sent him to Virginia.[1]

At Jamestown the gay young soldier of thirty evidently tried to redeem an ugly record. His first administration brought peace and a faint semblance

[1] GEORGE BANCROFT, *Hist. of U. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 17-20.

of prosperity. The first time that happy word has been written on these pages for thirty long, hard, weary, hopeless years.

The Colonel's first idea was to get acquainted. Of all countries Virginia was most rural. Jamestown, even as a village, was worse than a failure. To see Virginia one must visit the large plantations whose richer fields were cleared and cultivated. Wide pocosons, dark swamps, cool woodlands and sweeping rivers separated the huge farms.

TOURED

Not being a farmer, Francis knew exactly how to farm. He advocated better harvesting, tillage and marketing. He offered prizes in athletic contests.

The Virginians desired a college. They established the oldest American college at Henricus,[2] but it was destroyed in the First Massacre (1622).

James Blair, a young Scotch divine, served the Bishop of London, Dr. Compton, as clerk. The Bishop persuaded him to come to Virginia as a missionary, and he was assigned the Parish of Varina, in which Henricus had been located.

Two years later (1687) the young preacher married Sarah Harrison, a daughter of one of the great families of Virginia and America.

In two years more he was appointed Commissary of the Bishop of London. A "commissary exercises spiritual jurisdiction in remote parts of a diocese or is entrusted with a bishop's duties in the bishop's absence."[3]

JAMES BLAIR

[2] EDWARD D. NEILL, *Hist. of Education in Va.*, 27 pages. Library of Congress.

[3] WEBSTER'S *Inter. Dictionary.*

Blair moved immediately to make the college a reality. In 1790 he secured the approval of the clergy, Council and Assembly. Subscriptions did not come so generously as resolutions. When Blair's paper was circulated, he got £2,000 ($10,000) from church, planters, merchants combined.

They sent Blair "home" to see the King, Queen and court, to get a charter and gifts.

The charter read: "To the end that the Church in Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the Gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners and that the Christian faith may be propagated among the Western Indians to the Glory of Almighty God."[4]

College Chartered

The sovereigns greatly encouraged him. Indeed, without William and Mary, there would be no William and Mary. The Queen was especially interested. They gave the college 20,000 acres of land on the Blackwater and Pamunkey Rivers; they granted the unpaid balance due on the quit-rents, worth about £2,000 when collected, and they also gave the inter-colonial tax of one cent on each pound of tobacco shipped from Virginia and Maryland. The office of Surveyor-General was attached to the college, and a Burgess was to represent the college in the House of Burgesses.

The British attorney-general grumbled that money was wasted to "teach boys divinity."[5]

[4] For a scholarly and exhaustive discussion of the whole subject, see PHILIP ALEX. BRUCE, *Institutional Hist. of Va.*, Vol. I, pp. 374-401.

[5] JOHN ESTEN COOKE, *History*, p. 305.

"But," protested James Blair, "the Virginians have souls as well as the English."

"Souls?" exclaimed Seymour, "Damn your souls! Make tobacco."

After Blair's return Nicholson was transferred to Maryland. The General Assembly presented him a gift of £300 "in token of their love."[6] Really one gasps with astonishment! Nothing like it ever happened before in Virginia.

Francis, too, was quite overcome and asked the King's permission to accept it. King William advised him to take it, but he gave half of it to the college.

[6] ROBT. R. HOWISON, *History of Va.*

XLV.

SIR EDMUND ANDROS

Governor and Captain-General: September 11, 1692–October 9, 1698

The King and Queen, securely seated on the British throne, dismissed Lord Howard of Effingham and appointed Sir Edmund Andros. As Sir Edmund was a Jacobin, a protege of James II, one wonders what political wires were pulled to seat him. Like Nicholson he was a professional soldier.

When New Amsterdam became New York Edmund was the first English governor (1674). Charles II knighted him (1678) but he raised a storm over the New York-Connecticut boundary and was recalled.

In Boston (1686), as governor of the United (or very much disunited) Colonies, he attacked the freedom of the press, laid onerous fees and taxes; proclaimed religious freedom, subdued the Indians and drove the pirates off the coast.

Some of these items sound very fine; but the stubborn, old Puritans were positive that "Religious Freedom" was only a cloak for the introduction of King James' Catholicism.

As for the Indians, Boston was growing rich in a trade that extended far into New France.

Pirates were bad men, but they left a world of Spanish gold lying around—and Boston never objected to that!

When James II fled the Bostonians clapped Sir Edmund Andros and fifty of his obnoxious satellites into prison and sent them home to answer for mal-administration. But the case was never called. BOSTON

This is he whom William III sent to be Governor of Virginia! An office not to be despised, as it paid £2,000 a year.[1]

It is astonishing; Sir Edmund Andros made the best governor Virginia had since Captain Sam Mathews was laid in his grave thirty years gone!

After much discussion Middle Plantation (Williamsburg) was chosen as the site of the college and the foundations were laid.

Sir Edmund introduced a method of protecting the frontier, so simple, economical and effective

[1] The salary of the Governor of Virginia in 1930 is $5,000 and the Mansion. The salary paid Andros would be equal to $50,000 today in purchasing power.

that it is strange none had used it before. At the falls of the Potomac, Rappahannock, Mattaponi and James he stationed garrisons, twelve scouts and two Indians.[2]

FOUR FORTS

The Governor urged the planters along the southern borders to substitute cotton for tobacco. He wished to establish factories, but London protested.

A post route was established from Philadelphia to Virginia (1695).

Although the Virginians had paid exorbitant and unreasonable taxes for years and years, nobody seemed to know what became of the funds. Titles to land, surveys and records of prime importance were flung about the offices, none filed nor indexed. "Prompt, judicious and methodical, Andros introduced improvements that contributed to the simplification and dispatch of public business."[3]

The house next the little capitol at Jamestown burned. People rushed in and flung papers, books and furniture out of the state house, which was not burned. Andros had the documents carefully gathered, assorted, re-copied, and put in a "safe place of custody," if anybody knows where that was in Jamestown. But the state house did burn a few years later (October, 1698), and the task was repeated. He did not complete it, for he was recalled (December 9, 1698).

FIRE!

James Blair was the uncrowned king of Virginia. He was the first and the greatest of our political parsons. He put his broad Scotch shoulders under

[2] Chap. XXXVII. Chicheley had a similar idea.

[3] JAMES GRAHAME, *Hist. of U. S.*, Vol. II, p. 6.

the Colony when Virginia was at the nadir of misery, poverty, ignorance and despair. No Archbishop of Canterbury ever wielded greater power in England than Blair wielded in Virginia. His is the largest figure, the finest influence, the most unselfish patriotism in our Colonial annals. For half a century he touched and blessed Virginia. Blair was not always right, but he was never far wrong.[4]

POLITICAL PARSON

There was a quarrel over the appointment of rectors to "livings." A "living" was a parish church, but it would have been more appropriate to call it a "starving." The Commissary contended that he should appoint the clergy, as head of the Church. The Governor insisted that he should appoint and remove them. They were on the pay-roll of the state.

QUARREL

Andros expelled Blair from the Council. King William reinstated him. Andros expelled him a second time, and complained of him to King and Bishop. But James Blair was a good politician, too. He complained of Andros to King, Council and Bishop, and in the name of religion, education and colonial peace he demanded Andros' removal.

The Parson won. Andros was recalled and Nicholson returned to Virginia.

[4] DANIEL ESTEN MOTLEY, *Life of Commissary James Blair*, Johns Hopkins Studies, Vol. 19, pp. 456-503.

XLVI.

GEORGE HAMILTON DOUGLAS, EARL OF ORKNEY

Governor-in-Chief: 1697-1737

King William appointed George Hamilton Douglas, Earl of Orkney, "Governor-in-Chief" of Virginia (1697), which lucrative position the Earl held for forty years, though he never set foot on our soil.

When William and Mary came in George was a Colonel in the infantry. After Queen Mary's death (1695) the King married him to Elizabeth Villiers, his notorious paramour. Three months later he was created Earl of Orkney, and a year later Governor of Virginia.

"The Earl of Orkney was satisfied with drawing annually twelve hundred pounds sterling of the two thousand attached to the office. Orkney is said to have drawn this salary for forty years, which means that he pocketed at least 48,000 pounds, not one penny of which he earned."[1]

FOR SALARY ONLY

[1] PHILIP ALEX. BRUCE, *Hist. of Va.*, Vol. I.

XLVII.

COLONEL FRANCIS NICHOLSON

Lieutenant-Governor: October 9, 1698–August 15, 1705

Nicholson, like his patron Sir Edmund Andros, advocated a confederation of the twelve British Colonies for mutual help and protection. It was an excellent idea, but was a century ahead of the times. Francis had pleasant dreams of his appointment as the King's American Viceroy. Unfortunately his ambitions were larger than his abilities, for he was not a star of the first magnitude.

The governor was a youngster of thirty-eight. His morals were said to be not exemplary. He fell violently and vehemently in love with Martha, the beautiful daughter of Major Lewis Burwell, of York County.

The maiden loved a young Virginian.[1] When Nicholson appealed, rather ungallantly, to the girl's parents they refused to interfere. This set him into a passion. "He became infuriated and persisted quixotically for years in his fruitless purpose."[2]

He raged among the planters and declared that if Armistead married the maiden, he would "cut the throats of three men: the bridegroom, the clergyman and the justice who issued the license." He told Martha that he would put her

FURY OF WORDS

[1] Henry Armistead of "Hesse," Gloucester Co.

[2] CHARLES C. CAMPBELL, *Hist. of Va.*

father and brothers to death if she did not marry him. But neither father, brothers, clergyman nor bridegroom were in the least alarmed. They knew Francis. Nicholson was the most extraordinary talker that ever was in Virginia. His deeds were mild and reasonable. Those ancient Virginians, we repeat, understood Francis.

The Burwell family lived on the fine, old estate on York River, which was formerly "Utie-Maria." Martha's mother was the niece and heir of Nathaniel Bacon, Sr.[3] The young lady was therefore a cousin of Nathaniel Bacon, the rebel of a preceding generation.

Despite the efforts of ninety years, Jamestown was impossible. The village made a deplorable appearance. "There were about 20 or 30 houses at Jamestown in 1698."[4]

Nicholson found the state house in ashes and estimated that £2,000 would not rebuild it.[5] He urged that the capitol be rebuilt at Middle Plantation, which he named Williamsburg for the monarch. A site was selected, one mile east of the College where the road forked, right to Hampton, left to Yorktown.

WILLIAMSBURG

The capitol at Williamsburg would benefit the College. "It would be a greater kindness than if someone presented it with two thousand pounds sterling."

Nicholson wished the new town laid out in the

[3] Chap. XLIII.

[4] Commissary JAMES BLAIR.

[5] LYON G. TYLER, *Cradle of the Republic*, has a picture of the State House.

form of a monogram—*W* super-imposed upon an *M*, as the letters would have made squares. But he did not have his way.

The College was built after plans supposed to have been drawn by Sir Christopher Wren; and its lower grades were opened. Had the Virginians supported their College as they should, that foundation would, by this time, be one of the great schools of the world. No praise could be too fulsome for William and Mary. It has wonderfully enriched Virginia and the nation. Her roll of alumni is a roster of brilliant distinction and marvelous achievement.

Governor Nicholson took an interest in other educational developments. He proposed to repair the old state house at Jamestown and make it a public school; at his own charges. But this was not done.

The village of Norfolk was growing slowly through the years. Two months after Nicholson left (October, 1705), the straggling village was made a "town." Towns, even the smallest of them, were rare in this exceedingly rural colony. Francis Makemie wrote from his home in Accomac County that there are the "beginnings of towns at Williamsburg, Hampton and Norfolk, particularly in Norfolk-town at Elizabeth River, who carry on a small trade with the whole bay."[6]

LITTLE TOWNS

Makemie and Nicholson were good friends, both in Maryland and Virginia. "Nicholson informed

[6] L. P. BOWEN, *Life of Makemie.*

Makemie that not a single right of his sect should be abridged."[7]

Makemie and Blair were giants who lifted Virginia into the light. Both were Scotch clergymen, of an age, authors, educators and statesmen. Blair dedicated his talents wholly to Virginia, but Makemie travelled from South Carolina to New York.

The dawn of the Eighteenth Century found Virginia in better case. The darkest days of sickness, poverty and want lay behind. Her borders were expanding, her population and wealth were increasing, her frontiers were, for the first time, comparatively secure. From the most distant cabin the lofty crest of the Blue Ridge was visible against the blazing sky at sunset. Beyond the Blue Wall the Indians and long hunters told of a beautiful land rich beyond description.

CENSUS

At the century's end, Virginia had at least 70,000 inhabitants; Maryland, 35,000; New York, 30,000; Pennsylvania, 20,000; the two Jerseys, 15,000, and the two Carolinas about the same. There were 125,000 in New England. In all, 300,000 people in North America were speaking English.[8]

The Governor was enthusiastic over General Musters—huge military picnics, usually the men of a whole county, drilling and fighting sham battles. They were popular in Virginia until the Civil War.

[7] P. A. BRUCE.

[8] CHAS. C. CAMPBELL, p. 117. Compare Chap. XLIII.

FRANKLIN D. DEXTER estimates the population of Virginia "little short of 60,000 at the English Revolution and in fourteen years 70,000, and in another fourteen years 100,000." *Hist. Papers*, p. 171.

Pirates swarmed from Newfoundland to the Spanish Main. "La Paix," a bold pirate, dropped anchor within Cape Henry. She was a floating fortress of twenty cannon. H. B. M. S. "Shoreham," Colonel Nicholson aboard, captured "La Paix" with 110 men, three of whom were hung; the others were imprisoned or deported.[9]

PIRATES

Thousands of Huguenots took refuge in England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). The Virginians[10] invited them to our hospitable shores; and, during Nicholson's administration, four bands, in all approximately a thousand persons, arrived and were seated above the falls in what is now Powhatan county. Each family received 133 acres of land, and was exempt from taxation. They built a church, school, parsonage, and while they began with nothing except willing hands and an abiding faith in God, their holdings improved, their cattle increased, and their farms were well tilled. Gradually their children dropped French for English, married among their neighbors and greatly enriched Virginia.

HUGUENOTS

Nicholson's work was done, and, on the whole, well done. Commissary James Blair wished Nicholson removed; and Colonel Francis left (August 15, 1705).

[9] PHILIP ALEX. BRUCE, *Hist. of Va.*, Vol. I, p. 271.

[10] Gov. Nicholson's Letter, and list of Huguenots. *Va. Hist. Soc. Papers*, Vol. VI, pp. 63-67.

XLVIII.

COLONEL EDWARD NOTT

Chief Governor: August 15, 1705–August, 1706

Tempestuous Nicholson was succeeded by Edward Nott, "a mild and benevolent man."[1] He sought to bring order out of the colony's legal chaos. The rapid succession of governors, the neglect of records, the prohibition upon printing and general lack of education wrought hopeless confusion.

Nott progressed until he touched the Established Church. The old contention as to the appointment and removal of rectors had never been settled. Commissary Blair raised a warning finger, "Edward Nott, thou shalt not." And Colonel Nott did not, for he had the recent experiences of Andros and Nicholson to guide him and Nott knew he had better not.

Since Jamestown had been abandoned (April, 1699) the General Assembly used the College buildings for their meetings. "At the east end of a spacious avenue, facing the college, a brick building in the form of the letter H, was erected. This first capitol, so-called, in the United States, was burned (1746). A new capitol was erected soon after on the same walls, which stood till 1832, when it perished like its predecessor."[2]

CAPITOL

[1] CHARLES C. CAMPBELL, *Hist. of Va.*

[2] LYON G. TYLER, *Williamsburg.*

The prolonged and indefatigable efforts of Commissary James Blair went to smoke and ashes almost as soon as completed (October, 1705). But Blair was a Scot, and, before the cinders were cold, he planned to replace the child of his heart and hand. COLLEGE BURNS

Queen Anne promptly gave £1,000 out of the quit-rents. The Assembly voted the College a tax on furs and pelts, which had become a considerable item by the Indian trade. Blair gave his own salary, and his prodigious efforts to make the walls rise again. And they arose, slowly and painfully to be sure (1705-1716).

To Edward Nott, Luke Hill, a poor farmer from Princess Anne, appealed charging that his neighbor, Grace Sherwood, was a witch. The Governor and Council heard Luke respectfully, and submitted the case to Attorney-General Stevens Thomson, who gravely advised Edward Nott that, in his opinion, the county court of Princess Anne was abundantly able to handle the case.[3] WITCH

In August, Edward Nott died suddenly, aged forty-nine years, and the General Assembly built a beautiful tomb for him in Bruton Parish Churchyard, under which he lies.

[3] For a detailed account of Grace Sherwood, SQUIRES' *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 60-78.

JNO. J. BURROUGHS, *Record of Trial of Grace Sherwood* (1832), *Old Va. Clerks*, p. 325.

XLIX.

COLONEL EDMUND JENNINGS

President of the Council: August, 1706–June 23, 1710

We are proud to introduce Edmund Jennings to any company, even the most distinguished. His father, Sir Edmund Jennings, of Ripon, Yorkshire, married the daughter of the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Edward Barkham. When Edmund, a young man, settled on York River, he called his elegant estate "Ripon Hall."

As president of the Council Edmund Jennings was governor four years.

Had Francis Nicholson remained, a celebration of Virginia's one-hundredth birthday would likely have been held in 1707. The date passed without notice. Virginians make history, but are dilatory in recording their priceless heritage.

L.

GENERAL ROBERT HUNTER

Lieutenant-Governor: April 4, 1707

The General was to succeed the late Colonel Nott. He was a "brigadier-general, a scholar, a wit and a friend of Addison and Swift."[1]

[1] CHAS. C. CAMPBELL.

A French privateer captured General Hunter and he arrived in Paris instead of Williamsburg. The French held him two years (1707-1709).

During his captivity Dean Swift wrote (January, 1709) that, unless Hunter got out and secured for him the coveted appointment as bishop of Virginia, he would be persuaded to go to Ireland with Addison, the newly appointed secretary of state!

Had General Hunter brought Dean Swift to Williamsburg with Commissary Blair still here there would likely have been a fight to the finish. One's imagination is not equal to such an interesting emergency!

Virginia had three governors simultaneously; the Earl of Orkney, in Scotland; his deputy, General Hunter, in Paris; and Colonel Jennings at Williamsburg.[2]

"In Colonel Nott's term, 1705, the Assembly had appropriated 3,000 pounds to build a palace upon 63 acres of land, adjoining Williamsburg."[3]

PALACE

When completed it was two stories high, fifty-four feet long and forty-eight wide. A four-foot brick wall enclosed the courtyard and flower garden.

"The palace is a magnificent structure, finished and beautified with gates, gardens, offices, walks, a fine canal, orchards, etc. Within were stands of arms nicely posited by the ingenious contrivances of the most accomplished Colonel Spotswood. Upon

[2] JOHN FISKE, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, pp. 300-374. Hunter later became governor of New York and New Jersey. He brought 2,000 immigrants from the Rhenish Palatinate, the ancestors of the "Pennsylvania Dutch."

[3] LYON G. TYLER.

birth-nights and at balls and assemblies, I have seen as fine appearance, as good diversion and as splendid entertainment as I have seen anywhere else."[4]

The Governor's Mansion at Richmond, used for a century,[5] could be duplicated four times over for what the Palace cost, and the state has never had any difficulty persuading someone to live in it.

[4] HUGH JONES (1723).
[5] Chap. LXXXV.

LI.

COLONEL ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD

Lieutenant-Governor: June 23, 1710–September 27, 1722

One hundred years to the month, and almost to the day, had passed since Lord Delaware brought Virginia a new and better time. With the advent of Alexander Spotswood the colony was again blessed. Want, poverty, rebellion, and tyranny fade gradually into the background and the happiest era of Colonial Virginia began. It was a golden age destined to outlast a century; but with the gold there was much dross.

Alexander Spotswood was born the year of Bacon's Rebellion (1676), in the British colony of Tangier, on the coast of Africa, to Robert Spotswood, physician to the garrison. Left an orphan at the tender age of twelve, he adopted the profession of arms, for he was a soldier by birth, training, and instinct.

Spotswood began well. He brought the right of *habeas corpus*, long denied the Virginians, although free-born English.

Rigid economy was his program; reforms in law, constitution, revenue, taxes, tobacco culture, education, the Indian trade—indeed, during his twelve years, he touched every vital interest of the colony, always beneficially. In some respects he was Virginia's best governor.

Williamsburg was a raw village. The Palace, building four years, was incomplete and the funds, of course, were exhausted. But the Assembly was generous and work began again. It was finished, out-houses, gardens and all, by 1720.

The College, too, was slowly rising from its forlorn condition. Three years elapsed before it was restored. The state house was building at the eastern end of Duke of Gloucester Street, and Spotswood cajoled £200 out of the Assembly (1714) to build a powder horn opposite the Palace Green. Queen Anne sent much ammunition to fill the Horn. Of all Spotswood's buildings, the humble Horn is the only one that survives unchanged.

MUCH BUILDING

The parish church was in a "ruinous condition, but by 1715 it had been rebuilt and put into its present form, shape and general condition." Bruton Parish Church with its yard, graves, vaults and precious memories, is the most interesting and compelling house of worship in America.

Everyone was happy. The new governor was pleased with the people and the people were pleased with the executive, his energy, patriotism and

industry. England was at war with France (as usual) and war prices for tobacco and other commodities brought prosperity to Virginia. Spotswood reported (1711): "The government is in perfect peace and tranquility, under a due obedience to the royal authority and a gentlemanly conformity to the Church of England."

There was no tranquility beyond the southern border. For six years Carolina had been in a frenzy. And when North Carolina throws fits she throws them right. There were two governors and two legislatures (as if one were not enough). The "plain people" were behind Thomas Cary, who had been appointed deputy-governor in 1703. William Glover was sent over by the lord-proprietors and represented the large land-holders.

NORTH CAROLINA

Finally Edward Hyde was ordered to supersede the two and restore peace. But he came without proper credentials and confusion was worse confounded.

The Tuscaroras, taking advantage of the confusion, fell with fury upon the frontiers, and murdered 120 settlers along the Neuse and Pamlico rivers. Edward Hyde defeated them and restored order (1712).

Spotswood, fearing an invasion by the Tuscaroras, marched into the Nottoway country. He abolished the fur tribute previously required, and offered to educate all Indian children who would come to William and Mary (and some came, but not many). The Nottoways, Nansemonds and Meherrins promised to be good—and for once kept their word.

During the summer (1711) there was a near-panic when it was rumored that the French were about to capture Virginia and annex it to Canada. It used to be the Spaniards who were forever coming; now it was the French. Fortunately, neither ever arrived.

But the slaves and slavers kept coming. It was a lucrative trade and Virginia's efforts to control it were vain. However, they laid a tax of 5 pounds on every Negro imported, and a tax of 22 shillings ($5.50) on every Indian slave imported. Unfortunately for the Colony the British Board of Trade vetoed the heavy import. If they had not done so the tax would likely have stopped the importation, and might have changed our history.

STOP THE SLAVERS

The first insurrection of slaves, a dread that haunted Virginia for 150 years, was threatened in Surry County. "The Negro who gave the clue was purchased by the Assembly and emancipated."[1]

Spotswood, a strong churchman, requested an additional tax (forty pounds of tobacco) on every taxpayer, to increase the salary of the clergy. Of fifty-two parishes, now in Virginia, only forty were filled, and many indifferently.

CHURCH

The Virginia parishes were far and away too extensive. Some parishioners lived fifty miles from their church. Above all, Virginia needed a bishop, but the Assembly, dreading increased taxation, would not hear to it; preferring rather the risk of "paganism, atheism and sectaries."

The Church of England should have supplemented

[1] PHILIP ALEX. BRUCE.

the "livings" by a small fund (as all churches supplement their feeble parishes today).

In January, 1714, the Governor offered a new treaty to the Sapony, Nottoway, and Tuscarora tribes. Each was to have a huge reservation (some 23,000 acres) in the undetermined border land between Virginia and Carolina. Spotswood spent six weeks in the forests. He loved the frontiers and was forever marching into the great woods.

INDIANS

Only the peaceful Saponies accepted. Among them he located Fort Christianna, "built on rising ground in a pentagon enclosure of palisades. There were five houses, which defended each other. Each side of the fort was 100 yards long and each had a cannon mounted. One of the cannon is now on the campus of William and Mary College."[2] The fort was on the south bank of the Meherrin River, near Lawrenceville.

Alexander Spotswood announced the death of his beloved sovereign, Queen Anne, and the accession of the House of Hanover in the person of George I (Nov. 17, 1714).

GEORGE I

South Carolina, having trouble with the Yamassees, appealed to Spotswood for aid. He sent 150 men and an abundant supply of ammunition from the Powder Horn. They defeated the Yamassees and brought peace to the cotton planters.

In 1715, at the end of Queen Anne's brilliant reign, it is estimated that the colonies took the following rank in population:[3]

[2] LYON G. TYLER.

[3] CHALMERS' *American Colonies.*

First: Massachusetts, 96,000; 2,000 Negroes. Second: Virginia, 95,000; 23,000 Negroes. Third: Maryland, 50,200; 9,500 Negroes. Fourth, Connecticut, 47,500; 1,500 Negroes. Fifth, Pennsylvania, 45,800; 2,500 Negroes. Sixth: New York, 31,000; 4,000 Negroes. Seventh: New Jersey, 22,500; 1,500 Negroes. Eighth: South Carolina, 16,750; 10,500 Negroes. Ninth: North Carolina, 11,200; 3,700 Negroes. Tenth: New Hampshire, 9,650; 150 Negroes. Eleventh: Rhode Island, 9,000; 500 Negroes.

There were 434,000 people in America; 58,850 of whom were negroes.

Baron de Graffenreid often discussed the magnificent domain of valleys, mountains, rivers, and plains which lay behind the dim Blue Ridge. Spotswood and a company of gentlemen met at the plantation of Robert Beverley[4] (August 17, 1716), and followed the Rapidan to its source. On September 5 they reached the summit of Blue Ridge at Swift Run Gap and gazed into the valley below—a land so beautiful that the Indians called it Shenandoah, the "Daughter of the Stars."[5]

VALLEY

Spotswood named the river racing northward to the distant Potomac, through deep glades of the primeval forest and twisting like a silver serpent in its rocky bed, the Euphrates. They took possession of the land in the name of King George and named two prominent peaks Mt. George and Mt. Alexander.

[4] On the Beverley family. *Va. Hist. Mag.*, October, 1928.

[5] *Spotswood's Letters*, Vol. I, p. 40.

"For this expedition they were obliged to provide a great quantity of horse-shoes, things seldom used in the eastern parts of Virginia, where there are no stones. Upon which account, the Governor, on his return, presented each of his companions with a golden horseshoe, some of which I have seen covered with valuable stones resembling heads of nails, with the inscription "*Sic juvat transcendere montes.*" (Thus he rejoices to transcend the mountains). "This he instituted to encourage gentlemen to venture backward and make discoveries and settlements; any gentleman being entitled to wear this golden horseshoe on his breast who could prove that he drank His Majesty's health on Mt. George."[6] Incidentally, the British government declined to pay for the golden horseshoes.

KNIGHTS

The fierce Iroquois of Western New York were accustomed to pass through Piedmont Virginia on annual southward excursions. Their trace followed roughly a line through Leesburg, Warrenton, Culpeper, Charlottesville, Lynchburg, and Danville. Spotswood persuaded them to go south by a trace west of the Blue Ridge.

The pirates grew so bold that they blocked the entrance to the Chesapeake. Black Beard lived peacefully for awhile near Elizabeth City, North Carolina. But he could not be good long. Lieutenant Henry Maynard, with two vessels of the British Navy, the "Lime" and the "Pearl," sailed to Ocracoke, defeated Black Beard (November 22, 1718), and returned to Hampton with the mon-

BLACK BEARD

[6] REV. HUGH JONES (1724). Sometimes "jurat" instead of "juvat."



Photo by H. P. Cook.

ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD

From a portrait in the State Library, copied from an anonymous original, presented (1874) by Philip A. Spotswood, of Orange, Va.—Chaps. LI to LIV.

ster's head swinging at the bowsprit. Thirteen of the godless crew were hanged together on the highway below Williamsburg, and Black Beard's head was placed on a pole at the estuary of Hampton River as a warning to the freebooting fraternity.[7]

Besides Indians and pirates, Governor Spotswood had serious trouble with the Council. Eight colonels and Commissary Blair wished him recalled. But Spotswood defended himself so vigorously and successfully that Colonel William Byrd of Westover, who went to London to represent the complainants, decided to bury the hatchet (for awhile), and all was peaceful again (for awhile). Spotswood was especially popular with the common folk.

Virginia, once destitute of leadership, was bringing forth a race of giants. Blair and Spotswood were both Scotch, and when Scot meets Scot the battle will not be gentle. The church establishment quarrel[8] had two plausible sides. RACE OF GIANTS

Meantime the colony was developing as never before. Far to the west (Madison County), the Lutheran Church made a feeble beginning in Virginia. The Germans on Robinson and Conway Rivers (1714-1720) were Lutherans from Wurtenburg, and soon erected a school, church and parsonage.[9] Spotswood secured to all immigrants exemption from quit-rents for seven (or ten) years; and every farm was restricted to 1,000 acres.

Alexander Spotswood was greatly interested in our postal system, and, with Benjamin Franklin,

[7] For the story of Black Beard: SQUIRES' *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 48-59.

[8] WILLIAM MEADE.

[9] Chap. CXV.

may be considered its founder. "The charge was nine pence (18c) a mile for every letter of a single sheet which was to be transmitted eight miles, and four-and-a-half pence (9c) more beyond that distance."[10] In 1720 Spotswood was appointed deputy postmaster for America.

There was a mild religious sensation in Virginia when "Benedict Calvert, Lord Baltimore, abandoned the Church of Rome and embraced Protestantism. To Charles Calvert, his son, likewise a Protestant, the full privileges of the Maryland charter were subsequently restored by George I."[11]

Philip Ludwell and William Byrd petitioned the King to abolish the nuisance tax known as quit-rents, but Spotswood objected. There was a quarrel, and, as usual, one misunderstanding led to another until a political battle raged. The colonels lined up against Spotswood, and accused him of all manner of political chicanery.

QUIT RENTS

Spotswood could talk, too. He claimed that he was the victim of envy and of a whispering campaign. He wrote that Virginia was ruled by a "set of representatives whom Heaven has not generally endowed with the ordinary qualifications requisite to legislators; they could not spell English nor write common sense." After these caustic remarks, he dissolved the Assembly and sent them home (August 3, 1715). He also complained that the Virginians looked upon "every one not born in this country as a foreigner." The Virginians were certainly partial

10 PHILIP ALEX. BRUCE, *Hist. of Va.*, Vol. I, p. 303.

11 CHAS. C. CAMPBELL, *Hist. of Va.*

to their native-born colonels. "A member of His Majesty's Council in Virginia was almost a patent of nobility."

Mayland and Virginia exported annually 25,000,000 pounds of tobacco. Great Britain consumed 8,000,000 pounds and exported 17,000,000 pounds. Glasgow was especially active in this trade, and many fine Scotch fortunes were made by dealers in the leaf.

Norfolk developed a considerable trade with the West Indian Islands; shipping corn, lumber and salted meats, and receiving sugar, rum and wine.

The African trade continued, and the slavers (practically none of whom were Virginians) imported Negroes at the rate of 1,000 per year during the reign of George I.

Spotswood acquired a snug little farm of 35,000 acres on the Rapidan above Fredericksburg, beyond the frontiers, and it had iron ore upon it. He built four furnaces and employed a dozen Germans to turn out pig iron. His venture was a success but not a great success. The English government did not want any manufacturing done in America. They were determined that the tobacco and cotton colonies should confine themselves to the two great staples. New England had no such staples and the government reluctantly overlooked the small industrial development of the northern colonies.

IRON

The Colonels and the Commissary again demanded Spotswood's recall. His successor was appointed September 27, 1722, but he remained in Virginia, and his children multiplied in the land.

"The name of Spotswood is greatly honored. He was an admirable type of the soldier and statesman combined, a ruler born, with the resolute will and strong brain which give the right to govern; and, first and last, all his exertions were for the good of Virginia."

LII.

COLONEL HUGH DRYSDALE

Lieutenant-Governor: September 27, 1722–July 22, 1726

Colonel Drysdale died in office after a term of almost four years, lost in obscurity. He is forgotten. This fading personality is described[1] as "a smiling gentleman who beamed on everybody." He wrote "home" that the "benign influence of his auspicious sovereign was conspicuous in a general harmony and content among all ranks of persons."

As the "auspicious sovereign" was a phlegmatic German who could not read a word of English, we will let it pass at that.

[1] JOHN ESTEN COOKE, *Hist. of Va.*, p. 329.

LIII.

COLONEL ROBERT CARTER

President of the Council: July 22, 1726–October 1, 1727

The untimely death of Colonel Drysdale called "King" Carter to the chair, a picturesque Virginian of the Eighteenth Century, who added lustre to the golden age.

Colonel John Carter, his father, was only less distinguished than his son. His wife, Sarah Ludlow, was a grand-niece of Edmund Ludlow, a general in Oliver Cromwell's mighty army.

Robert Carter was worthy his blood. His magnificent estate, "Corotoman," on the Rappahannock, was one of the elegant private residences in America. It has long since gone to dust and ashes, but Robert Carter's elaborate tomb in Christ Churchyard remains, although sadly shattered. His vast landed estates, his wealth, influence, social connections and lavish state won the soubriquet "King," by which history knows him.

He married twice and his children filled the land. During "King" Carter's term George I died (June 11, 1727) and George II was proclaimed. GEORGE II

The Colony was rapidly expanding. Pioneers pushed over the Blue Ridge,[1] up the Potomac, James

[1] *Va. Hist. Mag.*, April, 1929.

Also ANN V. STRICKLER MILBOURNE, *Va. Hist. Mag.*, April, 1927, and January, 1928.

and Rappahannock. Many settled along the Byrd line in Virginia and North Carolina.

South Carolina protested vigorously against the wholesale importation of Negro slaves. Already there were two black men to one white; but London would neither hear nor heed. The Royal African Company was determined to continue the iniquitous but immensely profitable kidnaping and transporting of Negroes. Were not the slaves in the colonies far better off than their less fortunate brothers in Guinea? The slaves were to be congratulated, not commiserated. And, as for the Carolinians and Virginians, what they needed was labor. The Royal African Company was supplying them with the best and cheapest labor on earth—then why these vigorous protests? Every political and financial iniquity has a plausible argument to sustain it.

STOP THE SLAVERS

LIV.

COLONEL WILLIAM GOOCH

Lieutenant-Governor: October 13, 1727–June 7, 1740

William Gooch,[1] one of the ablest of our governors, gave satisfaction to the Virginians, while he pleased the administration at "home." Such tact was a miracle of statecraft, for Virginia wanted everything she could get and England would not give

[1] "He assumed his duties as governor September 8." PERCY SCOTT FLIPPIN, *William Gooch.*

the Virginians a tithe of what they demanded. Gooch reigned twenty-two years, holding office longer than any governor except Sir William Berkeley.

He was born in Yarmouth, Suffolk (October 12, 1681) and was one day over forty-six when he arrived.

He, too, served under mighty Marlborough at Blenheim, and had other engagements to his credit. His portrait is sketched by a distinguished author:

"A man of unblemished private character and of high intelligence, sedate and reserved in bearing, but kindly and courteous; a robust Presbyterian in religious convictions, his times were full of peril and of tumult; only a firm and sagacious executive could have passed through them successfully."[2]

Thickening populations along the Carolina border demanded an immediate location of the southern boundary. The Governor appointed a commission (December 4, 1727), of which William Byrd[3] was chairman, to meet a similar commission from North Carolina and locate the accurate boundary.

Colonel Byrd's diary of the expedition is one of the most valuable and interesting books written in Colonial America.[4]

They began at a point on the sand dunes between the Atlantic and Currituck Sound, 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. They followed westward through the tangled recesses of Great Dismal, over the Chowan River, crossing

BYRD LINE

[2] PHILIP ALEX. BRUCE, *Hist. of Va.*, Vol. I, p. 322.

[3] The story of the Byrd Family is told in detail, *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 78-87.

[4] WILLIAM BYRD, *History of the Dividing Line.*

the Roanoke eight times as it meandered back and forth as though it could not decide whether it preferred Virginia or North Carolina. William Byrd and his surveyors did their work well.

Of Norfolk Byrd wrote:

"The two cardinal virtues that make a place thrive, industry and frugality, are seen here in perfection. So long as the people can banish luxury and idleness the town will remain in a happy and flourishing condition." Almost any time "two dozen vessels" were seen loading at Norfolk.

Like South Carolina, Virginia was importing too many slaves; like South Carolina, Virginia attempted to restrict their importation. A great many raw Negroes had been taken to the Goochland frontier, up the James. They made a dash for liberty and attempted to found a Negro settlement in the wilderness near the Blue Ridge. They carried provisions, tools and firearms with them.[5]

SLAVE TROUBLE

Gooch called out the militia and the ignorant Africans were returned to their plantations with practically no bloodshed. But the colonists were uneasy, and the peril of the situation was not lost upon them.

On February 22 (1732), according to our calendar, or February 11, according to the old style calendar, George Washington was born at Wakefield, the ancestral home of his father, to Colonel Augustine Washington and his second wife, Mary Ball.

When George was four months old, Georgia, the

[5] PHILIP ALEX. BRUCE, *Hist. of Va.*, Vol. I, pp. 321-322.



Photo by H. C. Mann.

BERKELEY HUNDRED

The Harrison home, like the men it nurtured, is plain and substantial. The famous plantation between "Westover" and "Shirley" was bought by Benjamin Harrison (1726), and five generations lived under its ample roof. The fourth, Benjamin, our Governor, was the father of the ninth and great-grandfather of the twenty-third President.—Chap. LXXV.

last of the thirteen colonies,[6] was granted to General George Oglethorpe, who laid the foundation of Savannah, February 12, 1733. GEORGIA

Morgan Morgan, a Welshman, from Pennsylvania, erected the first cabin[7] west of the Blue Ridge (1726). He was followed (1732) by an increasing migration of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who crossed from Pennsylvania into the Shenandoah Valley and located along the Opequon. SHENANDOAH

"On September 15, 1736, a royal charter was granted the Borough of Norfolk; Samuel Boush, mayor; Sir John Randolph Knight, recorder."[8] NORFOLK

The following spring (April, 1737), Major William Mayo laid out the town of Richmond for William Byrd. Our first newspaper, the "Virginia Gazette," made its appearance at Williamsburg (August, 1736). It invited all the people to come to Richmond; and Richmond has been beckoning to the Virginians ever since.[9]

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[6] SQUIRES' *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 102-113.

[7] Near Bunker Hill, West Va.

[8] H. W. BURTON, *Hist. of Norfolk*, p. 3.

[9] Town legally established 1742. SAMUEL MORDECAI, *Richmond in Bygone Days*, p. 14.

DR. JOHN P. LITTLE, *Richmond, the Capital of Va.*, p. 19.

LV.

WILLIAM ANNE KEPPEL, SECOND EARL OF ALBEMARLE

Governor-in-Chief: September 6, 1737–December 23, 1754

The Earl of Orkney died and King George appointed William Anne Keppel, second Earl of Albemarle, titular Governor of Virginia. As "Governor-in-Chief," William Anne drew a lucrative salary of about $6,000 per annum, and earned not the first penny of it.

William Anne's father came to England with William and Mary. There can be no doubt that he was a Dutchman, for his name was Arnold Joost van Keppel and his wife was Geertruid Johanna Quirina vander Dlyn.

When the baby was baptized in the royal chapel of Whitehall Palace, Queen Anne was his godmother, and he was given the names of the late King William and the reigning Queen—hence we have William Anne; a very attractive double royal name!

To enumerate all the honors William Anne gathered during his long and useful career would be to fill a volume, but it would not be a Virginia volume.

LVI.

COMMISSARY JAMES BLAIR

President of the Council: June 7, 1740–July, 1741

Colonel Gooch sailed to the Caribbean with Admiral Edward Vernon (1740).

This insignificant war with Spain began a series which deluged the world with blood and was fought on every continent and ocean.

The British planned an attack upon the Isthmus of Darien (Panama). The youth of Virginia were eager to enlist. Four battalions were recruited, a hundred volunteers each. Alexander Spotswood took command but died as the troops were embarking. Colonel Gooch took his place, and sailed for Jamaica (June 7, 1740). Lawrence Washington[1] was an officer in the Virginia corps.

The British captured Porto Bello (December 1, 1740) and moved upon Carthagena, a Spanish fortress in New Granada. The assault was a dismal failure. Gooch was severely wounded and nearly died of tropical fever.

The aged Commissary invited George Whitefield to Williamsburg and for four days the great evangelist preached to immense crowds from the stoop of the Capitol—such preaching as the Virginians never heard before nor since.

[1] *Va. Hist. Mag.*, April, 1922.
MONCURE D. CONWAY, *Barons of the Pot. and Rap.*, pp. 100-111.

LVII.

COLONEL WILLIAM GOOCH

Lieutenant-Governor: July, 1741–June 20, 1749

James Blair soon passed to his long home (April 18, 1743). The College of William and Mary is his only child. He was the most valuable and influential citizen who lived and labored in Colonial Virginia. His memory will never fade.[1]

Death also claimed another distinguished citizen, William Byrd, the father of Richmond, August 26, 1744.

Since George Whitefield's visit a group of Presbyterians worshiped in Hanover County. Visiting ministers, who had more zeal than wisdom, denounced the Established Church in language unjust and unchristian. Gooch, himself a Presbyterian, declared in no uncertain terms that he intended to enforce the law against unlicensed preaching.[2]

Settlers were pouring into the Shenandoah Valley and the "bright tobacco" belt north of the Byrd line. The wilderness was being divided into farms, each with its log-cabin homestead. The homes teemed with children, who grew up, married and took up other little farms, raised more tobacco and corn, and reared another large family of children. Virginia grew apace.

THE SOUTHSIDE

[1] *Va. Hist. Mag.*, 1923.

[2] Gov. Gooch has been unjustly criticised for his charge to the jury. Under the law he could not have done otherwise. Those who preached should have secured a license as did Francis Makemie and Samuel Davies. The fault lay with the dissenting clergymen and evangelists, not with the Governor.

On April 6th Prince William, the Duke of Cumberland, defeated Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender. Surely enough blood was shed for the Stuarts; but this was the last; at last!

The state house completed by Spotswood a generation before, was burned but rebuilt.

In recognition of his long and useful life William Gooch was made a baronet.

Baron and Lady Gooch left Williamsburg "amid the blessings and tears of his people among whom he had lived as a wise and beneficent father."

LVIII.

COLONEL JOHN ROBINSON

President of the Council: June 20–September 5, 1749

Virginia had three executives in less than three years, all Virginians and colonels, scions of wealthy, ancient and aristocratic families.

Colonel John Robinson was born at his ancestral home on the Rappahannock.

His uncle had been a Bishop of London, and what colonial heart would not swell with pride at the words "Bishop of London"?

Mrs. Robinson was a Beverley, a daughter of the distinguished colonial family which made so broad a mark during Bacon's Rebellion and later as the proprietors of "Beverley's Manor."[1]

[1] Staunton, Va.

LIX.

COLONEL THOMAS LEE

President of the Council: September 5, 1749–November 20, 1751

Thomas Lee succeeded the late Colonel Robinson.

Of this family, which has written its name, generation after generation, in letters of glory upon the page of history, a word must be said.

During England's Civil War, Richard Lee served Charles I faithfully upon the field and as a member of the Privy Council. But when it was evident that the royal cause was lost, Richard, with many other gentlemen, migrated to Virginia and made his home on the Northern Neck.

KING IN VIRGINIA

When King Charles lost his head, Governor William Berkeley proclaimed Charles, Prince of Wales, King at Jamestown. Richard Lee stood at Sir William's elbow, literally and metaphorically.

Richard visited Charles at Breda in Holland, and almost persuaded him to come to Virginia and be king. For all this effusive loyalty, worthy a better man, a better cause and a better monarch, Virginia received her soubriquet the "Old Dominion"; but with it the less gracious gifts of despotic power and unendurable taxation.

Richard Lee sent his son, a second Richard, to Oxford, where he ranked the finest scholars of his time.

The second Richard left five worthy sons, the third of whom, Thomas, is the subject of this sketch.

In his early years his beautiful home Stratford, near the Potomac, was burned; a great financial disaster. Queen Caroline is said to have made a personal contribution for the rebuilding of Stratford, the "Most Historic of American Homesteads."[1]

Thomas Lee married Hannah Ludwell, and they reared six magnificent sons, of whom Richard Henry Lee was the star of first magnitude.

Governor Thomas Lee had a younger brother, Henry, and his son, a third Henry, is known as "Light Horse Harry" Lee.[2] "Light Horse Harry" was the father of Robert E. Lee and the grandfather of Fitzhugh Lee.[3]

Colonel Thomas Lee is credited with the prophecy, "This country will, in time, declare itself independent of Great Britain and the seat of government will be near the little falls of the Potomac."

Already shrewd Virginians were looking beyond the mountain ranges which had so long been our western barrier.

While Gooch was governor, a settlement was made upon New River (1748) at Draper's Meadows (Radford). Dr. Thomas Walker and other gentlemen, Indians and long hunters, travelled the length of Southwestern Virginia, crossed the Cumberland Mountains and explored parts of Tennessee and Kentucky.[4]

WALKER

[1] See *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 114-123, for a full account of this family. *Va. Hist. Mag.*, July, 1929.

[2] Chap. LXXIX.

[3] Chap. CXVIII.

[4] For an accurate and interesting treatment of the Walker and Gist expeditions, see WILLIAM CECIL PENDLETON, *Hist. of Tazewell Co.*, pp. 171-185. LYMAN CHALKLEY, *Va. Hist. Mag.*, April, 1922.

Colonel Thomas Lee, Lawrence and Augustine Washington and others organized the Ohio Company, to buy lands on the Ohio and trade with the Iroquois. They secured a conditional grant of 500,000 acres on the Ohio between the Monongahela and Kanawha, and sent Christopher Gist, a veteran long hunter from the Yadkin, to explore the Ohio as far as the falls (Louisville). He located the best lands, the passes in the mountains, the rivers, falls and data touching the Indians. This was the first exploration of Southern Ohio (1750) and of Southern West Virginia (1751). So active was Colonel Thomas Lee in these plans of exploration and settlement that he might well be called the Grandfather of Ohio.

CHRISTOPHER GIST

Governor Gooch secured a treaty from the Western Indians at Lancaster, Pennsylvania (1744), by which the Iroquois, who claimed to own the lands between the Great Lakes and the Alleghany Mountains, ceded all to Virginia. They made a "deed that covered the whole West as effectually as the Virginia interpretation of the Charter of 1609."[5]

TITLE TO WEST

Virginia's claim to what is now the states of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin was based: First, upon the famous Second Charter (1609); Second, upon the treaty of Lancaster; Third, upon the discoveries of the Ohio Company by Gist and others;[6] Fourth, upon the conquest of George Rogers Clark and his followers.

Under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson, Vir-

[5] B. A. HINSDALE.

[6] FAIRFAX HARRISON, *Va. Hist. Mag.*, May, 1922.

ginia gave the United States all her rights north of the Ohio, without any guarantee for her own welfare. Seventy-five years later Lincoln wrested from her the state of West Virginia, a violation both of the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

George II (or rather Queen Caroline) appointed Thomas Lee Governor of Virginia, the only Virginian to achieve that honor. Unfortunately, he died (February 12, 1751) before the commission arrived.

LX.

COLONEL LEWIS BURWELL

President of the Council: February 12–November 20, 1751

The third of the three Virginia colonels to serve as our chief executive after the departure of Gooch and before the arrival of Dinwiddie was Colonel Lewis Burwell, of a family conspicuous in the terms of Berkeley and Nicholson. During his term the calendar was corrected. The day following, September 2, 1751, was, by an act of Parliament, September 14. Of course there was a world of opposition—as there is to every reform. At last the new almanac was accepted.

John Lewis and his son Andrew discovered and named Greenbrier River.

LXI.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Lieutenant-Governor: November 20, 1751–January, 1758

Robert Dinwiddie detected systematic fraud long practiced in Bermuda. Later in the Barbadoes he found more peculation. His appointment to succeed Thomas Lee was an indirect reward.

Robert reached Williamsburg November 20, 1751 and plunged unceremoniously into the labors of six tempestuous years.

He did not begin very tactfully. He demanded a pistole[1] for every land patent he signed. And many land patents were for very small boundaries.

PISTOLE

Four dollars isn't much if you have it; but what a huge sum if you haven't it! And the immigrants, poor farmers, hunters, trappers and young tobacco raisers, who married in their teens, hadn't seen a pistole all their lives.

The colonels and burgesses locked horns with Dinwiddie over the pistoles; and they were right. Virginia needed farmers and settlers, and it was poor diplomacy to put the slightest obstacle in the way of colonial development.

The authorities compromised the matter in typical English style. The burgesses won their contention, but the governor was officially commended.

Prince George County was divided. Its western

[1] A Spanish coin worth $4.00.

portion was given the governor's name. The little settlement at Wood's Town had been recently laid off by Colonel Abraham Wood's grandson, Peter Jones, and called by him, "Petersburg."[2]

PETERSBURG

The Ohio Company was ready to develop the huge grant along the Ohio, Kanawha and Monongahela Rivers. The plans promised to be profitable for the stockholders, to the colony, to the actual settlers and to the British Empire. The fly in the ointment of flattering prospects was the French claim. Louis XV was determined to hold New France and Louisiana. The Ohio was an indispensable link between them. The French claimed every acre the Ohio Company proposed to sell.

OHIO

Dinwiddie wrote a long and elaborate report in favor of Virginia's claim to the entire valley of the Ohio. It was very convincing (to those who wanted to be convinced).

Sooner or later the issue would be settled, and likely at a great cost of blood and treasure. North America would be French or English, and the English and Virginians did not think it would be French.

This colony was growing more rapidly than the most optimistic ever dreamed. Even Sir Walter Ralegh would have been satisfied. Every day little ships sailed into the Virginia sea-gate with strong and alert young men aboard, who asked only a chance to make good in the new land.

GROWING

[2] ARTHUR KYLE DAVIS, *Three Centuries of an Old Va. Town.*
ALVORD AND BIDGOOD, *Trans-Alleghany Regions*, pp. 44-45.

They landed at Norfolk, Hampton, Yorktown, along the Potomac, Rappahannock or on the Eastern Shore. Slowly and painfully they worked their way westward, to the land of the setting sun. When they reached the open they staked their claims, cleared their little farms (for the colony made a gift of fifty acres to every one who arrived), built their log cabins, planted a crop, looked around for a wife, or sent back "home" for the girl of their dreams to follow. And she usually came.

The French were not tardy. De St. Pierre moved across Lake Erie and built a log fort at Venango, on the Alleghany River (Franklin), Pennsylvania. Dinwiddie sent Major George Washington, a youth of twenty-one, to demand an explanation of this invasion of Virginia's far-flung frontiers. After three months of adventure, which almost proved fatal, the young Major handed Dinwiddie the French officer's reply (January 15, 1754).

Dinwiddie very astutely selected the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers as a strategic centre. In Dinwiddie's time the rivers were supposed to be much further west than the western limits of the Penn grant. Captain William Trent (January, 1754), with thirty-three men, erected a fort at the forks of the Ohio (Pittsburgh).

Major Washington followed to reinforce Trent. When he arrived at Great Meadows, he heard that the French had marched from Venango, defeated the Virginians, greatly strengthened the fort and named it Duquesne. Major Washington routed the French and Indians with the loss

GREAT MEADOWS

of one man. This was the beginning of the terrible Seven Years War (the French and Indian War).

Robert Dinwiddie had the keenest apprehension of events then in the offing. He urged the Virginians to prepare, but his prognostications fell on dull and listless ears. The wealthy Virginia colonels were not aroused—they thought their Scotch governor had wheels in his head.

When the tempest broke, Dinwiddie was vindicated. Braddock marched into the wilderness, but he never came back.

Everywhere the wild Indians, blood-thirsty and vengeful, fell upon the exposed "Yankees."[3] Hundreds were massacred, thousands fled and countless settlements were broken up. Everywhere the French and Indians were victorious, and the utter inefficiency of the British government was the scandal of Christendom.

The movement of population, for so many years steadily westward, turned southward to the Potomac, Shenandoah, James and the rivers of the Carolinas. "It was said that, during the Autumn of 1750, five thousand persons passed over James River at one ferry in Goochland County alone."[4]

In these dark days one of the great orators of modern times appeared among the plantations of Virginia. This forest Demosthenes was a young Presbyterian clergyman from Delaware, Samuel Davies. Like Dinwiddie, he was

DAVIES

[3] The Canadian Indians called the English "Yankees."

[4] PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE.

foremost in advocating preparedness against the French.[5]

In a masterly sermon on Braddock's defeat, he referred to "that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country."[6]

In 1756 Andrew Lewis made a brave but futile expedition into the Shawnee country, along the Big Sandy bottoms. So poorly were the volunteers provided that the expedition was worse than a failure.

In 1755 the Assembly passed the Two Penny Bill —and there was never more TNT packed into a resolution than under that innocent name. By its provision the clergy might hereafter be paid either in money or tobacco (rated at tuppence the pound). If the tobacco was worth more, then the vestries paid in coin; if less, they paid in tobacco. We cannot see the justice of such a law; neither did Dinwiddie. The clergy urged him to veto it, but the Governor side-stepped.

TUPPENCE

The Virginia colonels were experts at nagging the executive. The grim humor of the situation lay in

[5] "Our country has been a region of peace and tranquility for a long time, not because the lust of power is extinct, but because we had no near neighbors whose interests might clash with ours, or who were able to disturb us. The absence of an enemy was our sole defense. Now the scene is changed. Encroachments, depredations, barbarities and all the terrors of war surround and alarm us. Our country is invaded, ravished and bleeds in a thousand veins." *Davies' Sermons*, Vol. I, p. 213.

[6] SAMUEL DAVIES in a series of twelve war sermons has given posterity the most accurate description of Virginia during these troubled times. The famous Washington prophecy is found in Sermon 61, Vol. III, p. 45, Boston edition (1811). DAVIES said 300,000 people lived in Virginia.

the fact that the King appointed the colonels to "assist" the executive. They finished Dinwiddie. "Worn out at length with the harassing duties of his office, he solicited from the authorities in England permission to return; and so, in January, 1758, he departed from the colony."[7]

His brother, John Dinwiddie, a planter on the Rappahannock, remained; and a family, numerous and distinguished, is descended from him.[8]

[7] LYON G. TYLER.
[8] R. A. BROCK, *Official Records of Dinwiddie.*

LXII.

JOHN CAMPBELL, FOURTH EARL OF LOUDOUN

Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief: February 17, 1756–1763

During the administration of Robert Dinwiddie, William Anne Keppel, Earl of Albemarle, titular governor of Virginia,[1] died (1754), and John Campbell, fourth Earl of Loudoun, succeeded.

Loudoun was of ancient Scotch lineage and loyal to the House of Hanover, in the days of "Bonnie Prince Charlie's" rebellion. At Preston (1745), his regiment was cut to pieces by the Young Pretender.

A month after his appointment Loudoun was placed in command of the expeditionary force sent to conquer New France. His utter incapacity

[1] Chap. LV.

brought defeat and disaster to our arms. It seemed for a time that New France would annex the English colonies, rather than the English empire annex New France.

An interesting item of the year 1757 is the estimate that our largest city, Philadelphia, had 13,000 people. New York was closely second with 12,000.

LXIII.

COLONEL JOHN BLAIR

President of the Council: January–June 4, 1758

The real governor of Virginia, and a good one, was Colonel John Blair, a nephew of the famous Commissary James Blair.

England found, at last, a man of destiny in the mighty Whig, William Pitt. Feeble in body, his strong arm and brilliant mind turned the tides of conquest and brought home victory from the seven seas. His four years of power (1757-1761) were wonder years in England's history.

One item of Pitt's plan for the conquest of New France was an army of 20,000, to be raised in the colonies, but to be equipped and paid from England. Virginia was assigned 2,000, and she issued £32,000 in treasury notes for the prosecution of the war. Her force was commanded by Colonel George Washington and Colonel William Byrd III.

The company of Captain Sam Meredith, under

Colonel Byrd, was raised in Hanover County. At a general muster, before they started for Ft. Cumberland (Cumberland, Maryland), Rev. Samuel Davies delivered one of the most eloquent and forceful orations ever heard in America (May 8, 1758). Young Patrick Henry was among his hearers and kindled the spark of his budding genius by Davies' fiery periods.

DAVIES AND HENRY

LXIV.

COLONEL FRANCIS FAUQUIER

Lieutenant-Governor: June 4, 1758–March 3, 1768

"The best of Virginia's colonial governors"[1] found the Indians his first problem. Dreadful news came from West Augusta—forty-one persons were butchered at Seybert's Fort.[2]

Washington vainly urged General John Forbes to push along Braddock's Road to Fort Duquesne.

Major Grant, sent into the forests to reconnoitre, was mercilessly cut down. Of eight Virginia officers with Grant, five were killed, one wounded and one captured. The Colony was filled with mourning.

When at last Forbes moved, Washington led the van, and the Virginians, so long restrained, leaped to the difficult task. Colonel Washington, sword in hand, was the first to enter the captured fort.

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[1] THOMAS JEFFERSON.

[2] Now Highland Co., Va.

A strong new fortress was built, and named Fort Pitt, for the great prime minister overseas. Dinwiddie's dream at last came true.

Washington resigned his commission after five years of exacting and exhausting labor. He married Martha Dandridge, the widow of John Custis, in whom "were united beauty, wealth and an amiable temper," January 6, 1759.

THANKED

When the bridegroom took his seat in the House of Burgesses, the Speaker, Mr. John Robinson, expressed to Colonel Washington the official thanks of Virginia in gracious words.

Colonel Washington was never fond of public speaking. He blushed like a girl and stammered. The Speaker very tactfully interrupted the soldier: "Sit down, Mr. Washington. Your modesty is only equaled by your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess."[3]

GEORGE II

Virginia, with Great Britain, mourned the passing of the King. George II died October 25, 1760. For all his faults, numerous and conspicuous, his reign was prosperous and happy. By the genius of William Pitt, the reign of George II ended in a blaze of glory. He was succeeded by his grandson, George III, the eldest son of the late Prince Frederick of Wales.

One of the important years in the world's history arrived. The ambassadors of the great powers signed the Treaty of Paris (February 10, 1763). New France disappeared, and the British colony of Canada was born.

[3] William Wirt.

The King decided that the clergy were right in their contention, and that the Colony must pay the clergy in tobacco. Some of the clergy instituted a suit for damages, and the first (test) case was tried in Hanover County. The defendants employed a young lawyer (unknown to fame and fortune), Patrick Henry, who poured forth such a torrent of eloquence that the people literally went wild (December 1, 1763). The forests of Virginia spoke; and, lo! a great commoner appeared!

PARSONS' CAUSE

The clergy lost their case (for the damages granted was one penny), but the colony found a statesman. With the setting of the sun that December day, the world saw the dawn of a new era.

The significance of Patrick Henry's appeal to the jury against the clergymen of Hanover County, and his decisive victory lay not in the question of salaries, but in his boldness to deny the right of the King and courts of England to decide what was lawful in Virginia. George III decided that Virginians must pay their preachers in tobacco, although the price of tobacco soared during the war until it was worth 300 per centum. A jury in a modest court room on the frontiers of Virginia decided to pay damages of one penny—not more; King or no King; decision or no decision. The verdict in Hanover was rebellion within the law.

HANOVER

The young King married the Princess Charlotte of Mechlenburg-Strelitz. "Her Majesty, who at this period had just entered her eighteenth year, was decidedly prepossessing in appearance and engaging in manners. In figure she

WEDDING

was rather small but proportionate with a round, fair face, soft, blue expressive eyes. A diminutive and curled-up nose and a rather large mouth, rosy lips, white regular teeth, auburn hair, and small, delicate hands."[4]

Parliament passed the Stamp Act (March, 1764), under the hand of George Grenville, Pitts' brother-in-law (but no kin whatever to the Great Whig in soul, psychology or spirit). Every scrap of legal writing must carry a stamp.

Laws move slowly in England, but by March, 1765, George III attached his royal signature, and the trouble began. Ah, it was a fatal measure!

Virginia was indignant. Even Charles II, the monarch of Bacon's Rebellion, admitted that "taxes ought not to be laid on the inhabitants or properties of the colony, but by the common consent of the General Assembly." And, lo, George Grenville and George III would turn the clock of progress back a century!

The cost of the stamps was not great, and the revenue derived was small—consider the stupidity of a ministry that would risk the loss of an American empire for such negligible stakes!

LITTLE HINGES

The principle was pronounced. If Parliament, in which no Virginian sat, could tax Virginia in the item of a penny, then by the same token they could tax them in items of pounds. Not only so; the

[4] FRANCIS LANCELOTT, *Queens of England*, Vol. II, p. 959. Queen Charlotte was the grandmother of Victoria, and in another line the great-grandmother of Queen Mary.

rights guaranteed Englishmen under the Magna Charta were not operative in Virginia. In other words, Parliament could not tax an Englishman in Essex without his consent, but if his twin brother lived in Virginia Parliament might tax him without his consent. The stamps were little hinges on which great decisions hung.

The General Assembly met in the spring of 1765 and all were tense with subdued excitement. What was Virginia going to do about the Stamp Act? The great majority favored protests, representations, commissioners and remonstrances—words—words—words.

The county of Louisa, poor for the most part and filled with plain people, elected the young lawyer of the Tuppence Act to represent them. He was twenty-nine years old, tall and stooping, with small, blue eyes and a very unbecoming wig. He wore a peach-blossom coat, leathern knee-trousers and home-spun stockings. He was a typical product of the frontier, the very antithesis of the "colonels."

Patrick didn't know much law, but he understood human nature. He was Scotch-Irish, had the soul of a poet and had fed that soul on the oratory of Samuel Davies. He had very stout notions about human rights in his head. He knew the Governor and the colonels and the colony, and the plain people. When the debate on the Stamp Act began he scribbled five resolutions on the fly leaf of an old law book. They began with the royal charters and ended with a revolutionary demand: "No taxes where there are no representatives."

Of course the colonels were shocked, alarmed and disgusted. All the "leaders" were against Louisa's leader, but he unhorsed them. A new leader led the leaders.

The Governor dissolved the Assembly. Pitt exclaimed, "I rejoice that America has resisted! Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest. America, if she fell, would fall like a strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the State and pull down the Constitution with her."

PITT

Massachusetts, ripe and ready for rebellion, proposed a Congress of the colonies to meet in New York in October. Nine colonies met but accomplished little. Virginia was not represented, as Fauquier did not let the Assembly convene. Excitement increased until Parliament repealed the obnoxious Stamp Act (March 18, 1766), but made it plain that the repeal was not precedent.

Two weeks after the Stamp Act was repealed—but long before the repeal was known—the "Sons of Liberty" were organized in Norfolk (March 31, 1766). They swore that no stamps should be used in Norfolk; an extreme position. Only fifty-seven joined this organization. As the town had about 5,000 people (half of them white), Norfolk was not a Whig stronghold.[5]

SONS OF LIBERTY

Richard Henry Lee, like Henry, was a great Whig leader, and the rural districts were Whig.

[5] H. W. BURTON, *Hist. of Norfolk*, p. 4.

During this month (March, 1766), Richard Bland published a monograph entitled "An Enquiry Into the Rights of the British Colonies in America." He propounded the new argument that Virginia, and all colonies, were by their charters, separate nations, united to England only by the crown; as Canada and England are now separate peoples with the same King. The thesis created great discussion. Many learned constitutional lawyers objected.

In the spring of 1767, Parliament placed another nuisance tax on glass, paper and tea. They sent two regiments of British regulars to Boston; the proverbial chip on the shoulder of New England.

Another war of words ensued, growing ever more bitter and ever less loyal. Protests, resolutions, mass meetings and petitions again became the order of the day. It is well enough to have some respect to a war of words; for a war of words usually precedes a war of lead. America gave England every possible warning through many years. If the British ministry had set themselves deliberately to unite the dismembered colonies, to drive the lukewarm into the Whig ranks, and to make life impossible for the Tories, they could not have succeeded better.

MAKING WHIGS

The Governor would not allow our General Assembly to meet. He feared the oratory of Patrick Henry, the logic of Richard Bland and the brilliant leadership of Richard Henry Lee.

Fauquier's sympathy was wholly with the colony, but his official duty was to the Crown. Nevertheless many counties had meetings of protest.

The Governor's health was poor. He grew rapidly worse and died, March 3, 1768. They laid him under the aisle of Bruton Parish Church, Williamsburg.

"With some allowance he was everything that could have been wished for by Virginia under a royal government. Generous, liberal, elegant in his manners and acquirements; his example left an impression of taste, refinement and erudition in the colony. It is stated that, on the return of Anson from his circumnavigation of the earth, he won from Fauquier the whole of his patrimony; that afterwards being captivated by the striking graces of this gentleman's person and conversation, he procured for him the government of Virginia. Unreclaimed by his misfortune, he introduced the same fatal propensity to gaming into Virginia."

GAMING

"In everything beside Fauquier was the ornament and the delight of Virginia."[6]

LXV.

SIR JEFFREY AMHERST

Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief: 1763–October 28, 1768

Virginia had four governors in 1768. Col. Francis Fauquier died March 3. Col. John Blair, as deputy, presided until October 28, when Baron de Botetourt

[6] JOHN D. BURK, *Hist. of Va.*, Vol. III, pp. 333-334.

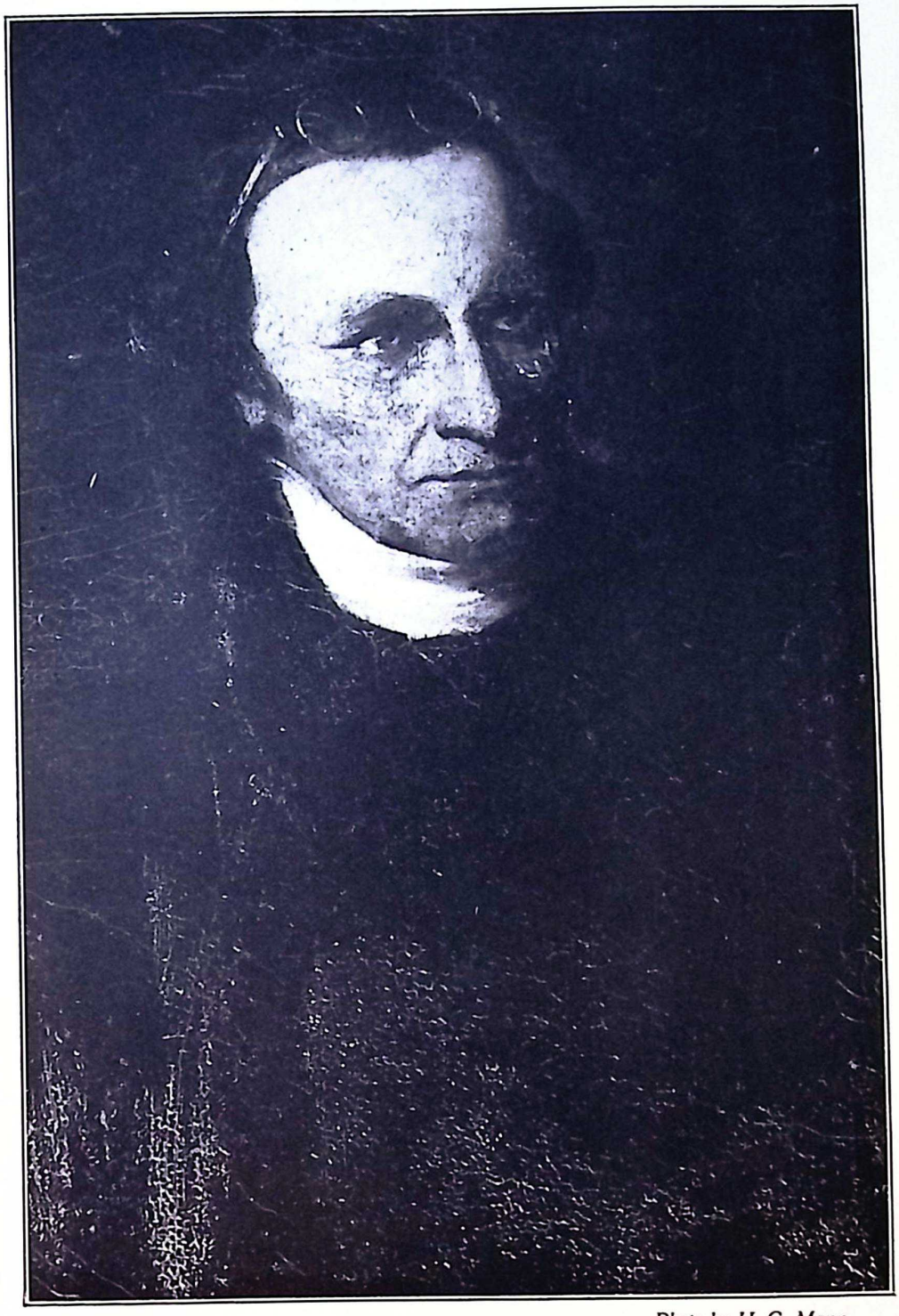

Photo by H. C. Mann.

PATRICK HENRY

The first Governor of the Commonwealth.

* * * *

He was the acknowledged leader of the Republicans as opposed to the Conservatives. With Thomas Jefferson and Richard Henry Lee he demanded complete separation from the British Empire.—Chaps. LXXI and LXXVI.

arrived. Sir Jeffrey Amherst was titular governor five years; the last absentee executive.

Amherst was a great and good man. He rose by sheer worth from page to field-marshal. William Pitt recognized his ability and placed him in command of the force which captured Louisbourg, Fort Duquesne, Ticonderoga, Niagara, Quebec and finally Montreal.

He returned to England as "Conqueror of Canada" and the sinecure, "Governor of Virginia," was one of his rewards.

When Amherst died (August 3, 1797) the Revolution had wrested from Great Britain far more than his mighty sword won.

LXVI.

COLONEL JOHN BLAIR

President of the Council: March 3–October 28, 1768

The gathering storm, destined to break seven years later, was presaged in the churches. The Baptists found a fertile soil in Virginia. Their "first church was formally established in 1760, but soon there were numbers of others in Spotsylvania, Orange, Louisa and Fluvanna." The Baptists of Virginia and the South fell heir to a large part of the Eighteenth Century Quaker strength.[1]

The transition from Quaker to Baptist was easy; each denied man-made creeds, each insisted upon

[1] ROBERT B. SEMPLE, *Virginia Baptists.*

the plainest form of worship, and each was strictly independent in church government. The Methodists fell heir to the Eighteenth Century strength of the Church of England.[2]

In early Colonial days, Virginia was torn between Quaker and Establishment, and today the same two religious forces are logically represented in the Baptists and Methodists. The shifting of religious lines through the centuries has been more apparent than real.[3]

The Established Church opposed the Baptists, as they had previously been against the Friends. Three Baptist clergymen, John Waller, James Childs and Lewis Craig, were arrested in Spotsylvania for preaching without a license (June, 1768). When offered liberty if they would desist, like Peter and John of old, they declared that they could not but speak for Jesus. When they marched to prison through Fredericksburg singing hymns, excitement was intense. Crowds heard these earnest, though poorly educated men preach from the prison windows.

BAPTISTS

Patrick Henry rode from Louisa to volunteer his services as attorney.

When the three Baptists were brought to trial for "preaching the Gospel contrary to law," a hush fell upon the court room, crowded to capacity.

The great Commoner strode forward: "May it

[2] THOS. JEFFERSON WERTENBAKER, *First Americans*, pp. 115-138.

[3] The colonial ritual was very simple in the Established Church. The service in a typical Methodist or Presbyterian Church today approximates the colonial Episcopal service more nearly than the Episcopal service at the present time, which has become much more ornate.

please your worships, what did I hear read?" he asked, in tones that sent a thrill through the multitude. "Did I hear that these men are to be tried for a misdemeanor—charged with preaching the Gospel of the Son of God?" HENRY

The state's attorney turned pale and trembled. The court hastily dismissed the accused.

In Chesterfield, Middlesex and Caroline counties, these petty persecutions continued.

But wherever a Baptist was arrested or punished, their cause grew—great numbers sympathized with them.[4]

They especially demanded complete separation of church and state. Some declared publicly that they would "never relax their efforts" until the Established Church was cut out, root and branch. Their ambition was realized sooner than they expected.

The Lutherans and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians steadily aided the Baptists' efforts.

The Presbytery of Hanover presented a memorial "which may yet be seen on the yellow old sheet in the archives of Virginia. It sums up the whole case with admirable eloquence and force. It is trenchant and severe, but that was natural. It is the great protest of dissent in all the years."[5] PRESBYTERIANS

The Presbyterians were fortunate in their Princeton men. Since the days of Davies, many young Virginians were educated there.[6]

During this summer of excitement and turmoil, a

[4] R. B. SEMPLE, *Virginia Baptists*, pp. 14-34.

[5] JOHN ESTEN COOKE, *History of Virginia*, p. 392.

[6] Chap. LXXIX, XCV, CIV.

band of Scotch-Irish pioneers, under James Robertson, settled in the rich and beautiful valley of the Watauga, which they thought was in Virginia. They did not realize how far south they were. Tennessee has grown from Watauga.[7]

[7] H. E. BOLTON, *Colonization of North America*, p. 413.

LXVII.

NORBORNE BERKELEY, BARON DE BOTETOURT

Governor-in-Chief: October 28, 1768–October 15, 1770

Baron de Botetourt, appointed "His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, Governor-General and Governor-in-Chief" for Virginia, achieved a lasting place in our memory.

Born in 1718, he was at his meridian.

Three years before his appointment Norborne was made a peer, Baron de Botetourt; and still later Constable of the grim, old Tower of London, for he was a scion of a family famous in Norman and even in Saxon times. Old England boasts no older family than the Berkeleys.[1]

Botetourt was selected because of his address, tact, diplomacy and personal charm. He was the man to captivate the colonels and please the common folk. And the Baron acted his part to elegant perfection. He began with a series of dinners, balls,

[1] LESLIE STEPHEN, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, Vol. IV, pp. 339-343.

banquets and illuminations. It had fine effect, soothing, ameliorating.

The King (just think of it, ladies!) presented Norborne—and he a bachelor—with an elegant coach and six white horses! Close your eyes and see the coach and six laboring from mud hole to mud hole along the toilsome length of Duke of Gloucester Street.[2] We have no doubt six horses were needed to negotiate the road and ruts. THAT COACH

The Six Nations signed a Treaty at Fort Stanwix, which set the line between the white settlers and red men far backward into Kentucky (November 5) and opened the Appalachian valleys to permanent and peaceful settlement.

The General Assembly convened May 8, 1769. George Washington, Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson were enrolled.

The Governor rode from his Palace down Duke of Gloucester Street (a half mile) in his elegant coach with a retinue of guards. He was gorgeously apparelled after the fashion of the day—a fashion that permitted the male of the species to appropriate all the colors of the rainbow and all fabrics of the drapers. He was imitating King George, and the Virginians liked it; for the Virginians have always liked a bit of stately decorum and dignity in functions of church and state; it comes to them of English blood. COSTUME

The Burgesses offered a flattering address and the Governor entertained fifty-two of them at his own table in the Palace for two successive days.

[2] HENRY HOWE, *Hist. Collections.*

All went well, for a time, but on May 17 a committee, composed of John Blair, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, Robert Carter Nicholas, Thompson Mason and Benjamin Harrison, brought in a "Memorial to the King, Lords and Commons of England," which stoutly claimed that the only authority which could lay taxes in Virginia was the General Assembly of Virginia. They asserted that the thirteen colonies should confer one with the other and protect the rights each of the other. They would not submit to trial oversea for American offenders.

The resolutions were "concise, simple and effective, so calm in manner and so perfect in substance that time finds no omission to regret, no improvement to suggest." The menace of arresting patriots lost its terrors, and Virginia's action consolidated union.[3]

The Governor could not overlook that. He summoned the Assembly to the bar the morning (May 18) after the resolutions were passed and exclaimed: "I have heard of your resolves, and auger ill of their effects. You have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

DISSOLVED!

It was not far to the Raleigh Tavern, up Duke of Gloucester Street. There the "dissolved" members met as citizens and patriots. Washington presented a resolution against buying or using any goods manufactured in Great Britain until the obnoxious revenue acts were repealed. Similar propositions were discussed.

[3] BANCROFT, *History of U. S.*

The little colony of Delaware[4] adopted the offending Virginia Memorial word for word—so did North Carolina—so did South Carolina—so did Georgia. The determined and united front of the colonies gave the British merchants alarm. They brought pressure to bear upon Parliament; and (April 12, 1770) all taxes, except on tea, were repealed.

FOUR FOLLOW

Thomas Jefferson, in the session of 1769, made an unsuccessful effort to give all slave-owners a right to free their slaves if they so desired. It was Jefferson's initiation as a law-maker.

In this year (1769), the first Methodist churches, as distinct organizations, were established in America.

And in this same year Daniel Boone and five companions located their famous trace from the head of the Yadkin Valley in North Carolina, over the mountains of Southwestern Virginia into Kentucky by way of Cumberland Gap.[5]

BOONE

Unfortunately, the British ministry determined to maintain the principle of taxation. It was precisely that principle to which the Americans objected.

Lord Botetourt was bitterly disappointed. He was certain that the taxes would be wholly removed, and made an official pronouncement to that effect.

"It is stated that the course of the British ministry so preyed upon him that he asked his recall, and not long after the adjournment of the Assembly he fell sick of bilious fever, which, aggravated by chagrin and disappointment, reached a

DIED

[4] ROBERT G. CALDWELL, *Short History of American People*, pp. 130-132.

[5] For a sketch of Daniel Boone, see *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 277-279.

fatal termination, October 15, 1770. His death was deeply lamented, and the funeral ceremonies were elaborate. His remains, in three coffins (one of lead), were deposited under the chapel of William and Mary College."

"During the Civil War the leaden coffin was opened and the silver plate stolen by a Federal soldier; but in 1890 it was returned to the college through Governor Fitzhugh Lee by a jeweler in Albany, N. Y., who bought it of the 'widow of a private Brown'."[6]

The Assembly erected a statue to the Baron (1773), on the campus of William and Mary, for he was our most popular colonial governor.

[6] LYON G. TYLER, *History of Virginia*, Vol. II, p. 107.

LXVIII.

COL. WILLIAM NELSON

President of the Council: October 15, 1770–October, 1771

President Nelson[1] served only a year, but it was a busy and sensational year; events, like the rapids above mighty Niagara, hurry onward toward a mighty fall.

Scotch Tom came to America, age twenty-three, to seek his fortune, establish his name and make a

[1] On the Nelson family and York Hall, see MRS. EDITH TUNIS SALE, *Manors of Virginia*, pp. 183-190.

Also *Va. Hist. Mag.*, April, 1925.



Photo by H. C. Mann.

George Rogers Clark laid his plan for the conquest of Illinois before Gov. Patrick Henry and the Virginia Council.
The Governor is standing.

* * * *

"Young Major Clark insisted upon a supply of ammunition to protect Harrodsburg from the savages. At first the Committee of Safety turned a deaf ear. Clark exclaimed: 'A country which is not worth defending is not worth claiming.' He drove the Indians out and sent spies to the Illinois country, who reported that Kaskaskia might be taken."—Chap. LXXI.

career. The ancestral home of Tom was in Penrith, which is not in Scotland at all, but in the beautiful lake region of England. Whether Tom was of Scotch blood, I know not; but he had the typical Scotch instinct for getting coin. He looked about fifteen years and settled at Yorktown; perhaps because he married Margaret Reade, whose father owned the land around about. Tom became the merchant prince of Virginia. If Scotch Tom didn't have it, you would not be likely to find it this side of London.

Tom was blessed in his children—indeed, the Nelson family has never lacked a man. One son, a second Tom, became Secretary of State, built the mansion, the Nelson House, familiar to all travelers through Yorktown, and was a candidate against Patrick Henry, the first governor of Virginia.[2]

William, another son of Scotch Tom, was rich, prosperous and influential. He married Elizabeth Burwell and had a son, Thomas, who became governor of Virginia.[3]

Our governor was nearing the end of a long and useful life (died November 19, 1772), but he managed the colony well.

Two events destined to influence the thought and actions of Virginia took place during Nelson's term.

George II accepted the resignation of Grafton and appointed Baron North, premier (March, 1770). Stubborn and stolid, North's psychology was: There are but two ways—my way and

STUPID AND STOLID

[2] Chap. LXXI.

[3] Chap. LXXIV.

the wrong way. His diplomacy was: "A total repeal of taxes cannot be thought of 'till America is prostrate at our feet." Great Britain was unfortunate in his appointment.

Barre, Fox, Pitt and the Whigs thundered at Baron Frederick North; but their logic made no more impression upon his head than it did upon his wig. One of the Whig orators cried in exasperation:

"Even now, in the midst of these perils, the noble lord is asleep."

To which Baron North replied, "I wish to God I were."

North Carolina was in a frenzy, which culminated in bloodshed, the first bloodshed of the Revolution.

LXIX.

JOHN MURRAY, FOURTH EARL OF DUNMORE

Governor-in-Chief: October, 1771–June 8, 1775

The new governor was nearly forty years of age, a scion of the Stuarts of Scotland. If ever a princely race degenerated into utter inanity, it was this royal family. The Earl came to America (January, 1770) as governor of New York and was promoted to Virginia. "He arrived in Williamsburg in October, 1771."[1]

[1] LYON G. TYLER, *Cyclop. Va. Brog.*, Vol. I, p. 70.

JOHN BURK, *History of Va.*, Vol. III, p. 368. "Instead of hastening to his new government he lingered for several months. He arrived in 1772."

JOHN ESTEN COOK and R. A. BROCK give 1772. TYLER is probably correct.

The new governor "must have been as tactless and unpleasant a personality as ever set foot upon Virginia"; strong language, for we have had many queer and curious folk in Virginia.

He was hospitably received. The Assembly, especially the colonels, paid him the usual round of compliments in which the ancient Virginians delighted. They found the Earl abrupt, imperious, arbitrary—in short, Dunmore was a Stuart, and acted the part (albeit without the Stuart graces) to perfection.

BLOOD TELLS

Dunmore alone would have been bad enough in all conscience, but he brought with him a Captain Foy, whom the Virginians detested.

The splendid city of Charleston, capital of West Virginia, began building in 1772, when Lord Dunmore granted the site, on the Kanawha River, to Maj. Thomas Bullett. The Major sold (1786) to one Charles Clendenin, who laid out the town and named it for himself.

The Virginians again made a desperate effort to end the obnoxious traffic in Africans. When the legislature met in February (1772) a vigorous protest against the continued importation of Negroes was adopted. Dunmore dissolved the Assembly and made various excuses for not allowing them to meet again (until March, 1773).

SLAVERY

The restless pioneers were making history in the far distant mountains. They pushed over steep ridges into valley after valley. In 1772 the vanguard reached the Monongahela, a twisting, rushing, cold mountain stream taking its rise in the very heart of

what is now West Virginia.[2] It finds an egress from the tangled hills, unites with the Alleghany, a lesser stream, at Pittsburgh, and turns south again as the Ohio.

The next year (1773) the first bold pioneers reached the Ohio Valley; an event of huge significance. The restless Anglo-Saxons had crossed the Atlantic, occupied the seaboard, won over and through the mighty mountains and begun (1773) the winning of the West.

British diplomacy (or the lack of it) forced the thirteen colonies ever closer. They realized that they must stand shoulder to shoulder. But co-operation is always difficult. A British ship, the "Gaspee," was burned in Rhode Island waters by masked men, who were ordered to England for trial. Virginia was instantly aflame.

Dabney Carr, a brilliant young farmer from Louisa, moved that a "Committee of Correspondence" be named, the first legal step toward ultimate union (March 12, 1773). The resolution was promptly and almost unanimously passed. The most influential leaders of Virginia were appointed videlicet:

Robert Carter Nicholas, Richard Bland, Rd. Henry Lee, Benj. Harrison, Edmund Pendleton, Patrick Henry, Dudley Digges, Dabney Carr, Archibald Cary, and Thomas Jefferson.

UNION

Lord Dunmore at once dissolved the General Assembly, but the committee went forward with

[2] R. G. THWAITES, *Wither's Chronicles*, pp. 77-190.

their mighty task. The result is the United States of America. The thirteen henceforth acted as a unit.

William Lee, a brother of Richard Henry Lee, wrote from London that the union of the colonial Whigs had "struck a panic into the ministry." The blunders of King George and Baron North made America a Whig nation.

The British ministry "forgot" the "Gaspee" affair, but forced the issue on tea. With blindness and obstinacy almost incredible they pressed the angry Americans into frenzy. The tea-tax was enforced to retain the principle of taxation. America must submit or be punished.

The tax itself was negligible, but "rubbed it in" when the body politic was sore.

Boston made a sensational protest. A band of Bostonians, taking the queue from the "Gaspee" raiders of Rhode Island, turned into Mohawk Indians, for a night, boarded the tea ships and dumped the cargo into Boston harbor. TEA PARTY It was a good protest. For if the English merchants once got it into their heads that all the tea would land in the Atlantic instead of in dainty colonial tea-cups, there would soon be no more tea, and no more tax, either, for in London the voice of the merchants is potent.

Parliament punished Boston by closing that port. Virginia was aflame with indignation. Not since Bacon's Rebellion had our people been so excited. They felt that the cause of Boston was the cause of America. The Assembly appointed June 1, 1774,

the date set to close Boston harbor, a day of fasting and prayer, which was observed throughout the colony.

Dunmore was very angry. He summoned the Burgesses to the council chamber and spoke as follows:

"Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen: I have in my hand a paper published by order of your house, conceived in such terms as reflect highly upon His Majesty and the Parliament of Great Britain, which paper makes it necessary for me to dissolve you; and you are dissolved accordingly."

The Burgesses reassembled at Raleigh Tavern. The inn[3] became the Whig capitol of Virginia and one of the focal points of American history. The "dissolved" Assembly issued a call for the First Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia (September 5, 1774).

RALEIGH TAVERN

The "dissolved" Assembly also called the first state "convention," which met in Williamsburg, August 1, 1774. It is the first time the word "Convention" appears in the political phraseology of this state.

It is significant that their first resolution was to import no more slaves.[4] Where could one find better proof that the African slave trade was forced upon this colony against the popular will and conscience?

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[3] TYLER, *Williamsburg.*

Va. Hist. Mag., April, 1921. "Raleigh Tavern was burned years ago, but is to be restored."

[4] BEVERLEY B. MUNFORD, *Virginia's Attitude Toward Slavery and Secession*, Vol. I, pp. 15-24.

George Washington made a passionate speech denouncing the British ministry. He was ready to raise 1,000 men at his own charges and march to Boston. As Father George was not fond of speaking and as he was cool-headed, almost cold, his words show how thoroughly aroused Virginia had become. WASHINGTON

Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison and Edmund Pendleton, a galaxy of heroes, were elected to the First Congress.

The history of North Carolina parallels the history of Virginia at every crisis. No two states have psychology more similar. The Carolinians held their convention August 24 and adopted practically the same resolutions denouncing slavery. They also appointed representatives to Philadelphia. NORTH CAROLINA

When Congress assembled the first feature was an eloquent appeal by Patrick Henry, who exclaimed: "I am not a Virginian, but an American."

The colonial statesmen desired to avoid war; and they did not wish separation from the Motherland, they loved so long and so well. Their appeal was from England misrepresented to English honor and British fair play. How different might our history have been if George III had been an Edward VII! Or had Pitt been his advisor.

The Earl of Dunmore determined to make a campaign against the Shawnee Indians beyond the Ohio. Two small armies were recruited in the Valley. The Earl himself led the right wing from

Winchester to the Scioto River (following a trace long after adopted by the engineers for the Baltimore and Ohio Railway).

Captain Lewis[5] led the left wing to the Ohio (following the trace long after adopted by the engineers who built the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway). Even an amateur is surprised that Dunmore divided his small force in the face of a united foe who fought like a flying cloud. Each army was completely isolated in a hostile mountain country. When Andrew Lewis reached Point Pleasant, where the Kanawha and Ohio unite, he was attacked by the Shawnees under Cornstalk. It was a bloody fight, the fiercest, longest, most sanguinary ever waged in Virginia between the white men and the red—and the last.

POINT PLEASANT

At sunset the Virginians were victorious, but one-fifth their force was dead or wounded. Colonel Charles Lewis, a brother of Andrew and the most popular Virginian on the frontier, was among the dead.

The Indians reported the Earl at Chillicothe (Ohio) in friendly conference with their werowances.

Andrew Lewis buried his dead, crossed the Ohio and marched to the Scioto looking for the Earl. He received orders to return at once to Point Pleasant, but Lewis pushed on. Within three miles of the Earl's camp he halted.

Dunmore demanded an explanation of Lewis' disobedience. We can only conjecture Lewis' reply.

[5] THEO. ROOSEVELT, *Winning of the West*, Vol. II, pp. 1-16.

Had he not restrained his men the young frontiersmen would have hung Dunmore then and there—had he not murdered their brothers and comrades with Indian bullets at Point Pleasant? HANG HIM

It cannot be proven that Dunmore betrayed Lewis; but the Virginians believed it then, and this one believes it now.

When the soldiers returned they found many changes. Every county had its "Committee of Safety" and each "Committee" had a band of Minute Men armed, drilling and ready. There were sixty counties in Virginia, so the Minute Men were not to be despised.

The Convention met again (March 20, 1775) in Richmond; a hint that the village at the falls will likely succeed Williamsburg as the state capital. Old St. John's Church, on Church Hill, overlooking the James and the spreading farms of the Chesterfield shore was the place of assembly.

Judge Edmund Pendleton, a great conservative, presided and every one spoke of peace and conciliation (while they thought of war). Patrick Henry was again in the saddle. He urged the arming and drilling of the militia, but the conservative element opposed the young radical. Provoked by them, he delivered one of the great speeches of all time—a word which still reaches throughout the civilized world and which has become the battle cry of liberty.[6] TOO CONSERVATIVE

[6] *Famous American Orators*, Vol. I, pp. 126-130, gives text of speech delivered March 23, 1775.

FRANCIS VINTON GREENE, *Rev. War*, pp. 182-183.

Kerensky used Henry's speech in the Russian Revolution.

"If we wish to be free, we must fight! It is too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. The war is inevitable; and let it come! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! I do not know what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death."

Patrick Henry was a true prophet. In less than a month (April 18) Virginia heard of Lexington and Concord, where the embattled farmers of Massachusetts fired the shots "heard 'round the world."

Dunmore had the same program for Virginia that provoked Massachusetts. He removed ammunition from the Powder Horn at Williamsburg (April 20, 1775). The enraged people would have made him a prisoner, but Peyton Randolph and other influential colonels persuaded them to send a deputy to request the return of the powder.

Riot

The Earl replied that he feared a slave insurrection; but if the powder were needed it would be restored in "half an hour."

When Fredericksburg heard that Dunmore seized the colony's ammunition, six hundred men started for the Earl; but Washington and Pendleton persuaded them to delay their march (April, 1775).

Meantime the Minute Men of Hanover County under Patrick Henry, not to be dissuaded (May 2), marched on Williamsburg. The Earl hurried his family to H. B. M. S. "Fowey" lying off Yorktown, and agreed to pay for the powder. He sent three hundred and thirty pounds to Patrick Henry in settlement.

Good news came from "home." Baron North and the Tories decided to make peace with the American Whigs. Dunmore called an Assembly (June 1, 1775). It was the last meeting of the House of Burgesses. Many of them, especially from the upland counties, came in hunting shirts and rifles, the uniform of the Revolution. They were angry and ready to fight. OLIVE BRANCH

Baron North's "olive branch" was rejected as wholly unsatisfactory.

On the night of June 5 three Minute Men, entering the Powder Horn to get arms, were shot by a trap spring. They were positive that Dunmore had prepared to blow it up.

Williamsburg went wild and the Earl fled at 2 a. m., June 8, 1775, to the "Fowey," at Yorktown. Congress elected George Washington to command the continental armies. He reached Boston July 3, and took charge next day (July 4, 1775).

LXX.

JUDGE EDMUND PENDLETON

Chairman of the Committee of Safety: August 17, 1775–June 26, 1776

The Convention, now the government of Virginia, met for the third time, in Williamsburg (July 17), nine days after the Earl fled. The executive function was lodged in a Committee of Safety, Judge Pendleton, Chairman; Richard Bland, Paul Carring-

ton, John Page, Carter Braxton, Dudley Digges, John Tabb, Geo. Mason, Thos. Ludwell Lee, William Cabell and James Mercer.

From the deck of the "Fowey," which was his capitol, the Earl proclaimed the colony in rebellion and offered freedom to all slaves who would enlist. When an attack upon Hampton was beaten off, the Earl made Norfolk his headquarters.

Judge Pendleton and his "Committee" dispatched Col. William Woodford and the Culpepper Minute Men to drive Dunmore out of Norfolk.

They swung into the city by way of Great Bridge, where on December 9, 1775, the "Shirtmen" won a strategic victory over the British.[1]

As Dunmore could not hold Norfolk,[2] he fired the warehouses along the water front, 2 a. m., January 1, 1776, and (to his eternal shame be it said) shelled the panic-stricken inhabitants as they retreated from the stricken city. Norfolk was left a fire-swept waste, with not a single inhabitant. It was Virginia's largest city, having 6,000 inhabitants, before the fire.

NORFOLK BURNED

For the fourth time the Convention met (May 6, 1776) in Williamsburg. It was the greatest Assembly, as we suppose, ever convened in Virginia. Edmund Pendleton was again elected president. On May 15 a paper, drawn by Pendleton and presented by Thomas Nelson, instructed the Virginians[3]

[1] JOHN DALY BURK, *Hist. of Va.*, Vol. III.

[2] SQUIRES, *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 162-170.

[3] The Provincial Congress of North Carolina at Halifax (April 4, 1776) unanimously declared for independence (April 12). "The popular party carried N. Carolina as a unit for independence, when the colonies from New England to Virginia were in solid array against it."

R. FROTHINGHAM, *Rise of Repub.*, Chap. II.

D. L. SWAIN, *Brit. Invasion of N. C.*

in Congress to vote for permanent separation from Great Britain, declaring: "The United Colonies are free and independent states absolved from all allegiance or dependence upon the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain."

The Convention adopted George Mason's Bill of Rights, one of the ablest papers ever produced in America. It "may be called not only the Magna Charta of Virginia, but of America. It first announced the great principles upon which the Americans meant to rest in the approaching struggle; and, after a century of republican freedom, there is nothing to add to this great protest."[4] MASON

This Convention adopted and proclaimed Virginia's first constitution, which was a republicanized form of the charters by which the colony had been governed since 1607. The counties were untouched. The General Assembly was to consist of a Senate and a House of Delegates.[5] The Governor was elected annually by the Assembly, but could twice succeed himself.

Our first Constitution is the model for the others. The government of the colony and state has had few fundamental changes in 311 years (1619-1930).

Richard Henry Lee, acting for the Virginia Convention, June 7, 1776, moved in Congress "That these United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent states, and that all political connection

[4] JOHN ESTEN COOKE.

[5] We much regret that the word "delegate" was substituted for the fine, old English word "burgess." By the change we lost much and gained nothing.

between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." John Adams, of Massachusetts, seconded the momentous resolution.

LEE

Lee was called to "Stratford," his Virginia home, by the illness of his wife, and Thomas Jefferson took his place on the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence.[6]

The first General Assembly under the new constitution (June 26, 1776) elected Patrick Henry the first governor of the State.

Virginia was a distinct autonomous, independent republic with a constitution, governor, legislature, army and the rudiments of a navy before the Declaration of Independence was adopted, and thirteen years before the United States was born.

[6] CHAS. A. BEARD, *Rise of Amer. Civilization*, p. 239.

Book IV

VIRGINIA LEADERSHIP

1776–1825

LXXI.

PATRICK HENRY

Governor: June 26, 1776–June 1, 1779

Patrick Henry had been the acknowledged republican leader of Virginia for more than a decade[1] Such conservatives as Edmund Pendleton and Peyton Randolph had no patience with him. There were few Tories in Virginia, but many Whigs neither desired nor expected separation from the British Empire. Their idea was to fight freedom's battle within the realm.

In the General Assembly the conservatives nominated Thomas Nelson as a candidate against Henry, but he received only forty-five votes, and Patrick was elected on the first ballot.[2] His strength came largely from the colony's expanding frontiers and from the upland counties.[3] His salary was £1,000, and the Assembly requested him to move into the

[1] WILLIAM S. HART, *Lighter of Flames*, a fiction based on Henry's life is almost wholly fiction with but little fact.

[2] For a list of the governors of the state from Henry to Westmoreland Davis, see *Bulletin*, Va. State Library, 1917, pp. 1054-1056. EARL G. SWEM.

[3] GEORGE MORGAN, *True Patrick Henry*, p. 270.

"Palace" so recently and unceremoniously vacated by the Earl of Dunmore.

In less than a week Thomas Jefferson reported the famous Declaration of Independence, as chairman of the committee which drew the paper (July 2, 1776). After three days it was passed, July 4, and unanimously signed. To the throngs in the streets of Philadelphia the Liberty Bell pealed the glad tidings and its silver tones have not ceased to reverberate throughout the world.

The great Seal of Virginia was adopted July 5, 1776. A committee of which Richard Henry Lee and George Mason were members, selected the now famous design: *Virtus*, the genius of the Commonwealth, dressed like an Amazon, with a scale in one hand, and a sword in the other, treading upon Tyranny, represented by a prostrate king, the crown fallen from his head, a broken chain in his left hand and a scourge in his right. In the exergue the word "*Virginia*" appears over the head of *Virtus* and underneath the words, "*Sic semper Tyrannis*" ("Thus ever to tyrants").[4]

SEAL

The seal is displayed upon the state banner. The official flag is sixteen feet wide and twenty long.

"The flag of the Commonwealth shall hereafter be made of bunting, which shall be a deep blue field, with a circle of white in the center, upon which shall be painted or embroidered, to show on both sides alike, the coat of arms of the state as described by the Convention of 1776, for one side (obverse) the seal of the state."[5]

FLAG

[4] Nat. Geogr. Mag., October, 1917, p. 329. Illustration, p. 326.

[5] Done in the Convention of 1861.

The Earl was driven from the land but not from our waters. He made his headquarters at Gwynn's Island, well suited to his purpose because of its sequestered situation off the estuary of the Piankatank. Andrew Lewis[6] wished to get the Earl, for Andrew, it will be recalled, had old and sore scores to settle with his Lordship. Andrew believed that Dunmore betrayed him to the Indians at Point Pleasant, and was indirectly responsible for his brother's death.[7]

When the "shirtmen" landed on the island, the Earl fled. He shipped the negroes who had enlisted from many plantations, to the West Indies.

Mason's Bill of Rights declared for "the free exercise of religion." The Convention (October 7, 1776), was confronted with the perplexed and intricate question of church and state.

Pendleton, Page and other conservatives were devoted Churchmen, and opposed complete disestablishment. Henry, Jefferson and the radical republicans were determined to push matters to their logical conclusion. Finally a bill was passed permitting all churches to pay their clergymen what they pleased, and to worship as they pleased.

CHURCH

The age-old English law and custom, which made the eldest son the representative of the family and heir to the bulk of the paternal estate, was next attacked. Again the Conservatives waged a bitter fight to keep Virginia as English in law as she was

[6] Chap. LXIX.

[7] GEORGE MORGAN, *True Patrick Henry*, p. 273.

in blood. But entails and primogeniture were swept away.

Eight months after the destruction of Norfolk, William Fairchild ventured back to the heaps of ashes and built his home.[8]

Washington had not been able to accomplish much in New England. And, on Long Island, the American cause barely escaped disaster.

The new year dawned gloomily for the Whigs and the Tories declared against continuing a hopeless struggle. Congress retreated to Baltimore. Washington held Philadelphia, but New Jersey was in British hands. The great general had, as yet, been unable to make much headway. On Christmas Day, 1776, he revealed his genius as a great commander, snatching victory from defeat. Crossing the Delaware on a bitter cold night, he fell upon his foes, taking 1,000 Hessians. He slipped around Cornwallis and defeated his rear guard at Princeton. He retreated safely to Morristown and forced Cornwallis to retreat to New Brunswick.

In nine days George Washington had, with consummate skill, completely reversed the whole aspect of the war! And almost without the loss of a man.[9] It was magnificent.

Congress adopted the stars and stripes as our national ensign (June 14, 1777). The Marquis de LaFayette was introduced to Washington (August 3, 1777) and became a tower of strength to the American cause.

[8] On the north side of Main, half way between Atlantic and Granby.

[9] But Gen. Hugh Mercer fell at Princeton.

Daniel Morgan and his devoted troops, recruited almost wholly from the Scotch-Irish settlements of Western Virginia, turned the tide of battle at Bemis Heights and Saratoga. The defeat of Burgoyne is considered one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world. After his surrender General John Burgoyne grasped Morgan's hand and exclaimed:

MORGAN

"Sir, you command the finest regiment in the world!"

Far be it from us to claim any honor not justly ours, but Saratoga could not have been won without Daniel Morgan and his riflemen from the Shenandoah Valley. This battle, fought in the wilderness of Northern New York, was a Virginian victory.[10]

Among the early immigrants to Kentucky County, over the mountains and along the beautiful Ohio, was a young farmer, Clark, from Albemarle (born November 19, 1752). He did some surveying on the Ohio for the first settlers (1772) and quit his little farm to take a hand against the Shawnees. He returned to Kentucky as a surveyor (1775), but was evidently a born leader, so the Kentuckians sent him to Williamsburg to represent them in the Great Convention. He arrived too late, but he found in the new governor, Patrick Henry, a strong advocate and a sympathetic friend.[11]

CLARK

Young Major Clark insisted upon a supply of ammunition to protect Harrodsburg against the savages, whose continued attacks were urged on by

[10] SQUIRES, *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 134-149. The men who followed Morgan were the grandsires of those who followed Stonewall Jackson.

[11] HENRY CABOT LODGE, *Story of Rev.*, p. 338.

General Henry Hamilton, the British governor at Detroit.

At first the Virginians of the "Committee of Safety" turned a deaf ear. Kentucky was a long way off, and powder was needed at home. To which Major Clark replied, "A country which is not worth defending is not worth claiming." They voted him 500 pounds,[12] which he hauled to the Monongahela, and floated to the Ohio and so to Maysville (Kentucky). Finally he got it to Harrodsburg by horseback.

The Indians were driven out of Kentucky. Spies sent to the Illinois county reported that Kaskaskia might be taken.

Major Clark returned to Williamsburg, traveling much of the way on foot, to lay before Governor Henry his plan for the conquest of Illinois.[13] Henry thought well of it and made the young major a colonel, with full authority to enlist recruits.

Colonel Clark gathered his little army at Corn Island (Louisville, Ky.), and on June 24, 1778, marched on Kaskaskia, the capital of the Illinois district, which surrendered without a shot!

ILLINOIS

He conciliated the Indians, and made them the allies (instead of the enemies) of Virginia.

Colonel Hamilton marched upon Vincennes from Detroit (December, 1778). When George Rogers Clark heard of it, he exclaimed:

"I must take Hamilton or he will take me."

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[12] JAS. ALSTON CABELL, *Patrick Henry* (1907).
CONSTANCE L. SKINNER, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest*, pp. 140-142.

[13] FRED L. PAXTON, *Amer. Frontier*, pp. 37-42.

With a small but determined band (perhaps 170 strong), he marched across the prairies, flooded and frozen by the mid-winter storms. Often his men waded for miles in ice water, carrying their supplies on their heads. When they reached Vincennes, the British and Indians could not believe their eyes! But the riflemen were expert and ready for assault; so Old Vincennes surrendered, February 24, 1779.

Had Virginia supplied Colonel Clark with a few recruits and some powder, he would certainly have taken Detroit, and many a bloody page might have been saved.[14]

The generous year 1777-78 brought Virginia four thriving little cities—Lexington, Moorefield, Martinsburg and Abingdon, all in the mountain land.[15]

Despite the genius of Washington, it seemed that he led a forlorn hope. With the British in Philadelphia and the northern colonies over-run, the patriotic cause reached its nadir. But (February 6, 1778) Benjamin Franklin secured the recognition of the struggling nation by Louis XVI. A fleet and an army were promised to help drive the British out.

The French interest was not altruistic. The loss of New France was to be avenged and the pride of England humbled. None the less the most autocratic nation in the world brought substantial aid to this struggling republic; and our gratitude should be kept green.

Louis XVI

[14] DAVID I. BUSHNELL, *Va. Hist. Mag.*, January, 1924.

[15] KERCHEVAL, *Hist. of the Valley.*

Also CHAS. E. KEMPER, *Va. Hist. Mag.*, April, 1922.

For an interesting description of Virginia at this period, see S. E. MORRISON, *Oxford, Hist. of U. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 27-33.

The term of Patrick Henry[16] was nearly done. There was comparative peace in Virginia, although the country was in the midst of a frightful war. The blood of Virginia was shed generously and gloriously on many a battlefield north, west and south. Her matchless leaders, Washington, Lewis, Morgan, Lee, Mercer, Campbell and others were fighting the battles of their country beyond the boundaries of the state. They did not know, though they may have guessed, that Virginia's time was yet to come. She was to suffer last.

During Patrick Henry's last month Sir George Collier and General Mathews sailed within the capes and plundered the shores of Hampton Roads. It was a heavy blow for Norfolk, just beginning to rebuild. Sir George Collier plundered the cities of Long Island, for which he was made a Commodore in the Royal Navy.

[16] GEORGE MORGAN, *The True Patrick Henry*.

LXXII.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

Governor: June 1, 1779–June 1, 1781

The General Assembly elected Thomas Jefferson in January, but he was not inaugurated until June 1.

Like Henry, Jefferson was a radical republican, but unlike him he was a philosopher, a scholar, an author and not a speaker.

His term was the severest trial of a long and arduous life; and they were dark years for Virginia.

There was much dissatisfaction with Williamsburg which was a conservative stronghold. The radical Republicans declared that the colonial capital was "exposed" to attack.

"In May, 1779, the Assembly, acting on a suggestion made by Jefferson several years before, decided to remove the capitol to Richmond, because 'it was more safe and central than any other town situated on navigable water.' The act provided for a handsome state house and halls of justice—with walls of brick or stone, porticoes, pillars and pavements—and for wooden buildings for immediate use."

CAPITOL

"The Assembly met there, May, 1780, and passed 'an act creating the Public Square, to enlarge the town of Richmond, widen the streets and making Shockoe Creek navigable.' Capitol Square and Old Market are memorials of this act."[1]

Light Horse Harry Lee dashed into Paulus Hook, (Jersey City), under the guns of the British fleet, at 3 a. m., August 19, surprised the sleeping garrison and carried off 159 prisoners, losing only two men! In September, Congress presented him a gold medal. This victory is a chapter of Virginia's history enacted on the banks of the Hudson.

HARRY LEE

Light Horse Harry was the only Federalist Governor of Virginia. He was the father of Robert E. Lee, and the grandfather of Fitzhugh Lee.[2]

The closing days of 1779 brought discouraging

[1] MARY NEWTON STANARD, *Richmond*, p. 37.

[2] Chap. CXVIII.

news. Parliament voted a hundred million pounds to prosecute the war; 85,000 sailors were enlisted and 35,000 additional soldiers added to the American armies. The British hoped and expected this force to crush Washington. But, if Washington prevailed, public opinion would likely demand peace.

DECISION

The new year (1780) began with a series of disasters.

Sir Henry Clinton struck Georgia, the youngest and weakest of the colonies. General Lincoln surrendered (May 12) Charleston. "Half his men were Virginians."[3] Colonel Tarleton captured Colonel Abraham Buford with 400 Virginia troops (May 29) at Waxhaws, S. C. Both the Carolinas passed to Cornwallis. It seemed that the far South was lost; but the heroic bands of Marion, Sumter, Pickens and others were not conquered.

Congress sent General Gates to stem the southern tide. At Camden, South Carolina (August 16, 1780), Gates' laurels turned to weeping willows. The world knew then what he was—or rather what he wasn't. Camden was worse than a calamity. A less heroic people would have given up the struggle. Governor Jefferson had stripped Virginia of men, ammunition and money to aid Gates. Now the balls, guns and powder sent from Virginia were used against her! Cornwallis recaptured some cannon that Gates had taken from Burgoyne.

CAMDEN

At this critical time Benedict Arnold deserted.

[3] LYON G. TYLER.



Photo by courtesy of Norfolk-Portsmouth Chamber of Commerce.

YORK HALL

This fine old residence was built by William Nelson (1740). William's son, Thomas Nelson, was Governor of the state and commander of the Virginia militia at Yorktown.

Nelson stands under Washington, in Crawford's famous group.

In 1824, LaFayette was royally entertained here. The mansion suffered during the Civil War, but Hon. George Blow (1914) has restored it to its pristine elegance.—Chap. LXXIV.

But when the Tories congratulated themselves that the South was won, Colonel William Campbell and the Scotch-Irish frontiersmen, marched over the mountain passes of North Carolina, following Daniel Boone's trace from the Watauga, met Colonel Patrick Ferguson at King's Mountain, where the line between the two Carolinas mounts into the highlands, and, in one brief but bloody hour, laid Ferguson low and captured 1,500 British soldiers, with the loss of 18 mountain men.[4]

KING'S MOUNTAIN

It was a thunderbolt from a clear sky! Cornwallis did not even know where they came from.

King's Mountain was a Virginia victory, won by a Virginia colonel with volunteers from Southwestern Virginia and Western North Carolina (now Tennessee). It was a hinge on which mighty decisions turned. Henceforth the Continental cause was not hopeless. And the dawn which brightened first at King's Mountain continued to grow more brilliant until ultimate victory was won.

After King's Mountain, but before it was known, General Alex. Leslie landed 3,000 men at Portsmouth (October 16, 1780) and made Hampton Roads the southern naval base for British arms and supplies. On October 23, he threw 1,000 men into Hampton by way of Newport News. A smaller force took Suffolk.

PORTSMOUTH

When Clinton heard of King's Mountain, he ordered Cornwallis to retreat to the coast and Leslie sailed to Charleston, South Carolina (November 22, 1780).

[4] *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 281-282.

The respite for Portsmouth and Virginia was brief. A month later Benedict Arnold arrived with 27 ships and 900 regulars (soon increased to 1,600).

Since Dunmore was driven from Gwynn's Island (July 9, 1776), Virginia had not been greatly molested. Her year of anguish arrived, but her son, with her sons, on her soil, was to save America.

Arnold sailed up the James, through a naked and unprotected country, and, on January 4, 1781, landed 1,500 men at Westover. At Richmond (January 5) he burned much valuable material.

ARNOLD

Jefferson has been criticised for not protecting his capital. Stripped of her leaders, men, supplies and arms, as Virginia was for five years, it is difficult to see what he could have done. He called out the militia, who responded 2,500 strong—raw, young men, many of them with only a rifle.

Arnold retreated to Portsmouth (January 20), but his was a successful raid, for he burned the state capitol. Jefferson offered a reward of 5,000 pounds for the traitor, dead or alive.

On March 16, 1781, the French fleet engaged the British off our capes. Had they won Benedict would have been trapped. But the British commander, Admiral Arbuthnot, beat off D'Estaing.

Perhaps that gave LaFayette his great idea.[5] Washington sent him to protect Virginia (March 19, 1781). He visited Williamsburg and Suffolk. Mean-

[5] This is merely the author's conjecture, unsupported by any authority, but it seems reasonable.

time both the antagonists turned their attention to Hampton Roads. The British sent Colonel William Phillips, from New York, with 2,000 additional men, to take over Arnold's command at Portsmouth (March 26, 1781). The British soldiers did not like to serve under Benedict Arnold. LaFayette

It was a duel between the haughty but experienced English colonel who moved up the James to City Point, and the brilliant, young French Marquis, who hurried southward through Alexandria and Fredericksburg to Richmond.

Baron von Steuben held Petersburg with such raw militia as he had, 1,000 country lads. The Continentals retreated to Richmond; Phillips followed. He turned down the river, expecting to make Portsmouth his headquarters again, but Cornwallis ordered him to Petersburg. Colonel Phillips made his headquarters at "Bollingbrooke," the manor house of Petersburg (May 9). He was mortally ill with typhoid. LaFayette moved up his cannon and bombarded the city and "Bollingbrooke" so vigorously that Phillips is said to have exclaimed: "Will not that boy let me die in peace?" They moved him to the cellar, and when he died buried him in an obscure corner of Blandford Churchyard.[6] Petersburg

Standing over his lowly and unmarked grave, Thomas Jefferson is reported to have said:

"Here lies the proudest man of the proudest nation on earth."

Cornwallis left Wilmington, N. C., April 25, and arrived in Petersburg May 20, seven days after Colonel Phillips' death.

[6] ARTHUR KYLE DAVIS, *Three Cent. of an Old Va. Town.*

There were 7,000 British veterans now on Virginia soil.

LaFayette had about 3,000, chiefly militia. Cornwallis determined to crush the young Marquis.

WAYNE

He crossed the James at Westover, but LaFayette retreated to Fredericksburg, where "Mad Anthony" Wayne joined him with 1,000 veterans from Pennsylvania.

Meanwhile General Alex. Leslie returned to Portsmouth. Cornwallis ravaged Central Virginia. Colonel Simcoe and Colonel Banastre Tarleton have left names that Virginians remember with a shudder.

Colonel Tarleton attempted to capture Thomas Jefferson, at Monticello, and the members of the General Assembly at Charlottesville. Perhaps he would have done so had not Jack Jouett seen him pass Cuckoo Tavern, in Louisa County. Acquainted with the sequestered by-paths, Jack pushed forward, outriding Tarleton. When he reached Monticello

JOUETT

Jefferson was entertaining Benjamin Harrison at dinner. They hastened to Charlottesville and the legislators reached Staunton in safety. Jack Jouett is the Virginia Paul Revere.

LaFayette entrenched behind Mechunk Creek. General William Campbell, the hero of King's Mountain, with 600 riflemen from the Valley, joined the Marquis, and Cornwallis dared not attack.

On June 15 Cornwallis turned his face eastward to Richmond.

LXXIII.

DR. WILLIAM FLEMING

President of the Council: June 1-12, 1781

The third governor of the state served twelve troubled days while Cornwallis, Tarleton and Simcoe harried the plantations from Charlottesville to the sea.[1]

Dr. Fleming was born in Jedburgh, Scotland (February 18, 1729) and graduated in medicine from the University of Edinburgh. He joined the British colors, was captured and held a prisoner in Spain. After his release he came to Virginia and was one of Colonel George Washington's captains (1762), during the French and Indian War. He married Anne Christian, of Staunton. Dr. Fleming was severely wounded at Point Pleasant.

He was elected to the state senate from the southwestern counties and "was the only member of the Governor's Council remaining at the seat of government,"[2] by which he became our executive.

In his brief term he drilled the militia and did his utmost to thwart the enemy.

In later years he served as a trustee of Liberty Hall (Washington and Lee) and collected one of the best libraries in Virginia. He ended his long, varied and useful life August 5, 1795.

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[1] *Hening's Statutes*, Vol. X, p. 567.

[2] LYON G. TYLER.

LXXIV.

GENERAL THOMAS NELSON, JR.

Governor: June 12–November 30, 1781

Thomas Nelson, Jr., the son of Governor William Nelson, and the grandson of Scotch Tom, is the flower of that distinguished Yorktown family.

The general and governor was educated at Eton and Cambridge, England. From the first he was an enthusiastic Whig, devoted to every patriotic movement. He signed the Declaration of Independence; and as commander-in-chief of the militia did his utmost to make the Declaration valid. Large personal loans which he advanced for the soldiers were lost to his estate. No purer patriot ever wore the gubernatorial toga. He deserves his place on Crawford's statue in the Capitol Square; one of six who stand under and about Washington.

Cornwallis retreated slowly to Richmond and Williamsburg, Tarleton and Simcoe protecting his rear (June 15, 1781). LaFayette followed. Baron von Steuben, Wayne, Campbell, Muhlenberg and Stevens were with the Marquis.

Cornwallis spent ten ugly days in Williamsburg. "Pestilence and famine took root and poverty brought up the rear. The British plundered the houses and scattered smallpox everywhere they went."[1]

WILLIAMSBURG

On July 4, the British resumed their retreat to

[1] ST. GEORGE TUCKER.

Portsmouth. LaFayette attacked the retreating army at Green Spring, the famous, old estate of Governor William Berkeley (July 6). Cornwallis crossed the James at Jamestown, and LaFayette retired (July 20) up the James to Malvern Hill, to watch, rest and wait.

We come now to one of the critical episodes in American history. Portsmouth was not the fair city of today, but was a collection of small houses between Trinity Church and the ferry. The British had raided Norfolk and Portsmouth twice since Dunmore destroyed Norfolk. There was no accommodation for 9,000 troops on Hampton Roads. Cornwallis fully expected to join Clinton in New York; and, with their united force, crush Washington. That would have been good British strategy. The French fleet was patrolling the coast. If they should close the Virginia watergate, Cornwallis would be lost, no matter upon what shores of the Chesapeake he might be seated. If he could not conquer Virginia with a British fleet behind his back, how could he continue to fight if isolated?

PORTSMOUTH

Despite impending danger to his lieutenant, Clinton ordered Cornwallis to remain at Old Point Comfort. Old Point was even more impossible than Portsmouth. Cornwallis moved to Yorktown (August 1, 1781), making the manor of Governor Nelson his headquarters. The responsibility for that fatal movement rests with Clinton, not Cornwallis.

YORKTOWN

The "boy," LaFayette, saw the chance to crush

Cornwallis. He besought Washington to hasten to Virginia with every available man and gun. He urged de Grasse to close the Virginia seagate. "The British army must be forced to surrender."[2]

Both Washington and de Grasse acted upon the suggestion. The French fleet, 28 ships with 3,500 regulars, arrived off Cape Henry August 28. The British admiral, Graves, engaged Count de Grasse in a sharp action (September 5). That night the French retired to Lynnhaven Bay with two British ships they had captured. Next morning Thomas Graves was gone.

The Marquis de St. Simon sent LaFayette 3,000 French troops, with whom he moved to Williamsburg (September 7). Washington arrived (September 15).

The Continental army came down the Chesapeake and up the James to Jamestown. By September 25 Washington had 16,000 men (7,000 were French). Of the 9,000 Americans, 3,500 were raw Virginia militia under Nelson.

They advanced upon Yorktown in a great semicircle, the cusps resting on the York, the French to the west, the Americans down stream. Washington and Rochambeau had their headquarters where the two sectors met. In two days the lines were drawn taut and Cornwallis was completely invested.

TRAPPED

North of Gloucester Point General George Weedon with the Virginia volunteers and 800 French dragoons under Duc de Lauzon, completed the circle. Tarleton

[2] LaFayette to Washington, August 21, 1781.



Photo by C. O. Buckingham.

THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS

The French officers were painted from life by Turnbull, in Paris. The central figure on horseback is Gen. Benjamin Lincoln. Washington rides between Lincoln and the flag.

The French officers, reading from the extreme left, are: Col. Count Deuxponts, Col. duc de Laval-Montmorency; then Col. Count Custine, on horseback. Col. Duc de Lauzun, Gen. Choizy, Viscount Viomeuil, Marquis de St. Simon, Count Fersen, Count Charles Dumas, Marquis Chastellux, Baron Viomeuil, Admiral Count de Barras, Admiral Count de Grasse and Count Rochambeau, last in line facing Washington.

On the American side, Col. Edward Stevens, of Virginia, is in the far distance, between Lincoln and Washington. Under the flag, next to Washington, are Gov. Thomas Nelson, of Virginia; Marquis de LaFayette and Baron Steuben. Slightly lower are Col. Cobb, Col. Trumbull and Gen. James Clinton. The next five on a line are Gens. Gist, Anthony Wayne, Edward Hand, Peter Muhlenburg and Henry Knox. The last two mounted are Cols. Huntington and Timothy Pickering. The four officers standing at the extreme right are Col. Alexander Hamilton, Col. John Laurens, Col. Walter Stuart and Col. Nicholas Fish at extreme right.

The Nelson House may be seen in the background.—Page 322.

(Copy made by permission from painting in the National Capitol at Washington.)

attempted to break Weedon's line, and barely escaped capture.

Siege guns opened on Yorktown (October 1) and powerful artillery from the fleet added terror to the bombardment (October 6). Each day the line moved nearer, each day the cannonade was fiercer. The great guns whirled red-hot shot at the British ships (October 10) and sunk or burned several of them.

There were two British salients, which, if captured, would render Yorktown defenseless. Colonel Alexander Hamilton captured one, and Count Deuxpont the other. When they were taken Washington turned to General Henry Knox and said:

"The work is done, and well done."

Cornwallis made one desperate effort to escape. He collected every boat and planned to move to the Gloucester shore, cut his way through and escape northwestward toward Fredericksburg. But the stars in their courses fought against him. Storm Before half his army was over a storm swept the peaceful York, and the high seas running made the ferry impossible. When day dawned he was doomed.

After October 14 the guns rested not a moment. Washington was determined to force a decision. Cornwallis sent a flag of truce (October 17). Next day four commissioners met at "Widow Moore's house" to arrange the terms of surrender.

Eighteen months before Clinton demanded harsh terms of General Lincoln, when he surrendered Charleston, S. C. Washington's terms to Cornwallis were duplicates of Clinton's to Benjamin Lincoln.

The capitulation was signed the morning of October 19 and the formal surrender took place that afternoon. Twenty-eight regiments surrendered their colors to twenty-eight American sergeants. Among the English troops were 875 Hessians and 1,027 Bavarian mercenaries.

VICTORY

Washington dispatched Colonel Tilghman[3] to Philadelphia, to acquaint Congress with the glad news. He rode fast and furiously, reached Philadelphia at midnight, and knocked so violently at the door of Thomas McKeen, the Speaker, that the night watchman was about to arrest him for house-breaking. There was no more sleep that night in Philadelphia. House by house and street by street were illuminated, the crowds laughing and weeping for joy. The bells that had peeled forth July 4, 1776, rang again. Their prophecy six and a half bloody years before, was not false, but true, "*Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men.*"

TILGHMAN

Sir Henry Clinton sailed for the Chesapeake with a large force, the very day, and almost the hour of Cornwallis' surrender. He had 35 ships and 7,000 soldiers aboard to re-inforce Cornwallis.

On the last day of November General Thomas Nelson resigned, after making a brilliant record despite his physical frailty.

[3] Tench Tilghman left Yorktown October 19 and reached Philadelphia at midnight, October 23.

LXXV.

BENJAMIN HARRISON

Governor: November 30, 1781–November 30, 1784

The Harrisons are one of the princely tribes of Virginia. They have not produced a brilliant genius, but are sober men, staid, honest, reliable and altogether trustworthy.

The trait is here exemplified. After a Jefferson and a Henry, Virginia selected Benjamin Harrison to guide her through the maelstrom of post-war reactions. Benjamin did the difficult job well.

He was born at Berkeley, forty-one years before.

When Patrick Henry fulminated against King George in the Stamp Act Resolutions, Benjamin, being a Harrison, and the Harrisons being conservative, opposed him as too radical. Harrison followed with Pendleton.

If the gods will permit a glimpse of the future (which is denied contemporary mortals), we will add that Governor Benjamin Harrison had a third son at Berkeley, named William Henry, who was eight years old when his father was elected. When he became sixty-eight years old, he was inaugurated, the first Whig President of the United States. And that little lad's grandson, who was given his great-grandfather's name, Benjamin, became President of the United States in 1889.

TWO PRESIDENTS

Nelson had "impressed" soldiers; he forced likely

young men to serve who did not want to volunteer. It was an imperfect application of the draft. The Assembly exonerated Nelson but decided that henceforth there should be no involuntary service. Also that the militia were not to leave the state.

Congress appointed December 13 a day of thanksgiving for America's glorious victory, and the Virginians, ever an intensely religious people, observed the day with commendable unanimity.

The victorious legions at Yorktown slowly disintegrated. The militia went home. Their work was done.

The French remained at Williamsburg. They used the governor's "Palace,"[1] once so elegant, as a barracks, and burned it down—what an unspeakable and unnecessary loss to posterity! Count Rochambeau made his headquarters at the Wythe House.

BURNED

"Mad Anthony" Wayne led his Pennsylvania regulars to the Carolinas, to help Nathaniel Greene. Washington returned to watch the British in New York.

It was hard to keep the citizen-soldiers in line. Virginia's quota was 3,000, and the state offered $750 and 300 acres of land to every volunteer who would enlist for two years, or until the "end of the war."

On March 4, the Commons passed a resolution that any minister who advised George III to continue the war in America was a "public enemy." Strong language, neatly said.

[1] Chap. LI.

During the British campaigns in Virginia fully 30,000 slaves enlisted with the British and were lost to their owners in Virginia. Most of them died, but 3,000 were sent to the West Indies. SLAVES

The census of 1790 gave Virginia (including West Virginia and Kentucky) 300,000 slaves. The slaves increased about 50,000 through each decade in the early years of the next century. We judge that there were in the colony, at the time of Cornwallis' surrender, 250,000 slaves. The British actually carried off twelve per cent. of the slaves. This represents, of course, the vigorous young black men of military age, the most valuable help on the plantations.

The Assembly (1782) passed an act permitting owners to free their slaves. Thousands upon thousands of Negroes were freed by their owners before 1860. The slave trade was made a crime in Virginia, with heavy penalties (1778).

The cause of education received immediate attention. Steps were taken to enlarge William and Mary, Liberty Hall[2] was chartered, and Hampden-Sidney opened its doors January 1, 1776 (the day Lord Dunmore burned Norfolk). Its charter was granted Dr. John Blair Smith, Patrick Henry, James Madison and others. EDUCATION

Transylvania College, in Kentucky, was projected in the spring of 1783.

General von Steuben instituted the famous Society of the Cincinnati at Washington's old headquarters, Newburg, New York (June 19, 1783).

[2] Chap. LXXVI.

The Indian tribes of Ohio fell upon the exposed but rapidly developing frontiers of Kentucky. Colonels Todd and Trigg were defeated and killed at Blue Licks (August 19, 1782). Benjamin Logan marched against the victors, but they retired across the Ohio.

The year closed auspiciously. A tentative treaty of peace was drawn (November 30) at Paris. Many Virginians felt that better terms ought to have been wrested from the British.

The huge Northwest, which every statesman knew must, in the immediate future, prove the arena of unprecedented development, and which was largely owned by Virginia, was ceded to the future government of the United States for the erection of independent commonwealths. An important provision, upon which Thomas Jefferson (always a foe of slavery) insisted, was that the territory north of the Ohio should be forever free. When that word was written, slavery was doomed. Had the states carved from Virginia been opened to slavery, the history of this nation must inevitably have been changed.

GREAT GIFT

"From the first the Virginians were the foremost advocates of union and made every sacrifice to effect it. Virginia began by surrendering a principality. The entire region beyond the Ohio, now the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, was a part of her domain, under her charter. Her right to it rested upon as firm a basis as the right of any other commonwealth to her own domain. And if there was any question of title, this state could assert her

right by conquest. The region had been wrested from the British by a Virginian commanding Virginia troops; the people had taken the 'oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth of Virginia'; her title was indisputable. These rights she abandoned, the result of an enlarged patriotism and devotion to the cause of union.

"Virginia agreed to cede the territory to the federal government (January, 1781); in 1783 Congress accepted her terms, and in 1787 passed an ordinance for the government of the territory."[3]

Governor Harrison proclaimed (April 23, 1783) Virginia at peace with all nations. A celebration was held at Williamsburg (May 1); the bells of college, church and the old state house rang out the good news, and the day ended joyously at Raleigh Tavern.

PEACE

Under Jefferson's leadership the state passed an act for the complete separation of church and state. "Virginia was not only the first state in America to take its stand for equality and freedom of religion to all people of all faiths, but she was the first state in all the world to do so."[4]

Nine days after the last British troops left New York, Washington took his formal departure. At noon, Thursday, December 4, the Continental officers met him at Fraunce's Tavern. His hand trembled as he offered this toast:

"With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you; and most devoutly wish your

[3] JOHN ESTEN COOKE.

[4] LYON G. TYLER.

latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable."

A multitude followed the great general to the Hudson. Every window and house-top was crowded with enthusiastic spectators. The churches rang their bells, as he entered the barge, took off his hat and waved farewell. His old officers stood bareheaded so long as Washington was in sight.

FAREWELL

He met the Congress at Annapolis, delivered his farewell address and returned the commission placed in his hands (July 17, 1775) before he started for Boston.

Out of the welter of events, two political parties slowly developed in Virginia. Patrick Henry led the liberals. He urged the repeal of all legislation prejudicial to British commerce, trade and manufacturing. He would invite the Tories to return and unite in building a greater Virginia. He carried a motion to levy no taxes for a year on account of the poverty and distress of the people.

NO TAXES

All classes united in admiration of Washington and love for him. The Assembly passed an "Address," which endeavored to express the affection of this state for their intrepid leader. A statue of the finest possible materials and artistic touch by a French sculptor, Houdon, was made.[5] The likeness was declared perfect by those who knew the great general well. It adorns the capitol at Richmond.

HOUDON

Washington was deeply interested in two great

[5] Jean Antoine Houdon spent two weeks at Mt. Vernon preparing his model.

projects; which, had they been pushed, would have made Virginia the great avenue to the West, and the Chesapeake the great depot for Western products. One plan was to open and canalize the Potomac and effect a connection with the Monongahela and Ohio.

The James was also to be developed. Joint stock companies were formed, but the work lagged. Our fathers missed an immense opportunity.

Patrick Henry, elected "without competition or opposition" to succeed Governor Harrison (November 17), took the seals of state for a second time.

LXXVI.

GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Governor: November 30, 1784–December 1, 1786

The new Governor moved his family to "Salisbury," a modest estate in Chesterfield County near Richmond, before taking office.

On the first day of Henry's term the Assembly voted to present a bust of General LaFayette to the city of Paris. A replica was placed in the State Capitol, near the statue of Washington. Both Washington and the Marquis were in Richmond at the time.

Of all the colonies LaFayette laid Virginia under the largest debt of gratitude. He defended our borders with consummate ability and against great odds, and without LaFayette there

LaFayette

would have been no Yorktown. Republics have short memories, but Virginia has never forgotten LaFayette.

"Crazy" Jim Rumsey lived in Shepherdstown,[1] a Virginia village on the upper Potomac. The neighbors called him "Crazy Jim," because he insisted that he could make a boat move against the current of the Potomac by means of steam.

The wiser neighbors admitted that Rumsey was a genius with machinery. He invented and manufactured various machines (especially mill machines) in Maryland, his native state.

Rumsey interested George Washington in his plans (1784), and exhibited at Mt. Vernon the model of a boat propelled by steam. Rumsey was poor and had hard going with the Scotch-Irish farmers of the Shenandoah. But when they saw it with their own eyes the queer craft did actually go up the Potomac at about four miles an hour! The Legislature granted James Rumsey a monopoly of steam navigation in Virginia waters for ten years. I fear the grant did not do him much good, for he died in London (1792), still planning steamboats and working on them.

How much Robert Fulton learned of Rumsey and John Fitch, is a moot question.

A monument on a hilltop at Shepherdstown, W. Va., was built by the grandchildren of those who smiled at "Crazy" Rumsey.

The towns of Petersburg, Blandford, Pocahontas and Ravenscroft were united (1784) as Petersburg.[2]

[1] Now West Virginia.

[2] PATRICK HENRY DREWRY, *Story of a Church*, p. 38.

Petersburg was the retail district, Blandford the residential section and Pocahontas the first real estate sub-division. An old writer describes the place, after the Revolution, as "A brisk, lively, little town, rather old in appearance, with gay society, a few large commercial houses, lots of tobacco, plenty of Negroes, numbers of little children with check aprons and dirty faces and rows of frame houses. The streets were muddy and unpaved, but the inhabitants were of good spirit, energetic, home-loving and happy in their modest way." PETERSBURG

General Washington was voted 50 shares of Potomac River Development Company stock and 100 shares of the James River Company (January 5, 1785). He was loathe to accept so handsome a gift. Yet to decline would likely give offense. Washington, therefore, accepted the present and gave fifty shares of James River stock to Liberty Hall Academy, a struggling little institution founded by Scotch-Irish Presbyterians on the now famous hill-top at Lexington. The principal was a great teacher and man of God, William Graham. The name of the school was promptly changed to Washington College,[3] in honor of gift and giver. The gift the General made 114 years ago is still, we understand, an integral part of the University's endowment. GIFT

Governor Henry inherited three delicate post-war problems, debts due British subjects by Virginians; the promised return of slaves taken during the war;

[3] Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.

and the British garrisons still in the Western border forts.

Commissioners from Maryland and Virginia met at Alexandria (March, 1785) and Mt. Vernon to settle points at dispute between the two states, especially the use of waterways. The rivers must be opened and improved, channels deepened, lighthouses erected and many other costly developments projected. Virginia agreed to bear five parts to Maryland's three.

"In 1777 commissioners, appointed by Pennsylvania and Virginia, met in Baltimore to agree upon the common boundaries. On August 31 they agreed to extend Mason and Dixon's line due west five degrees of longitude, to be computed from the river Delaware, for the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and that a meridian line, drawn from the western extremity thereof to the northern limit of the said state, be the western boundary of Pennsylvania forever. The contract was ratified by both states.

BOUNDARY, VIRGINIA-PENNSYLVANIA

"In 1785 Mason and Dixon's line was extended, and the southwestern corner of Pennsylvania established.

"The Panhandle is what was left of Virginia east of the Ohio River and north of Mason and Dixon's line, after the boundary was run from this point to Lake Erie in 1786. It received its name in legislative debate from Hon. John McMillan, delegate from Brooke County, to match the Accomac projection, which he dubbed the Spoon Handle."[4]

[4] B. A. HINSDALE, *The Old Northwest*, p. 109.

Two hundred years had now passed since Sir Walter Ralegh attempted to found a British empire in Virginia. The anniversary passed unnoticed.

A spirited contest for the Speaker's chair between the late Governor, Benjamin Harrison, and a future Governor, John Tyler, featured the opening of the legislature. Harrison won (1785).

HARRISON AND TYLER

If some prophet had been gifted a vision of future days, he would have seen the sons of the contestants running together on the famous Whig ticket—the Whig ticket which carried the nation.

The Kentuckians were restless; they wished a state of their own across the great mountain barrier and in the valley of the mighty Mississippi. It was a Virginia land, for her people, institutions, courts, laws, counties and her civilization had been transported, almost entirely, to the blue-grass pastures from the mother state.

KENTUCKY

Thousands had sought Kentucky by Daniel Boone's trace, which wended a toilsome and difficult way through Big Stone Gap and Cumberland Gap. Others went west by Cumberland, Maryland, Braddock's Road and Pittsburgh. Still others followed the Earl of Dunmore's trace to Parkersburg and thence down the tawny Ohio.

The General Assembly (1786) authorized the Kentuckians to call a Convention, the first step toward statehood.

During the summer (1786), General George Rogers Clark made an unsuccessful campaign into the Wabash Valley; and Colonel Logan won a decisive victory over the Shawnees.

On a modest farm near Petersburg, a lad, Winfield Scott, was born (June 13, 1786).

Spain, seated at New Orleans, could close the navigation of the Mississippi at will. The mighty river formed the western boundary of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. The incipient states of Kentucky and Tennessee were especially interested. The coldness of the northern and eastern colonies irritated the South, and especially the new Southwest. The Mississippi question might be called the first distinctly sectional issue.

MISSISSIPPI

John Marshall wrote, March 5, 1787:

"Mr. Henry, whose opinions have their usual influence, has been heard to say that he would rather part with the Confederation than relinquish the navigation of the Mississippi." Marshall was a strong Federalist.

In Southwestern Virginia, Colonel Arthur Campbell, of "Royal Oak" (Marion, Virginia), the cousin and brother-in-law of General William Campbell, the hero of King's Mountain, had visions of an independent state in the area now known as Southwestern Virginia and Southern West Virginia. The capitol was to be located at Ft. Chiswell or Abingdon. Governor Henry frowned upon this further disruption of our territory, and the plan was dropped.[5]

NO STATE

Only five states were represented at the Annapolis National Convention, called by the Virginia Assembly, to effect a more perfect union and bring some order out of the chaos which threatened, assembled

[5] LEWIS PRESTON SUMMERS, *Hist. of Wash. County, Va.*, pp. 391-419.

September 14, 1786. The representatives of Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey and Virginia decided that a more vigorous union must be effected. The strong must protect the weak, and all must make sacrifices for peace and unity. They adjourned to Philadelphia (May 2, 1787).

This Convention might be called the first definite step toward the government of the United States, as it now exists.

The Assembly re-elected Henry for a third year (November 25, 1785), and appointed James Madison to notify him. Henry declined; his personal affairs demanded his attention. The salary of £1,000 was meagre, especially as he was in debt.[6] Large tracts of land, which he owned, demanded his supervision. Two of his daughters had recently married; Anne became the wife of Judge Spencer Roane and Elizabeth married Philip Aylett. Some of the governor's eleven children were still young, and he planned to make his home[7] in Prince Edward County, near Hampden-Sidney, of which he was a trustee, that his sons might be educated there.

HENRY AGAIN

[6] WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, *Character of Patrick Henry* (1867), Library of Congress.

[7] WILLIAM WIRT, *Life of Henry*, p. 400.

LXXVII.

EDMUND RANDOLPH

Governor: December 1, 1786–December 1, 1788

Edmund Randolph, the state's sixth governor, and his cousin, Beverley Randolph, presided through years filled with events of transcendent importance. William Randolph,[1] of Turkey Island, on the James, below Richmond, was the father of ten children: seven sons. John, knighted in 1730, by George I, was the first recorder of Norfolk (1736). Sir John Randolph's son, Peyton, who died in Philadelphia (1775), at the beginning of the Revolution, was the first president of the first Continental Congress. The mantle of genius descended from Peyton to his nephew, Edmund Randolph.

Edmund made a reputation as a scholar and orator at William and Mary. His father, a staunch Tory, a friend of Dunmore, left Virginia when the Earl fled; but Edmund was as staunch a Whig. He was only 33 years old when the Assembly made him governor. He handed his law practice to John Marshall, and gave his brilliant talents to his country until his death (1813).

Beverley Randolph was also a great-grandson of Colonel William, of Turkey Island. Beverley, though a good governor, did not achieve the fame of Edmund.

The eyes of Virginia, and indeed of the nation,

[1] MRS. EDITH TUNIS SALE, *Manors of Va.*, pp. 114-117.
Va. Hist. Mag., July, 1929.

were turned to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Virginia was represented by George Washington, Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, John Blair, James Madison, George Mason, George Wythe and James McClurg; "to devise and discuss all such alterations and further provisions as may be necessary to render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the Union." Such an array of genius no other state nor nation could rival. Washington preferred not to serve. He did not wish to be drawn into partisan politics; but Governor Randolph insisted that the Assembly elect him, and he prevailed upon the great general to attend.

GENIUSES

From May 25, until September 17, the Convention sat. Washington presided. Randolph presented the "Virginia" plan, which was finally adopted. Madison was the genius of the hour. He visualized the federated republic, and "blended the profound wisdom of the statesman and scholar with the tact of the successful politician."

RANDOLPH'S PLAN

The constitution was reported August 6, but only three Virginians (Washington, Madison and Blair) would sign it.

When the Convention adjourned, the fight was carried into every neighborhood, from the Piscataqua to the Altamaha, but was especially bitter in Virginia, New York and Massachusetts. North Carolina and Rhode Island were point blank against the Constitution. It would not have carried in one state (certainly not in the five mentioned) had it been understood that one state

DEBATE

or group of states could, under any circumstances, coerce another state or group of states. Nor would it have carried if secession from the Union were impossible.

Delaware adopted the constitution first (December 7, 1788): Georgia, second (January 2); Connecticut a week later (January 9); Massachusetts fell in line (February 7); Maryland (April 28) and South Carolina (May 23).

During the spring 168 delegates were chosen to meet at Richmond, debate the question and cast Virginia's vote pro or contra.

"It is said that, even in the churchyard on the Sabbath, the absorbing subject could not be suppressed. Men thought, spoke, contended concerning little save the State and the Confederacy, the checks and balances, the executive, legislature and judiciary."[2]

When the Convention gathered, the Governor was chosen President and Rev. Abner Waugh, chaplain. They began each day with prayer—and they needed it!

Patrick Henry was instantly in the saddle. He attacked Madison's Constitution. The Philadelphia Convention had been elected to strengthen the Confederation of states, and, lo! they have brought forth a totally different proposition, one fraught with untold dangers to the liberties of states and people. With such a centralized government, the President would be more powerful than any monarch on earth!

HENRY A PROPHET

[2] WILLIAM WIRT.

Henry flayed Randolph. He was so opposed to the Constitution at Philadelphia that he would not sign it; yet he advocates it at Richmond. To which Governor Randolph replied:

"If our friendship must fall, let it fall like Lucifer, never to rise again!"

John Marshall, George Nicholas and Light Horse Harry Lee were ardent supporters of the Constitution. Indeed, Virginia would not have joined the union had it not been for the influence of the father of Robert E. Lee.

FEDERALISTS

As the debate progressed, it became evident that Virginia would ratify the Constitution. Just before the vote was taken, Henry delivered one of the greatest speeches in American history. He feared that the Northern states would outgrow the Southern states because of their industrial development and their appeal to immigrants. He cited New England's coldness to the control of the Mississippi as an example of sectionalism. In future days he feared a brute majority by force of arms might, under this very Constitution, force their will by conquest and by blood. Henry spoke with the vividness and fire of a Hebrew prophet. He swept the Convention with his wondrous power, and played upon their fears and emotions. At the climax of his appeal, a violent tropical storm broke. Lightning flashed, thunder roared and torrents of rain descended as the mighty orator described the fire and bloodshed of possible future war between the sections. When he was through the Convention dispersed in confusion.

STORM

That speech will never be forgotten in Virginia. The very things he foretold came to pass in 75 years.

SIEGE OF RICHMOND

It seemed to the grandsons in Confederate days that the Heavens themselves had warned their grandsires of the fury impending.

The vote was taken June 27, and carried 89 to 79.

Tidewater Virginia voted for the Constitution and the frontiers against it.

Six days before Virginia voted (June 21), New Hampshire adopted the constitution, and a month later (July 26), New York decided to join. North Carolina adopted the constitution (August 7), with reservations, and Rhode Island rejected it altogether.[3]

[3] DANIEL C. MONCURE, *Edmund Randolph.*

LXXVIII.

BEVERLEY RANDOLPH

Governor: December 1, 1788–December 1, 1791

One of the great years of history trembled on the threshold of a waiting world. A mere summary of events is impressive. The first electoral college met in Philadelphia (February), and cast every vote for George Washington. John Adams, of Massachusetts, was elected vice-president.

Patrick Henry and other intense anti-federalists were insisting that the June Convention (1788) had misrepresented this state. They wished to reconsider the action by which Virginia entered the Union and perhaps annul it. But the election of Washington quieted the political fever. Even

Henry was willing to give the Constitution a chance with Washington at the helm.

The first Congress met in New York, March 4, and sent delegates to Mt. Vernon to "notify" Washington of his election. He left Mt. Vernon for New York (April 23), and his progress through the country was like that of a king to his coronation. He took the oath April 30.

The churches were forming their national organizations, as well as the state. The first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was held in Philadelphia in May. There were 188 clergymen, representing 419 churches.

The Church of England deputies also met in Philadelphia and adopted a constitution which made their church definitely an American organization.

The Pope appointed Rev. John Carroll, of the Jesuits, a cousin of Charles Carroll, of Carrolton, a warm personal friend of Benjamin Franklin and an ardent Whig, Bishop of Baltimore (1788). He was consecrated in England (1790) and his see covered the nation.

CHURCHES

The rise of the Methodist Church is of great interest. Virginia Methodism began in Norfolk with the preaching of Robert Williams, who was not favorably impressed, for he wrote (1772): "Their convictions are slight, and their desires very faint. Such Methodists I have never seen. Many hundreds attended preaching, but the most hardened, wild and ill-behaved of any people I have ever beheld in any place."

At the first Conference 100 members were reported

in this colony. Two "stations," Norfolk and Petersburg, served as mission bases.

Brunswick County was especially favorable to the Methodist preachers. There was a great revival in 1787, and at the time of Washington's inauguration the Methodists were working in all parts of Virginia. In 1793 they had enrolled an impressive membership—13,600 white and 4,069 colored members. Such figures are eloquent of Methodist zeal. Many nominal members of the Church of England welcomed the Methodists.

METHODISTS

Philadelphia was made the seat of government for a decade, and then a location on the Potomac was to be selected, a district ten miles square, ceded by Maryland and Virginia (June 28). Washington selected the site and suggested that it be called "Federal City," but it was named *Washington* (September 9, 1791).

CAPITAL

Rhode Island decided to come into the Union (May 29, 1790). Kentucky and Vermont were knocking at the doors of Congress.

The first census set the population of the country at 3,929,326.

Virginia had 748,308 people—444,115 white, 293,427 slaves and 12,766 free colored.

Norfolk had "nearly 3,000 people," half the population she had when Dunmore burned the town fourteen years before.

The state capitol, a replica of a Roman Temple at Nismes, in the Valley of the Rhone, was built during 1790. Jefferson selected it, "one of the most beautiful, if not the most beautiful,

STATE CAPITOL

and precious morsels of architecture left us by antiquity."

Perhaps Thomas was too enthusiastic in his praise of Maison Quarrie. But time has hallowed its classic halls. It has served Virginia well for 140 years and the Confederacy for four. Save only the national Capitol at Washington no building in the Western World is so redolent of history.

An act was passed for digging the Dismal Swamp Canal, to connect the Chesapeake with the sounds of North Carolina (November 25, 1790), but it took a long, long time. It was opened in 1822 and finished in 1828.

Our southern boundary was disputed, especially beyond the Byrd line. In fact, there were two lines—one drawn by Richard Henderson, of North Carolina, and the other by Dr. Thomas Walker, of Virginia. North Carolina finally accepted Walker's line. But, when the boundary got to Tennessee, there was more trouble, and a compromise line was agreed upon, which cost Virginia a small but valuable strip of land. Any one will notice that the first corner of Tennessee is a bit farther north than the last corner of North Carolina.[1] Of course, the line should have been straight. Virginia has been far too liberal in giving away her lands (1802).

TWO LINES

[1] THOS. W. PRESTON, *Sketches of Holston*, p. 33.

LXXIX.

GENERAL HENRY LEE

Governor: December 1, 1791-December 1, 1794

"Light Horse Harry" Lee was one of the conspicuous leaders of Revolutionary Virginia, both on the bloody battlefields of war and in the quiet council chamber. He was Virginia's only Federalist governor.

He was a son of Henry,[1] the brother of Colonel Thomas Lee and Lucy Grimes, reputed to have been the "first sweetheart of George Washington."[2] Harry was born at "Leesylvania," three miles from Dumfries, on the Potomac[3] (January 29, 1756).

Graduating from Princeton (1774) he would have taken law in England, but Virginia's troubles were swelling to an outburst. Instead of the gown of an advocate, he adopted the uniform of a soldier.

Lee's Legion[4] was the most famed cavalry command in the army, and "Light Horse Harry," as the Virginians have ever known him, was the idol of his soldiers.

They sent him South to aid Nathaniel Green, Pickens and Marion. Lee's Legion captured four times as many British and Tories as they had men!

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[1] See Chap. LIX.

[2] WM. M. THAYER, *Life of Washington*, pp. 87-89 for an account of this early love affair.

[3] CECIL B. HARTLEY, *Life of Lee*, states (incorrectly) that he was born at Stratford.

[4] Chap. LXXII.



Photo by H. C. Mann.

"LIGHT HORSE" HARRY LEE

(*From a portrait in the State Library*)

He was a conspicuous leader of Revolutionary Virginia, on the bloody battlefields and in the quiet council chamber. He sleeps beside his more famous son, Robert E. Lee, at Washington and Lee University.—Chaps. LXXII and LXXIX.

After Yorktown Colonel Lee resigned, for the hardships were telling upon him.

"Everybody knows I[5] have the highest opinion of you as an officer, and you know I love you as a friend." (January 27, 1782.)

Came this young hero of 26, the newly delivered nation ringing with his fame, and laid his blushing honors at the feet of Matilda Lee, of Stratford, a distant cousin.

His domestic life was happy except for the prolonged illness of his wife and the death of two children; one of whom, a fine boy of 10, was named Nathaniel Greene. Two children, Henry and Lucy, remained to him when he was elected Governor.

His term was marked by two episodes.

Congress passed an act (February 4, 1791), admitting Kentucky as the fifteenth state "on and after June 1, 1792," although the state had not as yet adopted a constitution. From the first the slave question was a thorn of contention.

RICE

Rev. David Rice, the first pastor of the first church in the new state, was perhaps the most influential citizen beyond the Cumberland Mountains. A native of Hanover County, Virginia, a disciple of Samuel Davies, a graduate of Princeton, for a time pastor in Bedford County, "Father" David, as he was affectionately called, was an uncompromising foe of slavery and fought the system to a finish. It was largely due to his efforts that the slave trade was forbidden. Kentucky, from the first was largely free soil.

[5] Gen. Greene's farewell to Lee.

The meetings of the Virginia legislature were opened with prayer from the earliest days. The Quakers made a vigorous protest, and the chaplain was dismissed. Any good principle can be carried to absurd extremes.

As Washington's administration advanced the Virginians slowly identified themselves with the two national parties forming. The personal popularity of Washington was not diminished, but the majority followed Jefferson[6] and allied themselves with the Republicans.

Two Parties

After General Arthur St. Clair's defeat the Ohio Indians made many drives into the mountain sections of Virginia. Col. Arthur Campbell, of Royal Oak, urged that a garrison of fifty men be stationed at Cumberland Gap, where Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee meet.

The Indiana Company brought suit against this state (1793). Governor Lee recommended an amendment to the Constitution that no commonwealth can be sued without its consent. It was finally enacted as the Eleventh Amendment to the constitution of the United States.

Alexander Hamilton secured (1791) from Congress a tax on liquors, which was never less than 9c a gallon and on the best grades, 40c. There were

6 "Jefferson, who hated Harry Lee, politically, says of Lee's *War in the Southern Department*, 'I am glad to see the romance of Lee removed from the shelf of history to that of fable. Some small portions of the transactions he relates were within my knowledge and of these I can say he has given more falsehood than fact'." GAMALIEL BRADFORD, *Lee*, p. 5.

For refutation of charges against Lee see H. LEE and CHAS. C. LEE, *Observations on Writings of Jefferson, on the Late Gen. Harry Lee.*

violent objections in North Carolina, Western Virginia, and especially in Western Pennsylvania. Pittsburgh was in open rebellion (1794). Buildings were burned, mails robbed and officers abused. One was actually tarred, feathered, and turned loose in frightful condition. More than 6,000 determined men would fight before they would pay the tax. Governor Thomas Mifflin, of Pennsylvania, refused to act.

LIQUOR

Washington, with characteristic decision and prudence, called 15,000 troops from Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey and Virginia. Governor Lee was ordered to suppress the rebellion. The army was to move upon Pittsburgh, September 1, 1794; but the decision of the President, the strong force and advice of cooler heads prevailed, and the war clouds blew away. The tax was reluctantly paid.

The Governor's term was almost done. He married again (June 18, 1794), Anne Carter, of "Shirley." Five children blessed their home—Charles Carter, Sidney Smith, Robert Edward (January 19, 1807), Anne Carter and Mildred.

General Lee was sent to Congress in 1799. As he represented the Mt. Vernon district, he was requested to deliver the memorial address on Washington. He coined the famous phrase: "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."[7]

General Lee was wounded in Baltimore (August, 1812) when a Federalist editor was mobbed because of his opposition to war with Great Britain.

[7] *Funeral Oration* Deliv. at req. of Cong. in German Lutheran Church, Phila., Dec. 26, 1799. Library of Congress.

As he returned from a visit to the West Indies he died at the home of Mrs. Shaw, a daughter of his late beloved commander, General Greene. For a hundred years he slept on Cumberland Island[8] among the marshes of Glynn, made forever famous by Lanier. Virginia removed his ashes to Lexington (May 30, 1913) and they repose beside his great son, Robert E. Lee, in the Lee Memorial Chapel[9] of Washington and Lee University.

[8] CHAS. C. JONES, *Reminiscences of Gen. Henry Lee*, p. 33.
[9] Report of Committee, HUGH A. WHITE, Chairman, Va. State Library.

LXXX.

ROBERT BROOKE

Governor: December 1, 1794–December 1, 1796

The grandfather of the young governor, another Robert Brooke,[1] came to the Rappahannock and was one of the jolly Knights of the Golden Horse Shoe, previously described[2] Richard, the Governor's father, was one of several sons.

Robert studied law in Edinburg, and, when the Revolution began, attempted to get home, but Admiral Howe captured him and sent him back to England. Robert was hard to hold; he retreated to Scotland, travelled to France and returned to Virginia in a French vessel bringing arms to the Chesapeake.

[1] MRS. EDITH TUNIS SALE, *Manors of Va.*, p. 64.
[2] See Chap. LI.

His career in the army was brief and troubled, for he was captured, exchanged and again found a place in the ranks; but the war was over.

He represented his native country in the legislature three years before he was elected.

His first act of popular interest (December 11, 1794), was granting to Hampden-Sidney College the land a Scotch Presbyterian, Robert Rutledge, had left—without heirs—when he had been killed "in a drinking bout" many years before by Colonel John Chiswell (1766). SCHOOLS

Petersburg Academy was given a charter at this time.

A significant act was that "granting the United States Bank authority to establish a branch in this state; this act seeming to claim that, without the state's assent, no branch of the Bank could be set up in Virginia."[3]

Virginia's first insurance company, the "Mutual Assurance Society" (established November 2, 1794), began business at Richmond.

The terror of Indian invasion hovered like an ominous cloud over the western borders, until dispelled forever by matchless "Mad Anthony" Wayne, whose sword had previously done so much for Virginia. He broke the spirit of the savages, and henceforth the copper-colored tribes knew that the rich empire from the Ohio to the Lakes was white man's country. INDIANS

The passing years brought prosperity to the thrifty. The foundations of many American for-

[3] LYON G. TYLER.

tunes were laid. President Washington addressing Congress (December 3, 1795), said:

"Our agriculture, commerce and manufacturers prosper beyond former example. Our population advances with a celerity, which, exceeding the most sanguine calculations, proportionally augments our strength and resources, and guarantees our future security. Every part of the Union displays indications of rapid and various improvement, and with burdens so light as scarcely to be perceived, with resources fully adequate to our present exigencies, with governments founded on the genuine principle of rational liberty, and with mild and wholesome laws; is it too much to say that our country exhibits a spectacle of national happiness never surpassed, if ever before equalled?"

PROSPERITY

Nay, Father George, it is not too much to say, and we know, after more than a century, that we owe much of that security, happiness and prosperity to you. As "Light Horse Harry" Lee truly said, you were not only "first in war," but you proved yourself also "first in peace."

LXXXI.

GENERAL JAMES WOOD

Governor: December 1, 1796-December 1, 1799

The commonwealth was passing into an era of stability and fine development. Five successive governors (Wood, Monroe, Page, Cabell and Tyler), served the full term of three years.

General Wood was the first governor who came over the Blue Ridge to the capital. Eastern Virginia controlled the state exclusively no longer.

The father of the governor, Colonel James Wood, founded Winchester, and was for many years clerk of Frederick County, in which James was born (1750).

Lord Dunmore made young James a captain (1774), and he represented Frederick County in the last House of Burgesses (1775).

The gallant young captain after an irksome and dangerous journey (July, 1775), over the great mountains treated with the Indians of Ohio. "The courage he displayed won the admiration of the savages, and he accomplished his object." Then he received a Colonel's commission (November 12, 1776). OHIO

Daniel Morgan brought the British prisoners from Saratoga to Charlottesville for safe-keeping. Colonel Wood watched over them at Charlottesville and Winchester, whither they were removed when Virginia was invaded. Governor Harrison made the Colonel a Brigadier-General (1783).

He represented Frederick County, served in the Governor's Council and was Lieutenant-Governor before he was elected. As one of the electors for Virginia, he had the honor of casting his ballot for George Washington for President (1789).

Governor Wood was the distinguished husband of a distinguished wife. Jean Moncure (1754-1823), the daughter of Rev. John Moncure, a Scotch rector of the Established Church in Virginia, married the gallant young captain (1775). Mrs. Wood was noted for her social grace, her practical benevolence and especially for her poetic gifts. Her verses were constantly published by contemporary periodicals and won for her a place among the earlier poets of Virginia. Long after her death an anthology of her poems was published (1859) under the title "Flowers and Weeds of the Old Dominion."

MRS. WOOD

The Virginians were never committed to the system of slave labor. Misconception on this subject is widely spread, natural perhaps to the superficial, but erroneous. From the time of its introduction, there was never a year when protests against slavery were not made, and able antagonists were never wanting in Virginia.

Governor Wood was conspicuous in his opposition. He was an enthusiastic member and president (1801) of a society whose object was the abolition of slavery in the state.

ANTI-SLAVERY

"In the year 1795, many citizens of Washington County emancipated their slaves, among them Elizabeth Russell, sister of Patrick Henry and the

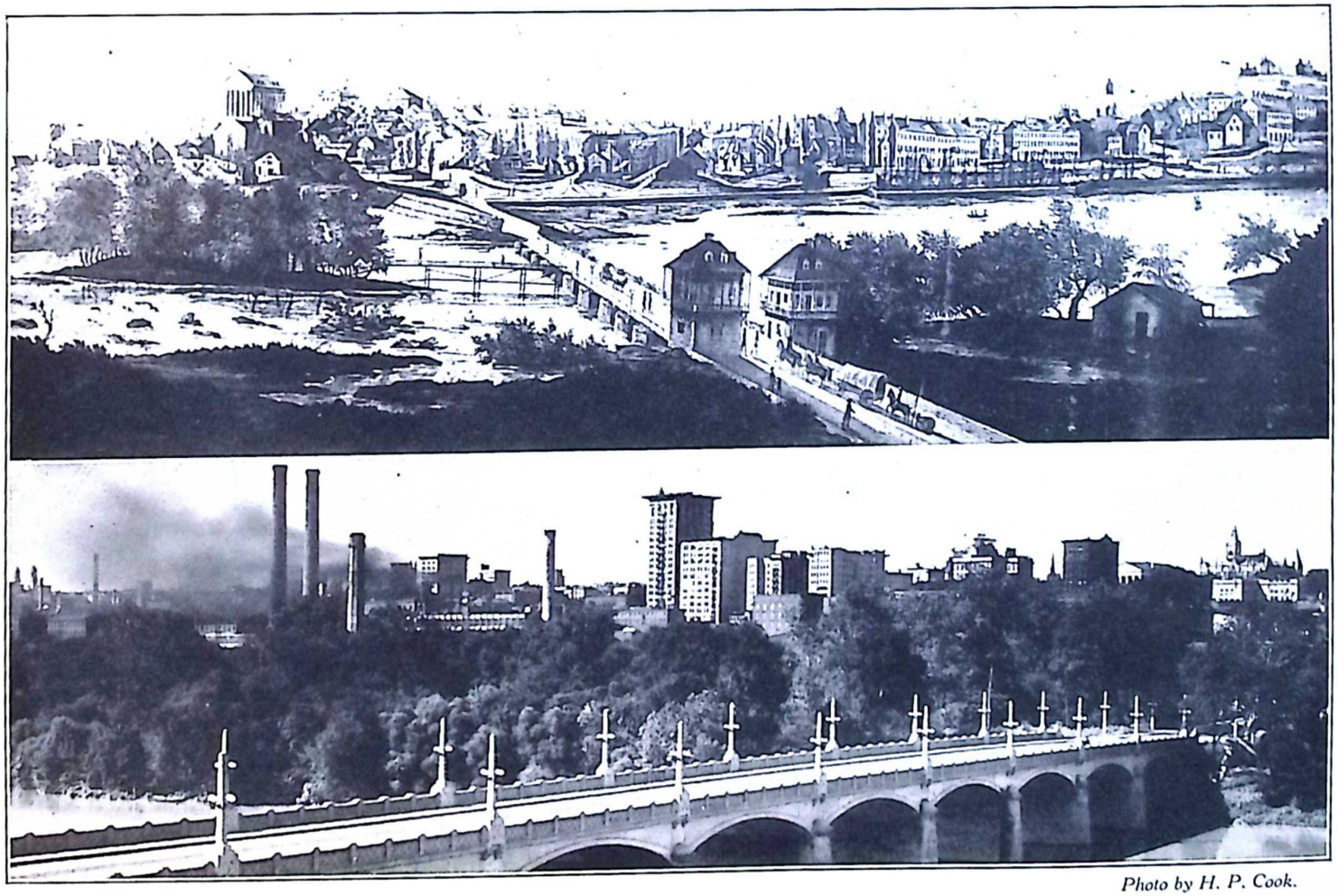

Photo by H. P. Cook.

RICHMOND

Richmond is rapidly becoming one of the most beautiful cities in America, as she is the most historic, except Washington. The two pictures were made from the southern side of Mayo's Bridge, Fourteenth Street. The old print was published in 1800; the new photograph 120 years later.—Chap. LXXII.

wife, first of Colonel William Campbell, then of Colonel William Russell."[1]

Unfortunately, there were rumors of a negro insurrection, and the legislature promptly voted to buy 10,000 stands of arms (1797).

As the years passed, the one great defect in the national Constitution became increasingly apparent. That document did not define the line between the rights of the constituent states and the Federal government. That was left to posterity, perhaps intentionally.

The Alien and Sedition laws caused much excitement. They were denounced in the South. Kentucky passed a series of resolutions (November, 1798), the purport of which was that a sovereign state might nullify an act of the Federal Congress. The Kentucky Resolutions were drafted by Thomas Jefferson. The other states did not take kindly to nullification doctrine. Virginia passed similar resolutions (December 21, 1798), from the pen of James Madison, the "Father of the Constitution," more cautiously worded. It was the beginning of an agitation, which culminated sixty years later in secession.

NULLIFICATION

The people of Virginia would never have entered the Union had they understood that by doing so they surrendered their sovereign rights. The leaders who urged the famous Virginia Resolutions were John Taylor, of Caroline County; James Barbour, a brilliant youth of twenty-two, whose maiden speech made a real sensation, and William Branch Giles, another ardent Republican.

[1] LEWIS PRESTON SUMMERS, *Washington County*.

The Federalist leaders were George Kent Taylor, a brother-in-law of John Marshall, and "Light Horse Harry" Lee, who declared that there were too many foreigners already in America and that the press practiced unbridled license, calling it "liberty." What would "Light Horse Harry" think of the press today?

There were 900 houses in Norfolk in 1798.

Six months before Washington's second term ended he released his Farewell Address (September 19, 1796), stating definitely that he would retire from public life. He attended the inauguration of John Adams (March 4, 1797), and returned to Mt. Vernon to resume the life of a Virginia planter.[2]

[2] EARL G. SWEM. Hardin Burnley for four days and J. Pendleton for a few days before Col. Monroe took the office.

LXXXII.

COLONEL JAMES MONROE

Governor: December 19, 1799–December 29, 1802

Colonel[1] James Monroe was a distinguished statesman, but the future lifted him to international renown.

He was born in Westmoreland County (April 28, 1758), forty-one years before he became governor.

His studies at William and Mary were interrupted by the alarms of war. With three teachers and thirty other students he enlisted. Monroe was a lieutenant

[1] Or Senator.

under Colonel Hugh Mercer. He was wounded in the shoulder at Trenton, and wounded again at the battle of Harlem. He carved Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth on his escutcheon.

Jefferson had a marked influence upon him. His uncle, Judge Jones, wrote him: "You do well to cultivate the friendship of Mr. Jefferson; while you continue to deserve his esteem he will not withdraw his countenance." This was sage counsel, "for Monroe's intimacy with Jefferson, then established, continued through life and was the key to his early achievement and perhaps to his ultimate success."[2]

The young soldier became a statesman, serving with ability in the Continental Congress. He was "not the ablest, but the most conspicuous representative of Virginia on the floor of Congress" after Jefferson went to France.[3]

For a short time he practiced law in Fredericksburg (1786). In the acrimonious debate over the adoption of the Constitution (1788), Monroe sided with Henry against Madison, Lee and Marshall.[4] He declared that the President might, with the great powers conferred, easily become a monarch.

Virginia's two first senators were Richard Henry Lee and William Grayson, who died shortly. Monroe took his place (1790-1794). During these four years he was particularly hostile to Alexander Hamilton.

U. S. SENATOR

[2] DANIEL COIT GILMAN.

[3] GEORGE BANCROFT.

[4] JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, *Character of Monroe*, p. 86. Library of Congress.

President Washington sent him to France (1794) on a delicate mission; but recalled him (1786) because his pronouncements were too republican. On his return he issued a political book of five hundred pages,[5] which made him the hero of the Republicans.

The Virginians elected him governor (1799-1802). During his term three great Revolutionary leaders died: Henry at Red Hill, in Charlotte County (June 6, 1799), Washington at Mt. Vernon (Saturday, December 14, 1799, at 11:30 p. m.), and Daniel Morgan[6] at Winchester (July 6, 1802).

The Eighteenth Century rounded out its tale of years and the Nineteenth brought many benefits to church, state and people.

The General Assembly authorized the establishment of a Navy Yard at Gosport, a village south of Portsmouth (January 25, 1800). In the spring work was begun on that important industry.

Sixty years had passed since the Great Awakening. After the Revolution, religion sank to its lowest ebb. French infidelity was the fashion; Atheism prevailed; immorality was popular and unabashed. The Church was feeble and its voice inefficient. "There was no vision in those days."[7]

The tide turned, and one of the great revivals of history swept across the country. It began along the frontiers of Kentucky and Tennessee. The immigrant and homeless camped in their wagons;

[5] "A View of the Conduct of the Executive in the Foreign Affairs of the U. S." JAMES MONROE, Library of Congress.

[6] For Morgan's Life, see *Days of Yester-Year*, Chap. XII.

[7] I Samuel, III:1.

so "camp meetings" originated. From the frontier the revival swept like a prairie fire, northward and eastward, first to the Scotch-Irish communities of Shenandoah Valley, up the Ohio River, along the western borders of Virginia, into Pennsylvania and Central New York. Excitement became intense.

GREAT REVIVAL

Those who threw themselves heartily into it received the greatest benefits. The religious complex of Virginia today was fixed largely by the Revival of 1800 and the decade following.

Before the Revival, Methodism was decadent, Presbyterianism a Scotch-Irish sect, and the Baptists were rude and ignorant. The Establishment was disrupted and disheartened. Out of the Revival grew colleges, academies and other institutions which bless the land. Temperance, anti-duelling, anti-lottery sentiment and the modern foreign mission movement were born at this time. Virginia was in the forefront of this blessed work.

Unlike the "Great Awakening" and other reformations, there was no leading personality. It was a spontaneous popular movement.[8]

The curse of slavery rested heavily upon the state. Gabriel, a tall, muscular, intelligent and vindictive slave, twenty-four years old, with a "gloomy and industrious brow," was the property of Thomas Prosser, a planter near Richmond. With "Jack," an accomplice, he plotted an insurrection of 1,000 slaves. Richmond was to be fired, the penitentiary seized, all white

GABRIEL

[8] JOHN BACK MC MASTER, *Hist. of U. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 578-582.

men slaughtered, the women enslaved and anarchy proclaimed.[9]

The day set (August 30, 1800) a frightful storm broke, the streams left their banks and the conspirators were cowed. One of them, named Pharaoh, repented, left the assembled slaves, swam the creeks and gave the alarm. Governor Monroe called out the militia. Gabriel was captured, tried, condemned (October 6) and executed with about thirty of the ringleaders.

Great benefit came of this abortive plot. Many felt that the leaders should have been deported to Africa, instead of being hung. Both Jefferson and Monroe hoped that some plan might develop to "rid Virginia altogether of slavery."

"We perceive an existing evil, which commenced under the Colonial system and with which we are not properly chargeable of, if at all, not in the present degree and we acknowledge the extreme difficulty of remedying it."[10] Twenty years later, Liberia was established.

The capitol was built at Washington (1800). The magnificent city, perhaps the most beautiful in the world, was only a vision of architects, a dream, a prophecy which the fourth generation saw fulfilled.

Our decimal currency slowly took the place of colonial confusion. In the colonies, as in England, the shilling was the unit of trade. What was a shilling? In Virginia and New England it was 16 2-3c; in New York and North

MONEY

[9] MABEL M. CARLTON, *James Monroe.*

[10] JAMES MONROE.

Carolina it was 12½c; in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland it was 13 1-3c; in South Carolina and Georgia a shilling was 21½c. The English shilling is worth normally 24c.

There be those who can recall the dear old Virginia ladies who would say they paid a shilling for a dozen of eggs; or a York shilling for a pound of sugar.

John Adams made an unpopular president. The Federalists laid the foundations of our government, but they were failures as politicians. They did almost everything they should not have done and left undone almost everything they should have done—at least such was the verdict of Virginia.[11] Even the influence of Washington, Lee and Marshall could not conjure votes.

JOHN ADAMS

Jefferson and Burr, radical Republicans, swept the country, and received the same number of electoral votes. The House of Representatives, on the 35th ballot, elected Jefferson; Burr became vice-president.

John Adams, before retiring, appointed John Marshall, famous Virginia jurist and Federalist, Chief Justice of the United States, an exalted and influential position he held for 35 years.

The second census (1800) gave Virginia 514,280 white and 365,920 colored people (20,124 free colored). It showed a growth for the decade of 72,125 white and 59,727 colored. These figures were not encouraging. They indicate a huge migra-

[11] Light Horse Harry Lee was the only Governor who was a Federalist. He was elected in spite of it, not because of it.

tion from the state, especially of the fine, young men, who were seeking farms and making homes west of the mountains.

In 1801, Spain ceded Louisiana again to France—a movement of tremendous significance to the United States. Jefferson and Monroe had plans for Louisiana Territory and the great area which stretched from the palm embroidered bayous of the Gulf to the frozen fringes of Lake Superior. Monroe's[12] term was done.

[12] "At the close of his term he received, what is believed to have been received by no other governor of the Union, an unanimous vote of thanks from both branches of the legislature." S. PUTNAM WALDO (1818).

LXXXIII.

JOHN PAGE

Governor: December 29, 1802–December 11, 1805

For Monroe's successor the legislature turned to another scion of famous colonial stock—John Page—who bore an honored name and honored it.[1]

A volume might be written of this princely family, which gave so many worthy men to commonwealth and nation. John Page was a member of the Governor's Council when William and Mary came in. His son, Mathew Page, held the same office under Queen Anne. His son, Mann Page, was the largest landed proprietor in the colony except Baron Fairfax. His son, Mann Page, Jr., inherited Rose-

[1] MRS. EDITH TUNIS SALE, *Interiors of Va. Homes*, pp. 27-28.

well,[2] the elegant mansion which graced the banks of York. His son, John, born at Rosewell (April 17, 1744) was older than our other Revolutionary governors, coming to the honor as a man of fifty-eight.

So pious was John Page and so deeply read in theology that his friends urged him to take holy orders; they wished to elect him the first bishop of Virginia, but he declined.

His term was one of the most peaceful, prosperous and happiest in our history. It was a time of great revival in right living, sobriety, thrift, industry and economy.

In 1804, Norfolk was a busy mart of 9,000 people.

"Norfolk is very expensive. I keep a pair of horses, which cost me $40.00 per month. Wood is from four to eight dollars per cord; Indian meal, in winter nine shilling, flour $1.50 per bushel; eleven and twelve dollars per barrel; a leg of mutton, three dollars; butter, three shillings (50c) per pound; eggs, two shillings, three pence (37c) per dozen."[3]

NORFOLK

Thomas Moore, the Irish poet, visited George Morgan, who lived on East Main Street near East street. He wrote "The Lake of the Dismal Swamp" while in Norfolk, and the "Fire Fly" in Williamsburg.

He did not like the town. "Norfolk, it must be owned, presents an unfavorable specimen of America. The characteristics of Virginia in general are not such as can delight politician or moralist, and at Norfolk they are exhibited in least attractive form."

[2] SQUIRES, *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 88-97.

[3] WILLIAM WIRT.

John Daly Burk, an Irish editor, publicist and lawyer, published a history of Virginia in three large volumes (1804). He was killed in a duel near Petersburg, April 11, 1808.

With Governor Page, the thirteenth successive Revolutionary soldier to hold this office, the age of the Revolution passes and a new generation takes the helm with his successor, Governor Cabell.

LXXXIV.

WILLIAM HENRY CABELL

Governor: December 11, 1805–December 11, 1808

The peaceful term of Page was succeeded by three sensational years under Cabell. The new governor (born December 16, 1772), a young man of thirty-three, was the grandson of Dr. William Cabell, the founder of the brilliant Virginia family. So pleased with Virginia was he, when he visited this colony as a surgeon in the royal navy, that he took up huge grants along the upper James. His seat, "Warminster" (1742), Nelson County, is famed for its beauty and fertility.[1]

What, with a substantial patrimony, shrewd foresight, a large medical practice and the ever-increasing value of his lands, Dr. Cabell became a very rich man.

The young governor's father, Colonel Nicholas Cabell, was a hero in the war and a friend of LaFay-

[1] ALEXANDER BROWN, *The Cabells and Their Kin*, pp. 32-72.

ette. William was born in Cumberland County, and educated at Hampden-Sidney and William and Mary. His political experience was confined to nine years (1796-1805), in the House of Delegates.

The trial of Aaron Burr at Richmond and the surrender of Commodore James Barron in Virginia's seas, set the state agog.

Aaron Burr lost ground with the Republican party. To recoup his failing fortunes he made a spirited campaign for governor of New York, but the influence of Alexander Hamilton defeated him. He challenged Hamilton and the great Federalist fell. The bullet that killed Hamilton ruined Burr. Henceforth the mark of Cain was upon him.

BURR

Public opinion had changed since the "Great Revival." "Affairs of honor" were now "murder," and the New Jersey coroner so held.

Burr fled to South Carolina. His versatile and unprincipled mind evolved schemes for a Mexican conquest or a Western republic—no one knows the extent of his plans or designs.

President Jefferson denounced Burr (October 27, 1806), warning the people against him.

He was arrested at Natchez, Mississippi, and brought to trial in Richmond. It began May 22nd, and William Wirt led the prosecution. Luther Martin and Charles Lee[2] defended him, Burr himself taking a hand, for he was a brilliant lawyer. On September 1st the jury found him "not guilty."

[2] EDMUND JENNINGS LEE, *Lee of Va.*, p. 362.

The loyalty of Theodosia Burr and her presence at court added a pathetic and romantic touch to the trial. MRS. EDITH TUNIS SALE, *Old Time Belles*, p. 252.

Even greater excitement aroused the state when Commodore James Barron put to sea (June 22, 1807), and off Cape Henry was spoken by H. B. M. S. "Leopard"; a dispatch for the Commodore. Barron received the British officer courteously, but, when he demanded, in Admiral Berkeley's name, that the crew of the "Chesapeake" be searched by the captain of the "Leopard," to discover any British deserters, Barron refused and resumed his voyage.

JAS. BARRON

The "Leopard" followed and poured a broadside into the "Chesapeake." Unfortunately, Barron was not prepared to fight. He surrendered, the crew was searched, three were taken as British deserters, one of whom was hanged at Halifax.

The country was aflame with indignation. President Jefferson ordered every British armed vessel to leave American waters.

Four years later Great Britain disavowed the act (1811). This was really, not technically, the beginning of the second war with Great Britain.

James Barron[3] was court-martialed, found guilty of unpreparedness and suspended for four years.

The brothers, Samuel and James Barron, are Virginia's naval heroes. In 1798 the City of Norfolk presented the government with a ship, "The Augusta," for the impending French War. Samuel Barron was officer of the "Augusta."

After the "Chesapeake" episode the friends of James Barron made efforts to have him reinstated. The Virginians felt that he was not responsible for

[3] EDGAR STANTON MACLAY, *Hist. of U. S. Navy*, Vol. I, pp. 305-308.

what he could not help. But Stephen Decatur[4] put obstacles in the way—or that was the popular opinion.

Robert Fulton continued the work of "Crazy Rumsey," and on August 11, 1807, the "Clermont" steamed slowly up the Hudson from New York to Albany. It took 32 hours to make the voyage, but the thing was done. The "Clermont," under favorable circumstances, made five miles an hour.[5]

The second centennial of Virginia was celebrated at Jamestown, May 13, 1807. Thirty-two ships, anchored in the James and 2,000 patriotic Virginians assembled among the picturesque ruins.[6]

The age-long protests of Virginia were effective at last. New Year's Day (1808) the slave trade ceased. Despite Virginia's protest and vote, twenty years were added to the life of this iniquity (1788-1808). Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware voted with Virginia against it, but the maritime and cotton states continued the trade. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Maryland and the two Carolinas are responsible at the bar of history for the last twenty years of the slave trade.

SLAVE TRADE

"Until 1808 eighty-four thousand slaves were taken from Africa annually. In this illicit trade no Virginian (and indeed no Southern) ship or shipmaster has ever been in a single case implicated, although

[4] Stephen Decatur, long a citizen of Norfolk, lived on Duke Street near College Place.

[5] Chap. LXXVI.

[6] LYON G. TYLER, *Cradle of Republic*, pp. 90 and 91.

our state had meanwhile begun no inconsiderable career of maritime adventure."[7]

In the fall of 1808, James Madison was elected to succeed Thomas Jefferson, who, like Washington, declined a third term. On March 4, 1809, Madison took the helm of state, and Jefferson retired to Monticello.

Cabell's term was done.[8]

[7] ROBT. LEWIS DABNEY, *Defence of Virginia*, pp. 56-60.
MARY S. LOCKE, *Anti-Slavery in America*, p. 137.

[8] ALEX. BROWN, *Cabells and Their Kin*, pp. 249, 258, for his life and portraits of the Governor and Mrs. Cabell.

LXXXV.

JUDGE JOHN TYLER

Governor: December 12, 1808–January 15, 1811

Judge Tyler was the first of six short term governors;[1] Monroe, Smith, Randolph, Barbour and Nicholas.

John Tyler was the son of John Tyler and the father of John Tyler, tenth president of the United States.

As the new governor was born February 28, 1747, he was a mature man—61 years old—when he assumed this honor.

An alumnus of William and Mary, an ardent Whig in the Revolution, he served the state in the House of Delegates eight years, four years as Speaker. He

[1] Barbour lacked only a month of a full term.

had been judge of many courts, when called to this high office.

The Virginians were very proud of Thomas Jefferson, and of his administration. They were Jeffersonian Republicans in politics. The General Assembly appointed the distinguished attorney, William Wirt, author and scholar, to draw up an "Address" which should express their admiration. Governor Tyler forwarded the "Address" to Mr. Jefferson. In the fall (1809) Mr. Jefferson visited Richmond and received an ovation.

JEFFERSON

Governor Tyler was intensely interested in popular education, and was especially anxious to enlarge the usefulness of William and Mary. During his term the "Literary Fund"[2] was established (very modestly indeed), by which all properties escheating to the state were to be used for popular education.

The first decade having ended, the population of the United States was 7,239,881. The country was growing at a marvelous rate. Virginia gained slowly. Her life blood was given generously to found the commonwealths of the West and Southwest. Virginia had 551,534 white people; and 423,088 colored people (30,570 of whom were free). Virginia and West Virginia combined had, in 1810, a much larger per cent. of colored population than Virginia alone has today. The white population of the undivided state increased only 37,254. The

CENSUS

[2] Gov. Barbour claimed the honor as he was author of the Act. Chap. LXXXIX. It is the only fund of the kind in the United States, and has grown to $6,000,000 (1930).

colored population increased 57,168. It was the last year of the slave trade, and evidently the slavers were busy. These figures must have given pause to those who loved this commonwealth.

The plain but dignified executive mansion was built in a corner of the Capitol Square (1810).

Governor Tyler[3] resigned (January 11, 1811) to accept the office of federal judge for Virginia, which he held two years before he died.

An excellent pen picture of Richmond at this time is given by young John Tyler,[4] then eighteen, afterward governor and president. "I speak of Richmond as I first knew it. The population did not exceed 5,000. Almost inaccessible heights and deep ravines everywhere prevailed. The street west of Capitol Square (Ninth) was impassable except by a foot path.

RICHMOND

"The Governor's house, at that time called the palace, was a building (frame) that neither aspired to architectural taste nor consulted the comfort of its occupants. It was some years afterward removed to make way for the present edifice.

"Dr. John Adams, whose name should be held in grateful remembrance, during his mayoralty, graduated the streets, regulated the ascents to the beautiful hills and adorned the city."

[3] LYON G. TYLER, *Times of the Tylers*, Vol. I, for a detailed life of Judge John Tyler.

[4] Letter given by WM. ASBURY CHRISTIAN, *Richmond*, p. 72.

LXXXVI.

GOVERNOR JAMES MONROE

Governor: January 19, 1811–April 3, 1811

James Monroe[1] resigned (April 3, 1811) after a short term, to become Madison's secretary of state. He declared the office of Governor vacant, that George William Smith, president of the Council, might succeed.

Mr. Smith was really governor for five days, between the resignation of Judge Tyler and the election of James Monroe.[2]

[1] THOS. JEFFERSON. "Monroe was so honest that if you turned his soul inside out there would not be a spot on it."

[2] EARL G. SWEM.

LXXXVII.

GEORGE WILLIAM SMITH

Governor: April 3, 1811–December 26, 1811

Governor Smith had a brief and tragic career. He was a native of Essex County (born 1762), the son of Colonel Meriwether Smith, a patriot of the Revolution. Before serving as Lieutenant-Governor under Tyler and Monroe, Governor Smith represented Essex and Richmond Counties in the legislature.

The Second War with Great Britain was approaching, despite Madison's efforts to remain at peace.

If the battle of the "Chesapeake" and "Leopard" (1808) be considered the beginning of hostilities, the War of 1812 began at Norfolk.[1] The Virginia seagate was again the theatre of trouble.

Commodore John Rodgers sailed from Annapolis to the capes (May 16, 1811). He spoke a ship which flew no flag, and looked suspicious. She replied with a shot, then more shots, then a broadside.

Rodgers declared, despite the administration's pacific orders, that he would not suffer the flag of his country to be "insulted with impunity." He opened on the pugnacious stranger and silenced her in six minutes, killing eleven of her crew and wounding twenty-one. She was H. B. M. S. "Little Belt," searching for another British ship, the "Guerriere."

LITTLE BELT

The indignation of the American people can be imagined.[2] But greater excitement swept the country when William Henry Harrison, the third son of former Governor Benjamin Harrison,[3] won the strategic battle of Tippecanoe, which quelled the "bad Indians" of the Middle West (November 7, 1811).

This victory, far beyond our borders, like the

[1] HENRY ADAMS, *Hist. of U. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 1-26.

[2] The General Assembly passed a strong resolution favoring war with Great Britain:

"This Assembly, speaking as they believe they do, the voice of this commonwealth, have viewed with approbation the remonstrances adopted by the general government. The period has now arrived when peace is disgraceful and war is honorable." (December 17, 1811). ALBERT B. HART, *Amer. Nation*, Vol. XIII, p. 56.

[3] Chap. LXXV.

DOROTHY B. GOEBEL, *William Henry Harrison*, pp. 109-127.

battle of the "President" and "Little Belt," at Virginia's water-gate, hastened the war; for Great Britain, since the Revolution, had neglected no opportunity of arousing the western Indians against the Yankees—as the Indians called the Americans.

Governor George William Smith was elected governor to succed himself (December 5, 1811).

On Thursday, December 26, a play, "The Bleeding Nun," was presented in the Richmond Theatre on Broad Street, near Capitol Square. Six hundred persons, the wealth and culture of Virginia, were packed in the flimsy building. As the second act began, sparks fell from the scenery to the rear of the stage. One of the actors promptly announced that the building was on fire. The exits were instantly jammed with screaming, frenzied people.

FIRE!

Governor Smith reached the street safely, but his little son, John Adams Smith, was still in the theatre. He returned to rescue the child, and both perished, for the theatre was wrapped in flames in an incredibly short time.[4]

Seventy were burned or crushed to death. The members of Congress wore mourning bands on their left arms for thirty days.[5]

A church was erected on the site (opened May 4, 1814) and the names of those who died are preserved upon a marble monument in the vestibule.[6]

[4] Gov. Smith returned to rescue a young lady he had chaperoned to the play. R. R. HOWISON.

[5] *Niles Register*, Vol. I, p. 331.

[6] Monumental Church, Broad Street.

LXXXVIII.

PEYTON RANDOLPH

Governor: December 26, 1811–January 4, 1812

Peyton Randolph, a son of the late Governor Edmund Randolph,[1] filled the chair until the Assembly elected James Barbour. Randolph was a native of Williamsburg (born 1779), an alumnus of William and Mary (Class of 1798), a jurist and an author of repute.

[1] Chap. LXXVII.

LXXXIX.

JAMES BARBOUR

Governor: January 4, 1812–December 11, 1814

James Barbour will be remembered as one of Virginia's greater governors. The kaleidoscopic changes of a century have passed Virginia by, but his memory has not faded.

He was born in Orange County (June 10, 1775) to Thomas Barbour,[1] a member of the last House of Burgesses.

Unfortunately the lad had only a slight education, but fortunately his teacher was Rev. James Waddel.[2] the famous blind preacher. At nineteen he was

[1] WILLIAM MEADE, *Old Churches and Fam. in Va.*, Vol. II, p. 90.

[2] James Waddel was Samuel Davies' successor and stands third in the Presbyterian royal line—Makemie, Davies, Waddel.

admitted to the bar. For sixteen years he represented Orange County and while still young (age 37) was elected governor.

He is described as a "man of commanding physique and noble mien." His was a strong hand when a strong hand was needed.

If one may be pardoned a glimpse into the sybilline books of Virginia's future, Barbour became senator, then John Quincy Adams' Secretary of War. He presided at the Whig convention which nominated Harrison and Tyler and died full of honors (June 7, 1842) at Barboursville, Barbour County, now West Virginia.

In the pleasant green pastures of Virginia's southwest the village of Evansham was established (October 29, 1792), but when it became the seat of Wythe County, Wytheville was its new and more appropriate name. The trustees appointed (May 13, 1812) soon after Barbour took the seals of office, were John P. Nye, Christopher Oury, John Haller, Jr., Peter Kinder and Robert Graham.[3] WYTHEVILLE

Robert Graham, whose name is retained in the village of Graham's Forge, was born in County Donegal.[4] With his two brothers, David and James, he came to America and joined the Scotch-Irish migration which followed southwestward behind the Blue Ridge. In this beautiful land of flowing springs, purple summits and lush bluegrass pastures mount-

[3] Wytheville Enterprise, October 10, 1895.

[4] On the Graham family in Scotland and America: MRS. F. J. SITHERWOOD, *Graham Genealogy;* LOUISA G. GRAEME, *Or and Sable* (Edinburgh).

ing to the crest of the hills, Robert Graham made his home. He organized the Anchor of Hope Church (Presbyterian), retaining for it the name of the earliest grant in those parts, near Ft. Chiswell, and he rests from a long and useful life at Boiling Spring, near Graham's Forge.

Of his ten children, whose posterity have scattered to every state, Jack Graham (died June 14, 1846) rests beside his father at Boiling Springs. Jack Graham's eldest son, John Crockett Graham, made his home at Waverley Hill. He was the sheriff and treasurer of Wythe County, an influential old line Whig and held many local positions of trust and honor.

GRAHAM

The family[5] remains upon the grant with a title from George III, and may be cited as typical of that substantial race of mountain men who felled the forest, redeemed the wilderness and found peace, plenty and prosperity where civilization was unknown before since the creation of the world.

Madison reluctantly declared war on Great Britain (June 18, 1812). It was a necessary sequel to the Revolution. The Chesapeake lay open and defenceless, a gate to the heart of America, and a liquid avenue to the national capital. There was not a gun at Cape Henry, nor a soldier at Old Point. Two feeble works, Fort Nelson (Portsmouth) and Fort Norfolk defended the Navy Yard.

The British declared a blockade of American harbors (December 20, 1812) and sent Admiral

[5] The late Wythe Bane Graham was born, lived, died and is buried on the original grant, where his daughter, Miss Mary Gwyn Graham still represents this colonial family. L. P. SUMMERS, *Annals of Southwest Va.*, p. 913.

George Cockburn to "chastise the Americans into submission." And he did his dastardly best, or worst.

He entered our water-gate in February (1813) on his flagship, the man-of-war "Marlborough," seventy-four guns. His land force numbered 1,800 soldiers. Swinging behind Cape Henry, he made his headquarters in Lynnhaven Roads, whence he dispatched plundering expeditions to all parts of Delmarva, bayside and seaside. He left many towns in ashes, plundered the farms, drove off the cattle, shipped hundreds of slaves to the West Indies and sold them on his "own account." LYNNHAVEN

A dozen boats led by H. B. M. S. "St. Domingo," seventy-four guns, captured the U. S. S. "Dolphin," ten guns, in the Rappahannock River (April 3, 1813). Frenchtown, Fredericktown and Havre de Grace were plundered and burned.[6]

The Richmond press reported Cockburn again at Lynnhaven with "four line-of-battle ships and 12 frigates." (May 18, 1813.)

Admiral Sir Borlase Warren arrived to reinforce Cockburn (June 1). The British had twenty men-of-war and many smaller vessels at Lynnhaven. They decided to attack Norfolk. The U. S. S. "Constellation," thirty-eight guns and "gun boats" (cannon mounted on rafts) were in Elizabeth River. On Craney Island, two forts, Tar and Barbour, had been improvised. The work was done well by Major-General Wade Hampton, father of the Confederate hero.

[6] LOUIS HENRY DIELMAN, *Brit. Inv. of Md.*, pp. 21-71.

The Virginians determined to take the offensive. At midnight (June 19), Captain Tarbell, under Commodore Cassin, drifted quietly down the river, with fifteen gunboats and fifteen riflemen, to capture H. B. M. S. "Junon," thirty-eight guns, lying three miles nearer Norfolk than the fleet. As it was foggy, Captain Tarbell got safely within range of the "Junon" without being discovered, and he would have captured her, but, after a stiff fight of 30 minutes, two ships came to the "Junon's" aid, and the Virginians retreated without the loss of a man.

TARBELL

The fight brought the whole British fleet up the river next morning (Sunday, June 20).

Governor Barbour called out the militia, pledging his private fortune to raise the necessary funds.[7] The soldiers lay between Suffolk and Portsmouth. Unfortunately they were not properly provisioned, rationed nor protected; great numbers died of "malaria." The "sick list bore an appalling face."[8] It was little short of criminal, but state and people were absolutely unprepared.

General Robert B. Taylor commanded this district. There were 737 men on Craney Island, under Colonel Beatty. Evidently a battle was brewing.

The British landed two miles from the island, on the shores of Hampton Roads, the morning of June 22, 1813. Fifty barges with approximately 1,500 sailors and marines were to hold the narrow channel between Craney Island and the mainland. But

[7] MARGARET V. SMITH.

[8] ROBT. R. HOWISON.



Photo by H. P. Cook.

JAMES BARBOUR

From a portrait in the State Library, which was copied from an original by Chester Harding (1826-27), now in possession of J. S. T. Waters, of Baltimore, and presented by Mrs. William H. Collins, of Baltimore, a daughter of Gov. Barbour.

* * * *

"James Barbour is remembered as one of our greater governors, whose memory has not faded. His was a strong hand when a strong hand was needed."—Chap. LXXXIX.

when the barges got well within range, Major James Faulkner gave them a terriffic storm of lead.

"Lieutenant Neale delivered a galling fire with such fatal precision that three boats sank, one literally cut in twain."

On the mainland the "volunteers stood to their guns like veterans. The enemy were cut to pieces; unable to endure, they precipitately retreated." The riflemen from the Valley, especially from Winchester, won enconiums of praise. They were the sons of the men who followed Morgan and the fathers of the men who followed Stonewall Jackson. CRANEY ISLAND

The British lost 144 men that day and the Virginians did not lose a man. So complete was the repulse that Admiral Cockburn gave over Norfolk and turned upon Hampton.[9] Major Stapleton Crutchfield, with 450 Virginia militia, held the town.

The British landed 2,500 troops under General Sir Sidney Beckwith (June 25). The Virginians stood their ground, fought valiantly and retreated before an overwhelming force when retreat they must.

The most gallant action was the escape of Captain Pryor. Surrounded by the Royal Marines "he spiked every gun in the battery and made a furious charge, broke through their ranks, swam the river above Hampton, and escaped without losing a man." Hampton[10] cost the British 200 men; the Virginians lost 20. HAMPTON

[9] RICHARD HILDRETH, *Hist. of U. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 423-424.

[10] *Va. Hist. Mag.*, January, 1929.

Sir George Cockburn gave the town over to pillage and riot. The outrages committed at Hampton have left a stain upon Cockburn's name, which "were deeply deplored and condemned by the British authorities and writers."

Sir George left Hampton (June 27) at three in the morning. He invaded North Carolina, then Charleston, and made his headquarters for the winter of 1813-1814 at Cumberland Island, Georgia, the famous estate of General Nathaniel Greene.

On the Canadian border Winfield Scott, a son of Petersburg, and an alumnus of William and Mary, won two important and strategic victories at Chippewa Falls (July 5), and Niagara (July 25), which protected Western New York.

Scott

The British fleet returned to the Chesapeake as soon as Scott's victories were known (August 18). General Robert Ross burned the national Copitol, after the disastrous battle of Bladensburg (August 24, 1814), the blackest day in American history

Commodore Gordon in H. B. M. S. "Sea Horse," dropped anchor before Alexandria, and threatened to lay the city in ashes unless they complied with his demands. As there was no help, the city submitted (August 27).

Governor Barbour made so able and popular an executive, under circumstances so difficult and embarrassing, that he was elected to succeed Richard Brent in the Senate.[11] (January 11, 1815.)

Among his last recommendations he urged a con-

[11] W. S. LONG, *James Barbour*, p. 8.

nection from the Upper James to the Ohio, the improvement of roads and the establishment of a great university.

James Barbour wished to be remembered as the originator of the Literary Fund, an act of the Assembly he brought forward February 2, 1810, signed by Governor Tyler.[12] He wished that inscription engraved upon his tomb, but as yet he lies in a grave unmarked.

[12] W. S. LONG, *James Barbour*, p. 31.

XC.

SENATOR WILSON CARY NICHOLAS

Governor: December 11, 1814–December 11, 1816

Virginia took modern shape after the Second War with Great Britain. Colonial days were fast fading, its heroes were gone. New men and new measures had the stage and the aspirations and ambitions of our people registered a decided, though unconscious change. The term of Nicholas plainly exhibits these conditions.

"The founder of the Nicholas family in Virginia was Dr. George Nicholas, of Lancaster County, England, a surgeon of the British navy, who settled in the colony in the eighteenth century and married (1722) Elizabeth, the widow of Major Nathaniel Burwell, daughter of Robert ("King") Carter."[1]

[1] MARGARET VOWELL SMITH, *Virginia Executives.* Chap. LIII.

The governor was born in Williamsburg (January 31, 1761), and, like James Monroe, left William and Mary College to join the army. His home, the "Warren," was in Albemarle County.

In the great convention of 1788, he stood with Madison, Lee and Marshall for the new constitution. He served five years in the Federal senate (1799-1804); and, then, in the lower house (1807-1811), when he was called by the Assembly to succeed Barbour.

On the first day of February (1815) great news reached the Virginians. Andrew Jackson won a complete and overwhelming victory at New Orleans, January 8.

President Madison declared that a treaty had been signed at Ghent (December 24, 1814), and we were once again at peace with the world.

RICHMOND

Richmond celebrated the double event by the greatest parade ever staged in Virginia to that time (March 1, 1815). "Throughout the counties and towns of Virginia, bonfires were lighted and illuminated houses at night spoke the public triumph." Norfolk has a memorial in the section of the city known as Ghent.[2]

Boats propelled by steam were making money for their owners. An enthusiastic meeting was held in Richmond (June 22, 1815), to secure a line with regular sailings to Norfolk.

During the summer fire laid a frightful hand upon Petersburg, one of the industrial centers of the state.

[2] The name of the Moran estate was changed from Point Pleasant to Ghent. H. B. BAGNALL, Ledger-Dispatch, 1912.

Two-thirds of the homes, modest wooden structures for the most part, were destroyed. All the city east of Sycamore Street was a smoking desert (1815). PETERSBURG

Governor Nicholas anticipated that very necessary court, the State Corporation Commission, when he recommended (February 5, 1816) a "Commission on Public Works," to whose care were committed those internal improvements which advancing civilization, population and wealth demanded. Roads, canals and banks were especially in mind. The Commission was a great benefit for many years. PUBLIC WORKS

At the suggestion of the Assembly, Governor Nicholas requested Judge Bushrod Washington to permit the removal of the ashes of George Washington from Mt. Vernon, where they had rested quietly for seventeen years, to Richmond. The Assembly wished to erect the finest statue art could provide over the remains of George and Martha Washington.

Judge Washington declined, because the last will and testament of General Washington expressly stipulated that he was to rest at Mt. Vernon. But the statue planned by Virginia was in due time erected.[3]

Bishop Asbury, the leader of American Methodism, and one of the great names in America's spiritual history, preached for the last time (Sunday, March 24) in Richmond. So feeble was the aged servant of God that he remained seated as he spoke. On the following ASBURY

[3] Chap. CVIII.

Sunday (March 31) he died at the home of George Arnold, in Spotsylvania County.[4]

A census of Lynchburg, taken June, 1816, returned a population of 3,087.

Summer never arrived in 1816. The crops failed and there was much suffering among the poor.

A voluntary convention, representing thirty-five counties in the mountain section, assembled at Staunton (August 19) and spent a week discussing their grievances. General James Breckenridge presided, and a memorial was adopted that Virginia west of the Ridge had a white population of 212,096 with only four senators. East of the Ridge 162,717 white people had 13 senators. Of course the colored people were massed in the east, for in some western counties[5] there was not a single Negro. The convention demanded a new constitution. The politicians did not wish changes. Matters were not pushed until 1829, when a constitutional convention was called.[6]

Secretary James Monroe was elected to succeed President James Madison, who retired to Montpelier,[7] in Orange County (November, 1816).

Governor Nicholas used his best efforts to secure from the government repayment of various sums this commonwealth advanced to prosecute the late war. He insisted that the money be used for statewide education. Virginia could not

EDUCATION

[4] HERBERT ASBURY, *Life of Asbury*, p. 304.

[5] There are no negroes in Buchanan County today, and very few in the neighboring counties of Southwestern Virginia.

[6] Chap. XCV.

[7] SQUIRES, *Days of Yester-Year*.

hope to achieve her destiny if her children grew up in ignorance. The Literary Fund had grown "to nearly one million dollars."

XCI.

COLONEL JAMES PATTON PRESTON

Governor: December 11, 1816–December 11, 1819

In view of the Staunton Convention of August, 1816, it is significant that the Assembly crossed the Blue Ridge to elect the next governor.

Colonel James Patton Preston, of Montgomery County, bore in his body a wound received at Chrysler's Field, which crippled him for life. He was the first of three full term governors (Preston, Randolph and Pleasants), who served each three years. The new governor was born (June 2, 1774) of Scotch-Irish ancestry.

General Winfield Scott, the greatest hero of the late war except Andrew Jackson, returned to his native state and, at Richmond, claimed Maria D. Mayo, daughter of Colonel John Mayo, as his bride. The wedding at the Mayo home was a social event of great interest (March 11, 1817).

The new and popular president, James Monroe, unlike his predecessors, made a tour[1] of the country, and was received with enthusiasm. From the time of Monroe nationalism grew

MONROE

[1] S. PUTNAM WALDO, *The Tour of James Monroe* (1818), Library of Congress.

apace, especially in the West. Men of the younger generation ceased to think of themselves as Pennsylvanians or Ohioans, but became more and more Americans. This tendency was not so marked in the Southwest, and did not exist in Virginia and the Carolinas. This psychology had a profound effect in the second generation.

An Englishman, Morris Birkbeck, travelled across Virginia in 1817 and described the state in candid detail, as this quotation shows.

"May 3, 1817—Last night we lay at anchor in the Hampton Roads; and this morning I accompanied the captain to Norfolk, 14 miles off.

"This is a large town of 10,000 inhabitants; the streets are in right lines and sufficiently spacious, with wide paved causeways before the houses, which are good-looking and cleanly. A large market house in the center of the principal street [Commercial Place] with Negroes selling for their masters fine vegetables and bad meat—the worst I ever saw and dearer than the best in England. Veal such as was never exposed in an English market at 10½d [21c] per pound; most wretched horses waiting, without food or shelter, to drag home the carts which brought in their provisions; but, worst of all, the multitudes of Negroes, many of them miserable creatures, others cheerful enough, but on the whole this first glimpse of a slave population is depressing enough. And is it, thought I, to be a member of such a society that I have quitted England?

NORFOLK

"James River, with its edging of pines and cedars



Photo by H. C. Mann.

BASSETT HALL

The home of Judge John Tyler, son of John Tyler, and father of John Tyler, the tenth President. Inset: John Tyler, Sr. Thomas Moore, while a guest here, wrote "The Firefly."

of various tints, which seem to grow out of the water, so low is the country, is grand and beautiful beyond all that I had conceived of American rivers. JAMES RIVER

"Plantations are more numerous and the dwellings more respectable as we advance. We passed little Guinea, a tract given by a planter to his Negroes whom he liberated.

* * *

"We made a morning call at Mr. ——'s, and sat an hour with the ladies. The well cultivated fields, and the goodness and comfort of the entire establishment, gave us great pleasure, reminding us of home.

"Petersburg is a growing place of importance, being the emporium of export and import to a large district. It is not quite two years since half the town was destroyed by fire, occasioned by Negroes playing cards in a stable, and it is nearly rebuilt in the most substantial manner. Two hundred capital, brick houses were built last year. PETERSBURG

"It was the time of the races at Petersburg, which gave me the opportunity of seeing a large assemblage of planters.

"A Virginian planter is a republican in politics, and exhibits the high-spirited independence of that character. But he is a slave-master, irascible, and too often lax in morals. A dirk is said to be a common appendage to the dress of a planter in this part of Virginia. I never saw in England an assemblage of countrymen who would average so well as to dress and manners. None of them reached any-

thing like style, and very few descended to the shabby.

"Negro slavery was the prevailing topic—an evil uppermost in every man's thoughts, which all deplored, many were anxious to fly, but for which no man can devise a remedy.

"Richmond contains about 13,000 inhabitants, half of whom are Negroes. The hill, on which stands the capitol, a building of commanding aspect, is inhabited by the more opulent. The houses are handome and elegantly furnished. The town is well built and increasing rapidly. The market is badly supplied; the necessities of life are excessively dear and of bad quality. Eggs are 2½d each [5c], butter 3s 6d [87c] per pound, meat of the worst description 1s [24c] per pound. It is worse supplied than any other place in the United States or perhaps in the world.

RICHMOND

"The town is forced by the stimulus of commerce. House rent is high. Ground sells currently at 10,000 dollars per acre, and in some streets near the river at 200 dollars per foot in front.

"The enterprising people are mostly strangers, Scotch-Irish and especially New Englanders, or Yankees as they are called, who fill every house as soon as it is finished."

Governor Preston reported to the Assembly that the Federal government had reimbursed Virginia for the claims incident to the War of 1812; $1,693,-014.62 had been placed in the Literary Fund for education.[2] This fund made possible a dream of the

[2] LYON G. TYLER, *Hist. of Va.*

long years. North Carolina had a University,[3] and whatever Carolina has Virginia must have; just as whatever Virginia has Carolina must have.

Many friends of William and Mary wished to develop that ancient college into the State University. Others wished to remove William and Mary to Richmond and make it the State University. But Thomas Jefferson, by all odds the most influential man in Virginia, and perhaps in America, settled it. The University was to be built in Albemarle—and in Albemarle it was and is.

UNIVERSITY

The law was passed (January 25, 1819) appropriating $15,000 per annum "from the Literary Fund to meet the expenses of building and of subsequent endowment. The institution was to be under seven visitors appointed by the Governor and his council. From their number they were to elect a rector to preside and give general superintendence."[4]

Mr. Jefferson was the first rector until his death.[5]

[3] North Carolina was the first state in the Union to establish a University.

[4] R. R. HOWISON, *Hist. of Va.*

[5] THOS. JEFFERSON to Giles, *Va. Mag.*, October, '21.

XCII.

COLONEL THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH

Governor: December 11, 1819–December 11, 1822

For the fourth[1] time in one generation Virginia had a Governor Randolph, all of whom were descended from William Randolph, who settled at Turkey Island on the James in 1674.

[1] Chaps. LXXVII, LXXVIII, LXXXVIII.

Thomas Randolph, son of the first William, made his home at "Tuckahoe," a magnificent estate in Goochland County. His son, William, of Tuckahoe, was the father of the first Thomas Mann Randolph. The governor, of whom we write, is Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr., who like his progenitors, was born at "Tuckahoe." The old mansion, a large frame building, now the home of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, of Boston and Virginia, a cousin of the late president and a descendant of both the Randolphs and Jeffersons, makes "Tuckahoe" his home.[2]

The young man was educated at William and Mary and Edinburgh. While abroad he visited Thomas Jefferson, our Minister to France (1788), met his daughter Martha[3] and married her (1790). He served four years in the House of Representatives. When the Second War with Great Britain burst upon us he was appointed Colonel of the 20th U. S. Infantry, serving with gallantry in Tidewater Virginia and Canada.

The Colonel was a mature man (aged 51) when he became governor.

The country was thrilled, and the better element shocked at the fatal duel at Bladensburg, Maryland, when Stephen Decatur, once a citizen of Norfolk, fell fatally wounded by Commodore James Barron, another citizen of Norfolk, who also fell but not fatally wounded. Public opinion had become pronounced against such methods of

DECATUR-BARRON

[2] MRS. EDITH TUNIS SALE, *Interiors of Va. Mansions*, pp. 387-407.

[3] MRS. EDITH TUNIS SALE, *Old Time Belles*, pp. 204-210. Portrait of Mrs. Randolph and picture of Edge Hill.

settling disputes, but the Virginians sympathized with Barron.

President James Monroe purchased Florida of Spain.

The hands of Virginia's statesmen gathered Louisiana and Florida under the folds of our flag. Stephen Austin, a native of Wythe County, planted the first American colony in that part of Mexico known as Texas (1821). Samuel Houston,[5] a son of Rockbridge County, eventually added that empire of the Southwest to America's domain.

In this crowded year (1721) President Monroe secured a strip of the African coast as a home to which liberated slaves might return and build a civilization of their own. The coasts of Liberia were the shores from which many slaves were kidnapped before the slave trade was finally destroyed (1808). The town of Liberia was appropriately named Monrovia.

LIBERIA

The Virginians were intensely interested in Liberia. Judge Bushrod Washington, of Mt. Vernon, was president of the Association[4] which pushed this benevolent work. Much might have been accomplished from Liberia as a base, especially by the patronage of the Federal government (which was ultimately expected), had not the Civil War made the plans negatory.

The census of 1820 was not reassuring. Virginia, long the most populous colony and state, yielded her primacy to New York. Our population was

[4] National Colonization Society organized at Washington, D. C., December, 1816.

Chap. LXXXII.

[5] A monument placed at Timber Ridge (1926) marks his birthplace.

1,065,129, a gain of only 80,507 in a decade. 43.38 per centum (including West Virginia, of course) was colored. Ten years before (1810) 43.41 per centum were colored—the peak of colored population. The decline in per cent. was so slight in 1820 as to be negligible, but every decade since has registered an increase both relative and positive for the white population.

CENSUS

The governor reported that the state militia enrolled 91,928 men.

The Episcopal Church in America established (1822) at Alexandria a "General Theological Seminary" which proved a potent influence in the gradual but encouraging revival of the ancient church in Virginia. Had the Alexandria Seminary done naught else, her gift of Phillips Brooks to the religious life of America would have abundantly repaid all church and nation invested there.

The harrowing experiences of Virginia and Maryland in the Revolution, and more especially the vivid recollections of the Second War, were not lost upon the government. A real fort must be built at Old Point Comfort. When nature's plastic hand formed the Chesapeake and the Virginia sea-gate, both Old Point and Cape Henry were natural sites for defense. Virginia ceded to the Federal government the point of land and shoal waters at Old Point (March 1, 1821), upon which a fort was immediately constructed, and to which every year yet larger and more powerful munitions of war have been added until Fort Monroe is an American Gibraltar.

FORT MONROE

Nearly ten years later (1830) Ft. Calhoun (now Ft. Wool) was erected on an artificial island known locally as the "Rip-raps."

XCIII.

SENATOR JAMES PLEASANTS, JR.

Governor: December 11, 1822–December 11, 1825

The new Governor was one year younger than his predecessor (born 1768), and he was a cousin of Thomas Jefferson, Mrs. Randolph's father; and Mrs. Pleasants was Anne Randolph, a cousin of the preceding governor. Furthermore, Governor Pleasants, like Governor Randolph, was a native of Goochland. The careers of the two men ran strangely parallel.

James Pleasants was a successful attorney and an ardent Republican politician. "He never made an enemy[1] nor lost a friend."

He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1811 and to the Senate in 1819.

If one may dip into the future: his son, John Hampden Pleasants, as editor, made the "Richmond Whig" one of the influential newspapers of America. But his life was ended by a bullet in a duel with Thomas Ritchie, Jr., the son of another Richmond editor, because Pleasants had given real or fancied offence to Thomas Ritchie. Such widespread indignation was mani-

DUEL

[1] Said of Pleasants by John Randolph of Roanoke.

fested over this "honorable" murder that the Pleasants-Ritchie duel was one of the last in this state.

At the close of his first year, Governor Pleasants, addressing the legislature, stated that in 75 counties, 6,105 poor children had been educated by the Literary Fund, the amount of which was then $1,228,568.33.

A second hospital for the insane was erected at Staunton. Virginia's original hospital at Williamsburg is the first institution of the kind in the world.

A mass meeting at Richmond (January 23, 1824) expressed Virginia's sympathy for the patriotic Greeks, who were endeavoring to throw off the Turkish yoke. The eyes of Christendom turned to this struggle because of Lord Byron's interest, aid and tragic death (in 1824).

BYRON

The state chartered (January 27, 1824) the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, which was to be built from Washington, D. C., up the Potomac and down the Monongahela to Pittsburgh, the metropolis of the growing West. Unfortunately its 341 miles were never completed.

President Monroe's term was closing. Congress requested him to invite the Marquis de LaFayette to America. The now aged hero (about the only hero of the Revolution still alive) sailed from Havre (July 12) with his son, George Washington, for Staten Island (August 15). They visited twenty-four states and every important city. Congress presented him $200,000 and 24,000 acres of land.

LAFAYETTE

The Marquis' largest service was rendered Virginia, for in the victorious Yorktown campaign he

most clearly revealed his ability.[2] To Yorktown he came (October 19, 1824), forty-three years after the surrender of Cornwallis.

William and Mary conferred the degree LL.D.; Richmond tendered him a banquet; Norfolk's (October 24) mayor received him, the school children spread a carpet of flowers before him and Norfolk's most distinguished orator, William Maxwell, made an address. As there was no hotel he was entertained at "Mrs. Hanford's Boarding House," on the most fashionable thoroughfare—East Main street.

A stone in the sidewalk[3] recalls LaFayette's visit to Portsmouth, from which the British invasion of Virginia began, and from which the Yorktown campaign also began. He visited Petersburg October 29, and was royally entertained at Alexandria.

The era of good feeling passed with James Monroe; after his double term came years of bitter partisan strife. Five giants emerged from the Republican party, all of whom were willing to serve their country as President—Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, William H. Crawford, John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay. FIVE GIANTS

Of the five giants, two were natives of Virginia—Henry Clay, born in Hanover, and W. H. Crawford, born in Amherst.

The election was thrown into the House of Representatives, and John Quincy Adams won.

When James Monroe left the White House (March 4, 1825), a subtle but significant change came to

[2] Chap. LXXIV.

[3] Corner Crawford and High Streets.

Virginia. Since the victory at Yorktown the influence of this state in national councils had been paramount. Of five Presidents, Virginia furnished four. Of nine terms, Virginians served eight.

Virginia's influence waned more and more as the years passed. It was inevitable. The enormous growth of the West, the westward movement of untold thousands of Virginia's choicest young men (as, for instance, Henry Clay) and the prodigal generosity of the state stripped the state but made the nation great.

With an aching heart we follow, step by step, the story of Virginia from March 4, 1825, to April 9, 1865—forty years.

And yet, in the holocaust of blood, agony and fire from 1861-1865, the greatest military captains were Virginians. And, despite Virginia's poverty and ruin, many great leaders in many varied lines of effort, since the Civil War have been Virginians.

Book V.

LEADERSHIP LOST

1825-1865

XCIV.

JOHN TYLER

Governor: December 11, 1825–March 4, 1827

This highest office in Virginia was for John Tyler as for Monroe, a step toward the highest office in America. He was the most illustrious son of a princely family; a family which has produced many distinguished men, but no star of the first magnitude, in which the Tylers resemble the Harrisons, to whom they were closely related.

Born in 1790, John was a lad of 18 when his father, Judge John Tyler, became governor (1808).[1] Three years later the precocious young scion took a seat in the House of Delegates. At 35 years he was governor.

Tyler, though a Democrat, subscribed heartily to Henry Clay's doctrine of internal improvements. It was increasingly evident that Virginia must develop her God-given resources if she were to hold her young men. Every census gave a shock. We lost

[1] Chap. LXXXV.

annually almost as many as we gained. Countless thousands of our magnificent youth—the brawn and brain of the commonwealth—left to secure the rich farms of the West and Southwest, splendid estates to be had for the taking.

The states to the north were outstripping[2] us in wealth, population and industry. Even the bleak and diminutive states of New England made a far better showing. The curse of slavery was upon us. We had wise men by the hundreds but none came forward with a solution of the difficulty. The dream of the state (which never materialized) was a great highway from the Chesapeake to the Ohio. Canals, roads and railways were building everywhere—and in Virginia, too, but at a sluggard's pace.

SLIPPING

Tyler understood the situation, but the farmers who plowed their tobacco and corn would not agree to tax themselves for chimerical schemes, especially when prices were precarious and usually declining.

Our failure to grip the situation cost us dearly. Virginia would not have been divided and the two states would be one today if a hard surface highway had been built from Alexandria to Winchester and Parkersburg, and perhaps another from Norfolk and Richmond to Lynchburg, Charleston and Pt. Pleasant. We lost West Virginia in 1863, because we did not hold Western Virginia from 1816 to 1861. Our brainy statesmen made the most colossal blunder of any state in the Union. Virginia is the only state divided against

LEADERS FAIL US

[2] JAMES SCHOULER, *Hist. of U. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 30.

her will; and the division was invited for half a century before it came.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson died at "Monticello." John Adams, aged 91, died the same day at Quincy, Mass. This unprecedented coincidence was rendered more impressive by the last words of Adams: "Jefferson," he murmured, "still survives."[3]

Thomas Walker Gilmer[4] sent this word:

> "Charlottesville, July 4, 3 p. m.
> "To the Editors of the Enquirer:
> "Thomas Jefferson died today at 10 minutes before 1 o'clock.
> "Yours in great haste,
> "THOMAS W. GILMER."

Two days later the message was received (July 6). A day of public mourning was observed (July 11, 1826). A memorial procession passed through Richmond's principal streets to the Capitol, where Bishop Richard Channing Moore, rector of Monumental Church, offered prayer, and Governor Tyler pronounced a eulogy on Jefferson. Minute guns fired and thousands wore mourning badges, for Thomas Jefferson was one of Virginia's greatest benefactors and a leader in the thought of the world.

JEFFERSON

In his annual message (December 1, 1826), Governor Tyler recommended the establishment of a statewide public school system on the German

[3] JOHN FISKE.
[4] Chap. C.

model, the best in the world. A Medical College was established at the university.

The native Virginians are law-abiding, only 136 white people were in jail of 700,000 in the state.

John Randolph, of Roanoke, the distinguished but eccentric statesman who represented Virginia in the Senate, resigned, and Governor Tyler succeeded.

XCV.

SENATOR WILLIAM BRANCH GILES

Governor: March 4, 1827–March 4, 1830

William Branch Giles was no youth (aged 65) and an expert politician from his youth. His term was probably his most useful service in a long and troubled career. He is always spoken of as "Governor Giles," although for years he was Senator.

Born in Amelia (August 12, 1762), an alumnus of Hampden-Sidney and Princeton,[1] he studied law under Chancellor George Wythe, at William and Mary. Before he was 30, this young Petersburg attorney was elected to the House of Representatives (1791). He bitterly opposed the Jay Treaty with England and the United States Bank, and all Alexander Hamilton's policies.

He succeeded Wilson Cary Nicholas in the Senate (1804) and served eleven eventful years.

Governor Giles had many friends and admirers,

[1] DICE ROBINS ANDERSON, *William Branch Giles*, pp. 1-9.

but he was, unfortunately, born on the opposite side of all questions. He was against state public education. He was against a new constitution for Virginia. He was against Monroe and his policies. He was against Henry Clay and the Whigs. He was against Adams and the tariff. He was against all internal improvements. He was against Washington and Marshall and Madison; and was forever explaining why he was against everybody and everything. (In fact, Governor Giles was against God Almighty—he was an atheist.)

"Mr. Giles was considered by John Randolph to be in the House of Representatives what Charles Fox was admitted to be in the British House of Commons—the most accomplished debater his country had ever seen. But their acquired advantages were very different. Fox was a ripe scholar, Giles neither read nor studied. Fox perfected himself in the Commons, speaking on every subject; Giles out of the House, talking to everybody."

LIKE FOX

Giles contested Randolph's seat in the Senate and was defeated (1825). But when Randolph resigned Tyler took his place and Giles took Tyler's place. We suppose one might call that "political triangulation."

John Quincy Adams yielded the presidency to Andrew Jackson (March 4, 1829). The Federalist party disappeared completely after the Second War with Great Britain, and the triumphant Republicans split into the Whigs and Democrats.

Reform moves ever slowly in Virginia, but with time and patience it always arrives. The Staunton

Convention demanded a new constitution (1816), which was right, proper, reasonable and just. The politicians would not permit a constitutional convention.

"This constitution was formed when we were new and unexperienced in the science of government. It was the first, too, which was formed in the whole United States. No wonder then that time and trial have discovered very capital defects in it. The majority of the men who pay and fight for its support are unrepresented in the legislature, the roll of those not entitled to vote not including generally the half of those on the roll of the militia, or of the tax-gatherers. Among those who share the representation the shares are very unequal. Thus the county of Warwick, with only 100 fighting men, has an equal representation with the county of Loudon, which has 1,746."[2]

FIRST CONSTITUTION

Representation was notoriously unfair to the large and rapidly developing sections of Western Virginia.[3]

A referendum was held on the question, "Shall a convention be called to amend the Constitution?" It was carried by a vote of 21,896 to 16,646 (January 31, 1828). The politicians opposed any change, but the people were for it.

The General Assembly provided that each senatorial district of the twenty-four should be represented in the Constitutional Convention by four members (February 10, 1829). There were only

[2] THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Notes on Virginia.*

[3] Chap. XC, also Chap. LXXII.

nine such districts west of Blue Ridge and fifteen east.

James Madison, a small man of ample forehead and some obliquity of vision, in a faded brown surtout, "nominated James Monroe,[4] homely as always, very wrinkled and weather-beaten, ungraceful in attitude and gesture," as president of the Convention.

He was elected unanimously (October 5, 1829) and Madison and Chief Justice John Marshall, "tall in a long surtout of blue, and with an eye of fire, revolutionary and patriarchal," escorted Monroe to the chair. Monroe was in feeble health, and Philip Pendleton Barbour, of Orange County, a young brother of James Barbour, presided most of the time. He was a master moderator, and the Convention needed much moderating.

MARSHALL

The personnel of the convention was incomparably distinguished. No gathering ever brought a greater number of brilliant men nor produced results less brilliant.

John Randolph, of Roanoke, was perhaps the most influential member, the "unrivalled orator" of that day. "The unaccountable brilliancy of Mr. Randolph's eyes, their petrifying effect upon those on whom he chose to fix them in anger or disdain, the melody of his inimitable voice, his tall, unearthly figure and the shape of his bony fingers have often been described."[5]

RANDOLPH

[4] MRS. MARY NEWTON STANARD, *Richmond*, pp. 125-129.

[5] WM. CABELL BRUCE, *Life of Randolph.*

Governor Giles was another power on the floor. He spoke in "conversational tones," with no gestures and no effort. "His words were like honey pouring from an Eastern rock."[6]

Virginia expected great things and was grievously disappointed. This convention conferred little, if any, benefit upon the commonwealth.

The state was divided. Old Virginia faced New Virginia—the east and west—the plain and the mountains were at logger-heads. Eastern Virginia was English in blood, traditions, customs, habits and religion. Western Virginia was Scotch-Irish, a land of blue mountains, bluegrass, blue skies and an undemonstrative people as economical and cautious as their rock-ribbed Scotch ancestors.

EAST AND WEST

The eastern, conservative, slave-holding planters were led by Benjamin Watkins Leigh, of Chesterfield County. The western farmers were led by Chapman Johnson,[7] of Staunton.

On every important question the vote was practically a tie. It boded ill for the future, lest at some time, under pressure, the great state might be rent asunder. It happened in thirty-four years.

A compromise, which pleased no one, was at last adopted. It was resolved:

1. That there shall be 13 senators west and 19 east of the Blue Ridge.

2. That there shall be in the House of Delegates

[6] HUGH ROSE PLEASANTS, *South. Lit. Messenger.*

[7] ESTHER C. M. STEELE, *Va. Hist. Mag.*, April, 1927.

127 members, of whom 29 shall be elected from the district west of the Alleghany mountains; 24 from the Valley between the Alleghany and Blue Ridge; 40 from the Blue Ridge to the head of Tidewater and 34 thence below." COMPROMISE

Such a law was certain to wreck the harmony, unity and prosperity of Virginia. They picked up another red-hot iron in the suffrage question. The western Virginians wanted a vote for every white man. The eastern Virginians wanted only men with property to vote.

Again they compromised and in these words:

Every white male 21 years of age or more "who for twelve months next preceding has been a housekeeper and head of a family within the county, city, town, borough or election district where he may offer to vote and shall have been assessed with a part of the revenue of the commonwealth within the preceding year, and actually paid the same—and no other persons, etc." SUFFRAGE

They provided: "In all elections in this commonwealth, to any office or place of trust, honour or profit, the vote shall be given openly or viva voce, and not by ballot."

The convention adjourned January 15, 1830—and that was the best thing they did.[8]

In April the state adopted the new constitution by a vote of 26,055 to 15,563; and of the negative vote, 13,337 were cast west of Blue Ridge. The eastern politicians astutely played their game—

[8] D. R. ANDERSON, *W. B. Giles*, pp. 229-237.

and won—and won to lose. This is not the first time, nor the last, that expert politicians betrayed Virginia and the Virginians.[9]

[9] Virginia in 1830 is described in *Universal Gazetteer*, JOHN MARSHALL.

XCVI.

GENERAL JOHN FLOYD

Governor: March 4, 1830–March 31, 1834

John Floyd was one of Virginia's greater governors. His term of four years and one month was the longest since colonial days, and he was the first governor under our second, unsatisfactory constitution.

Born in Jefferson County (now West Virginia) April 24, 1785, he graduated from Dickinson College, Pennsylvania, studied medicine at the University of Pennsylvania and settled in Montgomery County, from which Governor Preston had been called to the governorship (1816-1819).[1]

As Brigadier-General of the militia, and as a physician he rendered valued service in Norfolk during the War of 1812.

Elected to Congress (1817) he opposed John Quincy Adams' tariff policy; became influential in the Democratic ranks and helped put Andrew Jackson into the White House (1828).

[1] Chap. XCI.

General Floyd's most noteworthy contribution to his country was his zeal for the colonization and annexation of Oregon—a huge, undetermined area on the Pacific claimed both by Great Britain and America.

When Floyd was elected governor (aged 47), he was not in robust health. Three events of far-reaching importance made his administration memorable; the Nat Turner insurrection, South Carolina's nullification threats and the building of railways.

Nat was a powerful black giant, thirty years of age, a slave in Southampton County. He had decided gifts of leadership, and, as a religious fanatic, believed the Almighty had chosen him to free the slaves by the universal assassination of the white race. Nat heard strange voices calling him in the deep forests. He saw signs and potents in the swamps. The clouds beckoned and the tall corn waved him on. The stars above and the falling leaves below suggested bloodshed.[2] He had learned much of the Bible by heart, especially passages which confirmed him in his bloody mission.

NAT TURNER

His plan was like that of Opechancanough. The slaves were to rise and a mighty insurrection was to roll on from plantation to plantation. They began at Nat's home. He killed all the family with an axe. Then they moved to the next home. A guard of horsemen surrounded the victims; every white was killed—man, woman and child.

The bloody work went forward all day Monday (August 21, 1831). Sixty recruits joined his "army."

[2] T. R. GRAY, *Confession of Nat Turner.*

They marched toward Jerusalem (Courtland), the Court House village on Nottoway River.

Southampton lies against the Carolina line. It was sparsely settled a century since; the plantations were large and had many slaves. The white population was comparatively small.

Nat's "army" approached Jerusalem and the white men were ready. The Negroes fled at first fire. Nat escaped into the woods and hid for two months; but was finally captured, tried for murder and hung (November 11, 1831). Sixteen of his accomplices were hung, others committed to prison or deported. Governor Floyd pardoned some who were merely Nat's dupes.

The insurrection of this crazy Negro had a profound effect. Governor Floyd called out the militia. The streets of Richmond were patrolled, for half the population of 16,000 was colored. "The South was thrown into a paroxysm of excitement by Bloody Monday."[3] As far as Louisiana precautions against the slaves were taken.

The whole question of slavery was brought vividly before the nation, and especially before the South.[4]

John Holt Rice[5] wrote William Maxwell (1827):

"I am fully convinced that slavery is the greatest evil in our country, except whiskey; and it is my most ardent prayer that we may be delivered from it."

Dr. Rice wrote Dr. Archibald Alexander: "There is a march of opinion on the subject (slavery), which

[3] GOLDWIN SMITH.

[4] WILLIAM SIDNEY DREWRY, *Southampton Insurrection.*

[5] WILLIAM MAXWELL, *Jno. Holt Rice.*

would, if uninterrupted, annihilate this evil in Virginia. I have no doubt of it. And every step gained by true religion is a step towards the accomplishment of this object. . . There is nothing on which I feel so great solicitude. I have long had it as an object dearest to my heart to get Virginia free from slavery." (April, 1827.)

RICE

"It is a remarkable fact that, from 1825 to 1837, there were more anti-slavery societies in the South than in the North. It is said that there were forty-one in North Carolina, twenty-one in Tennessee and many others in Virginia and Kentucky."[6]

The movement that resulted in the final abolition of slavery began in Virginia. The first zealous agitator, who succeeded in touching the conscience of the nation, was Benjamin Lundy, a poor and inconspicuous Quaker of Hardwick, New Jersey (born January 4, 1789). When nineteen (1808) Benjamin was making saddles at Wheeling.

During four years spent there (1808-1812) he was horrified at the cruelty of the slave-drivers—then at their worst; the year that marked the end of slave importation (1808). Thousands were shipped from Wheeling down the Ohio and Mississippi, having been landed at the Atlantic ports or sold from the Virginia plantations. Many were sold from the Northern states. Friend Benjamin moved to Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, to St. Louis, Missouri (1819), to Jonesboro, Tennessee (whence Andrew Johnson came later); to Baltimore, to Washington and to Philadelphia.

LUNDY

[6] CHAS. L. THOMPSON, *Presbyterians.*

Lundy's ideas were sound, although he was hated in the South. He wished to free the Negroes and remove them to Haiti or Mexico. Had his method been adopted in Virginia and the South for all slaves convicted of crime, or by the general government for all Negroes who might provide their own purchase, the slavery question would have been peacefully settled.[7]

Many ponderous volumes have been written to show what a curse slavery was—to the slaves. But few have considered what a curse it was to the master.

Slavery was a curse to the slave, but the curse carried many benefits—civilization, Christianity and eventually citizenship. The slave brought to Virginia was rather to be congratulated than his brother in the jungles of Africa who escaped the cruel slavers.

Upon the white man slavery fastened a ball-and-chain that brought economic ruin and eventually a frightful war. Slavery cost the white man a fearful price. The Emancipation Proclamation which set the Negroes free was the greatest single benefit the Southern white man has ever received! To be sure it was a benefaction the South did not wish, nor was it appreciated at the time, nor could the manner of the blessing be commended. Nevertheless, in the long prospect of the years, Abraham Lincoln set the South free. The wealth and prosperity of the South today is naught

SLAVERY

[7] WM. C. ARMSTRONG, *Benjamin Lundy*, pp. 348-406.

Life, Travels and Opinions of BENJAMIN LUNDY, Diary of Benj. Lundy, 1832, Library of Congress.



Photo by H. P. Cook.

GOVERNOR FLOYD

From a portrait by an unknown artist in the State Library, presented (1873) by Mrs. J. B. Floyd.

* * * *

"John Floyd was one of Virginia's greater governors. Perhaps his most noteworthy contribution to this country was his zeal for the colonization and annexation of Oregon—a huge undetermined area on the Pacific claimed both by Great Britain and America."—Chap. XCVI.

to the South's future greatness. And the South could never have achieved her destiny with slavery.

One hundred years ago Virginia was an intensely rural community. Her largest cities were merely big villages and not very large at that. The planters were ever hostile to the policy of a protective tariff, which they argued was a tax to build up Northern industries.

It does not seem to have occurred to them that, instead of abusing the energetic Yankees, they might compete with them, manufacture their own products and supply their own markets.

The legislature, under Governor Giles, passed strong resolutions against the tariff; and, while expressing their devotion to the Union, hinted very decidedly at the justice of nullification.

When the "Tariff of Abominations" was raised to still higher levels, South Carolina prepared to try out Calhoun's nullification theories. The Governor called the legislature to Columbia (October 22, 1832), and the legislators called a state convention which proclaimed that, on and after February 1, 1833, all Federal laws relating to the tariff should be null and void in South Carolina. And they prepared to enforce nullification. The issue was at last joined, and the twilight zone, which had for forty years been shunned, was boldly entered. Either state or nation must retract.

TARIFF

John Floyd sent to the legislature of Virginia a strong paper, in which he argued against the invasion of South Carolina, and stated that he would not allow Federal troops to cross our territory.

In this excitement a national election gave Jackson an enthusiastic vote of confidence. South Carolina gave Floyd her vote for president, a graceful gesture; but Virginia voted for Andrew Jackson.

A month later (December 10, 1832) Senator Littleton W. Tazewell resigned his seat in the senate—a protest against Jackson and Virginia's endorsement of Jackson.[8] And the same day President Jackson issued his famous degree against South Carolina's nullification and secession, and he gave notice that he expected to enforce the laws in South Carolina and everywhere else!

South Carolina

A week later (December 19, 1832) Governor Floyd wrote in his Diary, "I understand this morning that, when my message was received in Washington, the friends of the President were with him almost all night consulting upon the propriety of retracing his steps, but as yet his personal hatred to Calhoun induces him to insist upon using the sword to enforce his doctrine of treason. If so, there is no government but his will. If he uses force, I will oppose him with a military force."[9] Governor Floyd was previously a strong Jackson Democrat.

With the turn of the new year (1833) cooler councils prevailed. Henry Clay came forward with a bill (January 21, 1833) which reduced the highest imports and removed the more objectionable features of the tariff.

Virginia, instead of holding the adversaries apart, as Floyd proposed, drew them together. Our senators,

[8] We do not get Tazewell's logic. Should a Senator resign because he does not like a President?

[9] LYON G. TYLER.

William Cabell Rives and John Tyler, were ordered to effect a compromise at Washington, and the legislature sent Benjamin Watkins Leigh[10] to persuade South Carolina to modify her demands. Both gestures were successful. South Carolina repealed her nullification laws (March 11, 1833). The Union was saved for the time. Civil war, with what consequences the wisest could not foresee, was averted and the country breathed easier.

PEACE

The last summer of Governor John Floyd's long and fine administration was rendered memorable by the opening of Virginia's first railway—at Petersburg. The little road, about thirty miles long, chartered in 1829, opened in 1833, led southward from the busy industrial town to the cotton fields of South Carolina.

That modest, little road has grown and developed into the Atlantic Coast Line, carrying its hundreds of thousands of passengers and hundreds of millions of freight.

While Petersburg claims priority in Virginia, Charleston, South Carolina, was the first American city to hear the shriek of a locomotive.[11] The first road was opened in 1830.

FIRST RAILWAY

Five years to the day, after the death of Jefferson and Adams (July 4, 1831), James Monroe passed away in New York.[12] Monroe left two daughters (Eliza), Mrs. George Hay, of Virginia, and (Maria) Mrs. Samuel L. Gouvenour, of New York.

[10] *Va. Hist. Mag.*, April, 1921.
Southern Lit. Messenger, 1851.

[11] The Baltimore and Ohio disputes for Baltimore Charleston's claim.

[12] Chap. CVIII.

XCVII.

SENATOR LITTLETON WALLER TAZEWELL

Governor: March 31, 1834–March 30, 1836

The long term of John Floyd was followed by the administrations of seven Old Line Whigs—Tazewell, Robertson, Campbell, Gilmer, Patton, Rutherfoord, and Gregory; only one of whom remained for three years, and two of whom, Tazewell and Gilmer, achieved national recognition as statesmen.

Norfolk has failed, rather conspicuously to supply the state with leaders. Senator Tazewell was and is Norfolk's most distinguished citizen.

Henry Tazewell (1753-1799) came from the Brunswick frontier, studied law at William and Mary and sat in the last House of Burgesses (1775). He served in the Great Convention of 1776, was a distinguished judge (1785), a United States Senator (1794) and twice presided over that distinguished body (1795).

Littleton was a more famous son of a famous sire. He was born at Williamsburg (December 17, 1774) when Henry was only twenty-one years old. But he followed the paternal footsteps to William and Mary, and to the practice of law. At twenty-two he was a Jeffersonian Republican in the legislature. The Tazewell family flower young.

Littleton succeeded John Marshall in the House when Adams made Marshall Chief Justice.

Norfolk was rapidly building at the turn of the

century and Tazewell made his home[1] there (1802) until his death (May 6, 1860).

Tazewell was unfortunate in his temperament. Like Giles, he usually opposed what was. Tazewell wanted to fight France. Washington did not. Tazewell wanted to fight Great Britain. Jefferson did not. Finally Madison declared war and Tazewell was opposed to it. In fact, he was opposed to all Madisonian policies. Once into the struggle, Tazewell was, of course, loyal and patriotic.

In 1816 Norfolk sent him to the state legislature, and President Monroe made him one of the commission to buy Florida (1819). In 1824 Virginia sent him to the senate, and he served with distinction, nine years. He opposed John Quincy Adams, and he opposed the Tariff of Abominations. He helped elect Jackson, but once "Andy" was in, "Littleton" was opposed to him.[2] He opposed South Carolina's nullification, but he also opposed Jackson's threatened coercion and resigned in protest. It would break the monotony of this narrative if we could discover something or somebody that really pleased Senator Tazewell. "In 1833 he resigned his seat in the senate from pure disgust of Federal politics," and the next year became governor.

ETERNAL PROTEST

In his first message, he reported that Virginia received $380,888.66 due on Revolution War claims. The money was used to pay the state's debts and to swell the Literary Fund.

[1] HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY, *Life of Tazewell*, p. 22.

[2] LITTLETON WALLER TAZEWELL, *Review of Proclamation of Pres. Jackson*, 112 pages. Library of Congress.

In 1835 Andrew Jackson announced that the nation was out of debt. Ah! but it will be many and many a year before state and nation are out of debt again!

In his second message the Governor condemned the agitation against slavery. He feared it might disrupt the Union. Governor Tazewell was right, though he did not live to see the catastrophe. A great mass of violent, anti-slavery literature was burned in front of the Richmond post office.

Chief Justice Marshall died in Philadelphia (July 6, 1835). His remains were brought to Richmond[3] (July 9). A great procession, military and civic, escorted them to Shockoe Cemetery, where he sleeps on the hill-top. For years after his death Richmond remained a citadel of Whiggery amidst rampant Virginia Democracy.

One might fancy that Governor Tazewell would not serve his full term. "When the legislature instructed the senators to vote for expunging the record censuring General Jackson for removing the deposits from the United States Bank, he resigned in disgust (April 30, 1836) and retired to private life at his elegant seat in Norfolk, never afterward appearing in public service.[4]

RESIGNS

Littleton Waller Tazewell was admired and respected even by those who differed from him. "His height exceeded six feet, and he stood uncommonly erect.[5] In later years his features were

[3] ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, *Life of Marshall*, Vol. IV, p. 588.

[4] LYON G. TYLER.

[5] For personal description: *American Orators*, Anonymous. Wash., D. C. (1816). Library of Congress.

massive and his silver hair fell in ringlets about his neck." Many regarded him abler than Calhoun or Webster.

The lawn about the Tazewell mansion extended from Brooke Avenue to College Place, and was protected by a white-washed brick wall. The driveway entrance to the home, with its large iron gates flanked on either side by smaller ones, was just about at Tazewell Street.[6]

"The Tazewell home, though capacious, was a plain structure of wood, built originally by a citizen of moderate means. Its position in front of a large lawn overlooking the Elizabeth could not be surpassed. The water came rippling up to the southern enclosure, a broad, silvery expanse on which arriving and departing vessels were in broad view from the portico.

HOME

"The first door to the left as you entered the house was Mr. Tazewell's office, a southern room, 14 by 20 feet, in the midst of which a table was forever covered with books and manuscripts.

"The first door to the right opened into a small room, in which General Jackson and John Randolph had lodged at times.

"Adjoining this room is the parlor, 20 by 20 feet, with probably the same furniture he purchased when he first went to housekeeping, plain though elegant. On the walls were portraits of his father, Judge Tazewell, a handsome youth of 21, though a married man; and his bride's sweet face almost perfectly reflected in the features of one of his own daughters. Both were painted by Peale.

[6] W. J. STANWORTH, Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch.

"There, too, were portraits of Colonel Nivison and his wife, the parents of Mrs. Tazewell, and their son, William Nivison, whose early death was deplored by our people."[7]

The home of Governor Tazewell was removed to Edgewater, a suburb, with meticulous care by the late Mrs. Arthur C. Freeman.

For four years (1833-1837) Edgar Allan Poe made the Southern Literary Messenger a power in critical and cultural America. His short stories were very popular.

[7] HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY, *Life of Tazewell.*

XCVIII.

WYNDHAM ROBERTSON

Governor: March 30, 1836–March 31, 1837

The resignation of Governor Tazewell brought Wyndham Robertson (January 26, 1805-1888), a prominent Whig, the Lieutenant-Governor, to the chair.

Powhatan returned to rule again in Virginia, for the governor's mother, Elizabeth Gay Bolling, was a direct descendant of Pocahontas and John Rolfe.

The Governor was born in Manchester (South Richmond), studied law at William and Mary, and was admitted to the bar (1824).

"At the first meeting of the James River and

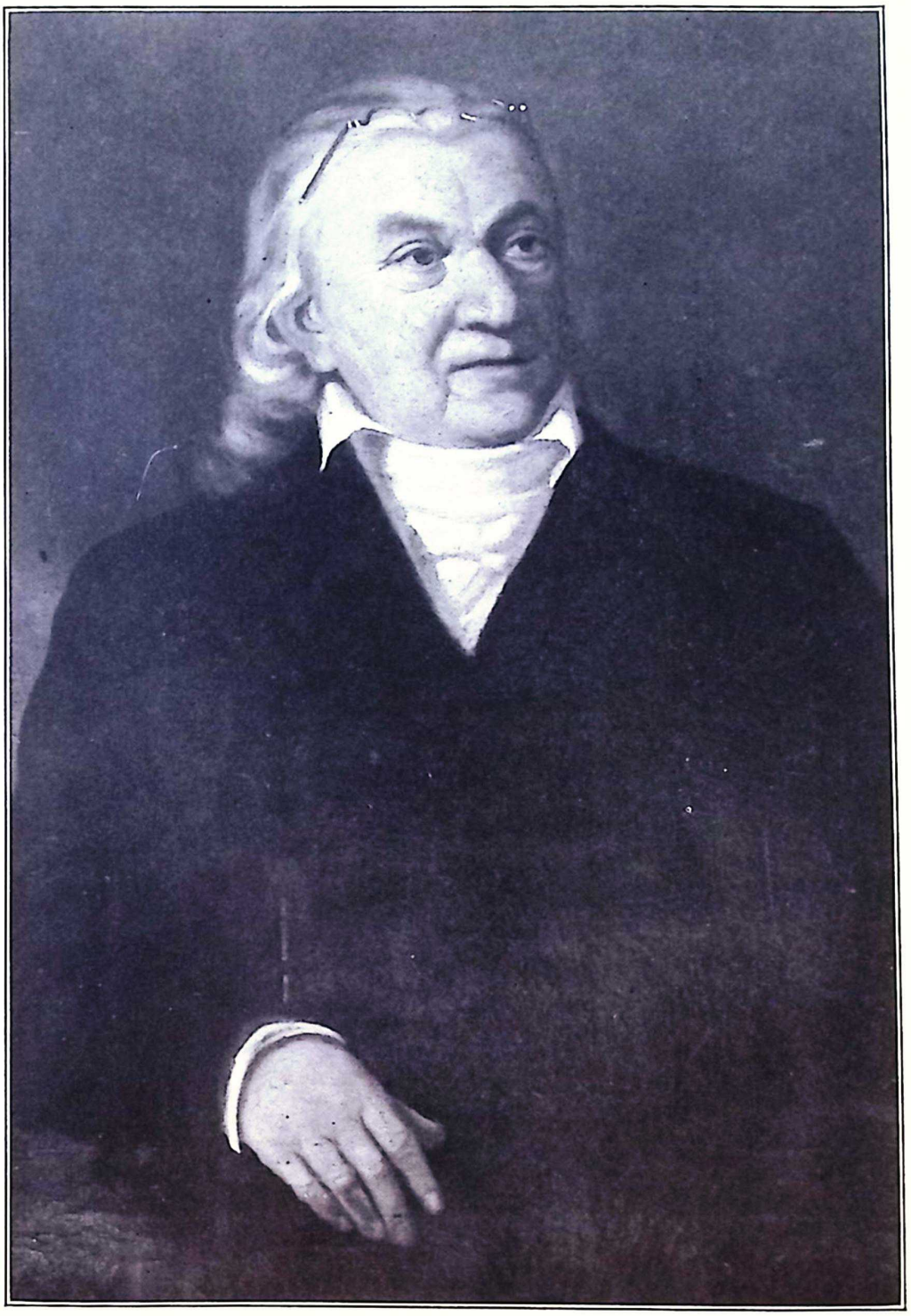

Photo by H. P. Cook.

LITTLETON WALLER TAZEWELL

From a portrait in the State Library, which is supposed to be a copy of an original by G. P. A. Healy, destroyed in the Chicago fire; presented to the Commonwealth by Sally and Ella Tazewell, October 28, 1874.

* * * *

"A famous son of a famous sire. His height exceeded six feet, and he stood uncommonly erect. In later years his features were massive and his silver hair fell in ringlets about his neck." (GRIGSBY). Chap. XCVII.

Kanawha Canal (1834) Company he proposed, instead of a canal to Lynchburg, a railway to the Mississippi, which showed his wisdom and far-sightedness."[1]

In his one message to the legislature he denounced the "mad fanaticism" of the abolitionists.

James Madison died (July 5, 1836) and sleeps well beside his beloved Dolly[2] at "Montpelier."

Petersburg did not long enjoy the distinction of being Virginia's only railway terminus. The Richmond and Petersburg Railway and the "Louisa Railway"[3] were organized in 1836.

President Tyler closed his term by annexing the Republic of Texas, which won her independence under the magnificent leadership of two Scotch-Irish Virginians, Stephen Austin, of Wythe County,[4] and Samuel Houston, of Rockbridge.[5]

TEXAS

What would the United States be if those lands Virginia and the Virginians gave and acquired for the national domain had not been secured? The Northwest territory with the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin were given outright. Kentucky, once a Virginia county, is an imperial state and the commonwealth of West Virginia was cut from Virginia's side.

Thomas Jefferson acquired Louisiana Territory—

[1] LYON G. TYLER.

[2] SQUIRES, *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 171-183.

[3] This modest line with its feminine name grew and expanded into the Chesapeake and Ohio.

[4] HENRY HOWE, *Va. Hist. Collections*, p. 515.

[5] *Ibid*, pp. 455-456.

now the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, the two Dakotas, Montana, and fractional parts of other commonwealths carrying the claim to Oregon Territory.

That immensely valuable area was discovered by Meriwether Lewis[6] and William Clark, sent by Jefferson. As told in these papers, James Barbour[7] was the most influential statesman in securing Oregon, Washington and Idaho.

To James Monroe we owe Florida, and Littleton W. Tazewell was his able lieutenant.

The annexation of Texas meant war with Mexico, which was mightily won by two sons of Virginia, Winfield Scott and Zachary Taylor. Without Texas, and these soldiers we would not have acquired California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah nor Colorado.

WAR

Except Alaska and Northern Maine and the western lands of the original Thirteen, all territory added to the Continental United States since the Constitution was adopted is the gift of Virginia and the Virginians.

Mrs. Robertson was Mary Trigg Smith, of Abingdon. When the Governor's term expired, he removed to "Mary's Meadows"—and very rich and beautiful meadows were Mary's. He returned to Richmond before the Civil War and vainly attempted to avert the impending disaster.

Norfolk celebrated her hundredth birthday (September 15, 1836) with a salute of twenty-six guns, at

[6] *Twentieth Century Dict. of Eminent Americans*, Vols. 2-6.

[7] Chap. LXXXIX.

dawn, and commemorative exercises held in the churches. A military and civic parade was a feature of the day.

XCIX.

GENERAL DAVID CAMPBELL

Governor: March 31, 1837–March 31, 1840

For the first time Virginia turned to the extreme southwest for a governor—General David Campbell (August 2, 1779-March 19, 1859), Clerk of Washington County.

David, the eldest son of John and Elizabeth McDonald Campbell, was born at Royal Oak (Marion), of Scotch-Irish stock. The family moved to Hall's Bottom, in Washington County, the McDonald home, when David was eight.

This precocious lad was an ensign in the county militia at fourteen; at twenty he was captain. Three years later he was deputy clerk of Washington County.

Campbell answered Madison's call and his early military training proved valuable. He marched to Canada under General Alexander Smith (July 6, 1812), a Major of the Twelfth U. S. Infantry.

His most sensational exploit was the capture of two British ships on Lake Erie, under the guns of Ft. Erie, with a cargo of arms worth $150,000.00. He lost only eight men (October, 1813), in the action.

His resignation (January 28, 1814), was forced by acute rheumatism, but, during the direful summer of 1814, he trained the raw militia in camps near Richmond and Petersburg. The Assembly elected him Brigadier-General (1815), but his reputation rests upon civic rather than military service.

Campbell's home was in the quiet and cultured town of Abingdon. His friends sent him to the state senate (1820), and he was elected clerk of Washington County (1824), which modest position the General retained until elected governor. He was a Jackson Democrat when elected, but during Martin Van Buren's administration, like many other Virginians, he became a Whig.[1]

ABINGDON

His first annual message reported the Literary Fund was yielding $84,177.85 annually, and urged a state-wide public school system. The total annual expenses of undivided Virginia were $437,181.92.

The notable panic of 1837 followed an era of wild-cat speculation. Banks failed, business went to smash and coin was difficult to obtain. The Executive called the legislature to Richmond (June 12, 1837) to help stem the financial tide.

PANIC

In these gloomy months the "Louisa Railway" began service from Richmond to Frederick Hall, and the new railway from Richmond to Petersburg was opened in the spring (May 11, 1838). Passengers walked over Mayo's Bridge, took the cars in Manchester and arrived betimes at Petersburg, or continued their journey to Weldon, North Carolina.

[1] LEWIS PRESTON SUMMERS, *Hist. of Wash. Co.*, pp. 766-767.

Once only has Norfolk; once only has Richmond,[2] entertained a real king! On April 19, 1837, the most distinguished guest, socially, that ever set foot upon our humble, democratic soil arrived; namely, Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Joseph, King of Holland, and Hortense, the beautiful daughter of the Empress Josephine. NAPOLEON III

The gay, young adventurer of twenty-nine had hard sledding after Waterloo. When twenty-two he joined a rebellion in Romagna against the Pope (who was also King), and a year before he arrived at Norfolk he fought in another unsuccessful rebellion at Strasburg.

Norfolk society would have gone wild indeed if the dear ladies could have read Louis' romantic future. After other wild adventures he was elected President of the Second Republic, swung it into an empire and got himself crowned Napoleon III. Had he been more astute or less ambitious he would likely have established a dynasty. At Sedan his bubble burst and he died at last an unwelcomed guest on England's hospitable shore.

The bitter distress of Van Buren's administration made Whig success probable. Whiggery assembled with wild enthusiasm at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (December 4, 1839). James Barbour,[3] of Virginia, presided. William Henry Harrison, a native of Charles City County, and Senator John Tyler, of Virginia, were nominated. It was a Virginia ticket which did not carry Virginia.

[2] Chap. CVIII.
[3] Chap. LXXXIX.

C.

THOMAS WALKER GILMER

Governor: March 31, 1840–March 20, 1841

Thomas Walker Gilmer (April 6, 1802-February 28, 1844), was our one-hundredth executive, if it ever occurred to him to count the heads between him and Sir Walter Ralegh, which we doubt.

As a young lawyer he edited the "Virginia Advocate," a campaign paper for Andrew Jackson and Democracy (1828).

He represented his native county, Albemarle, in the House of Delegates, eleven years, and aided Governor Floyd in the settlement of Virginia's war claims on the Federal government.

But when Andrew Jackson threatened to coerce South Carolina, Gilmer left the Democratic party and was henceforth an influential Whig.[1]

The new Governor began well. He made a tour of the state, at his own expense, inspecting roads, schools, canals, railways and other improvements.

In his only message (December 1, 1840) he said that Virginia had begun to develop some factories, citing cotton-goods, glass, ink and paper.

The census returns were not favorable to Virginia. In 1830 New York and Pennsylvania pushed ahead of her in population, and Massachusetts had almost as many white people. Virginia included West Virginia, yet our total population (1830) was only 1,211,405; 517,105 of whom were

CENSUS

[1] *Sketch of Gov. Gilmer, National Cyclop. Amer. Biog.*, Vol. V, p. 450.

colored. In 1840 Ohio took the third place, and Virginia was now fourth in population, having 1,239,797—only 28,392 more than in 1830, so great was the drain of emigration. There was, however, a bright side. The colored population in 1840 was only 498,939 (a net loss of 18,166). There were 46,558 more white people in Virginia in 1840 than in 1830. Of the total population of undivided Virginia in 1830, more than 42½ per cent. were colored. In 1840 the percentage declined to 40 per cent. This gradual whitening of the state has continued slowly, but steadily, until (1920) in Virginia, without West Virginia, the percentage is less than 29 per cent.

It was evident that something was radically wrong with our economic condition.

The Democrats at Baltimore, May 5, 1840, nominated Martin Van Buren for a second term. The campaign was the most picturesque and sensational in American history.

"If one could imagine a whole nation rollicking for a period of six or eight months, and giving themselves up to the wildest freaks of fun and frolic, caring nothing for business; singing, dancing and carousing night and day, he might have some idea of the extraordinary scenes of 1840. It would be difficult, if not impossible, otherwise to form an idea of the excitement, enthusiasm, activity, turmoil and restlessness which pervaded the country. Cabins large enough to hold crowds of people were built in many places. Small ones decorated with coon skins were mounted on wheels and used in

GREAT ELECTION!

processions. Meetings were held every day in neighborhoods, school houses, villages, towns, counties, cities, states, varying in number from ten to one hundred thousand; and wherever there was a gathering there were speaking and singing. Crowds on the road made the welkin ring with their log-cabin songs. Nobody slept, nobody worked, nobody rested. The entire population seemed to be absorbed in electing General Harrison and changing the government. A change they were determined to have."[2]

Richmond, always a Whig stronghold, built a cabin to hold 3,000 people. Raleigh Travers Daniel, Wyndham Robertson, John Minor Botts, James Lyons, Benjamin Watkins Leigh and many visitors spoke every day and every night. William C. Preston, of South Carolina, spoke to a multitude so great that hundreds stood in the rain and listened to his impassioned pleas.

Norfolk was a Whig city. "Where the Atlantic Hotel now is there was a log cabin of good proportions. There was all-day speaking, beginning at 10 o'clock. Barrels of cider and tin cups were supplied and every night there was a procession and lots of excitement."[3]

WHIGS

The defeat of the Democrats was complete. They carried only seven states.

"The Old Dominion would have been swept from her moorings, where Jefferson, Madison and Jackson had anchored her, had it not been for the mountain counties. Van Buren received a majority of 1,392;

[2] NATHAN SARGENT, *Public Men and Events*, Vol. II, pp. 107-110.

[3] THOS. B. ROWLAND, Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch.

but Eastern Virginia gave Harrison a heavy majority."[4]

Norfolk was indirectly honored when Littleton Waller Tazewell received eleven votes in the electoral college for Vice-President of the United States.[5]

Governor Gilmer's resignation was unfortunate. He had a misunderstanding with Governor William Henry Seward, of New York. Gilmer refused to honor the requisition of criminals who escaped to Virginia from New York because Seward had befriended run-away slaves.

RESIGNS

The legislature refused to support Gilmer in his contention (that two wrongs make a right). He vindicated his position in an able address and resigned[6] (March 30, 1841).

Governor Gilmer's remaining days were few and tragic. His neighbors elected him to the House of Representatives. Former President John Quincy Adams presented (January 24, 1842) a petition from abolitionists of Haverhill, Mass., asking that steps be taken for a peaceful dissolution of the Union.

Gilmer was so indignant that he moved to censure Adams. The proposition was debated until February 7, 1842, when John Minor Botts, another Virginia Whig, moved to table it. This incident is illuminating in the light of our subsequent history.

Gilmer supported Tyler against Clay, and the President appointed him Secretary of the Navy. Two weeks later he was accidentally killed aboard the U. S. S. "Princeton."

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[4] WILLIAM CECIL PENDLETON, *Appalachian Virginia.*

[5] Harrison received 234 votes; Van Buren only 60, of which 23 came from Virginia. *Hardesty's Encyclop.*, p. 264.

[6] As in the case of Tazewell we see no reason for this resignation.

CI.

JOHN MERCER PATTON

Acting Governor: March 20, 1841–March 31, 1841

John Mercer Patton (1796-1858) was the grandson of General Hugh Mercer, of Fredericksburg, the hero of Princeton. His mother, Anne Gordon Mercer, was the general's daughter.

The Governor, a member of Congress and a distinguished lawyer, served until a successor was elected.

CII.

COLONEL JOHN RUTHERFOORD

Acting Governor: March 31, 1841–March 31, 1842

The legislature chose a successful business man in Richmond, Colonel John Rutherfoord (1792-1865), president of the first insurance society in Virginia.

He was elected Senior Councilor, in virtue of which office he was lieutenant-governor, and in virtue of Gilmer's resignation he was governor.

The Colonel began life as a Jackson Democrat but, like many other Virginians, Jackson's policies made him a Whig. The Whig fiscal policy displeased the Colonel and he again became a Democrat. As such he was elected by the Democratic legislature.[1]

[1] *National Cyclop. Amer. Biog.*, Vol. V, p. 450.

General Harrison took the oath March 4, 1841. He contracted a fatal illness March 27, and died exactly a month after his inauguration (April 4, 1841). He was the first president to die in office. John Tyler, the vice-president, hastened from Williamsburg to the capital, and became the tenth president of the United States. TYLER

Charles Dickens visited Richmond, March 17, 1842. The thirty-year-old author was dressed in a "snuff-colored suit and red cravat, and, with his rather drab and shy 'lady,' spent three days at the Exchange Hotel."[2] Six years before his visit Dickens married Catherine Hogarth. Five years before he became famous, almost over night, when "Pickwick Papers" appeared. Four years before he published "Oliver Twist" and the next year "Nicholas Nickleby." Seven years later he brought out "David Copperfield."

A banquet was given him. Thomas Ritchie, one of America's famous editors, was toastmaster. Dickens was seated next to Governor Rutherfoord.

[2] MRS. MARY NEWTON STANARD, *Richmond.*

CIII.

JOHN MUNFORD GREGORY

Acting Governor: March 31, 1842–January 5, 1843

The legislature elected John Munford Gregory, Senior Councilor, which by the awkward provision of the Constitution of 1829, made him governor.

The Virginians have an interesting and naive way of uniting aristocratic ideas and democratic ideals. The humblest Virginian may seek the highest honors.

Gregory's career would make a good novel.[1]

John Gregory's grandfather fell in the Revolution. His father was not successful, and John was very poor. Only the slightest education was his at an old-field school. And he must needs toil as a work-hand on the farm. But John graduated at William and Mary (1830), was sent to the House of Delegates by his neighbors who believed in the poor young man; then he stepped into the council and, lo! he is Governor of Virginia—a young man still, 38 years of age.

He lived to a ripe old age, and died at Williamsburg in 1888 full of honors well merited.[2]

The people were disgusted and disgruntled at this procession of short-term governors—and they had reason!

On December 14, 1842, the legislature resolved to elect a Governor for three years, beginning January 5, 1843. It was done, and well done.

[1] The story of his life reminds one of ELLEN GLASGOW's *Voice of the People.*

[2] *National Cyclop. Amer. Biog.*, Vol. V, p. 450.

CIV.

JAMES McDOWELL

Governor: January 1, 1843–January 1, 1846

The seven governors, mostly Whigs, who passed in rapid sequence were succeeded by five of our greatest and best executives. Each remained in office his full term, each was a Democrat, each deserved and received the gratitude and appreciation of Virginia. The five ante-bellum giants, James McDowell, William Smith, John B. Floyd, Joseph Johnson and Henry A. Wise, came from five widely separated sections, and represented the five great divisions of the state; as it happened, for it could not have been so planned, namely: the Valley of Virginia, Northern Virginia, Southwestern Virginia, Northwestern Virginia and Tidewater.

James McDowell (October 11, 1795-August 24, 1851) was born of that Ulster element[1] so frequently referred to in these pages, and except the basal English, the most important constituent stock in Virginia. "Cherry Grove," Rockbridge County, was his home. He was educated at Yale and Princeton, and studied law but considered himself a farmer.

Mrs. McDowell[2] was the daughter of General Francis Preston, of Abingdon, and granddaughter

[1] EDWARD A. POLLARD, *Va. Tourist*, pp. 216-221.

[2] Mrs. McDowell was related to Gov. John Floyd and to Gov. and Mrs. John Buchanan Floyd. Chap. XCVI and CVI.

of General William Campbell, the Hero of King's Mountain.

McDowell was deeply concerned with the problem of slavery. After Nat Turner's Insurrection, he was thoroughly committed to gradual emancipation. He probably did more to impress the South with the economic ruin wrought by the pernicious system than any man after Thomas Jefferson.

When President Jackson threatened to force South Carolina to conform to the nation's law, James McDowell was heartily with him and made a speech against nullification, which attracted the attention of the country. In fact his speech made him a candidate for Randolph's vacant seat in the senate; but Tyler was elected.

His first year as Governor was quiet.

Judge Abel Parker Upshur (1790-1844) served as Secretary of the Navy until Daniel Webster resigned, then this distinguished son of the Eastern Shore became Secretary of State. Unlike the Governor, Upshur belonged to the extreme pro-slavery party.

UPSHUR

To anticipate our story: McDowell was in Congress when the extreme pro-slavery partisans objected to California becoming a free state without a slave state to hold the balance. McDowell took the floor, September 3, 1850, and made one of the most influential speeches ever heard before that body.

"His tall form, graceful gestures and commanding voice revived the expectations formed of his fame. His sustained and splendid appeal confirmed them. The house repeatedly broke into involuntary

applause. At the conclusion of his hour they shouted, 'Go on,' a precedent hitherto unknown in Congress. At the conclusion of his speech all business was suspended and the house adjourned almost in silence."[3]

In his first annual message (December 4, 1843) the Governor stated that the debt of Virginia had risen to an impressive figure, $7,350,000; yet no Whig more earnestly urged public improvements.

"Such are the improvements that almost everywhere accompany good roads (new settlements, better agriculture, accumulating comforts of all kinds, enhanced value of houses and lands) that the opinion is confidently expressed that, in actual additional revenue brought by these means into the treasury, the state has a fair dividend upon her portion of the money expended."

ROADS

Dawned the year 1844 with its welter of politics. For months men discussed one topic, "Texas." The acquisition of the huge empire, the effect upon Mexico, upon European politics, but most especially the question of slavery and sectionalism.

The Whig National Convention met in Baltimore (May 1). Eastern Virginia was largely Whig. Richmond, Petersburg and Norfolk were Whig centers. There was a world of enthusiasm for Henry Clay, the son of Virginia, and the Great Pacifier of Kentucky. Clay was against the admission of Texas. The Whig convention was perfectly lady-like. Indeed it was a kid-glove affair, as became Whigs, for most Whigs, especially

TEXAS?

[3] *Henry Wilson.*

in Virginia, were gentlemen of education, wealth and culture.

Hardly had the last "kid gloves" left Baltimore before the Democrats tumbled in (May 27). "Rough and tumble" was Democratic form. The Democrats were democrats and there were no kid gloves in evidence. Martin Van Büren, of New York, once president, expected the nomination, but Martin, like Henry, was against the annexation program of Tyler and Calhoun. John Tyler, the President, was a Democrat at heart, elected on a Whig platform. He was unpopular with Democrats and Whigs.

The Democrats wanted Texas—let it cost what it might. They were for Texas and all that Texas meant. It became increasingly evident that they did not want Tyler nor Van Buren. A "dark horse" was nominated. They went home shouting, "Polk, Dallas and Texas."

Polk

Samuel Finley Morse persuaded Congress to grant him $30,000 for a wire from the Capitol at Washington to Baltimore. The hungry scientist insisted that he could talk by code over the wire! The line and instruments were installed in time to flash the message to Washington that James K. Polk had been nominated—the first electric spark to carry a message. Polk's nomination was known in Washington twenty minutes after the convention acted.

The campaign was on at once. Southwestern Virginia was a fierce battleground. The Democrats held a great rally at the Chilhowie Sulphur Springs.

Colonel James Patton had, a century before (1748), decided to locate a town there, but it never materialized. The Methodists built a great camp meeting at the springs. The Democrats borrowed the ground. Tables were built, which if placed end to end, would have extended a mile! Beeves, swine and sheep were offered by dozens, hams by the hundred, and chickens by uncounted thousands, on the Democratic altar. They came over the hills and down the valleys, up from Tennessee, across the trails from North Carolina and distant Kentucky. They partook of Virginia Democratic hospitality, not to mention the hard cider and apple brandy.

CAMPAIGN

Huge banners and eloquent orators shouted for "Polk, Dallas and Texas." Felix Grundy, John Buchanan Floyd, George W. Hopkins, Landon C. Haynes spoke constantly, first to one section of the huge multitude then to another. So throughout state and nation.

And they won. Polk carried Virginia by 5,893 majority, but the country gave him less than 40,000 votes to spare. Eastern Virginia was as usual slightly Whig.

In May, 1844, the General Conference of the Methodist Church met in New York. One of the bishops owned slaves. After bitter debates, and after a day of fasting and prayer, a resolution was passed, 110 to 68, asking Bishop Andrew to desist his ministry as bishop so long as he owned slaves. The Methodists in the South protested in no uncertain terms.

METHODISTS

Among others Norfolk Methodism sent this resolution:

"That we believe an immediate division of the Methodist Church indispensable to the peace, prosperity and honor of the Southern portion thereof, if not essential to its continued existence."[4]

There were 1,171,356 Methodists in the country, almost equally divided between the North and South.

In his second annual message (December 2, 1844) Governor McDowell championed an adequate state public school system and condemned our educational method (or lack of method) as wholly inadequate. He secured the passage of a local option, county free school law, under which ten counties established much better schools.

SCHOOLS

Virginia made a fine record in higher education. College men numbered two per cent. of the whole population; greater than any other states except Massachusetts and Connecticut, and only slightly less than they.

Edgar Allan Poe,[5] a starving editor and writer from Richmond, living in New York for the nonce, published a poem, "The Raven," in the New York Evening Mirror, January 29, 1845.

POE

Andrew Jackson lived to see Polk and Dallas inaugurated (March 4, 1845). Without Jackson's assistance and influence Polk would not have won the election. The old hero died at the Hermitage (June 8, 1845).

Polk invited John Young Mason into his cabinet

[4] W. C. PENDLETON, *Polit. Hist. of Southwestern Va.*

[5] HERVEY ALLEN, *Israfel.*

as attorney-general. He was a native of Southampton County, the patron of George Henry Thomas, also of Southampton. In the summer Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to Texas, and war was not long delayed. MASON

James McDowell was long remembered for his personal piety, his strict sobriety, his advocacy of temperance. He ran true to his Scotch Presbyterian training. If Virginia had adopted James McDowell's plan for the gradual abolition of slavery, how different our subsequent years might have been.

CV.

WILLIAM SMITH

Governor: January 1, 1846–January 1, 1849

William Smith, the second of the five great governors, was born in King George County (September 6, 1797), forty-eight years before. He so won the hearts of posterity that in 1906 a statue of "Extra Billy Smith" was presented to Virginia and he stands in bronze upon a pedestal of granite in the Capitol Square at Richmond. Save only those governors who are grouped about George Washington, "Extra Billy" is the only Virginia executive who has as yet achieved such an honor.

He was educated in the "old-field schools" of the Northern Neck, and attended advanced schools in Fredericksburg and Plainfield, Connecticut. His

only college was a classical school at "Wingfield," in Hanover County.

He was admitted to the bar in Culpeper (1817), but his gifts of oratory, diplomacy and business acumen carried him into other fields.

"Billy" obtained a contract to carry the mail, once a week from Fairfax to Warrenton, later to Culpeper. And he made good, substantial profits. A few years later "Billy" Smith was managing a four-horse stage coach line from Washington, D. C., to Milledgeville, the ante-bellum capital of Georgia (1831-1835).

"Billy" did not belong to the Virginia Old Line Whig aristocracy—he was a valorous Democrat. Senator Benjamin Watkins Leigh made a partisan attack upon the management of the post office department by the Democrats and referred to his humble neighbor as "Extra Billy Smith," because, forsooth, "Billy" was forever before Congress asking extra compensation for extra service rendered.

EXTRA-ORDINARY

His Democratic friends were delighted with the soubriquet. To them he was "Extraordinary Billy Smith," and posterity yields him that honor. He liked to be called "Extra Billy."

After four years in the state senate (1836-1840) his friends sent "Billy" to Congress for one term (1841-1843). But the Whigs defeated him for re-election. Three years later the Democrats elected him to succeed James McDowell.

"Extra Billy" applied the same rustic, vigorous common sense to the problems of the state that he

exhibited so creditably in his own affairs. "He abstained from both tobacco and ardent spirits, and was a model of politeness and chivalry."[1]

He urged the extension of the "Louisa Railway" to Charlottesville, over the Blue Ridge, to Covington and he hoped some day, to the Ohio.

The Governor took great interest in beautifying the Capitol Square, which became the promenade of the belles and beaux of the fifties. When the slaves were freed they took possession of the Square. The belles and beaux of the seventies retreated to Franklin Street. But, alas, in this effete generation they walk no more, but ride afar, propelled by gasoline!

SQUARE

The annexation of Texas and the inauguration of Polk and Dallas were the signals for war. Fighting on the border began in April. General Taylor won the strategic city of Monterey (September 25-28).

The war progressed on all fronts. The Mexicans could not face the "Yankees" and survive. City by city fell and state by state surrendered. On September 13 General Winfield Scott marched into the City of Mexico. Evidently the war was won.

SCOTT

The influence of the Mexican War upon America was profound and permanent. Not only was the annexation of Texas an accomplished fact, but the vast territory that lay beyond, boundless and undiscovered ranges of mountains, deserts, that no human foot had crossed and a long coast line known vaguely as California, became a part of our national domain.

[1] LYON G. TYLER.

At once the question of slavery was up. The North was determined that the hùge empire should not be carved into slave states. The South was equally determined that it should.

Nothing can be more certainly expected than the unexpected. The treaty of peace between the nations was signed February 2, 1848. A few days before (January 24) John W. Marshall, an adventurous Jerseyman working in a mill race for John A. Sutter, Swiss pioneer, discovered grains of sand he thought were gold. His comrades derided him, but when the chemists examined the yellow grains in San Francisco (March 15), gold it was, and of the finest quality. Uncle Sam had acquired an El Dorado, though he knew it not. Men rushed to the gold fields. New deposits were discovered, new mines were opened by the hundred.

GOLD

On May 19 the Mexico treaty was signed. On July 4, President Polk issued a peace proclamation. On August 5, the Virginia troops reached home and were given an official welcome by the Governor in Richmond.

That part of the District of Columbia ceded to the Federal government by Virginia was returned (March 13, 1847), as its area was not needed. It was long "Alexandria County," now Arlington (1920).

Santa Anna resigned the presidency of Mexico and obtained permission from his successor and from General Winfield Scott to leave the country. He sailed to Jamaica (April 5, 1848), and from the West Indies he arrived betimes, an unwelcomed guest in Norfolk.

"Santa Anna lodged in a boarding house on Main Street where the Norfolk National Bank now stands. Popular feeling against him was so intense that violence was threatened and when a mob gathered in front of the house he was taken out by the rear entrance to Back Creek (now City Hall Avenue) and escaped in a boat under the Stone Bridge" (corner City Hall Avenue and Granby Street).[2]

SANTA ANNA

It was a presidential year. The Whigs made another effort to capture the government—and for the second and last time succeeded.

The Democrats of New York were split between the Barn-Burners[3] (Van Buren faction) and Hunkers (Polk faction).

General Lewis Cass, of Michigan, was nominated, with General William O. Butler, of Kentucky, as his running mate. But their defeat was certain.

The Whigs met in Philadelphia (June 7, 1848). General Zachary Taylor, with his Mexican laurels fresh upon his brow, was nominated. Clay and Webster were waiting to be called, but the fickle fates passed them by—and this was their best chance.

TAYLOR

The Whigs kept on their kid gloves; put on no boxing gloves; wrote no platform; made no pronouncement on slavery, Texas, California or the Ten Commandments. Their logic was simply, "Hurrah for Taylor."

Unlike the campaign of 1840—which stands alone

[2] THOS. B. ROWLAND, Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch.

[3] EVERET BROWN, *Dictionary Amer. Politics*, p. 59.

in American history for its picturesque features—the Taylor-Cass campaign was a lady-like affair. New York went Whig and carried Taylor to Washington.

Although Taylor was a son of Virginia and a Louisiana slave-holder, Virginia went Democratic. Such is politics. It does not seem reasonable, but it is true. Cass' plurality was 1,462. Eastern Virginia gave her vote to Taylor and the Whigs. Our mountaineers voted for Cass.

CVI.

JOHN BUCHANAN FLOYD

Governor: January 1, 1849–January 1, 1852

Governor Floyd was the 106th executive of Virginia, but not one of them had, as yet, been elected by the people; although Virginia was the first nation to adopt a republican form of government (1621) and the first state in the Union to write a democratic constitution (1776). The most influential orator (Henry) and statesman (Jefferson), who demanded government of the people, for the people, by the people, were Virginians. Of course, it was argued, and correctly argued, that the legislature is the people.

Governor Floyd came of an illustrious family and fully sustained their reputation. Many critics have assailed him. Some of the criticism is no doubt just, but much, we believe, is partisan.



WINFIELD SCOTT

Born near Petersburg, June 13, 1786, he practiced law for two years in that town, and entered the army in 1808. The hero of two wars, he is the most distinguished son of Petersburg and one of the most famous Virginians.—Chap. XCI.



ZACHARY TAYLOR

Was born on a farm in Orange County, September 24, 1784. He was of an age with Winfield Scott. His father, Gen. Richard Taylor, was a gallant officer in the Revolution; his son, Col. Richard Taylor, a gallant Confederate officer.

Without Scott and Taylor, the history of this country could not be written.—Chap. CV

(The prints are made from engravings made from life.)

He was born at Smithfield—not the quaint little town in Isle of Wight, but an elegant estate in Montgomery County, near Blacksburg[1] (June 1, 1806). At twenty he graduated from the College of South Carolina, for his mother, Letitia Preston, was a daughter of that brilliant Virginia family so influential in the politics of these two states.[2] At twenty-two he was ready to plead at the bar, and at twenty-four his father, Dr. and General John Floyd, became governor.

SMITHFIELD

It was the unfortunate fashion of young Virginians to go west, a loss to this commonwealth, which the wisest can never compute, but a gain to the nation. Floyd spent three years in the raw state of Arkansas 1836-1839), but returned betimes to Abingdon.[3]

He was chosen to succeed "Extra Billy," while yet a comparatively young man.

Norfolk was not making a record. The town, 14,000 people, was growing too slowly. The most optimistic real estate agent could not grow eloquent.

The California fever of 1849 was a frenzy. They started for the "Golden Gate" singly, in pairs, by dozens. Some sailed by Cape Horn. Some essayed Panama over the tropical mountains of a plague-stricken country. Some went by way of Pittsburgh and the National Road—many started afoot! Alas! If one, of all the hundreds who left Norfolk, ever picked up a golden nugget, history failed to record it.

GET-RICH-QUICK

[1] Chap. XC and Chap. XCVI.

[2] Chap. CIV.

[3] HENRY HOWE, *Hist. Collections*, p. 499, describes Abingdon and Washington County as it was (1848) at that time.

But there were golden nuggets to be gathered. A Connecticut farmer, who had been shipping butter and eggs to the up-and-coming metropolis of New York, bought a rich plantation on the Western Branch behind Portsmouth and continued to make his fortune. He put his product, crisp, fresh and inviting, into New York's markets. That was a simple idea, and a golden idea. From that day to this trade has grown as New York has grown and as transportation has become more rapid and economical. It was the modest beginning of a great industry. Here were many golden nuggets which Tidewater Virginians gather more and more every year.

TRUCK

General John Singleton Millson, a native of Norfolk (born October 1, 1808, died February 26, 1878), defeated the Whigs and as a Democrat took his seat in Washington.

The elite of Virginia gathered at the Exchange Hotel, Richmond, to hear Edgar Allen Poe,[4] read "The Raven." The pallid, nervous poet was "erect and still and as pale as a statue while he filled their ears with music and their souls with wonder at the strangeness and brilliancy of his thoughts and words."

"THE RAVEN"

While the poet was in Richmond (he had been a widower for two years) he proposed to a widow whom he loved in years gone by. She accepted. He went North to arrange for the wedding (September 30, 1849). Nobody knows what happened, but Poe was found unconscious (October 3) in a saloon in

[4] Chap. CIV.

Baltimore. He was taken to a hospital and died of delirium tremens. It was an election day, and whispers of foul play were made; but nothing was ever proved.

Judge Bushrod Washington declined to permit the removal of George and Martha Washington from Mt. Vernon to Richmond.[5] The newly organized Virginia Historical Society[6] called the attention of Governor Smith to the fact that $41,733 was in bank for a Washington monument and asking the legislature to act. One of the first bills Governor Floyd signed (February 22, 1849) was for the erection of the famous equestrian statue in Capitol Square.

A gifted young American sculptor, just returned from Italy, where he studied under Thorwaldsen, planned the statue destined to render his name immortal. Under the heroic figure of Washington he placed statues of Henry, Jefferson, Lewis, Nelson, Mason and Marshall.[7] Still lower the strategic battles are represented by allegorical figures. When completed it cost $359,-918.26. Crawford died in London (October 16, 1857) before the work was done. CRAWFORD'S STATUE

One of the great and happy days of Virginia was the laying of the corner-stone. An immense crowd

[5] Chap. XC.

[6] William Maxwell, president (1848-53). See W. H. T. SQUIRES, *William Maxwell*, Library of Congress.

[7] MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE, *Thomas Crawford:* "His design was a star of five rays, each bearing a statue of some historic Virginian. The work is surmounted by a plinth, on which stands an equestrian statue of Washington." A Virginia gentleman will never contradict a lady. No doubt they are five, but God knows there are six!

came to Richmond; among them President Zachary Taylor and Vice-President Millard Fillmore.

In 1850 Petersburg became a chartered city.

"The population of the town was 15,603, of whom only 6,000 were white. The society of the town was refined, cultivated and exclusive. There were few people with large fortunes, but many had comfortable estates. In no part of Virginia were the people in easier circumstances. The first mayor elected by the people was John Dodson, attorney-at-law, a most courteous and elegant gentleman. There were only two policemen, but they were sharp, shrewd and sleepless guardians of the public safety. And I think law and order were as well preserved as now with a force of 26 men (1904)."

PETERSBURG

There was a large trade with Europe. Old Street was crowded daily with drays and wagons, laden with tobacco, corn and wheat and drawn by six stalwart horses.[8]

FARRAGUT

Norfolk and our navy yard were very proud of the battleship "Powhatan," the largest man-of-war built in America. Captain Farragut was a prominent figure on this occasion. David Glasgow Farragut (July 5, 1901) spent three years in Norfolk (1820-1823), where he married (September, 1823) Susan[9] the daughter of Jordan Marchant, a Norfolk merchant.

After many voyages and adventures Farragut spent two years in Norfolk (1826-1828), managing

[8] JOHN HERBERT CLAIBORNE, *Seventy-Five Years in Old Va.*, pp. 42-45.

[9] Died December 17, 1840.

a floating naval school for boys aboard the "Alert." Again at sea for years, he returned to Norfolk in February, 1843, and chose another Norfolk woman for his wife (December, 1843), Virginia, the daughter of William Loyall.

In the future, his courage, genius, ability, and experience told heavily against the Confederacy.[10] Farragut was a Southern man, as were Thomas, Scott and Lincoln himself. When Virginia seceded, a friend told Farragut that a man with his loyal sentiments "could not live in Norfolk." "Well," he replied, "I can live somewhere else." That very night (April 18, 1861) he left for Baltimore with his wife and son.[11]

The second constitution[12] of Virginia was reactionary and dictated by that political spirit known in our history as "Bourbonism." It retarded the wheels of progress. BOURBONS

The voters were asked in referendum: "Shall we have a new constitution?" They answered with a great "amen" from the Chesapeake to the Ohio (April, 1850).

The Constitutional Convention met in Richmond (October 14, 1850), 133 strong and sat until August 1, 1851. John Young Mason of Southampton County, was elected president. The convention was elected to republicanize the state, and so they did. Every officer from Governor CONVENTION

[10] A. T. MAHAN, *Admiral Farragut*, pp. 106-114.

[11] ROSSITER JOHNSON.
JAMES BARNES, *David G. Farragut.*

[12] Chap. XCV.

down was to be elected by the people.[13] Property qualification was swept away (except in the senate) and every white man was given a vote.

The new constitution was submitted to the people and carried: 75,748 to 11,060.

It served Virginia only sixteen years, but was not lost motion, for many excellent features were copied wholesale into the fourth (Underwood) constitution[14] of 1867; and were again copied into our present constitution.

Virginia found small cause for congratulation in the census of 1850. The white people numbered 894,800, free Negroes 54,335, and slaves 472,528. One Negro in nine was free. The percentage of colored to the white in the undivided state was 37.05. In 1840 the percentage was 40.24. The state was steadily growing white. Virginia held the fourth place, after New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

CENSUS

Henry A. Wise told Norfolk (September 26, 1850) that it needed an outlet to the teeming West. Wise Henry Wise spoke wisely and well. On November 9, the Seaboard Railway was opened as far as Suffolk. Nobody knew exactly where the Seaboard was going, but we dare say none would have guessed that it would some day lead to Florida.

Under the new constitution Virginia had the luxury of electing a governor. The Whigs nominated George William Summers, "the most gifted man that Virginia ever produced. He possessed nearly

[13] Except Treasurer and Auditor.

[14] Chap. CXII and Chap. CXXI.

every gift that makes a great statesman and illustrious citizen. As an orator he was equal to Henry or Lee, and his stalwart frame afforded him great physical force. He was five feet ten inches tall and weighed 250 pounds. His head was proportionately as large as his body. In his presence you were impressed with the fact that you looked upon a great man."[15] While these superlatives are too superlative, the Whigs were fortunate in their candidate. The Democrats nominated Joseph Johnson, who was elected.[16] WHIGS

[15] GEO. W. ATKINSON, *Hist. of Kanawha Co., Va.*, p. 252.

[16] The legislature under the old constitution elected Johnson to succeed Floyd.

CVII.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH JOHNSON

Governor: January 1, 1852–January 1, 1856

Joe Johnson was the idol of Virginia's far northwest. He was the first governor elected by the people, the only governor from the area now West Virginia, and the first governor since the Revolution not native born. His story is romantic.

Born in Orange County, New York (December 10, 1785), Joseph was fifteen when the family moved to Virginia. His father died, and Joe, the second son, supported his widowed mother and younger children. He labored as a farm hand at Bridgeport, Harrison County; but the measure of a man is not where he

begins, but where he ends. Joe Johnson became the manager of the farm, and he married the farmer's daughter, precisely as the hero of any novel should have done; he lived, prospered, labored and died on the same broad acres. He found his diamonds where he stood.

Not content to live in ignorance, Joe plowed by day and studied by night. An average youth would not have done it, but Joe was not an average youth. A debating society sharpened his wits. They elected him captain of a rifle company of big mountaineers (1812) and he came down to protect Hampton Roads (1814). His neighbors chose Captain Joe to go to Richmond (1815-1822) and then the Democrats nominated him for Congress against the able, scholarly, eloquent and popular Whig, Philip Doddridge[1] (1823), and Joe won.

During his first term in Congress a little boy was born (January 21, 1824) to one of his neighbors and constituents, living in a modest home near Clarksburg. They named the baby Thomas Jonathan; but the world calls him "Stonewall' Jackson.[2]

STONEWALL

Joe Johnson's democratic hand opened the ballot box to every white man in Virginia without regard to property—in the Constitutional Convention of 1850. The legislature elected him to succeed Floyd, under the old constitution, and the people elected him again under the new constitution, giving him a majority of 9,000.

[1] "Philip Doddridge was the only man I really feared in debate." DANIEL WEBSTER.

[2] THOS. JACKSON ARNOLD, *Early Life of Jackson.*



Photo by H. C. Mann.

STATUE OF WASHINGTON

Designed by Crawford and cast in Munich, the statue was drawn to its site by the men and boys of Richmond.

Governor Wise and the Mayor of Richmond made addresses from the huge container before it was unpacked. It was formally unveiled February 22, 1858.

Henry, Jefferson, Marshall, Nelson, Mason and Andrew Lewis stand below Washington. Still lower the important battles of the Revolution are represented by allegorical figures.—Chap. CVI.

When Johnson assumed office the debt was $11,971,838, and growing steadily. In 1861 it reached $31,187,999.32. The money was wisely spent. The harshest critics did not claim it was wasted.

RAILWAYS

East of the Blue Ridge many lines of railway were building or projected. The people demanded them. The state took good securities.[3] Where lofty mountains made railways impossible, the citizens demanded good roads; but good roads cost huge sums, too, only less than the railways.[4]

The American people never weary of politics, and a presidential year is always exciting. The National Democratic Convention in Baltimore (June 1, 1852) nominated Franklin Pierce, a "dark horse," safe on the slavery question.

As the Democrats left Baltimore the Whigs arrived (June 15, 1852). They had three candidates: Fillmore, Scott and Webster. Queerly enough the Virginia Whigs favored Fillmore, of New York, while the Northern Whigs preferred Winfield Scott, of Virginia. Scott won, but the Whigs were hopelessly divided on slavery, and they were discouraged. During the campaign Clay and Webster died. Winfield Scott was a great soldier, but he was old and crochety. His victories in the War of 1812 and Mexico, were forgotten. He carried only four states—Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky and Tennessee. The Whig party was born to Henry Clay and died with him.

SCOTT

[3] Chap. CXIV.

[4] See Chap. CXVI and the Readjusters' claim that West Virginia pay her share of the state debt.

Norfolk subscribed $200,000 to the stock of the Norfolk and Petersburg Railway, December 10, 1852, on condition that it make physical connection at Petersburg with the Southside Railway, and reach Lynchburg, Bristol and extend ultimately to the Mississippi at Memphis. That was the best investment Norfolk ever made. "This road will be 1,030 miles long, of the same gauge throughout, with only two regular termini, one at Memphis, the other at Norfolk."[5] Of course there were many wise men, not so wise, who opposed the expenditure of so much money.[6] William Mahone, a young engineer of Southampton County, was elected Chief Engineer at a salary of $2,500 per annum (April 12, 1853).

NORFOLK

A few days later an excursion was run over the new line of the Seaboard from Portsmouth to Raleigh (April 19, 1853).

William Makepeace Thackery visited Richmond and took city and state by storm. (March 3, 1853.)

In his inaugural address (March 4, 1853), Franklin Pierce plead with the politicians not to tear the Union asunder in their frantic, selfish ambitions.

PIERCE

The Colonization Society of Virginia reported that, during 1853, they sent 243 Negroes to Liberia.[7] The slavery question was causing untold anxiety. Squatter Sovereignty brought miniature civil war to Kansas. James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, and

[5] WILLIAM MAHONE.

[6] The city like the state should have kept its stock.

[7] Chap. XCII.

James Murray Mason, of Virginia, were pressing for the purchase of Cuba.

Seventeen months before Johnson's term expired (August 1, 1854) the Democrats of Norfolk nominated Henry A. Wise for governor.

The date, 1855, is ever written in broad, black letters for Norfolk. Death claimed the city for her own.

The "Benjamin Franklin" brought mosquitoes from Havana. Yellow fever appeared in May aboard her. Until frosts fell the plague-stricken city did naught but nurse the sick and bury the dead. "Bermuda Street was one long hospital. Every home had its sick or dead. People of every class fell like withered leaves shaken by the wind. It was a time of intense excitement and consternation. It was too late to fly! For those who fled as certainly fell as the bird fatally wounded. They went to Richmond, Petersburg, Hampton and elsewhere, but the venom had entered the blood and they lay down but to die! The deaths reached 80 in 24 hours. Coffins could not be supplied. Hearses were driven often with four at a load. In one memorable week 400 citizens were buried. No pen can portray the horrors of August, September and October, 1855. Of the 45 physicians who came here from other places, 25 died."[8]

YELLOW FEVER

"We have seen our lately-flourishing mart reduced to the scanty number of 4,000 souls. In less than

[8] W. S. FORREST, *Hist. of Norfolk.*
GEORGE D. ARMSTRONG, *Summer of the Pestilence*, p. 192.

90 days, of an average population of 6,000, every man, woman and child (almost without exception), has been stricken and about 2,000 have been buried, not less than two out of three of the white population and one out of three of the whole community, white and black."[9]

Virginia was in the midst of an exciting campaign. The Whigs joined hands with the "Know-Nothings." Their platform was "America for Americans." They opposed unrestricted immigration and advocated a strict supervision of the public schools, and absolute separation of church and state. Thomas S. Flournoy, of Halifax, was the Whig candidate. The national disintegration of Whiggery had a demoralizing local effect. It was an exciting campaign. Wise carried the state by 9,921 votes.

When Joe Johnson resigned the chair it was said of him:

"He was, perhaps, the only man in Virginia who had been before the people continuously for forty years, and was never defeated in any of his aspirations."

[9] A. F. LEONARD, editor *Norf. and Ports. Herald.* Nature gave the scientists a hint which was not taken. Throughout the pestilence it was noted that no cases developed near the gas works. This less desirable section was inhabited by negroes. Mosquitoes do not like the odor of gas.

CVIII.

HENRY ALEXANDER WISE

Governor: January 1, 1856–January 1, 1860

The term of Wise was the last of peace and prosperity. Virginia entered the deepening shadows. Wise was a forceful governor. He was a son of the Eastern Shore, born at Drummondtown (December 3, 1806) to Major John Wise. Henry was educated at Washington College, Pennsylvania.

Like "Extra Billy" Smith and John Buchanan Floyd, Wise went west, to Nashville, Tennessee; but returned (1830) and found his fame and fortune in Accomac.

His neighbors sent him to Washington for six terms (1833-1845). He was a man of growing influence, of independent mind. He began as a Jackson Democrat; became a Tyler Whig; and re-entered the Democratic fold again. "Standing between the two great parties in the House, he delighted in his isolation and rioted in the eccentricities of his genius."[1]

President Tyler appointed him to Brazil (1844-1847).

When he returned he served in the Constitutional Convention (1850-1851).

"He possessed a remarkable and marked individuality, being one of the most eloquent public speakers of a period when oratory was a common weapon."

[1] JOHN W. FORNEY.
Also J. C. WISE, *Col. Jno. Wise.*

The new governor urged the development of our natural resources. Is it not old, trite and threadbare?

"Millions of dollars had been sunk," they declared, in the James River and Kanawha Canal. Alas! it got but little further than Natural Bridge, where the stout stone locks may still be seen, water-stained and time-mellowed, ignoble monuments to Virginia's ante-bellum dream.

The governor urged preparedness. All the young men of the state should be trained in the militia.

PREPARE

He wanted the militia armed, disciplined and ready—like the Prussians. Not for war, he explained, but to prevent war.

The legislature was pacific. There had been so much slavery talk, so much secession talk, so much frenzied oratory, so much political manipulation! If one wanted to go to Richmond or Washington, let him set the welkin ringing with spread eagle oratory. Virginians liked it. They do to this day. But the legislators were, themselves, past masters in the gentle art, and, when Governor Wise spoke to them in the impassioned eloquence that so often aroused Accomac, they only yawned. "It had always blown over before and it will blow over again."

The new Republican party held its first national convention in Philadelphia (June 17). It was drawing an increasing number of old line Whigs, in the North and West. It took over the free soil party, and many of the "Barn-Burner" Democrats of New York. In the South the new party was feared and hated.

During the campaign Governor Wise declared publicly:

"The South could not without degradation submit to the election of a Black Republican President. To tell me we would submit to the election of a Black Republican, under circumstances like these, is to tell me that Virginia and the fourteen slave states are already subjugated and degraded; that the Southern people are without spirit and without purpose to defend the rights they know and dare not maintain."

REPUBLICANS

The Whigs carried only one state (Maryland), the Republicans eleven. Buchanan was elected by a huge majority.

The day after Christmas, 1856, a little boy was born to the pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Staunton. His name was Thomas Woodrow Wilson.

January, 1857, was a bitterly cold month. On the seventeenth a fierce snowstorm began. Virginia was locked in ice. The suffering was intense.

During February, 1857, Engineer William Mahone, of the Norfolk and Petersburg Railway, laid the rails into Norfolk.

Crawford's equestrian statue of George Washington was unveiled in Capitol Square (February 22). The legislature appropriated $2,000 to transfer the remains of James Monroe[2] and re-inter them in a gothic mausoleum, notable for its simplicity and dignity, at Richmond.

Governor Wise had done wisely and well. The Democrats nominated "Honest" John Letcher, the

[2] Chap. XCVI.

Whigs and "Know-Nothings" united on William L. Goggin, of Bedford County, as his successor (1859).

A unique feature of this last campaign under the old regime was a series of debates. The two candidates sat on the hustings, before huge crowds, and debated slavery, secession, squatter sovereignty, Cuba, Buchanan and other questions, to the entertainment, edification and delight of shouting multitudes. Virginia went Democratic by a reduced majority of 5,569 votes.

Wise's administration ended in an ominous storm. John Brown, like Nat Turner, was a religious fanatic. Like the Southampton Negro, he believed that God Almighty appointed him a Moses to lead the Negroes to freedom. Also, like Nat, his method was to murder all the whites, or at least a sufficient number to achieve his purpose.[3]

JOHN BROWN

He fixed upon the village of Harper's Ferry as his base, where there were very few slaves. John Brown planned an "absent treatment" method of reaching them.

On Sunday night, October 16, 1859, he seized the Federal armory. Trains were stopped, citizens clapped into prison, and such slaves as they found were captured. A Negro who refused to join them was shot dead. Arms were sent to the slaves who were expected to flock to the stand of the Liberator. The farmers were up and the militia in arms. Brown retreated to the fire engine house, keeping up a constant fire.

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[3] ELIJAH AVEY. *The Capture and Execution of John Brown, a tale of Martyrdom*, pp. 104-121.

JOS. E. CHAMBERLAIN, *John Brown.*

DR. GEO. WASHINGTON BROWN, *The Truth at Last.*

Colonel Robert E. Lee arrived from Washington (October 18) with a company of marines, and captured Brown. He was given a fair trial, which, he himself stated, surprised him. HUNG He was condemned[4] and hanged (December 2), and some of his accomplices (December 16).

The raid was insignificant. Far more blood was shed by Nat Turner, but the reaction throughout the North exasperated the South.[5] The Abolitionists, especially, made political capital of it.

I regret to say that, on November 1, Wendell Phillips, in the pulpit of Henry Ward Beecher's church in Brooklyn, declared: "John Brown has twice as much right to hang Governor Wise as Governor Wise has to hang him."

On the day Brown was hanged a tremendous crowd in Tremont Temple, Boston, heard bitter denunciations of the South. J. Q. A. Griffin declared: "The heinous offense of Pontius Pilate, in crucifying our Saviour, whitens into virtue when compared with that of Governor Wise in his conduct toward John Brown."

There were many fire-eaters and bloody shirt wavers in the South, who are to be condemned, as also their fanatical antagonists in the North.[6] If

[4] John Brown's speech to the Court: "I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt." WILLIAM E. CONNELLY, *John Brown*, p. 258.

[5] J. EWING GLASGOW, *Harper's Ferry Insurrection*, p. 46.

[6] "His wisdom was like that of the man who puts a match to a magazine of powder." REV. CHAS. G. AMES, sermon on *Death of John Brown*, Free Congregational Church, Bloomington, Ill., 1859.

ever the nation needed cool heads and wise counsels it was then—and then, alas! the nation failed.

The Civil War was hastened by venal politicians, North and South, who used the fever of this excitement for personal gain. It was a political war,[7] and without the politicians the people would never have been carried into it.

[7] EDWARD A. POLLARD, *Lost Cause*, pp. 70-73.

CIX.

JOHN LETCHER

Governor: January 1, 1860–January 1, 1864

John Letcher (March 28, 1813-January 26, 1884) was the second governor[1] from the substantial Scotch-Irish county of Rockbridge. He studied at Washington College (Washington and Lee University), graduated from Randolph-Macon (1833), practiced law, and edited "The Valley Star" at Lexington.

Letcher represented his county in the Constitutional Convention of 1850, and had a seat in the House of Representatives for seven years (1852-1859) as a Democrat.

The Whig women of Virginia presented to the state a statue of Henry Clay on his birthday (April 12, 1860). Henry Clay was born in Hanover, and began his notable career in Richmond, before moving to Kentucky (1797).

[1] Chap. CIV.

The Prince of Wales,[2] travelling in America as Baron Renfrew, visited Richmond (October 6, 1860). A special train brought the Prince from Aquia Creek to the edge of town, where the party took carriages and reached the side door of Ballard Hotel, successfully avoiding a huge crowd. Dinner was served at the Exchange Hotel, across the street, and I do not think any one retired hungry, for the banquet lasted from seven to eleven!

PRINCE EDWARD

The Prince attended St. Paul's Church next morning. So did 5,000 others. How many heard good Dr. Chas. Minnigerode's sermon—we know not.

The Democratic National Convention split on slavery at Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1860.

In the midst of intense excitement the fine old Whig party made its last effort to save the country. At Baltimore (May 9) they took the name "Constitutional Union Party." They accused the Democrats of subservience to the slave owners, and the Republicans of rending the Union along sectional lines. They declared for the constitution, as written; for the union of states and for the proper enforcement of law. John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, were nominated.

WHIGS

The Whigs had not reached home before the Republicans met in Chicago (May 16).

"It was the purpose of the Republican party not to interfere with slavery in the states where it already existed, but to preserve to those states their constitutional right to hold slaves until public sentiment

[2] Edward VII.

in each state should demand emancipation. Yet it was the firm purpose of the Republicans to prevent the further extension of slavery in the United States and to preserve inviolate the union of the states."[3]

William H. Seward, of New York, had the largest block of votes pledged. On the first ballot he received 173½ votes, and Abraham Lincoln 102.

LINCOLN

But the anti-Seward men swung to Lincoln. Feeling was intense, and when the third ballot was taken the convention waited with bated breath; Seward 184, Lincoln 213½. It took 233 votes to nominate. Before the vote was announced Lincoln's vote was swelled to 354 and was made unanimous.

The Democrats re-assembled in Baltimore (June 18) to rehabilitate the party, if that might be. The delegations from many southern states withdrew (Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, California). The remnant nominated Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois. Their platform left the slavery question in the new territories to the Supreme Court.

The Bolting Democrats nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, vice-president under Buchanan.

As the frosts fell it was evident that the politicians had done their worst. The Southern people were opposed to secession. The professional politicians demanded it. In Virginia immense areas bitterly opposed slavery, and were determined never to leave the Union, for which Virginia had done so much.

[3] W. C. PENDLETON.

When the vote was counted, Lincoln carried every Northern state; Breckinridge all the cotton states; Bell received the vote of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. Missouri gave her vote to Douglas. ELECTED

Richmond's vote: Bell, 2,359; Breckinridge, 1,170; Douglas, 753, and Lincoln 0.

"Norfolk gave Bell a very respectable majority, and Breckinridge got a larger vote than Douglas."[4]

In the electoral college Lincoln received 180 votes, Breckinridge 72, Bell 39 and Douglas 12. Of the popular vote Lincoln received 1,857,601, Douglas 1,291,574, Breckinridge 850,082 and Bell 646,124. These figures are amazing and compelling. Lincoln was elected, but he was a minority president by a million votes. The Democrats elected Lincoln by dividing between Breckinridge and Douglas. The blame must be laid upon the unreasonable and uncompromising Democratic politicians of the far South who deliberately split the party at Charleston and Baltimore. Their fanaticism matched the Abolitionists of the North, who were determined to punish the slave-holders. These two classes of radicals were our undoing.[5]

The Republicans were jubilant. The South was intensely angry. The politicians painted an exaggerated and wholly false Lincoln. They made him a monster. That was part of their propaganda.

Governor Letcher declared that the elevation of a

[4] H. W. BURTON.

[5] The Civil War was caused by radical propaganda both North and South. It is absurd to lay the blame upon either section. The people North and South were opposed to war.

Republican to the presidency ought to be resisted by the slave-holding states. "The idea of permitting such a man to have control of the army and navy of the United States and the appointment of high judicial and executive officers cannot be entertained by the South for a moment." The sentiment marks Governor Letcher a politician; not a statesman, yet he was considered a strong Union man.

Events moved with stunning rapidity. John C. Crittenden, of Kentucky, proposed an amendment to the Constitution which would establish the old compromise line of 36 degrees 30 minutes from Missouri to the Pacific as a permanent and equitable division of the public domain. This proposition would have brought peace.

CRITTENDEN

The Democrats agreed, and all the Southern leaders were willing. The Republicans declared they were determined to banish slavery from all the territories. In this unresponsive action the Republicans are to be condemned. Crittenden's proposal would have saved us from the Civil War; but it would have protected slavery for a time. The Republicans were determined to keep California a free soil state.

When Congress convened, December 5, 1860, President Buchanan declared that "the long continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern states had at last produced its natural effect."[6] He declared that secession was a constitutional right; but he argued that the circumstance did not justify secession. President Buc-

BUCHANAN

[6] GEO. TICKNOR CURTIS, *Life of Buchanan*, p. 338.

hanan was correct in both assertions; his was the voice of a statesman and patriot.

Unfortunately the Constitutional Convention of South Carolina passed the ordinance of secession, December 20, 1860, amid great enthusiasm and rejoicing. It was a frightful, costly and fatal blunder. As one might have foreseen, the day was not distant when their joy was turned to tragic sorrow.

The census of 1860 was not favorable to Virginia—the last year before the cruel war and the last census of the undivided state. New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois had larger populations.

CENSUS

There were 1,047,411 white people in Virginia (894,800 in 1850); 490,865 slaves (472,528 in 1850); 58,042 free Negroes (54,333 in 1850). The percentage of colored to white dropped to 34.38 (in 1850 the percentage was 37.05).

Richmond, our metropolis, was building rapidly and boasted 37,968 people. Norfolk was doing well, but its financial condition was unfavorable. The total income for 1859 was $136,829.23 and the debt $1,335,510.00, ten times the annual income. Norfolk needed more business acumen and less politics.

The fatal year 1861 was born amid intense excitement. Governor John Letcher summoned the General Assembly to Richmond, January 7, to decide upon Virginia's attitude. After a week

LEADERS

the Assembly, upon Letcher's recommendation, called an election for another Constitutional Convention, to decide "whether any action dissolving

our connection with the Federal Union or changing the organic law of the state shall be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection."

The state by a large majority approved the convention (February 4), and elected 150 delegates, the ablest and most influential leaders; men of wealth, culture, learning and affairs, old-line Whigs, Jeffersonian Democrats, pro and anti-slavery advocates, secessionists and strong Union men. The gravity of the situation was not lost upon them, but we dare say the most pessimistic did not plumb the abysmal depths of blood, disaster and misery yawning for Virginia.

On February 19 a thrilling appeal to leave the United and join the Confederate States was made by John Smith Preston, one of the greatest orators in the country, and this speech was described as his greatest effort. He was a nephew of Governor James Patton Preston,[7] and a grandson of General William Campbell, the hero of King's Mountain. He was perhaps the most influential secessionist in the country.

Preston led the South Carolinians at Charleston, when they wrecked the Democratic party and made the election of Lincoln inevitable. He found the Virginians decidedly pro-Union, a body not likely to be stampeded.

On March 4, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated. He had the ear of the world. The nation listened with breathless attention to his utterances. Lincoln

[7] Chaps. XCI, CIV.

did not rise to the occasion.[8] Then and there he could have so spoken to the heart of the country that our wounds would have been healed. Perhaps no man could have met the crisis, but we believe some could have done so. He was certainly in an embarrassing position; elected with an overwhelming majority against him, he had no precedent to guide him and really no party and no trustworthy advisers. The names of Lincoln's cabinet evidence his loneliness. INAUGURATION

He was President of the United States, under a Constitution, and seven of the constituent, sovereign states deliberately withdrew because of his election. Two of the seven states were among the original thirteen which had voluntarily formed the Union. Two had been acquired by purchase, two had been formed from Georgia's borderlands and one had been recognized as an independent nation and, as a sovereign nation, recently joined the Union!

Four other great states hesitated—Virginia among them. The one thing they most wished to avoid was secession.

Lincoln's problem was, first, to hold these four border states in the Union; and, second, to secure the readmission of the seven cotton states which had left. In both problems he failed utterly, completely, conspicuously, and his failure precipitated the war.

The Virginia Convention after a month sent an influential committee to interview President Lincoln

[8] EDWARD MC PHERSON, *Polit. Hist. of U. S.*, pp. 105-108, gives text of address in full.

WILLIAM H. HERNDON, *Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 204-209, describes the ceremony.

and secure direct information from him as to his policy. William Ballard Preston, Alex. H. H. Stuart and George W. Randolph were appointed (April 8), went to Washington (April 12) and were received by Mr. Lincoln next day.[9]

CONFERENCE

Unfortunately, that was the very day General Beauregard bombarded Fort Sumter. President Lincoln was not conciliatory. He had an extraordinarily fine chance to reach the heart and conscience of Virginia; for all Virginians acknowledged Lincoln as their constitutional chief executive.

Mr. Lincoln "handed the committee a written reply," in which he stated that an "unprovoked assault had been made upon Fort Sumter" and that it was his intention to "repel force by force."

Both Lincoln's inaugural address and his reply to the Virginia commissioners sound more like Seward than Lincoln. It was another frightful blunder.

BLUNDER

Two days later (April 15), he called for 75,000 troops to force South Carolina back into the Union; and he called upon Virginia for her quota.

The Convention went into secret session and for two days discussed the problem. Many of Virginia's staunchest patriots were still against secession, and when the vote was taken it was carried by 88 to 55. Among those who voted in the negative were Alex. H. H. Stuart, General Jubal A. Early, George W. Summers, and John Janney, president of the Con-

[9] "To the delegation sent by the Convention to confer with Mr. Lincoln, no satisfactory reply was given." ALEX. H. STEPHENS, *War Bet. States*, Vol. II, p. 367.

vention. A change of seventeen votes would have held Virginia in the Union![10]

As soon as the ordinance of secession was passed Governor Letcher took steps to protect Virginia. Federal sympathizers burned the navy yard at Portsmouth, burned and scuttled the ships they could not man, notably the large and handsome "Merrimac," which was sunk in Norfolk harbor (April 18). Fort Monroe was too strong to be attacked, and remained a Federal stronghold throughout the war.

SECEDE

Colonel Robert E. Lee resigned his commission in the Federal army, although he was offered chief command (probably through the influence of General Winfield Scott, who fully recognized his ability).

Colonel Lee was made major-general and commander of the military and naval forces of the state. He was introduced to the convention by the venerable president, John Janney. General Lee responded in these words:

> "Profoundly impressed with the solemnity of the occasion, for which I was not prepared, I accept the position assigned by your partiality. I would have much preferred that your choice had fallen on an abler man. Trusting in Almighty God, an approving conscience and the aid of my fellow-citizens, I will devote myself to the service of my native state, in whose behalf alone will I ever again draw my sword."

LEE

[10] This vote shows clearly that a sympathetic attitude by Lincoln when the Committee called at the White House would certainly have held Virginia and probably the three other border states in the Union.

Arkansas followed Virginia, leaving the Union May 6. North Carolina went out May 20 and Tennessee June 8. Eleven states seceded. Partisan legislatures in Missouri and Kentucky passed ordinances of secession.

The capital of the Confederate States was moved to Richmond (May 21), and it became evident that the decision, debated and in doubt since 1789, would be settled by the sword, on the fields of Virginia.

President Lincoln's logic was almost child-like in its simplicity. He declared that a state, when it joined the Union, forever abrogated its sovereignty. Had such doctrine been preached in 1788-1789 not one state of the thirteen would have adopted the Federal Constitution. Virginia most assuredly would not have done so.

As a state could not secede, Virginia was still an integral part of the United States, but without representation. Congress completely repudiated Lincoln's logic after his death by readmitting the various states. Manifestly a state could not be readmitted if it had not legally left.[11]

OUT OR IN

Since President Lincoln failed to retain the four great border states, although he succeeded in holding Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri by narrow majorities, and since he had failed to reassure the seven states which had seceded during Buchanan's administration, the problem before him was to force the seceded states back into the Union. It was

[11] The Act of Congress, Jan. 26, 1870, readmitting Virginia must be accepted as official admission that the state had legally seceded.

either war or a peaceful separation, and the country was evidently prepared for war, although great multitudes in the North and West bitterly opposed a Union that could only be maintained at the cost of blood.[12]

In so far as Virginia was concerned, Federal strategy conquered the state and forced the citizens back to allegiance along a fourfold, simultaneous invasion. Followed persistently and consistently from first to last, it eventually brought a decision, although it reduced Virginia to a fire-swept waste.[13]

The first line of invasion was along the Chesapeake. It was naval and military, and Fort Monroe was the base of operation. Ten days after the Convention passed the ordinance of secession, President Lincoln included Virginia in the blockade of Southern ports (April 27). Virginia did not ratify the ordinance of secession until June 25, the vote was 128,884 for it and 32,123 against it.

First

This line of invasion made Norfolk an inland city, quietly dissevered the Eastern Shore, Northern Neck and most of Tidewater Virginia from the state, and was used by General McClellan as the base of his drive to Richmond from Old Point in 1862.

The first invasion by land, up the Peninsula from Old Point, was a decided Confederate victory at Big Bethel (June 10, 1861). The Battle of the Merrimac-Virginia and the Monitor (March 8, 1862)

[12] They were known as Copperheads. J. L. VALLANDIGHAM, *Life of Clement L. Vallandigham.*

[13] MILDRED LEWIS RUTHERFORD, *The South's Rightful Place,* is an able discussion of President Lincoln's unconstitutional acts.

was a feature of the blockade. On the whole, this first line of invasion was a Federal success and a Confederate disaster.

The second line of invasion was straight southward from Washington to Richmond. Alexandria was taken over (May 24, 1861) and (July 21, 1861) the first great battle of the war in Virginia was a signal Confederate victory, called in the South "First Manassas," in the North "First Bull Run."

SECOND

On this line the genius of Lee prevailed over McClellan, Pope, Hooker and Burnside. But at last Grant's obstinate, if costly, drive captured Richmond and won the decision at Appomattox.

Such battles as Bull's Bluff (October 21, 1861) and Drainsville (December 21, 1861), Cedar Mountain (August 9, 1862), Second Manassas or Bull Run (August 30, 1862), Chantilly (September 1, 1862), Fredericksburg (December 15, 1862), Chancellorsville (May 2, 1863), the Wilderness (May 5-7, 1864), and General Lee's two invasions of the North, culminating at Antietam (September 14, 1862), and Gettysburg (July 1-3, 1863), were features of the long, stubborn and bloody struggle along this second line.

The third line of invasion was southward into the Shenandoah Valley from Harper's Ferry to Staunton and the heart of the mountain section. It began June 14, 1861, when General Patterson crossed the Potomac, at Patterson's Creek, The battles of Falling Waters (July 1, 1861), Charles Town (February 28, 1862), Kernstown (March

THIRD

23, 1862), McDowell (May 8, 1862), Front Royal (May 23, 1862), Harrisonburg (June 6), Cross Keys (June 8), Port Republic (June 9), Strasburg (April 22, 1863), Harper's Ferry (June 16, 1863) were fought on this line. The names of Stonewall Jackson and Jubal A. Early are forever associated with this fertile upland country.

Southern prowess was singularly victorious in Shenandoah Valley. Not until the last months of the war did the Federal forces under Sheridan win the Valley and hold it in subjection. And it was accomplished by methods of fire and sword, unnecessarily harsh and cruel, that must tarnish the name and fame of General Philip H. Sheridan, excuse him though his admirers will.

The fourth line was driven into what is now West Virginia, advancing southward from Pennsylvania and eastward along the Kanawha. It was an easy task. The population was scattered. Thousands were lukewarm toward Virginia; other thousands opposed slavery and secession. Even the genius of Robert E. Lee was not equal to the task. The Federals won at Philippi (June 3, 1861). FOURTH

While the West Virginia Convention (June 17, 1861) was still in session the Confederates were defeated at Buchannon (July 1, 1861), and Rich Mountain (July 11) and again at Carrick's Ford July 13, 1861). But the Confederates won the day at Cheat Mountain (October 3, 1861) and Alleghany Mountain (December 13, 1861), Scary Creek (July 17) and Carnifex Ferry (September 10, 1861).

From this invasion the state of West Virginia was born, contrary to every principle of equity and ustice and by overriding every principle promulgated by the Constitution of the United States.

The erection of West Virginia is the most vulnerable point in Lincoln's character and career. It has never been justified, and can never be justified, until historians agree that constitutions are scraps of paper; the end justifies the means, and might makes right.

Under Lincoln's logic every county in Virginia as conquered should have been added to West Virginia until the whole was reunited again under the constitution. That was evidently his first idea; but, unfortunately, he changed his policy.

Abraham Lincoln was a great man and a good man, and the greatest benefactor the Southern people have had in their long history. He solved the South's great problem. It was bitter but necessary medicine. He freed the South when he freed the slaves. But his policy in erecting the state of West Virginia has not been justified; and, we dare say, will never be justified.



Photo by H. C. Mann.

GOVERNOR SMITH

Statue of "Extra Billy" Smith, designed by W. I. Sheppard, of Richmond. The speech of presentation was made by Judge James Keith, of the Court of Appeals.
It was accepted by Gov. Claude Augustus Swanson, May 30, 1906.—Chaps. CV and CX.

CX.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM SMITH

Governor: January 1, 1864–May 9, 1865

"Extra Billy Smith" resumed the office of governor, January 1, 1864. What a painful contrast fifteen[1] years had wrought! If "Extra Billy" took time to consider, his heart must have sunk deep into his military boots.

The Virginia of January 1, 1864, was an armed camp from Fredericksburg and Staunton to the Carolina line, filled with death and mourning. The sixteen months of "Extra Billy's" second term witnessed Virginia's crucifixion.

In those somber days President and Mrs. Jefferson Davis held a New Year reception in honor of the new governor (January 1, 1864).

An attempt to burn the Confederate White House (January 19), created a ripple of excitement; but, Richmond was justly alarmed (February 28) when General Kilpatrick made a dash for the city from the Rapidan. Wade Hampton came to the rescue.

President Lincoln appointed Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant to command the entire Federal force, March 9, 1864, and force a decision, and end the war.

Grant crossed the Rapidan (May 3) and the fight which was to continue unceasingly for eleven months began at the Wilderness (May 11-12) and Spotsylvania (May 9-12). He declared his intention to

[1] Chap. CV.

"fight it out on this line if it takes all summer;" and it took all summer and fall and winter, and it was spring again before Lee surrendered.

Governor Smith was at St. Paul's Church, Sunday, April 2, when President Davis was called from that historic place of worship. The Governor hurried to the Executive Mansion. A message from Davis notified him that a train was leaving for Greensboro. He invited the Governor to go, but "Extra Billy" declined to leave the state.

ST. PAUL'S

With the aid of the V. M. I. cadets he put the official records on a canal boat and left Richmond at one o'clock Monday morning. At Lynchburg he heard that Davis had made Danville, the Confederate capital, and he pushed to that town, where he learned of General Lee's surrender (Sunday, April 9, 1865).

Governor Smith traveled across the state to Rockbridge. The country was panic-stricken. Many suggested that the men retire to the fastnesses of the Blue Ridge and continue a guerilla warfare, but wiser counsels prevailed.

At Staunton especially, such dependable leaders as Alexander H. H. Stuart insisted that the war was over and peace should be sought in good faith.

Governor Smith agreed and returned to Richmond by way of Balcony Falls and the canal. On the way he heard that $25,000 was offered for him as a "traitor," dead or alive. He wrote General Marsena Rudolph Patrick, at Richmond, offering to return to Richmond and asking a guarantee against arrest, which was promptly granted.

Virginia passed to her doom. Black years of grief, disappointment and anguish yawned before her. There was no star of hope. The fears of the most pessimistic were realized.

After an honorable fight and an honorable surrender the Virginians were "punished," calumniated, humiliated, subjugated to every possible refinement of political cruelty. Her very name disappeared and under the heel of a military despotism she became Military District No. 1. Her treatment was like the treatment of Poland, and Poland, for a century, ceased to exist.

Book VI

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

1865-1898

CXI.

FRANCIS HARRISON PIERPONT

Provisional Governor: May 9, 1865–April 4, 1868

It would be impossible to exaggerate the despair that settled over Virginia in the disastrous days that followed the collapse of the Confederacy. Many lost their minds as all lost their property, their hope and their loved ones. Some left the state never to return. Others clung to the old homesteads and sought to lay again the foundations of a new civilization. These were the real heroes and patriots whose praises have never been sung; the patient, plodding, determined men, who made no complaint as they labored with weary hands and hopeless hearts through the dark years. It was a speechless agony, a living death. No land in modern times suffered as the people of the South suffered; and the bitterest drop in their brimming cup of anguish was that so much of it was unnecessary, as all was unjust.

Francis Harrison Pierpont is not a striking nor compelling figure. His is a receding place in the

long and illustrious line that followed Sir Walter Ralegh. Virginia might have fared worse; and, with this negative praise of the first of our three puppet governors, let him enter. He was a native of Monongalia County (born January 25, 1814), and a neighbor of Stonewall Jackson, who was born up the Monongahela River, in Harrison County, ten years later (born January 21, 1824) almost to the day.

The young farmer "shouldered his pick and set off for college."[1] The young lawyer became a strong pro-Union, anti-slavery leader.

When Virginia seceded, John S. Carlile, Francis H. Pierpont and others called the Wheeling Convention (May 13, 1861), which voted (June 19) to "abolish an inadequate government." Next day Pierpont was elected governor in place of John Letcher, who had not resigned.

WHEELING

There was much doubt as to the area of "Restored Virginia," and as to the boundaries of the new state of "Kanawha," they decided (August 20) to erect. Finally 39 counties were selected for the new state.

When the Constitutional Convention met in Wheeling (November 26, 1861) Senator Waitman T. Willey declared: "These are revolutionary times. The house is on fire and we cannot be very technical." He was right. Constitutions, state and national, had become mere technicalities.

The politicians, so busily at work dividing the state, frankly admitted that the mountain people, whom they represented, did not wish to leave Vir-

[1] MRS. ANNE PIERPONT SIVITER, his daughter.

ginia. The attachment to the very name was so strong that "Kanawha" was dropped and "West Virginia" substituted. "So frank were these admissions that the people were southern in their sympathies that the convention felt it necessary to reject a motion to have the debates published."[2]

SECRET

The Convention which passed the ordinance of secession met secretly; and the convention which created West Virginia also met secretly. It's a bad sign when representatives meet in secret session. West Virginia is composed of "counties, a majority of which were opposed to the division of the state."[3]

"On May 5, 1862, an extra session of the restored legislature met in Wheeling (thirty-one delegates and ten senators), who, claiming to be the sovereign commonwealth of Virginia, gave official consent, as required by the Federal Constitution, to the formation of the state of West Virginia out of a part of Virginia."[4]

On May 29, 1862, U. S. Senator Waitman T. Willey presented to the United States Senate a memorial from "Reorganized Virginia," asking the United States to dismember Virginia! The honorable senator admitted that there was much opposition to the new state in those counties, and that "Restored Virginia" represented only a factional commonwealth.

WEST VIRGINIA

Senator Carlile opposed the plan. To Abraham

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[2] JAMES C. MC GREGOR, *Disruption of Va.*

[3] JAMES C. MC GREGOR, *Disruption of Va.*, p. 274.

[4] RD. L. MORTON, *Hist. of Va.*, Vol. III, p. 67.

Lincoln's eternal discredit "Honest Abe" advocated it. He consulted his cabinet of six members. They divided evenly on the subject. It was pushed through Congress as a war measure (December 10, 1862), and Lincoln justified his signature on the ground of "expediency." He said it was a "war measure," and would not be precedent in times of peace. Not very honest in "Honest Abe."

The President made a proclamation (April 19), and West Virginia became a state June 20, 1863, contrary to every principle of equity and justice.[5]

As Pierpont was still "Governor of Virginia," he could not remain in West Virginia, given away willingly, handsomely and lavishly, so he moved his capital to Alexandria.

After the collapse of the Confederacy, Congress recognized Pierpont, his constitution and his skeleton commonwealth.

The assassination of President Lincoln was a calamity to Virginia, second only to the Civil War. He alone could have piloted the ship of state through these dangerous waters.

Pierpont was a puppet from his first day at Wheeling to his last day at Richmond. General Halleck, the commanding officer, ruled. Francis, however, went through the ritual. A meeting of the "Reorganized Virginia legislature" was held in the drawing room of the executive mansion at Richmond (June 19-23, 1865) with three

RICHMOND

[5] The fullest and fairest discussion of this intricate and vexed question will be found: JAMES GARFIELD RANDALL, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln*, pp. 433-476.



Photo by H. C. Mann.

GOVERNOR JOHN LETCHER

From a portrait in the Virginia State Library.

"Honest John" Letcher (1813-1884), the War Governor of Virginia, came to the capital from Rockbridge. He was for many years a lawyer, editor and influential political leader in Lexington.—Chap. CIX.

Senators and nine Delegates. When they adjourned Speaker Downey congratulated the Virginians, "Whatever they may do to other states, thank God, they cannot saddle Negro suffrage upon us." We, also, would thank God if Speaker James Madison Downey had been a true prophet.

The legislature elected in the fall of 1865 met December 4. It was a splendid body of representative Virginians, all of them, except one, Old Line Whigs. Governor Pierpont told them he had "made every exertion to restore to each man his rights as a citizen." They remained in Richmond four months and struggled with many difficult, delicate and intricate problems. The people were dazed in 1865, like one whose raging fever has broken and who hovers between life and death, hardly daring to hope yet knowing not what to fear. 1865

The year 1866 was filled with dire disaster. And the Virginians learned more and more what they had to fear.

John Curtis Underwood left a broad, black mark across these years of mourning. We cannot understand President Lincoln sending such an unspeakable man to be judge in Virginia.

"He was bitterly denounced in the South on account of his violent and unbecoming partisanship, and was forced to defend suits brought against him on account of his decrees sanctioning confiscation, until his death in Washington, December 7, 1873."[6] UNDERWOOD

"A man of little education, utterly unscrupulous,

[6] LYON G. TYLER.

he advocated the disfranchisement of all but 'loyal' whites. He was active in confiscating the property of Virginians who had aided the Confederacy, and urged the Negroes to be active in politics."

The year 1867 is the blackest year that ever dawned for Virginia. The state passed into the very abyss of humiliation, misery, despair; but the Virginians have the English trait of dogged patience and persistence.

Pierpont called an extra session of the legislature (March 4, 1867). Two days before Congress passed the "Reconstruction Act" (March 2), "to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel states." For "government" read "*punishment*," and the action of Congress will be understood.

Pierpont suggested that Virginia conform to the radical wishes of Congress, and the legislature reluctantly agreed to do so.

A committee visited Washington and secured their sanction for a proposed new constitution. No one knew what Congress wanted. Congress did not know itself. That Congress gave the United States the worst government it has ever had.

Under the Act of March 2, 1867, the once proud and potent state of Virginia ceased to exist as a political unit and became "Military District No. 1; Lt.-Gen. Jno. M. Schofield commanding."

DISTRICT No. 1

He assumed control March 13; an evil day, an evil omen, an evil time and evil start. But, thank Heaven, not an evil man! That was the one line of silver in clouds as black as despair. As if the Act of March 2 were not humiliating enough, the

black radicals passed an act, March 23, to strengthen it, carrying heavier penalties. No outrage was too cruel for the prostrate South.

General Schofield wished Virginia to have a constitution under which she might be admitted to the Union. The constitution would have to be written by a convention, and the convention would have to be elected by the "people," and the voters would have to be registered. Manifestly the first step was to register the voters. All who had supported the Confederacy were disfranchised. Of a million and a half, 225,933 were registered—120,101 whites and 105,832 Negroes. The Negroes were ignorant, but the Freedman's Bureau, in every county and neighborhood, was thoroughly organized to corral the Negro vote. The Union League was a secret ritualisitic political organization.

A Radical Convention, to control the election and write the new state constitution, was held in Richmond April 17 (six years to the day after the state seceded; but Virginia had lived and suffered a century). Of 250 present, 50 were white. James W. Hunnicutt declared, in a vile speech, "The rebels have forfeited all their rights, and we will see that they never get them back."[7] Hunnicutt was a yoke fellow of Judge Underwood. He was a native South Carolinian, who edited a Baptist paper in Fredericksburg. He had been a slave owner and voted for secession. Now, a dangerous radical demagogue, he edited "The Nation" at Richmond, and wielded great power over the lowest

RADICALS

[7] *Richmond Dispatch*, April 18, 1867.

elements in the state. The Negroes were very active and abusive. They declared that all the rebels' property should be confiscated. A great mass meeting was held in the Capitol Square—such scenes as the calm, equestrian statue of Washington had never gazed upon before, and let us hope will never see again. They villified Andrew Johnson and cheered Thaddeus Stevens. Excitement increased and riots were frequent.

On May 6, Underwood convened the Federal Court in Richmond. Addressing the jury, he exclaimed: "In the very rooms we now occupy, the fiery soul of treason, rebellion and civil war assassinated colored soldiers for defending the flag, burned towns and cities with a barbarity unknown to Christian countries; scattered yellow fever among the poor and finally struck down one of the earth's noblest martyrs," and much more.

On Friday, May 10, before a mixed jury of white men and Negroes, President Jefferson Davis was summoned after imprisonment for two years at Fort Monroe. On May 13, he was admitted to bail in the sum of $100,000, and the first name on the bond was Horace Greeley. While a prisoner at Fort Monroe, President Davis was treated with "cruelty that will ever remain a foul blot on American history."[8]

DAVIS

As if one Radical convention were not enough, another was held in Richmond for two days (August 1 and 2). Virginia touched the lowest depths of misery and ruin. And of all the black days in that black era we have reached the blackest.

[8] JOHN WILLIAM JONES, *Hist. of U. S.*

Hunnicutt was in the saddle. He denounced the conservative and respectable Republicans like General Schofield, Governor Pierpont and John Minor Botts and declared, in an inflammatory speech:

"They must swallow the Constitutional Amendments, the Civil Rights Bill, the Sherman-Shellabarger-Wilson Bill, the Supplementary Bills, every Reconstruction Act, the Iron-Clad Oath, the 17th of April platform, Hunnicutt and the nigger—yes, the nigger—his head, his feet, his hide, his hair, his tallow, his bones and his suet! Nay, his body and soul. Yes, all these they must swallow." HUNNICUTT

Those who could not attend the convention held a meeting in Capitol Square. Next day there was another monster meeting, mostly colored, in Capitol Square.

During the autumn months the excitement was intense, though subdued. The white leaders were nearly all disfranchised. Federal bayonets gleamed behind every ballot box.

The election took place October 18-21 (as if one day were not enough!). General Schofield did his best to maintain order and have a fair count. "Of the 120,101 white registered voters, 44,017 did not vote. Of the 105,832 Negro registered voters, only 12,687 did not vote."[9] The Union League had them there.

Of 105 members elected to the Constitutional Convention, 35 were conservatives, mostly from counties with small Negro populations, 65 were Radicals from the black belt, five were doubtful.

[9] R. L. MORTON.

The campaign and election increased race friction. In November Hunnicutt was arrested for attempting to stir up insurrection by incendiary speeches, although never brought to trial.

There is a proverb, "It is darkest before dawn." The first orange streaks that presaged a better day appeared in December. Virginians 800 strong gathered in Richmond (December 11), to save our civilization. Alex. H. H. Stuart, who sponsored the meeting, was elected president. For the first time since the cruel war, the flower of our manhood met in conference.

In the key-note address, Mr. Stuart made six salient points: (1) That slavery was forever abolished; (2) That Virginia was ready to accept all Federal obligations in good faith; (3) That Virginians claimed all rights due them under the constitution of the United States; (4) That Virginia would not be ruled by an inferior race; (5) That the Southern white man is the Negro's best friend, and that the local affairs of the state should be managed by those best fitted; (6) That the Virginians wish to restore the constitutional union of the states. This platform was tactful notice that the white people of Virginia proposed to take control from demagogues like Underwood, Hunnicutt and their black and tan Union League.[10]

A. H. H. Stuart

Pierpont's term expired January 1, 1868, but General Schofield continued the puppet in office

[10] Mr. Stuart spoke in Richmond but he addressed the respectable Republicans in the North who could not believe that the government permitted such outrages as were reported from the South.

until April 4, 1868, when he was removed to make room for another puppet, H. H. Wells. On the whole, Governor Pierpont did as well as one might expect. He came without a welcome, and he left without regret.

CXII.

GENERAL HENRY HORATIO WELLS

Provisional Governor: April 4, 1868–September 21, 1869

General Wells was the second of three puppet-governors. The rulers were the military satraps at Richmond whose word was law.

During Pierpont's term Generals Godfrey Weitzel, E. O. C. Ord and Alfred H. Terry came and left. Wells was General Schofield's appointee. There was no Virginia, only "Military District No. 1," so the status of a "provisional governor" is not clear to us; and the office was also hazy to the incumbent.

Horatio's name evokes no enthusiasm in Virginia. He was born in Rochester, New York (September 17, 1823), but was educated in the new state of Michigan and practiced law in Detroit. He had an apprenticeship in the state legislature (1854-1856).

When the Civil War began, Horatio was appointed Colonel of the 26th Michigan infantry, and after three years was brevetted Brigadier-General. As provost-marshal south of the Potomac he captured Lincoln's assassins.

"He practiced his profession at Richmond until appointed governor. While Wells was looked upon as an alien by the Virginians, they had a kindly regard for him because of the general friendliness of his conduct."[1]

"The people were not defrauded of their just rights or their property by Governor Wells, and were not disturbed in any way by force or disorder. Their substance was not wasted and many unrecorded kindnesses were extended by their military governor."

We gladly record these charitable estimates of Horatio; but it is our frank opinion, reluctantly written, that he was the worst governor who sat in the gubernatorial chair, Baron Howard of Effingham not excepted.

Worst

The supreme question of his administration was the Underwood Constitution. The Convention "consisted of 105 members, 35 of whom were Conservatives, 65 Radicals, the remainder doubtful. Of the Radicals 25 were Negroes, 14 native Virginians, 13 New Yorkers, and one each from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maine, Vermont, Connecticut, South Carolina, Maryland, District of Columbia, Ireland, Scotland, Nova Scotia, Canada, and two Englishmen. A large part of the Northerners and foreigners drifted here in some non-combatant capacity."[2] Judge Underwood was elected chairman.

The Convention adjourned April 17, 1868, two weeks after Horatio's term began, and on the first anniversary of the rabid Hunnicutt-Underwood

[1] LYON G. TYLER.

[2] *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 20, 1868.

Convention at Richmond, and on the seventh anniversary of the ordinance of secession—surely a black date in our calendar.

General Schofield, utterly exasperated and disgusted, declined to pay any expenses after April 6, which brought a speedy termination of the patriots' ceaseless oratory. General Schofield visited the Convention the day it adjourned and tactfully suggested that the Iron-Clad Oath be omitted. The oath was that the voter or officer had given no "aid, countenance, counsel or encouragement to the Confederate cause." SCHOFIELD

When he left the Negro leaders assailed him bitterly for his advice.

General Schofield wrote General Grant (April 18) describing the objectionable features of the Constitution and asserting that it could not be put into operation in Virginia, and that no respectable Republican party would ever be built upon a Radical foundation.

Once rid of the test-oath, the white people of Virginia would control the state. Patience and tact were necessary, for the partisan press in the North was ready to declare that the "slave-holders and rebels" were eagerly watching a chance to gain their former supremacy and re-enslave the Negroes. The North could not understand that slavery was the last thing the Virginians desired.

Judge Underwood and his black and tan patriots set June 2 for a vote on their new constitution. General Schofield quietly announced that there would be no election June 2. He insisted that the

"Iron-Clad Oath" for voters and office-holders be voted on separately.

Astonishing as it may seem, the Underwood constitution was really an excellent document, if the sections referred to were excised. The convention copied Virginia's constitution of 1850.[3]

Our new puppet-governor appeared in his first important role, and much to his discredit. He urged a prompt election "before enough whites would have political disabilities removed to defeat the Radicals." The Governor wished the test oath retained to save the state from rebels and aristocrats, and to keep Virginia safe for Underwood, Hunnicutt, and their ilk. But Horatio had no influence at Washington. Congress was growing weary of these interminable reconstruction squabbles. The respectable Republicans in the North were indignant and restless as the true situation became ever more apparent.

REBELS

As the year 1868 grew old the one topic of discussion in Virginia was the Underwood Constitution, especially the provision that would disfranchise practically all the white people and enfranchise all the Negroes.

To Virginia's hope that Negro suffrage would not be fastened upon her a fell blow was given when the National Republican Convention, which nominated General Grant, declared for universal Negro suffrage in the South! That General Grant would be elected none doubted. There seemed no escape from the frightful doom of an enormous

NEGRO VOTE

[3] Chap. CVI.

ignorant electorate fastened upon Virginia for years to come. It was, indeed, a dismal prospect, and many predicted that the state would sink to the level of Haiti.

To make bad matters worse, "a bill approving the Underwood Constitution was passed in the House of Representatives with little notice or comment and with no protest from Virginia."[4]

For the third time Alex. H. H. Stuart came to the fore when the clouds were heavy with impending disaster. On Christmas Day a letter appeared in both Richmond papers above his pen-name, "Senex." He urged Virginia to accept the inevitable, to make the best bargain possible to get rid of military rule and to rid the Underwood Constitution of its more obnoxious features, accepting the rest as one who is ill takes bitter medicine. Negro suffrage must be accepted, but the disfranchisement of the white people and the obnoxious test-oath could be removed by voting separately upon these items.

SENEX

Mr. Stuart's suggestion was coldly received at first. But its merits gradually appeared. On the last day of the year a select company of leaders met him at Richmond and planned the "New Movement." An influential committee of nine volunteered to visit Washington, get the ear of the conservative Republican leaders, and especially secure the help of General Grant, now president-elect. A compromise ought to be effected which would save Saxon civilization and secure Virginia's future.

[4] R. L. MORTON.

These nine Virginians deserve the undying plaudits of posterity. Some day a worthy monument will be raised to them in Capitol Square. In Virginia's darkest hour they pointed the right path and led the state into the light. Their names and service should never be forgotten: Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart, of Staunton; John B. Baldwin, of Augusta; John L. Marye, Jr., of Fredericksburg; James F. Johnson, of Bedford; W. T. Sutherland, of Danville; Wyndham Robertson, of Abingdon; W. L. Owens, of Halifax; James Nelson, of Richmond; and J. F. Slaughter, of Lynchburg.

NINE

A mass meeting at Richmond (February 10, 1869) secured the moral support of the people. Avid criticism and heated opposition at once appeared. Henry A. Wise gave this interview: "I think it is the basest abandonment of principle in the history of politics. I think it is a living lie! A base hypocricy! A disgrace to the Confederate dead, destined to destroy the morale of the Confederate living. What would our dead comrades say if they saw us embracing the negro as our political equal? Ah! I hear their reproaches ringing in my ears. I hear them saying: 'We had the courage to die like men, but you have not the courage to live like men.' A little more of endurance, a little more of patient martyrdom and you would have regained honorable liberty. You have bartered your birthright for a mess of Negro suffrage pottage. You are liars and hypocrites when you do it. You have out-carpet-bagged the carpet-baggers. Woe unto a people who buy peace at the

WISE

sacrifice of truth and self-respect! The time will surely come when Virginians will curse the day they yielded to the unprincipled counsels of this band of time-servers under the name of Conservatives."

Wise Henry Wise spoke unwisely; the future to which he appealed has justified the leadership of Alex. H. H. Stuart rather than the Phillipics of Wise. Stuart was an Old Line Whig and Wise an old time Democrat. They could hardly be expected to agree. His charge of hypocrisy was answered. The freed men were not prepared to use the ballot intelligently, yet "as an offering on the altar of peace and in hope that union and harmony may be restored on the basis of universal suffrage and universal amnesty," they would compromise. That was a tactful, reasonable and compelling sentence. It meant: If you will let the white men vote, we will let the Negroes vote.

The Nine were cordially received at Washington. Horace Greeley, a long-time friend of Mr. Stuart, wielded his trenchant and influential pen to aid Virginia in reaching the better class of Northern people. He told the truth about the South.

Two other committees followed the Nine to Washington. One was a "Conservative Republican" group. Their presence was a real aid.

The other group was headed by the Governor of Virginia! Honorable Henry Horatio Wells, with a company of white men and Negroes, did his utmost to defeat the Nine. General Wells declared that if the whites were enfranchised it would be the end of Radical and Negro rule in Virginia.

WELLS

He spoke truthfully, if not well, for a Governor of Virginia!

Colonel Gilbert Charleton Walker,[5] a banker of Norfolk, formerly a Union soldier, greatly aided the Committee of Nine. The contrast between Wells and Walker was a convincing argument in itself.

Wells came home to the troubles he deserved. General George Stoneman removed this puppet-governor (March 27, 1869), but he was reinstated (April 2) by General A. S. Webb. His wings, however, were clipped and his time was growing short, thank High Heaven!

General Grant, the new President, did not forget his promise to the Nine Virginians. In his first message (April 8, 1869), he advised that an election be held in Virginia, and that the oath-clause and the disfranchisement clause be voted on separately. He named July 6, 1869, for the election.

ELECTION

Fortunately Horatio had made many foes. General William Mahone, the most influential railway magnate in the state and perhaps the largest employer of labor, hated Wells.

Horatio had himself nominated to succeed himself at a very riot of a convention in Petersburg, one of the worst, if not the worst, in Virginia politics; and that's saying a great deal!

The respectable Republicans bolted Horatio and his convention. They nominated Colonel Gilbert Carleton Walker. The Conservatives in Richmond (April 28) endorsed Walker, and

WALKER

[5] Chap. CXIII.

Virginia's most important and conclusive campaign was on. Never before nor since have such gigantic issues trembled in the balance.

Colonel Walker toured the state. Everywhere the white people gave him an ovation. The Colonel was equal to every emergency, he was fashioned for such a service as this.

Wells gravitated more and more to the freedman. He openly declared for a continuance of Federal bayonets behind every ballot box.

The white people hoped that at last they might regain control of the land of their fathers, when General E. R. S. Canby, the state's new military dictator, decided to administer the iron-clad oath to all election officers. If done an election would be useless, for Wells and his godless crew would certainly be counted in. It seemed that every iniquity the fertile brain of man could hatch was devised to hold Virginia in bondage.

OATH

For the fourth successive time, Alexander H. H. Stuart came to the rescue. Over General Canby's head he appealed directly to President Grant. The President ordered General Canby to keep hands off.

When the sun set July 6, 1869, and the vote was counted 210,585 voted for the Underwood Constitution and 6,136 against it.

Some 84,410 voted for the iron-clad oath for office-holders and 124,360 against it.

Some 83,458 voted to disfranchise ex-Confederate soldiers and 124,715 against it.

Walker received 119,535 votes; Wells 101,204.

That was not all the good news. Of forty-three

state senators, 30 were Conservative, 13 Radical, six of whom were colored. Of 138 delegates, 96 were Conservative, 42 Radicals. There were 21 Negroes in the House of Delegates, three of whom were Conservative. Despite the riots and bitterness of the campaign the election passed quietly.

VICTORY

"Bonfires are burning, music playing and other demonstrations of a rejoicing people fill the air. The city was illuminated and a procession marched to the Atlantic Hotel to congratulate Colonel Walker upon his election. The Colonel addressed the crowd in his usual graceful form."[6]

Even this was not all the good news—Horatio had the good sense to resign and General Canby (September 8) bowed to the will of the people and named Gilbert Carleton Walker, of Norfolk, governor-elect, to succeed Wells (September 21).

Of all Horatio's acts as Governor of Virginia his resignation was the most welcome and the best gesture of his career. One fancies it was prompted from Washington.

Farewell, Horatio! How gladly we bow you off our stage and resolve never to mention your name again. It were better for your fame, Horatio, that you be absolutely forgotten in Virginia than for the Muse of History to remember you as remember you she must.

[6] H. W. BURTON, *Hist. of Norfolk.*

CXIII.

COLONEL GILBERT CARLETON WALKER

Provisional Governor: September 21, 1869–January 1, 1870

If a novelist were searching for an engaging personality, a sensational career and a delightful denouement, we would commend the Colonel. His was a fancy name; and when he was born in Binghamton, N. Y. (August 1, 1832), the good fairies must have showered their best gifts upon him. As an opportunist he was superb. In his later days he even aspired to the National Democratic nomination for Vice-President of the United States, the running mate of Samuel J. Tilden!

In the Civil War the Colonel followed the advancing armies and became president of the Exchange National Bank of Norfolk. He said he selected Norfolk on account of his health, but with his ready wit he should have given a reason less trite. He owed no little to his engaging manner, his distinguished bearing and a ready gift of speech. He had a handsome head of white hair and moustache of the same color, which made him a notable figure in any assembly. In Congress as representative of the Richmond district he was regarded the handsomest man in that body.[1]

There were some, however, whom Gilbert did not fascinate. John Sargeant Wise, his colleague

[1] HERBERT EZEKIEL.

at the Richmond bar, describes him as a "handsome dissolute fellow who had drifted into the state with the Federal army as a settler and was now in a bank at Norfolk."[2] Pearson calls him "a moderate, intelligent man, strongly connected in Congressional circles."[3]

WISE

Colonel Walker's aid to the Committee of Nine, and his energetic and enthusiastic campaign against Henry Horatio Wells proved him Virginia's friend when Virginia sorely needed him.

The first legislature that met in "Military District No. 1," convened (October 5, 1869). Governor Walker suggested that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments be ratified, which was done.

The Radical party died not without a struggle. Their first move was to require the iron-clad oath of all legislators. That effort defeated, they declared the election of July 6 "a Confederate triumph, which we unhesitatingly assert was achieved by artifice, intimidation and fraud," (November 24, 1869). Such accusations from such a source were not very consistent. Congress was weary of Wells, Hunnicutt and Underwood and their cry fell on deaf ears. The war was over. General Grant earnestly prayed, "*Let us have peace.*"

[2] *The Lion's Skin.*

[3] C. C. PEARSON, *The Readjuster Movement in Va.*

CXIV.

GOVERNOR GILBERT CARLETON WALKER

Governor: January 1, 1870–January 1, 1874

Virginia was re-admitted to the Union January 26, 1870. Provisional Governor Gilbert Carleton Walker took the oath of office as the first governor in the post-bellum regime, but he had been elected to a term beginning January 1 and his term expired January 1, 1874.

Virginia's first two senators in the new era were Joseph Warfield Johnston, of Tazewell County, a nephew of the famous Confederate chieftain, Joseph Eggleston Johnston, and John F. Lewis, a stalwart planter of Augusta County, the only man from Eastern Virginia in the secession convention of 1861 who refused to sign that fatal document. It was quite fitting that this popular and substantial Union man, a scion of Virginia's colonial stock, should be sent to the Senate.[1]

The agony of reconstruction had been so excruciating, Virginia had no thought for other problems (1865-1869). Now that Anglo-Saxon civilization was preserved other problems must be solved, the most intricate of which was the debt. Before the war Virginia invested heavily, and for the most part wisely, in various improvements for the public good. But in the nine years of fire and sword,

[1] He was descended directly from Charles Lewis, killed at Pt. Pleasant. Chap. LXIX.

death and disaster, every asset had, for the nonce, disappeared.

The second auditor reported (January 1, 1870), our liabilities in the following colossal figures:[2]

Original ante-bellum debt	$32,779,262.94
DEBT Unpaid interest added to the original principal	7,884,973.56
Interest unprovided for	3,384,776.33
Interest due on interest unpaid	1,611,335.17
Making a grand total	$45,660,348.00

This was a gigantic sum to be thrust upon an impoverished people.

One-third the territory of the old state had been lost, unconstitutionally to be sure; but still it was gone, and forever. That territory was a rich domain of mountain and meadow, filled with magnificent deposits of coal, underlaid with oil, valleys of blue-grass, thriving cities and growing towns along the banks of great rivers. It was the only part of Virginia unblasted by war. The valleys of the Ohio, Kanawha and Monongahela had grown rich with war-prosperity as had the North and West. Should this section pay no part of a just ante-bellum debt?

WEST VIRGINIA

The railway lines were streaks of rust, the canals broken and waterless, the factories had disappeared

[2] WILLIAM C. PENDLETON, *Appalachian Va.*, p. 294.

The Amer. Annual Cyclop., 1870, gives total liability of state, Jan. 1, 1871, as $47,390,840.93.

and the cities lay waste. Worst of all, the noble, strong, alert and capable young men, natural leaders and the potential husbands and fathers of a new generation, were rotting in nameless graves.

Governor Walker attacked the problem promptly and valorously. In a message to the legislature (March 8, 1870) he advocated the refunding of the entire debt at six per cent., endorsing for West Virginia's third. His plan was to assure the creditors, and restore the fiscal good name of the commonwealth at home and abroad.

Virginia was abundantly able to pay it all. The Governor produced the statistics of 1860, and did not even deduct the value of the slaves! Such optimism is a vice!

The Governor wished to sell the railways stocks that private capital might develop them. Walker's great mistake, the one unpardonable error of his administration, was the abandonment of the immensely valuable holdings Virginia owned in these great lines,[3] far more than enough in the years to come to liquidate every debt and build every road and school. It was a colossal blunder. RAILWAYS

The decennial census was received with a shudder. There were 1,224,927 people in the state, but 512,-841, or 41.80 per cent., were colored.

[3] *Amer. Annual Cyclop.*, 1870, p. 744, "The assets and securities owned by the state, and the cash balance added to the amounts of the bonds held by the state of sundry railway companies aggregate $33,963,276. Of the stocks, bonds and claims, some are at par, some much below, but constantly improving in value, others are worthless. Of these assets, $2,612,776 are as valuable as state bonds. It is thought that in a few years other assets to the amount of $10,048,267 will be available, while $21,302,233.62 will not likely be of much value to the state."

In 1810 the colored per cent. reached the peak, 43.41 being Negroes. Since then the whites had gained annually until in 1860 the undivided state had only 34.38 per cent. colored.

CENSUS

The half-million ex-slaves added practically nothing to the tax values. They must be "carried." The Negroes were and are a valuable labor element—perhaps the best labor element in the world.

When one considers what Virginia had suffered from slavery, secession, civil war and Radical propaganda it is astonishing that there was so little race friction. The explanation is simple. The Negro has always regarded his white neighbor and employer as his best friend. The white people did not hold the Negro responsible for Reconstruction. They were exploited by venal politicians. No one knew that better than the Virginia farmer.

The year 1870 was filled with gloom. The floor of the Capitol building (April 27), overcrowded at a legal hearing, collapsed and precipitated a multitude into the hall of the House of Delegates below. Sixty were killed and 125 injured.[4]

1870

In the fall the James River left its banks and destroyed millions of dollars' worth of property.

General Robert E. Lee died suddenly at Lexington (October 12) and was interred in the vault under

[4] GEORGE L. CHRISTIAN, *The Capitol Disaster*, pp. 23-24. "We would fail to do justice if we omitted a passing notice of Judge John C. Underwood, and the ignoble and contemptible part played by him. He fled the city, too cowardly to remain, and his conduct was in keeping with his whole judicial career. We say without fear of contradiction, that if Abraham Lincoln had done nothing else to discredit him as a man, the nomination of such a creature as Underwood and his approval of the act creating West Virginia establish his unfitness for his high office."

Washington College chapel (Washington and Lee University), of which institution he had been president since 1866. The influence of General Lee will never die. He is today the Virginian ideal of manhood.

When the legislature met again (December 7, 1870) the corridors and halls of the Capitol were filled with black frocked vultures. It was known that action on the state debt and the railways would be taken. The vultures who foregathered were lobbyists pleading the interest of the bankers and brokers, speculators and stock jobbers. VULTURES

Much of the state debt had been bought up at ridiculous prices by professional speculators, profiting and fattening on the distress of the people. The vultures from Wall Street and Lombardy Street were very emphatic in appealing to Virginia's honesty and integrity to the "last dollar."[5]

The vultures won. "The legislature, after a bitter struggle, in response to the advice of the Governor, passed an act (March 28, 1871) providing for the sale of the state's railway stock at a sacrifice.[6] The Negro vote was the deciding factor in the passage of this bill. The people felt that their property had been bartered away."[7] Two days later the Funding Act was passed (March 30, 1871). "The bill was rushed through the House at the close of the session with BRIBE?

[5] How deeply interested were they in Virginia's reputation (for two weeks)!

[6] The great argument was that outside capital would come in and rebuild the roads. They did!

[7] R. L. MORTON.

little opportunity for debate. It received the support of half the Conservatives and all the Republican members but one. The Negroes voted against the bill at first but reversed their vote three hours later. It was believed that they had been bribed."

This was the Funding Bill[8] which was the bone of contention for twelve years succeeding its passage, and whose advocates shouted from every hustings from Accomac to Cumberland Gap for "Virginia honesty."

There was one voice raised in indignation and one real statesman who pointed the way. If Virginia had heeded the clarion call of wise Henry A. Wise she would have been saved a decade of misery.

The vultures could not becloud the issue when they presented it to Wise.[9] He, at least, spoke in the vernacular which the man behind the plow could understand.

"Let us boldly take the stand that we will not recognize nor pay a dollar of the debt of the old State of Virginia, until and unless forced to do so by the Federal Government. Let us compel the creditors of the old state of Virginia to take the initiative and assert their rights against this state, if they think they have any. That will force them, in asserting their claims, to implead the Federal Government and West Virginia with us. Then whatever judgment is finally rendered will be with all the parties before the court. True we may

WISE

[8] *Amer. Annual Cyclop.*, 1871, pp. 763-764.

[9] Henry A. Wise stood before Judge John C. Underwood, before the latter fled, and gave him the worst castigation ever received by a Virginia justice. As bitter as Wise's invections were, Underwood fully deserved them all.

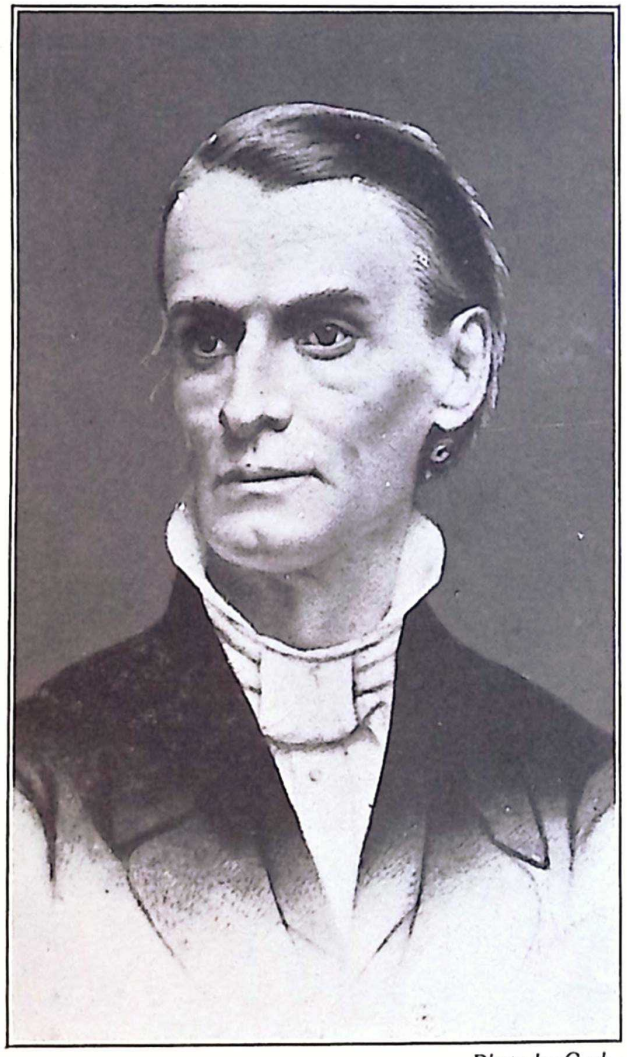

Photo by Cook.

HENRY ALEXANDER WISE
Governor, 1856-1860
Chap. CVIII.



Photo by Cook.

GEN. FITZHUGH LEE
Governor, 1886-1890
Chap. CXVIII

Both photographs were made from life, while General Lee was Governor and Governor Wise was a citizen of Richmond.

have to assume, ultimately, a part of the debt by the dictation of the Conqueror, but it will certainly not be more than is now proposed, or upon terms as hard and humiliating; and, if we accomplish no more by the delay it will give us opportunity, first to know what we really have to pay (instead of foolishly guessing); and second, we gain a period of recuperation."

As a matter of fact the debt was ultimately decided by the Supreme Court of the United States. There alone could real justice be found. Not until 1918 was the matter finally closed, when West Virginia reluctantly assumed her share of the debt, a figure which the Supreme Court had placed at $12,393,929.50.

When the members of the legislature returned to their homes after the Railway and Funding acts had been passed they found their constituents angry. Nearly all were retired to private life. Of 132 Delegates only 26 were returned. They deserved it.

ANGRY

National affairs demanded the attention of the state in this presidential year. Congress at last passed an Amnesty Bill (May 22) that officially ended the Civil War. Next day every seat in Congress was occupied, for the first time since South Carolina had seceded almost twelve years before.

The Republicans nominated General Grant for a second term (June 5) and the Democrats at Baltimore selected Horace Greeley (July 6). But he led a forlorn hope, receiving 74 electoral votes. Grant secured 300.

MAURY

Matthew Fontaine Maury,[10] one of Virginia's greatest sons, died at Lexington (February 1, 1873). He, like Lee, spent his declining years teaching. The great scientist issued a "Physical Survey of Virginia" (1868), foretelling the commercial development of Hampton Roads as one of the greatest ports in the world. He charted, also, the lines of railway the state would need for future development. The monograph was fine advertising for Virginia and aided materially in bringing new capital to the state.[11]

President Grant was inaugurated March 4. In Virginia we begin to select our next governor as soon as a new president takes office. The Liberal Republicans had a strong candidate in Robert W. Hughes, of Abingdon. The Conservatives nominated General James Lawson Kemper, a veteran of the Mexican and Civil Wars. Party lines were confused and the debt was not a clearly defined issue. General Kemper won by a substantial majority.[12]

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10 CHAS. LEE LEWIS, *Matthew Fontaine Maury*.

11 Virginia State Library.

12 We wish to be absolutely fair to Governor Walker. The following from *Nat. Cyclop. of Amer. Biog.*, Vol. V, p. 454:

"His administration was marked by a rigid enforcement of law and order, which earned him the title 'Political Savior of Virginia.' When he retired from the chair he was unquestionably the most popular man in Virginia. He was sent to Congress for two years by the Richmond District and re-elected."

CXV.

GENERAL JAMES LAWSON KEMPER

Governor: January 1, 1874–January 1, 1878

General Kemper was the first of the Confederate cult. Seven soldiers, mostly colonels, ruled Virginia for a generation; and were as faithful and loyal in the chair as they had been upon the bloody battle-fields of war.

The coming of the colonels marks a distinct transition in our history. Gone were the federal bayonets; gone were the radicals with their frenzied appeals to ignorant masses of perspiring, excited Negroes; gone were the carpet-baggers. The sons of Virginia resumed control of her destiny as quietly as the transit of the seasons. We pass to a period of rest, peace, recuperation.

The Kemper family came from Oldenburg to aid Spotswood (1714) develop his iron properties on the Rapidan. Fifty years since the new governor was born in Madison County[1] (June 11, 1823). He graduated from Washington College (1842) and served as captain in the Mexican War.

The General began his Civil War career as Colonel of the Seventh Virginia. He distinguished himself, especially at First Manassas (July 18-21, 1861), and Williamsburg (1862). In Pickett's famous charge at Gettysburg he fell. They picked him up for

[1] DR. JULIUS F. LYNCH. "After the expiration of his term Gen. Kemper lived at Walnut Hills, four miles from Orange, until his death in 1895."

dead; but he had other work to do, although he carried a ball in his body to his grave. He received a commission as major-general (March 1, 1864).

After the strife was overpassed he practiced law, quietly, until the Walker-Wells campaign, when he zealously aided Walker. Now he succeeded that debonair carpet-bagger.

The General found a docket that bristled with difficulties; and every thorn left a cruel sting. In his inaugural address (January 1, 1874), he said:

"Obligations to public creditors binding the honor and good faith of the commonwealth should be fulfilled to the utmost of our ability in any event and under all circumstances."

He had not gone very far in the task until he found the state's credit prostrate. "The best bonds of Virginia rate lower than those of Egypt, Turkey or Peru. Our credit ranks in the grade of such countries as Mexico or San Domingo. No greater fallacy can be conceived than to claim a commonwealth may flourish while its credit is in a state of prostration or dishonor."

BANKRUPT!

The General suggested more taxes, stricter economy, the elimination of offices and interest at four instead of six per cent.

The notorious Wells left a "large surplus in the state treasury, but Colonel Walker left a million dollars of unpaid obligations and half a million funding act coupons unredeemed." The state was not only bankrupt, but the annual deficit was "at least a million."[2]

[2] W. C. PENDLETON, *Appalachian Va.*, p. 313.

The General Assembly appointed the Governor and former Senator R. M. T. Hunter to confer with the state's creditors and if possible soften their adamantine hearts.

Mr. Secretary Hugh McCulloch, representing the British bond-holders, came to Richmond. The Governor, in a very detailed address, corrected the impressions made by his handsome and over-generous predecessor; gave facts instead of fiction. He assured the Shylocks that Virginia would never repudiate a just and honorable debt, but suggested tactfully that justice, equity, generosity might reasonably be expected of brokers and bond-holders, as well as of poverty-stricken and helpless people. In short, those who demand equity must practice equity.

McCULLOCH

His Excellency might as well have addressed the blue limestone pilasters of Natural Bridge. "From the stringency of their terms it was obvious that the holders of coupons intended to surrender their position of preferred creditors only for a better one. They would permit no relief to holders of peelers. This they soon made clear by thrusting upon the treasury a deluge of coupons."[3] Shylock demanded his pound of flesh, cut at once, and over the heart.

It should be clearly understood that the money trust, demanding the ultimate payment of an iniquitous bill, urged through the legislature, probably carried by bribery, forced by the brazen effrontery of the human vultures, whose stock in trade was "Virginia's honesty," and "Vir-

VICTIM

[3] C. C. PEARSON, *The Readjuster Movement in Va.*

ginian equity," thrust upon the state a large and unjust debt.

The justice of readjustment is sufficiently proven by the fact that it was sustained in every court, including the Supreme Court of the United States, accepted by both political parties and also by McCulloch and the bankers he represented—when they were forced to accept it—and not before.

America's first great exposition opened in Philadelphia May 10, 1876. Virginia and the South, without whom there would have been no Declaration of Independence, no Revolution, and no Union, were conspicuous by their absence.

With the terrifying experiences of the 60's so fresh in mind, and sorrows so deeply embedded in their hearts, the Virginians had little interest or enthusiasm for this joyous occasion. The shadows of death, defeat, disaster were still too deep, and the pinch of poverty too acute for Virginians to go Maying.

There were, of course, many who attended, and some who participated. Sidney Lanier, a Confederate soldier on the battlefields of Virginia, up from Georgia, wrote the poem sung as the opening cantata.

The National Republican Convention (June 14, 1876) at Cincinnati, nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio. The Democrats at St. Louis nominated Samuel J. Tilden, their strongest nomination between Jackson and Cleveland. The Democrats were coming again into their former prestige; not by their sagacity, but by the colossal blunders of the Republican party.

HAYES

General Grant was as conspicuous a failure in politics as he was successful in war. The Reconstruction scandals of the South were a stench in the nation and the reproach of the world.

The campaign was exciting and dangerous. That Tilden was elected we suppose none will deny. The dishonest methods of radical rule in the South returned to curse those who used them on others. The presidency was handed to Hayes, but his name will be associated forever with the most colossal fraud in American political history.[4]

FRAUD

The Virginians witnessed the inauguration of Hayes, accepted with joy his promise of good will to the South, and returned home to elect a governor. The Radicals were gone with the hatred and venom that bred them. The Negroes were again at work in the green and golden fields of corn, wheat and tobacco. They had found that freedom did not mean freedom from toil, and that good Uncle Sam was not giving forty acres and a mule to every freed man. In the sparsely settled districts with no police protection, and no need for the same except in years of radical excitement the Ku Klux Klan brought order and security to every dweller in the land. The Radicals introduced the Union League to corral the Negroes. The Caucasians accepted the challenge and organized the Klan along similar lines. The effect was instantly successful. Those who introduced the Union League vehemently

[4] It seemed that government of the people, for the people, by the people, had indeed perished from the earth.

denounced the Ku Klux Klan. It does make a difference whose ox is gored, as Poor Richard said.

The gubernatorial chair is cushioned with thorns; but for all that, there are always those who are ready to sit in it.

The campaign of '77 is most interesting because of the emerging personalities who participated. General William Terry, of Wytheville; Colonel Holliday, of Winchester; Major John W.
1877 Daniel, of Lynchburg; General William B. Taliaferro, of Gloucester, and General Fitzhugh Lee, of Fairfax, were receptive candidates, more or less active.

Each was a "Funder," and acceptable to the politicians, the press and the brokers, who were deeply, directly, actively interested.

The shrewdest politician in Virginia was another Confederate general living in Petersburg, William Mahone, the "Hero of the Crater." He touches the history of Virginia frequently and at different angles.

William Mahone was born in Southampton County, five miles distant from that other great general, George Henry Thomas, and ten years later. He came to Norfolk from the Virginia Military Institute to build the Norfolk & Petersburg Railway, of which he dreamed as a trans-continental line making westward contacts at Memphis and Cincinnati. But the war shattered those pleasant visions.

So brilliant a soldier was this young railway builder, so courageous and capable a commander that Lee is said to have designated him commander-in-chief of the Confederate armies if he fell.

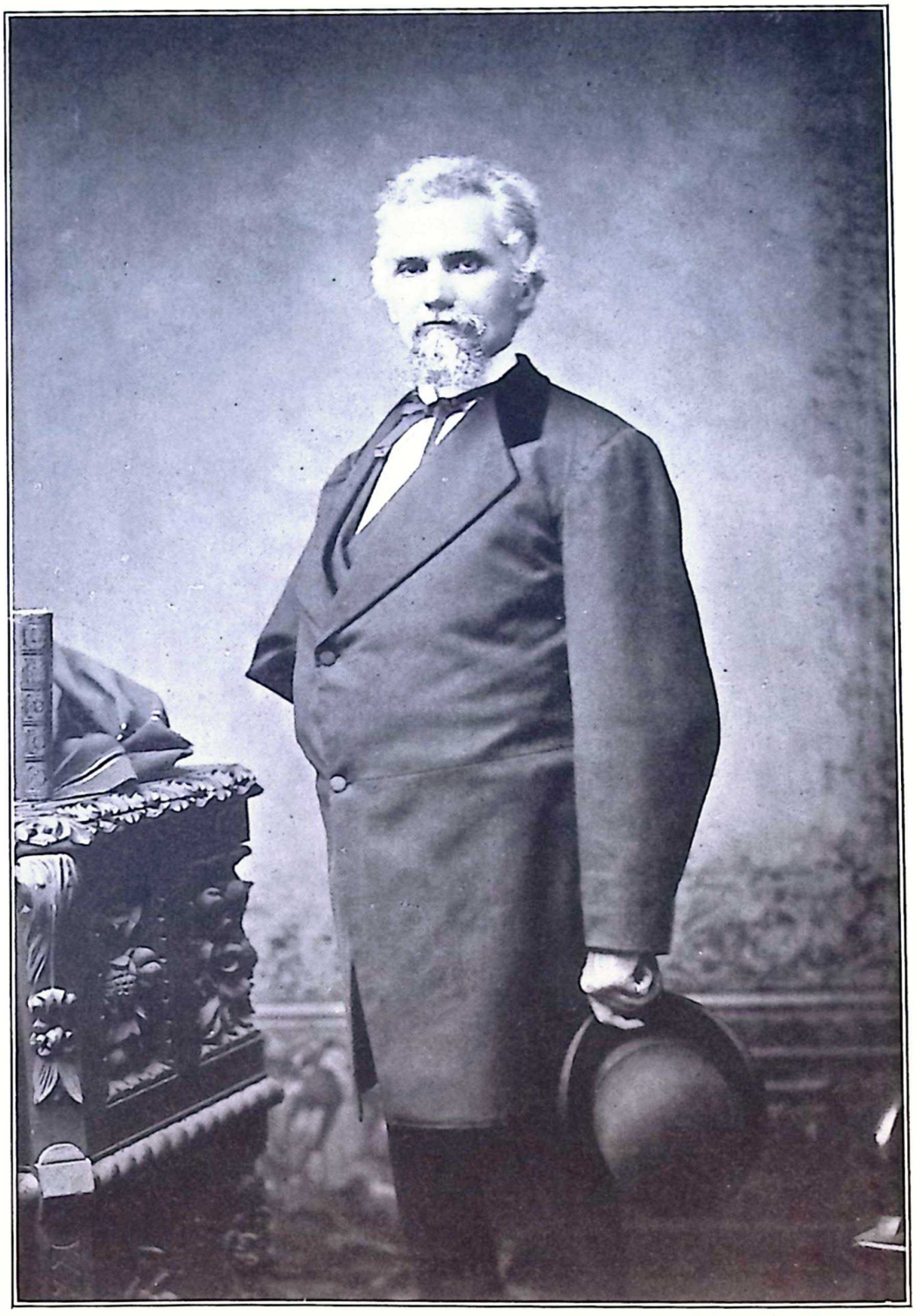

Photo by H. P. Cook.

"THE SLEEVELESS HERO OF THE VALLEY"

The photograph of Col. F. W. M. Holliday, taken from life while he was governor. His was a trying term.

To the devoted soldiers of "Mahone's Brigade" he was a younger Stonewall Jackson. Had they not come of the same school—the V. M. I?

After the war Mahone returned to his task, and rebuilt, reorganized, renamed the railway the Atlantic, Mississippi & Ohio. His long arm reached from Norfolk to Bristol, and the spurs spread a network of connections and subsidiaries across the state.

MAHONE

They say it was he who first advocated one standard national gauge, and the interchange of cars, a method now universally followed.

In radical days Mahone was Wells' uncompromising foe. One of the largest employers of labor in the state, he was not to be discounted.

When Colonel Walker came in, the Colonel was the General's friend. How much the Colonel's railway policy was influenced by the General's gentle touch this pen knows not—but we imagine the General was a potent if invisible figure.

Unfortunately for General Mahone's name and fame he had political ambitions. How much better had it been if his Confederate laurels and his industrial achievements had satisfied his restless spirit.

There were enough hats in the ring when General Mahone came to Richmond with more votes pledged than any of the candidates. Unlike the others, he was a pronounced advocate of readjustment. We suppose no man in Virginia knew the vultures, the Shylocks and the speculators better than he. The General also knew that the people wanted a satisfactory readjustment, and the General believed that readjustment was honest and right.

From that date at Richmond Theatre until they laid him in Blandford Cemetery at Petersburg[5] among his old soldiers, every politician in Virginia kept a weather eye on "Billy" Mahone (1877-1895).

A few weeks before the Convention (July, 1877) Mahone came forth in the columns of the "Richmond Whig," the only paper which supported him, denouncing the "Crime of 1871" in these sensational words:

"It seems the part of practical wisdom and in direct pursuit of an honorable purpose to deal fairly with the public creditors, that we should seek and insist upon, urge and, if necessary, demand a complete readjustment of the debt of the commonwealth and of the annual liabilities thereunder which shall be within the certain and reasonable capacity of the people to pay."

ADJUST

That involved sentence contains the germ of the bitterest political fight staged in this state. For a decade it commanded the attention of the people. Wise had foretold the trouble and Mahone flung it in the ring with his military cap.

Hot were the days of August and hotter still the huge barn at the corner of Seventh and Broad, known as the Richmond Theatre, and still hotter the sweltering multitude of perspiring politicians, each shouting for his man; but hottest of all the struggle which would name the next governor.

HOT

[5] Gen. Mahone is credited with this characteristic outburst: "I want to be buried in Blandford among my old soldiers and at the Judgment Day I'll call up those ragged rebels and we'll charge the Devil." He sleeps among them peacefully now awaiting the Judgment Day.

"Billy" Mahone was the unacknowledged master of the situation.

On the first ballot Mahone led, then Daniel took the lead from Mahone, and the anti-Mahone men were about to unite on Daniel, when John Sargeant Wise sprang to the front of the stage and withdrew Mahone's name amidst the wildest excitement. He called upon the convention to nominate the "Sleeveless Hero of the Valley" (Holliday), and shouted to his Mahone supporters, "Follow Accomac."

Accomac is the first county in Virginia alphabetically. It was Wise's county and out for Mahone. Accomac threw a solid vote to Holliday, the other Mahone men followed Accomac and General Holliday was nominated and elected.

ACCOMAC

"Billy" Mahone had probably defeated Wells; he certainly influenced Walker, and his hand placed Holliday in the chair—he became a Virginia Warwick!

General James A. Walker, of Wytheville, secured the second place; it was a ticket from the Valley of Virginia.

Major James Dooley, the well known banker, wrote the debt-plank and so diplomatically phrased it that it meant anything—hence nothing.

As the campaign progressed the heat of August cooled but the acerbity of the debate mounted to torrid temperatures. It was evident that the plain people of Virginia demanded an adjustment of the debt; but the professional politicians and invisible bankers, were determined that they should not have it.

Virginia in the term of General Kemper, was economically at her lowest ebb. Capital is always timid. The uncertainty of future business revival after the cataclysm of war and reconstruction, the oppressive poverty of the people, the national panic that spread industrial destruction over the nation in 1873, the lack of markets, the condition of the banks, the decreasing value of farm lands, the unreliability of Negro labor and the evils of emigration, combined to sink Virginia into the lowest abyss, financially and industrially, that she had yet plumbed. We suspect that Virginia was poorer and the prospect darker in 1873-1874 than immediately after General Lee's surrender. But God's good gifts were not withdrawn. The sun shone; the rain fell; and, as men returned to reason, the first feeble rays of prosperity touched the distant horizon.

Ebb

CXVI.

COLONEL FREDERICK WILLIAM MACKEY HOLLIDAY

Governor: January 1, 1878–January 1, 1882

The "Sleeveless Hero of the Valley" was second of seven Confederate colonels. He came of substantial Scotch-Irish stock, born in Winchester on Washington's birthday (1828).

He served as Colonel of the 33rd infantry in Stonewall Jackson's Brigade and, after numerous engagements, lost his right arm at Cedar Run.

General Mahone had brought the whole debt question into the open and it must be faced and settled. James Barbour, of Culpeper, introduced a bill forbidding increased taxation, protecting the state and schools first and designating 30 cents of each tax dollar for the debt, not more. It passed, but Governor Holliday vetoed it as not strictly fair to the bond-holders.

The Barbour bill was not lost motion, for it made plain to the speculators in Virginia's securities that they were dealing with a critical situation. If they goaded the patient people to the limit worse might yet befall them, despite the desire of Virginians to deal righteously with a situation which political manipulation and dishonorable finance had rendered very tangled and complex.

When the legislature adjourned General Mahone called several conferences and organized those who were determined to protect the state against cruel exploitation. "Peaceably if we can. Forcibly if we must," was their slogan.

The "Richmond Whig," General Mahone's organ, declared that Governor Holliday by his veto had contravened the will of those who elected him. The Governor had many and able defenders. But the plain people felt that invisible hands were moving to protect the bond-holders at the expense of the state.

General Mahone declared in his usual vigorous and picturesque language that Virginia needed a thorough reformation.

When the legislature met again (December 4,

1878) Governor Holliday regretted that the state debt had been "dragged into the arena of politics."

DEFICIT

At the same time the auditor's report showed a deficit for the current year of $854,952.97; surely something more substantial than paper platforms and eloquent oratory were needed in Virginia.

The Governor called the General Assembly to meet March 4. General Mahone called a convention of Readjusters to meet in Richmond, the week before. Some 175 earnest men of "every political complexion" answered the General's call. Harrison Holt Riddleberger offered a compelling "Address to Virginia." The Governor had, he claimed, deliberately overridden the will of the people. Taxes were too high already. Three per cent. was interest enough to pay the speculators.

1. Virginia was under no obligation, legal or moral to pay West Virginia's ante-bellum debt. 2. The state should pay no interest which the people are not able to bear. 3. The administration of Virginia must be maintained before money is sent to New York and London on a debt the amount of which is problematical. 4. Hugh McCulloch's propositions were unreasonable, unjust and confiscatory.

RIDDLEBERGER

villify

The Conservative press answered these cogent arguments by villifying Mahone and ridiculing Riddleberger. The "best people," they stoutly declared, were "funders"; only the proletariat were readjusters. All the press, except the "Richmond Whig" and all the politicians except Mahone and

his friends, were for "paying the last dollar," without specifying what dollar was the last.[1]

So strong became the demand to readjust, specially in the upland sections of the state that a "society to preserve the credit of the state" was organized in Richmond by gentlemen who were not of the proletariat. They suggested that a raise of "only twenty cents" would care for the stock brokers. The dirt farmers felt sure that this was another manifestation of the fine Italian hand of the money trust. Had the bankers and bondholders come candidly forward and made a reasonable effort to help their clients—exactly as has been done since the World War—the debt controversy would have been amicably settled. Unfortunately the bankers preferred to confer behind closed doors—and like Shylock of old, they demanded the ultimate penny of the bond.

MONEY TRUST

When the McCulloch bill was presented and passed (March 26) it was signed by Governor Holliday (March 28, 1879).

To read the bill half a century after makes the blood boil. Of all harsh, unjust, unreasonable propositions that could be loaded upon the backs of an over-burdened and prostrate people, this was the limit.

A vast mass of oratory discussed "protecting the honor of the state." But honor, reason, justice and equity do not seem to have had any place in the conscience or character of London's bankers. Shylock could not have done worse.

[1] Mahone's strength lay in the fact that he voiced the conscientious wishes of the people. He was trying to do for them what they wanted.

"The Readjusters" immediately attacked the bill as a wicked, stock-jobbing device. Nearly every provision revealed an artful scheme of the brokers. It retained tax-receivable coupons, compounded unpaid interest into principal; made the bill a contract between state and banker corporations, authorized and directed the auditor to borrow money, when short of funds, to meet this accruing interest, and when he could not borrow the auditor was directed to sell registered certificates at not less than seventy cents upon the dollar to pay accruing interest.

McCULLOCH

"This demands the surrender of the entire sovereignty of the state over most of her public interests into the hands of New York and British speculators."[2]

Such financing would bankrupt the Bank of England. Yet this was the "compromise which the legislature of 1879 passed and which was signed by the 'Sleeveless Hero of the Valley'."

On August 6 the Conservative party declared formally (vote 13 to 2) that the McCulloch bill was "a great public measure devised and accomplished by the will and judgment of the Conservative party"—a true Bourbon spirit.

The August manifesto of the Conservatives was the signal gun for one of the most acrimonious campaigns in our history. The issue was sharply defined. Men talked of it by the roadside, discussed it as they stood about the country churches, debated it in school houses and on the

GREAT POLITICS

[2] *Richmond Whig.*

street corners. The Funding Act and McCulloch Act were declared on a hundred hustings to be the only way to save Virginia from shame, humiliation, and the repudiation of a just debt.

The Readjusters replied that to overcharge a client and to manipulate an account were as dishonest as to repudiate it.

The personal equation centered about "Billy" Mahone. To his friends he was the one statesman who had sufficient courage to defy banks, brokers, speculators, press and politicians and to defend the interest of the dirt farmers from whom he had risen by intellect, industry and a courage absolutely fearless.[3]

To the enemy he was a demon of unscrupulous chicanery, worse, far worse than the invisible Hugh McCulloch, or the British Baring Brothers.

The Readjusters won a signal victory against the organization and against the wealth and press of the state, 82,000 to 61,000.

When the legislature assembled (December 3, 1879) Senator Harrison Holt Riddleberger introduced the famous "Riddleberger Bill." This senator, who fills so large and important a place in our post-bellum history, came of the Pennsylvania German element of the valley. As a captain in the Confederate army, a lawyer at Woodstock, editor, politician and now a state senator (destined to succeed John Warfield Johnston as United States Senator), his was a busy and useful life.

VICTORY

[3] Mahone's enemies never questioned his fearlessness.

Governor Holliday promptly vetoed the bill and the Readjusters could not pass it over his veto.

SENATOR MAHONE

The friends of "Billy" Mahone elected him to the senate of the United States in place of Robert E. Withers, whose term expired.

The year 1880 was both a census and a presidential year. As might have been expected, Virginia made a poor showing in the Federal enumeration. There were 880,858 white and 631,616 colored, but the white population was making a steady annual gain, and the proportion of white to colored was constantly increasing. With only 1,512,565 population Virginia fell to the fourteenth place in the Union. Nevertheless her percentage of increase was 23.4.

COME SOUTH

The low price of fine fertile land, while a liability to those who owned it, making the poor still poorer, attracted to Virginia many substantial farmers who bought excellent farms at bargain prices. This migration still continues and has brought and is bringing into the body politic a most valuable element.

GO NORTH

At the same time the high wages paid in the mines of West Virginia and Pennsylvania, and the demand for domestic labor in Washington, Philadelphia and New York, attracted and still attracts thousands of likely young Negroes who could better themselves. This double immigration and emigration contributes materially to increasing the percentage of white and decreasing the percentage of colored people in every part of the state.

To Colonel Holliday's credit be it said he took an active interest in the schools and colleges of the state, and visited many of them, making addresses and attending their exercises. EDUCATION

The Governor has been described[4] as he appeared on these rostra: "A man of commanding stature, fully six feet tall and finely proportioned, markedly intellectual in feature, genial and prepossessing in manner, he inspired confidence and respect." In short, he was a typical Confederate colonel.

The Republicans at Chicago nominated Garfield and Arthur.

The Democrats at Cincinnati nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock. What with the ugly record of Tilden having been counted out, and what with the nationwide reaction against many black and radical Republican policies the Democrats would have won had not General Hancock straddled the tariff question. Garfield received 4,450,921; Hancock, 4,447,888 votes, but the distribution was in Garfield's favor.

When Garfield and Arthur were inaugurated, March 4, it so happened that the senate was tied. Two new senators—David Davis, of Illinois, and General William Mahone, the famous Confederate chieftain from Virginia—were doubtful. Davis frankly stated that he would vote with the Democrats—that placed the senate, the congress, the administration of the country for two years at least, in the hands of "Billy" Mahone! It was a denoue-

[4] R. A. BROCK.

ment that might occur in the fertile brain of a romancer; but to think of this situation in real life!

Mahone was for the nonce the pivotal man in the nation. At the summit of his fame and power he fell. The Conservatives of Virginia, who were really Democrats, had villified him in every precinct in the state. The people had forgotten the Hero of the Crater in the ambitious politician. General Mahone knew that the great majority of Virginians in 1880 were in sympathy with the Democratic national party, howsoever heated the factional fights over the McCulloch and Riddleberger Bill may have been. Yet he voted Republican. The Virginians never forgave him.[5]

Pivot

There was but one course now open to the Readjusters—to elect a governor to succeed Colonel Holliday. They began early, meeting in June. Three candidates were ready, Cameron, Wise and "Parson" Massey (as he was called). Cameron won. The platform was simple enough, "Pass the Riddleberger Bill and snatch Virginia from the clutches of the Shylocks."

The Conservatives (August 6, 1881) nominated John W. Daniel, of Lynchburg, Mahone's uncompromising foe. But the Conservatives were not so emphatic as previously. They now declared for three per cent. interest, for no "preferred" creditors (as McCulloch had provided). They denounced

[5] This was the great blunder of his career. He knew what the people wanted. Had he voted Democratic he would likely have dominated the state until his death. "Billy" was shrewd but not shrewd enough. His enemies who charged a "corrupt political alliance" were not fair. There was nothing dishonest in Mahone's vote.

"Billy" Mahone as the "boss" of Readjusterism and condemned him with all the adverbs at their command for his "corrupt political alliance," but they adopted his policies.

"The campaign was bitter and heated. Nothing comparable had ever occurred in Virginia. It was the fiercest political battle ever fought in Virginia."[6]

Ten years had passed since our debonair Colonel Walker had assured the Virginians and the creditors that the payment of a small debt of only $47,000,000 could be accomplished with ease. Ten years had passed since the frock-coated vultures had flocked to the state and in those straightened, poverty-stricken years the state was bankrupt.

The Readjusters swept the state, coming over the Blue Ridge with heavy majorities.

The Yorktown Centennial was more than the dedication of a monument, albeit one of the most artistic and beautiful in America. It was the first really friendly gesture that the United States made to the state that was and is the mother of the nation. The Yorktown celebration was a step in the right direction. Governor Holliday's last act, the most imposing feature of his term, was the laying of the cornerstone, October 18, 1881. YORKTOWN

The legislature met (December 7, 1881) to bid the Governor farewell. Senator Mahone came to Richmond and took personal charge of his lieutenants.[7] The Virginians were told a million times

[6] W. C. PENDLETON.

[7] Another blunder.

during the campaign that "Billy" was an autocrat, a czar, a tyrant and a worse Bourbon than any of the Bourbons. Virginians do not like a boss that is too officious. "Billy" should have known better.

He saw the "Sleeveless Hero of the Valley" fade from the scene.

CXVII.

COLONEL WILLIAM EVELYN CAMERON

Governor: January 1, 1882–January 1, 1886

Colonel William Evelyn[1] Cameron holds a position altogether unique as the one Readjuster governor. "Mahone's aristocratic fellow-townsman"[2] was a native of Petersburg (born November 29, 1842), of Scotch ancestry. The first Cameron came to the colony as rector of Old Blandford (Bristol Parish). Charles Campbell[3] was the growing lad's teacher.

In the Civil War the young soldier was severely wounded at Second Manassas, but served as Colonel in Mahone's Brigade until he laid down his arms at Appomattox. Cameron followed his beloved commander in peace as in war until in Mahone's last campaign he, too, became offended.

After the war the young colonel wielded a trench-

[1] R. A. BROCK, *Eminent Virginians*, p. 392, gives "Ewan" as the Governor's middle name.

[2] C. C. PEARSON, *The Readjuster Movement.*

[3] His *History of Va.* is frequently referred to in these pages.

ant pen in Petersburg, Norfolk, again in Petersburg, Richmond, and again in Norfolk.[4]

He was nominated for governor by the Readjusters while serving a third term as Petersburg's mayor, and defeated Major John Warwick Daniel in a fierce campaign.

The legislature again passed the Riddleberger Bill and it became law, February 14, 1882. As a political movement the Readjusters conquered to die. Ever after General Mahone, though still potent, was a receding figure. This epoch-making measure assigned one-third of the debt to West Virginia as its proper share.[5] All sums paid since 1863 on the principal were deducted, leaving $16,843,034 unpaid.

The interest was computed at a total of $25,743,268, upon which huge sums had been paid from time to time in various amounts. Deducting these, $4,192,343 remained. The total debt of Virginia was placed at $21,035,377 (as of July 1, 1882), which was funded in new three per cent bonds with interest payable only in cash.

DEBT

Hugh McCulloch called this settlement "repudiation." He demanded that Virginia pay the last penny of the bond, West Virginia's share included, figured by his attorneys at six per cent, interest generously compounded through the years! He also wished "preferred" creditors. The state recognized only one class of creditors and treated all alike.

[4] He died in Louisa, 1926, and rests among his forefathers and beside his comrades in Old Blandford, Petersburg.

[5] As of June 20, 1863, the date of that state's admission to the Union. Chap. CXXV.

Of course the bond holders had every item of the Riddleberger Bill tested in the courts, ending at last in the Supreme Court—as wise Henry Wise had said at the first.[6] From first to last the courts, state and national, upheld the Riddleberger Bill, and West Virginia was finally forced to assume her share (1918).

TESTED

Unfortunately General Mahone forced his decision upon the Readjuster Party. His iron will was at once his strength and weakness. The General would manage a political party as he commanded the Mahone Brigade or his railway.

In 1883 Cameron appointed two negroes as school trustees in Richmond. The Conservative press and politicians raised a storm of frenzied rhetoric and perfervid oratory that re-echoed throughout the state. Thousands of votes were won by such absurd appeals. It seems that Virginia is to be permanently cursed by this hysteria.

FRENZY

From the silent state the first literary star rose modestly upon the horizon when Thomas Nelson Page published a short dialect story (1884), "Marse Chan." Virginia grew and prospered. Great numbers of Northern people bought rich farms at a fraction of their value. The cities began to grow as business revived.

The Readjusters followed General Mahone into the Republican party and the Conservatives became Democrats. The national election of 1884 put

[6] Chap. CXIV. We have no desire to be unjust to Secretary Hugh McCulloch. He is one of the great financiers of America, but his attitude to Virginia from first to last was, in our opinion, harsh and unreasonable.

Grover Cleveland in the White House and the Democrats returned to a brief interval of power.

The Readjuster, or Republican, convention in Richmond, July 16, 1885, nominated John Sergeant Wise, the distinguished son of a distinguished father. Wise, like Cameron, was long a follower of General Mahone.

WISE

A powerful appeal was made to Virginia to continue the Readjuster regime. They "pointed with pride" to the just readjustment of the state debt; to the public schools which they had "saved from ruin"; to the $13,000,000 they had saved Virginia; to the three per cent interest instead of six per cent; to the enlarged charitable institutions; to a reduced assessment on farm lands; to lower taxes; to double the number of public schools; to the teachers paid promptly and in cash; to a colored Normal School and a colored Insane Hospital at Petersburg; to a decrease of half-a-million in state operating expenses, and to the penitentiary which was now self-sustaining.

PLATFORM

Cameron and his Readjusters gave Virginia the best government the state had enjoyed since the Civil War.

The Democrats met two weeks later in Richmond and nominated General Fitzhugh Lee and "Parson" Massey. It was a compelling ticket. "Parson" Massey was an able and original Readjuster, who, like all of General Mahone's lieutenants, fell away from him.

LEE

The Democrats very shrewdly declared the Riddleberger Act a closed incident.

"Any expectation that any other settlement of the debt upon any other basis will ever be made or tolerated by the people of Virginia is absolutely illusionary and hopeless." All the Democrats had become Readjusters! The Democrats declared for local option as the best solution of the liquor problem.

The campaign was one of the most spectacular ever staged. General Lee rode through the state with the saddle his famous uncle used on "Traveler" during the Civil War, and received an ovation from all the Confederate veterans, Democrats and Republicans. Torch-light processions were popular. It was a heated but joyous campaign. General Lee swept the state, but Wise's minority was impressive. The vote, 152,544 to 136,510, was at once a tribute to the glory of Confederate days, so long gone, and a rebuke to General William Mahone.

CXVIII.

GENERAL FITZHUGH LEE

Governor: January 1, 1886–January 1, 1890

General Lee was the most popular governor who ever served Virginia.[1] His name aroused affectionate regard. His personality was as his name. Fitzhugh Lee knew how to make friends and keep them. In this he contrasted vividly with General Mahone.

[1] LYON G. TYLER. "The one-term provision of the constitution alone prevented his re-election."

Mahone was brilliant, shrewd, adroit and irascible.[2] Lee was not an intellectual giant, nor particularly shrewd, but he liked people, was friendly, sincere and affable, and lo! Mahone died a broken, friendless and disappointed man. When Fitzhugh Lee died he was one of the most popular men in the United States.

General Lee was greatly aided by the swelling prosperity of Virginia. The eighties were kind to us. The hard pressure of poverty was eased. Business grew, trade revived, men were building everywhere. The farmer could sell his products and had a little cash in bank.

Fitzhugh Lee (November 19, 1835-April 28, 1905) graduated from West Point in 1856. He was severely wounded in the Comanche War, and returned to teach at West Point.

He entered the Confederate service as first lieutenant and in two years passed through all grades[3] to major-general (August 3, 1863). Three horses were killed under him at Winchester. He was one of the fortunate few who lived to fight and surrender at Appomattox.

Ten years after the war he made a speech at Boston (1874) that was well received. Fitzhugh Lee was always popular in the North and received an ovation when he marched through the streets of New York at the head of Virginia's troops (1886).

BOSTON

[2] J. H. ECKENRODE, *Hist. of Reconstruction in Va.*, Johns Hopkins Studies, Vol. XXII, p. 396.

[3] JOHN FISKE, *Lee Family.*

He came to an office which required all of his ability and tact. Several lines of railway were incorporated, the South Atlantic and Ohio was building an important link between Bristol and Big Stone Gap. The state line between Virginia and North Carolina had never been accurately surveyed in the fastnesses of Grayson County.

The ordinary expenses of the state were $1,440,-656.98. The income for 1886 was $2,700,000; but the figures were not so good as they appear, for the debt and sinking fund and interest charges, even under the Riddleberger Act, took all the surplus and more.

INCOME

Governor Lee called an extra session of the legislature to wrestle with the financial problem (March 16, 1887). Before they left Richmond (May 24) this legislature passed 480 bills and resolutions!

The holders of bonds and coupons "receivable for taxes" established an agency in Richmond and urged the people to pay their taxes in coupons instead of money. "In Richmond alone those who attempted to pay taxes by coupons increased from 231 to 720 in one year."

General Lee called public meetings and protested that every patriotic Virginian should pay taxes in money. This final effort of the foreign bankers and speculators to embarrass the state was foiled.

In 1889 General Lee stated to the legislature: "If all the debt were funded into Riddleberger bonds, under the act of Feb. 14, 1882, the principal of the debt would be $21,855,812.74. And the annual interest charge would be $655,074.39."

But he explained that the state was in much better shape than the figures revealed for Virginia owned $2,280,643.60 of her own bonds, and retained one-sixth partnership in the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railway, the value of which was steadily increasing. The state also owned $350,000 worth of stock in the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway. The United States owned about half-a-million Riddleberger Bonds, but Virginia had claims pending against the Federal government which offset that liability. Then, too, $831,844.76 in bonds were lost or destroyed.[4]

DEBT

The governor was proud of the educational progress of the state. There were 5,154 schools for white children and 2,115 for colored children, requiring $1,620,000 annually.

As the election for a new governor approached, General Mahone was ready. It was his last battle. But his will was as strong and his intellect as keenly alert as in his younger days.

He called a conference in Petersburg (1888) to arrange the Republican program. Cameron and Wise crossed the old war-horse. The quarrel widened into a breach and split the Republican party in twain. The anti-Mahone Republicans advocated the defeat of Mahone as the only way to "save the Republican party" in Virginia. But the future has not justified the Cameron-Wise prediction. Mahone was defeated and the Republican party after his day became almost non-existent.

SCHISM

Mahone found a new lieutenant and a rising

[4] APPLETON'S *Annual Encyclop.*, 1885-1889

political star in Campbell C. Slemp,[5] of Big Stone Gap. He was Mahone's running mate and from 1890 until today the Republican party in Virginia has found a tower of strength in the Slemps, father and son.

The Democrats nominated Col. Philip Watkins McKinney, of Farmville, another Confederate colonel.

Colonel McKinney's strength was much like the strength of Fitzhugh Lee. He was not a brilliant man, but a kindly, honest, safe, sensible "elder of the Presbyterian church."

In the fierce fights of Readjuster days Colonel McKinney made many speeches against the Readjusters, but he was courteous, kindly and reasonable, and never used harsh terms. He spoke of Mahone, Wise and his other opponents with marked courtesy.

GENTLE

The campaign was carried into every nook and corner of Virginia. The vote that General Mahone marshalled is astonishing. With his party divided against him, his strongest lieutenants of former days either Democrats or anti-Mahone Republicans working for Democratic success, he brought out 120,477 votes. Colonel McKinney received 162,654 and was elected by a handsome majority.

[6] W. C. PENDLETON, *Appalachian Va.*, p. 371.

CXIX.

CAPTAIN PHILIP WATKINS McKINNEY

Governor: January 1, 1890–January 1, 1894

The Captain was born (May 1, 1832) of the Scotch-Irish element which has done more for Virginia than any other, save the basal English.

At Hampden-Sidney, from which he graduated (1851), he made a reputation as an orator. He was strong for the Union; but when Virginia called her sons to her defense he volunteered his sword, and became an officer in the Fourth Virginia Regiment. He was sorely wounded at Brandy Station.

After the surrender he practiced law at Farmville until selected to make the gubernatorial race against General Mahone.

The healing touch of time and our unmistakable prosperity were solving, though slowly, our two great problems, the race question and debt burden. These were boom days—queer freaks of American psychology. Each generation has its boom, and each boom its definite locus.

In the Eighties the farms adjoining almost every Virginia town were cut up into town lots. An auctioneer and brass band were hired, premiums given, bouquets to the ladies and gold-headed canes to the gentlemen. With these inducements hundreds of lots were sold, bringing far more than the original acre was worth. The Shenandoah Valley was to be built like the

BOOM DAYS

suburbs of Philadelphia! How the people who were to inhabit these countless thousands of lots were to live was a minor detail which did not bother the progressive realtor, nor did it seem to worry the purchaser.

Often have we condemned the bankers and brokers who did their utmost to exploit Virginia. The chief firm was Baring Brothers, of London, who for a century had done an enormous business. In an unguarded moment the house endorsed for a hundred million Argentine Republic bonds. The Argentines were not so scrupulous as the Virginians and when that republic defaulted, Baring Brothers failed, and their collapse carried financial distress into every civilized country. It pricked the Virginia boom. The brass bands went silent and the gold-headed canes were put in a closet—unhappy souvenirs of financial hysteria.

BARING BROTHERS

Governor McKinney received a letter from Baring Brothers, which His Excellency laid before the legislature. They wished to compromise the state debt. The legislature agreed, but required a million dollar cash guarantee that they would fulfill their agreement—or forfeit the same. They also strictly forbade any departure from the Riddleberger Act (February 14, 1882), except in the interest of the state. Virginia no longer speaks in the meek and embarrassed accents of Kemper and Holliday. And Shylock has grown polite!

The bankers (June) offered twenty-three millions of debt evidence for twenty millions of good bonds which could be turned into ready cash. Baring

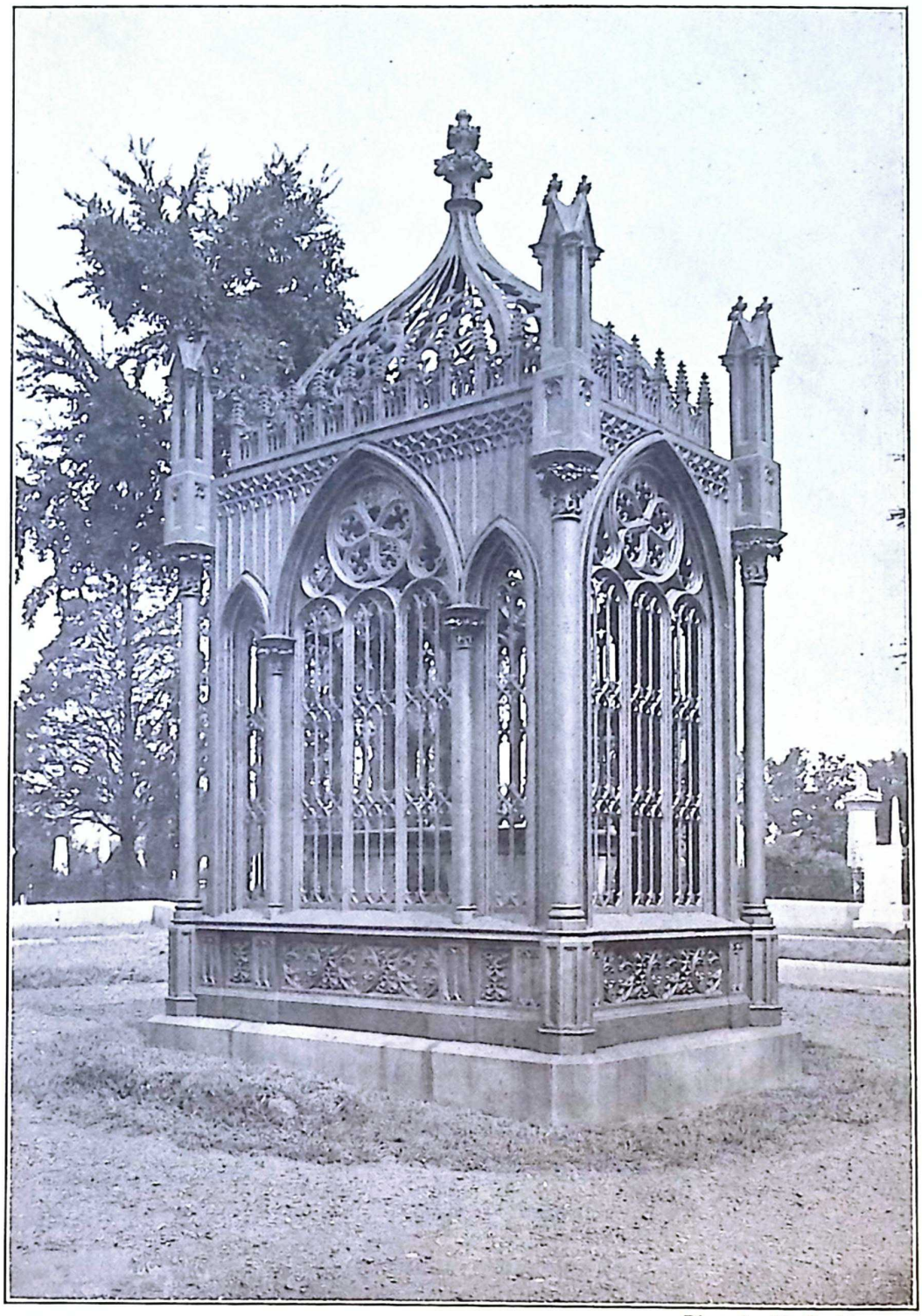

Photo by H. C. Mann.

PRESIDENT MONROE'S MAUSOLEUM
HOLLYWOOD, RICHMOND

James Monroe died in New York City, July 4, 1831, and was buried in Marble Cemetery. He was reinterred in Richmond April 28, 1858.—Chap. XCVI.

Brothers needed cash more than anything on earth. The Virginians countered. They offered eighteen million, in Century Bonds, which for the first ten years would pay two per cent., for the last ninety years, three per cent.

CENTURY BONDS

Lieutenant-Governor J. Hoge Tyler deserves the credit for the ten years. The others were for five years, but Tyler insisted upon ten. The British at last agreed and the contract was signed in London, December 18, 1891. At once the value of Virginia securities leaped upward and they have been rising ever since.

"Virginia repudiated none of her debt, but assigned $13,000,000 as the share of West Virginia and scaled the remainder to about sixty per cent. and funded it into new bonds bearing a lower rate of interest."[1]

The happiest day in Virginia since the war was May 28, 1890, when a magnificent, equestrian statue of General Lee was unveiled at Richmond. The city was filled with an unprecedented multitude. General Fitzhugh Lee led a procession five miles long. Governor McKinney presided and General Joseph E. Johnston pulled the cords that revealed the noble figure upon which 100,000 people gazed. The priceless work of art leaves nothing to be desired. It is worthy its subject, Robert E. Lee, and what more could be said?

LEE

Two years later the ashes of President Jefferson Davis were transferred to Richmond, and laid near

[1] J. G. LA R. HAMILTON, *Va. Quarterly Review*, October, 1927. An illuminating discussion of the debt controversy.

Monroe and Tyler on President's Hill (May 27, 1893). The occasion did not approach the popular fervor of the Lee unveiling, but Virginia was anxious to honor Jefferson Davis in the city where he had been insulted and berated by the unspeakable Underwood twenty-five years before —and he a helpless prisoner whose only crime was that he had made an honorable fight and an honorable surrender in following the conviction of his conscience. Confederate monuments were unveiled at Charlottesville (June 7) and Portsmouth (June 15, 1893).

DAVIS

The census of 1890 gave Virginia 1,655,980 people. 1,041,680 white; an increase of 133,822. There were 640,867 colored; an increase of 9,249. The white population had increased fourteen times as rapidly as the colored.

The value of the coal mined in the state was $107,000; a modest beginning of a great industry. The crop of tobacco (1891) brought $4,323,649, about $40 per acre. The Norfolk truck farmers received $5,000,000 for their produce (1893).

Major John W. Daniel, of Lynchburg, who had succeeded General Mahone in the Senate was re-elected for six years (1893-1899).

At the national election of November 8, 1892, Virginia gave Grover Cleveland 164,058 votes; Harrison, 113,217 votes.

John S. Barbour, who had succeeded H. H. Riddleberger in the United States Senate (March 4, 1889), died in Washington (May 14, 1892). Thomas Staples Martin, of Charlottesville, was a candidate

for the senatorial toga. The legislature, meeting December 6, 1893, heard charges of political manipulation. An investigation "found no evidence that any improper methods had been used by any candidate for the United States Senate." General Eppa Hunton was elected[2] for the short term (1892-1895) and Mr. Martin for the full term (1895-1901). SENATORS

Colonel Charles T. O'Ferrall, nominated by the Democratic Convention (August 17, 1893), was elected unanimously, as the Republicans did not enter the contest.

[2] APPLETON'S *Annual Encyclopedia*, 1890-1894.

CXX.

COLONEL CHARLES TRIPLETT O'FERRALL

Governor: January 1, 1894–January 1, 1898

He came to us from the Valley and like Mahone is a representative of the comparatively small Irish element in Virginia.

The lads of the Valley must be extraordinarily precocious. Charles O'Ferrall was elected clerk of Morgan County when he was seventeen years old. Governor Byrd was an editor when he was fifteen.[1]

When the Civil War came the youthful clerk developed into a gallant colonel.[2] "His regiment

[1] Chap. CXXVIII.

[2] LYON G. TYLER. "He was once left for dead on the battlefield." *Va. Biography*, Vol. III, p. 8.

Shenandoah Valley Pioneers, p. 387.

held the last line, had the last fight and took the last prisoner on Virginia soil."[3]

After Appomattox the clerk and colonel became a student, following General Lee to Washington and Lee. He practiced law at Harrisonburg, and after twelve years in Congress became our executive—and a good one.

Gold; the Indians had it when Newport sailed into the Chesapeake. Where did they get it? A mine in Buckingham County had been worked for years. It was reopened and yielded $100,000 in one year (1893).

Fredericksburg (May 10, 1894) dedicated a monument to Mary, the mother of George Washington.

MONUMENTS

Richmond unveiled a monument on Libby Hill to the Soldiers and Sailors of the Confederacy (May 22). Boydton laid the corner-stone for a Mecklenburg (November 24) monument.

The White House of the Confederacy was used by the military satraps during Reconstruction. Then it became a public school. Richmond made it a shrine (May 28, 1894), and museum, and the Confederate Daughters took it over. The Daughters have done well. It is one of the most interesting houses in Virginia, with an increasingly valuable collection.

Virginians have ever been intensely interested in popular education. "Never had the State shown such zeal and energy before." That zeal, so ardent when O'Ferrall ruled, has never relaxed, but has grown with the increasing wealth and ability of the State.

[3] CHAS. T. O'FERRALL, *Forty Years of Service.*

The aggregate taxes for 1895 were $1,983,042.30, of which the colored population paid $174,808.09. The schools enrolled 137,830 white children, and 64,700 colored. Such figures answer forever the charge that the white man is unjust to his humble neighbor. The Negroes receive more from the State by far than they pay. And none begrudge it. Any aid to the colored population aids the State.

NEGRO SCHOOLS

Governor O'Ferrall was very pronounced in demanding honest elections and determined to make games of chance and lotteries illegal in Virginia. The present election laws which give an honest vote and a fair count are to be traced largely to his influence.[4]

Definite effort made to interest German and Scandinavian farmers in the splendid lands lying idle in all parts of the State met with some success, as at Norge in James City, New Bohemia in Prince George, and Burkeville. But most of our new citizens came from the crowded areas of the North and West.

The presidential year 1896 had a profound effect upon Virginia, and the nation.

The Prohibition Party met at Pittsburgh (May 27, 1896) and nominated Joshua Levering, of Maryland and demanded nation-wide prohibition of the liquor traffic, and votes for women. Then the convention split over the "free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one."

SILVER

The Republicans at St. Louis (June 16) declared for sound money on a gold standard. But thirty-

[4] R. L. MORTON, *History of Virginia*, Vol. III, p. 299.

four delegates led by Senator Henry M. Teller, of Colorado, bolted. McKinley and Hobart were nominated.

The sensation of the decade was offered an astonished public. Senator John W. Daniel, of Virginia, an ardent free silver advocate, presided over the Democratic Convention in Chicago (July 7-10). The platform declared: "We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one."

In the debate William Jennings Bryan, a young lawyer from Nebraska, aroused the silver advocates by an impassioned speech. At the famous "cross of gold" simile the convention went wild, literally and metaphorically. He captured the imagination of the Convention, and the nomination.

BRYAN

Unfortunately for Virginia the free silver heresy took deep root. The Democratic organization, Senator Daniel leading, was thoroughly committed to it.

The Democrats at Roanoke (August 11, 1897) nominated J. Hoge Tyler, of Radford, and Edward Echols. The platform demanded the "free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver."

A young Richmond girl published "The Descendant," a romance which attracted no great attention at the time. But the author, Ellen Glasgow, is a recognized master of letters. Every other year since 1897 Miss Glasgow has made a valued contribution to American fiction. She is, perhaps, the finest American literary artist of our day.[5]

[5] The author regards Miss Glasgow as the dean of contemporary American letters.

Book VII

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY

Beginning 1898

CXXI.

JAMES HOGE TYLER

Governor: January 1, 1898–January 1, 1902

Governor Tyler was the seventh and last of the Confederate "colonels," although but a private in the ranks. His term was pivotal; it marked the turn of the century, the hundred days' war with Spain, the rise of a new nationalism, the fading of the days of poverty. It inaugurated a better era in politics, education, industry, in the standard of living, in a quickened conscience anent matters political, social, economic and moral. In brief, the Virginia that Tyler left was a better commonwealth, by far, than he received.

The third[1] Governor Tyler (1846-1925) was born at Blenheim, Caroline County; but at his mother's untimely death was taken to his maternal grandfather's home in Pulaski County.[2]

[1] Chaps. LXXXV and XCIV.

[2] JAS. F. HOGE, *The Hoge Family*, pp. 62-72.

He shouldered his gun when seventeen and returned after Appomattox to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before. He complained to the Virginia Assembly (1899) that fifteen million acres of good land were lying waste. He watched the expanding mining and manufacturing industries of Southwestern Virginia with great satisfaction.

Governor Tyler had been in office only six weeks when the nation was startled by the destruction of U. S. S. "Maine" in the harbor at Havana.

U. S. S. "MAINE"

The Spanish War marked an era in our history, especially for the South and more especially for the Virginians. The reaction of the state after February 15, 1898,[3] toward all national affairs was changed. Virginia is no longer a conquered province.

It was significant that President McKinley selected General Fitzhugh Lee, a Confederate veteran, one of the last commanders in the field at Appomattox, the nephew of Robert E. Lee, the Governor of Virginia, and a staunch Democrat, as our representative extraordinary to Cuba.

Virginia sent four regiments into the war. Of her 5,000 sons, 198 did not return. The greatest hero of the Spanish War was an unobtrusive army physician, born in Gloucester County, Dr. Walter Reed.[4]

Like O'Ferrall, Governor Tyler found too many "good Democrats" on the payroll. He effected a saving of $100,000 annually by the elimination of useless officials.

[3] The date of the destruction of U. S. S. "Maine."

[4] SQUIRES' *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 97-101.

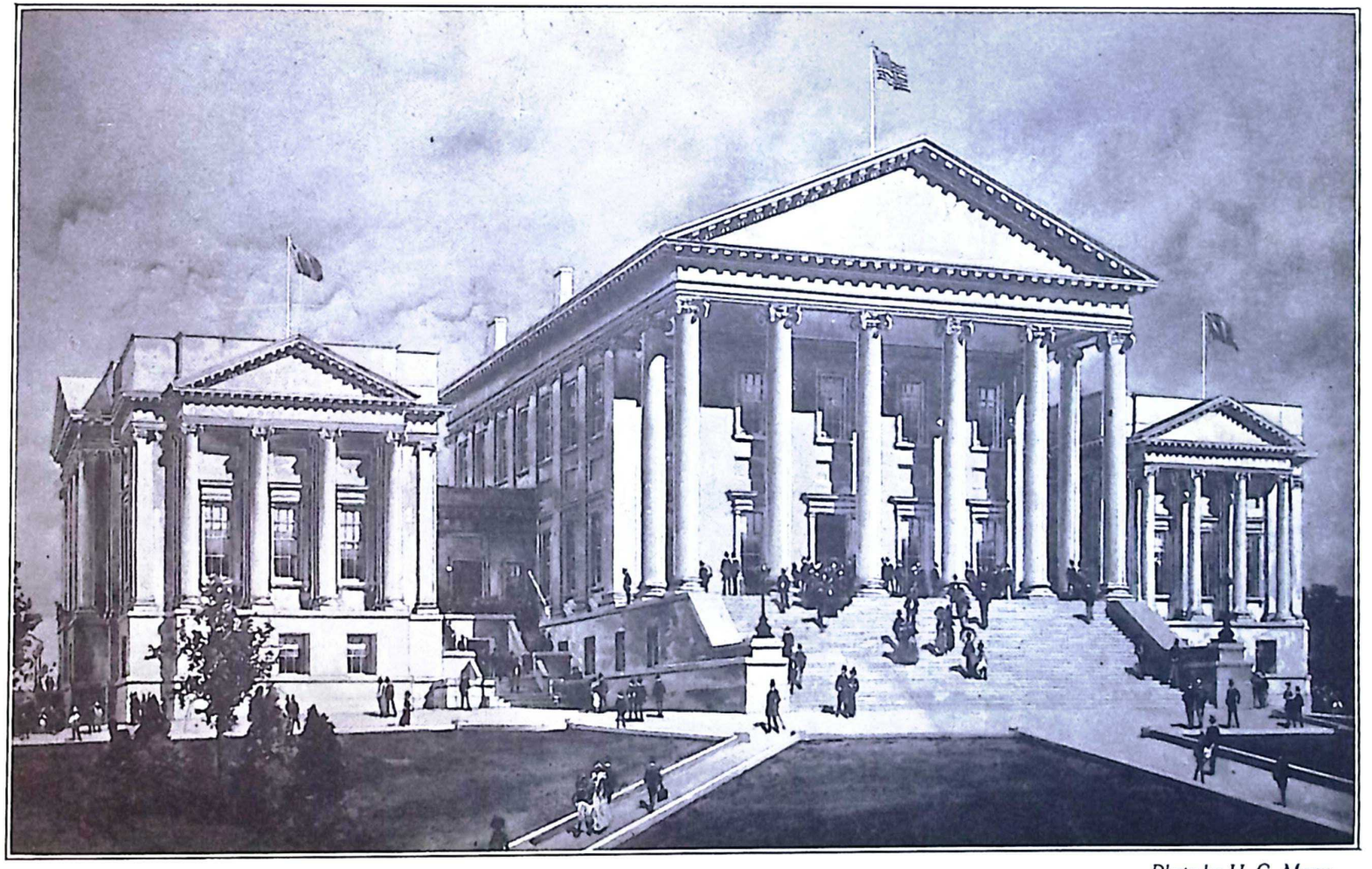

Photo by H. C. Mann.

THE CAPITOL OF VIRGINIA

The Old Capitol was outgrown and inadequate, but the people would never have it removed nor superseded. The New Capitol is the Old Capitol with the front stairs and two wings added.—Chap. CXXIII.

The industrial development of Southwestern Virginia, and the freedom of that section from the race question fostered the rapid development of the Republican party. In each campaign there is a stubborn fight.

The Democrats, July 5, 1898, nominated William F. Rhea, a brilliant young lawyer of Bristol, for Congress. He was a friend of Senator Thomas S. Martin, known throughout the state as the "boss."

The Republicans put forward Gen. James A. Walker—one of Stonewall Jackson's colonels. The campaign was off like a pistol shot and attracted the attention of state and nation.

Rhea won by 744 votes on the face of the returns. General Walker insisted upon an investigation and in the little courthouse at Bristol ugly epithets were used (March 11, 1899), and three shots were fired. General Walker shot Rhea's counsel in self defense, he claimed. Judge Rhea's secretary, or somebody else, shot Walker twice.

RHEA-WALKER CONTESTS

General Walker stood trial, July 3, was promptly acquitted and received an ovation. The political excitement was intense.

General Walker carried the contest to the House of Representatives, and although it was Republican, it refused to unseat Rhea.

Two years later, 1900, the same candidates were again pitted against one another: a battle of game cocks. Again Rhea won, this time by a majority of 1,715. Again General Walker appealed to the House and again they refused to unseat Rhea.

These sensational elections and the charges of fraud so generously flung about by all parties created a profound popular demand that the state be delivered from such violence and tergiversation.

Governor Tyler insisted that the noble army of public school teachers should instruct all growing Virginians in the effect of alcohol on the human body and brain.

They must also be taught that "the Confederate soldier overcome by physical force, laid down his arms with a pledge of his honor to abandon secession for all time. The Confederate soldier has lived up to that pledge in perfect faith and full sincerity, and all their descendants must do the same for all time with like faith and sincerity."

It is distinctly to the benefit of both races to keep them separated. Vicious whites and bad Negroes are always ready to stir up strife. Travelers on trains, cars and boats were required to occupy separate seats. The law has fully justified itself.

The census of 1900 was encouraging to Virginia, showing a growth of twelve per cent., the largest gain being in and about the cities. Evidently the state was growing less rural. Richmond had 85,050 people; Norfolk, 46,624. Six smaller cities were racing together. Petersburg, 21,810; Roanoke, 21,498; Newport News, 19,653; Lynchburg, 18,891; Portsmouth, 17,427; and Danville, 16,520.

CENSUS

There were 1,192,855 whites, an increase of 178,175; and 660,722 colored, an increase of 19,855. The white population increased nine times as rapidly as the colored.

The Underwood Constitution provided that a new constitutional convention might be called after 1888.

The most potent influence in urging a reformed constitution was the pen of Carter Glass.

CARTER GLASS

This vigorous editorial is typical: "There is but one hope of salvation from the corrupt, costly and intolerable domination of an office-holding despotism, and that is a Constitutional Convention. The people who believe in pure government ought to be willing to fight for it. We cannot have it under the present constitution."

"There is an office-holders' trust in the state which controls and manipulates everything in the state. Virginia should set an example in purifying and keeping the elective system clean."[5]

Many did not hesitate to say that Senator Martin ruled Virginia as absolutely as ever General Mahone had in his day.

In May, 1900, the proposition was carried (77,362 to 60,373). Governor Tyler called the Assembly (February 16, 1901), and one hundred constitution-makers were elected in May, eighty-eight Democrats and twelve Republicans.

Hon. John Goode was elected president (June 12, 1901). For a year they labored wisely and well.

Mary Johnston, a member of a distinguished Virginia family, published "Prisoners of Hope," an historical novel which made her famous. She has since added many titles to her original contribution.

Governor Tyler urged the segregation of taxes

[5] *Lynchburg News*, 1899.

and the equalization of tax laws throughout the state.

And he was one of the first executives, if not the first, to ameliorate the condition of prisoners by conditional pardons.

When he laid down the seals he was able to say: "The state has met all expenses. She has given $170,000 in modest pensions to Confederate soldiers. She has increased her appropriations to the schools, placed half-a-million in the sinking fund, paid the expenses of the Constitutional Convention and has $700,000 cash in hand. God bless Virginia, and may every office-holder be filled with a deep sense of duty to his state."

TYLER'S BENEDICTION

CXXII.

ANDREW JACKSON MONTAGUE

Governor: January 1, 1902–January 1, 1906

"The red fox runs far but he runs straight." This characteristic remark of Lieutenant-Governor Robert Latane Montague (1860-1864) is a true prophecy, for his son has run both far and straight.

The future Governor was born in Campbell County (October 3, 1862) of Norman stock in England and Virginia. He studied at William and Mary and Richmond College; took law at the University of Virginia and practiced at Danville until President Cleveland appointed him United

States District Attorney. He was elected Attorney-General of Virginia with Governor Tyler (1897).

Two sons of Pittsylvania offered to succeed Tyler. Claude A. Swanson, long the popular Congressman from the Fifth or Danville District, was generally understood to be the choice of the Democratic organization, whose headquarters were supposed to be in Washington. The "Red Fox" of Pittsylvania, not to be set aside, appealed directly to the people. One of the heated contests of a generation followed. The fight was carried into every corner of every county. The people were restless. Virginians do not like the manipulation of public affairs by invisible hands. The proverbial man-in-the-street felt that the two senators kept an eye too eager and alert upon the local affairs of the state. The Virginians have the English sense of fair play. Contrary to the prediction of the politicians and the press, the "Red Fox" won (at Norfolk, September, 1901) the nomination and subsequently the election.

MACHINE POLITICS

With Montague a new generation took the helm. He was the first of seven "business" governors, who have since ruled Virginia.

New Year's Day (1902) witnessed an inauguration altogether unique. The Constitutional Convention was in session. In their presence Montague, Jos. E. Willard (Lieutenant-Governor) and William A. Anderson (Attorney-General) took the oath of office; the last under the Underwood Constitution.

INAUGURATION

The Convention spent much time discussing the

proclamation of the new Constitution. Every other such document, except one, had been voted upon by the people. The Assembly in calling the Convention expressly provided that the new Constitution should be submitted. By a close vote (47 to 38), they decided to proclaim the Constitution, setting a dangerous precedent.[1] They adopted the child of their labors (90 to 10) and adjourned, June 26, 1902, after a year of arduous and difficult labor.

PROCLAMATION

Governor Montague proclaimed the Constitution June 27, and it became operative July 10, 1902, at noon.

"It is no exaggeration to say that the Convention of 1901-1902 would compare favorably with any other deliberative body in ability, learning, eloquence and patriotism."[2] Under the fifth Constitution the people have prospered. It is too lengthy and detailed, invading matters which should have been left to the legislature. It has often been amended. It eliminated ignorant voters "without discriminating against any race, class or condition." Its excellent provisions include (1), economy of administration; (2), reduced and equitable taxes; (3), better jury service; (4), simplified executive, judicial and legal departments; (5), improved county and town government; (6), institutional control; (7), corporation control. There is "no taint of fraud in the conduct of elections and no false regis-

[1] Had the Underwood Constitution been proclaimed as originally written Virginia would have been ruined. Chap. CXII.

[2] JOHN GOODE, *Recollections of a Lifetime.*

tration, and no tampering with the sacred rights of the ballot."

The most popular item of Montague's term was the passage of the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Bill, May 10, 1902. General Fitzhugh Lee was president of the commission until his death (1902-1905), when Congressman Harry St. George Tucker succeeded. The site chosen December 1, 1902, contained 350 acres of unimproved land, fronting 12,000 feet on Hampton Roads, the "world's greatest harbor," in full view of Old Point Comfort. It was a magnificent selection.[3] EXPOSITION

The Governor was determined to give every child, white and colored, an opportunity. The public school system had improved but left much to be desired. There was still too much illiteracy in the state. Montague's term marked a healthful and steady advance in education.

James Branch Cabell, a young newspaper man of Richmond, published "The Eagle's Shadow" (1904), since which time his fame especially as a writer of short stories, has grown until it has filled the land.

Three candidates offered to succeed Montague. Congressman Swanson was, as previously, the nominee of the Organization, Joseph E. Willard was the anti-machine aspirant and Judge William H. Mann was the favorite of the dry Democrats, who favored state-wide prohibition. The retiring Governor offered himself as a candidate for Senator Martin's seat. The primary in August cleared the troubled waters

[3] *Blue Book, Jamestown Ter-Centennial*, 800 pages, gives an intimate and detailed account of the Exposition from first to last.

by a complete victory for the Organization. Swanson was nominated for Governor, and Senator Martin was nominated to succeed himself.

CXXIII.

CLAUDE AUGUSTUS SWANSON

Governor: February 1, 1906–February 1, 1910

The new Governor was born among the red hills of Pittsylvania (March 31, 1862). The financial reverses of post-bellum days, frequently referred to in these pages compelled the lad of fourteen to toil on the parental acres. His hard-earned dollars gave him one year at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, and then he secured a job at Danville. "Four of the leading citizens were so impressed with the ability of the grocery clerk that they volunteered funds to complete his education."

Claude spent three years at Randolph-Macon, working also as editor of the "Hanover and Caroline News." After a law course at the University, he practiced at Chatham. "In less than six years he was elected to Congress from the Fifth District, and retained his seat until called to the gubernatorial office (1893-1905). His popularity may be accounted for. He fought Montague to an unsuccessful finish in 1901, but when defeated he "made more speeches for Montague than any other man in the state"—that's Swanson. He has always played fair, he has

always worked hard and his interest in his constituents, whether as Congressman, Governor or Senator, has never lagged. Swanson has done more for the material advancement of Virginia than any living man.[1]

The pernicious habit of lobbying became intolerable in 1906. The cloak rooms, corridors, and even the Senate and House chambers, were crowded with solicitors favorable or hostile to some legislation, railway solicitors, corporation lawyers, insurance agents and brokers. "On several occasions, in each house, business was forced to suspend until the noisy, pestiferous breed could be cleared out."[2] The evil obtains to this day. LOBBY

The new Governor advocated increasing the annual deposits in the Sinking Fund, to hasten the extinction of the state debt, to save interest charges and to strengthen Virginia's credit. The debt had been reduced eleven million dollars.

The industrial revival which began immediately after the Spanish War continued unabated. The capital invested in Virginia's factories, which reached 92 million in 1900 increased to 147 million in 1907.

January 19, 1907, was the centennial of General Lee's birth. Charles Francis Adams made a notable address at Washington and Lee University, in which he admitted the legal right of secession, in 1861, as the deliberate conclusion of the world's scholarship. But the distinguished littera- LEE

[1] The author holds no brief for Mr. Swanson. This is his opinion after a careful study of all the facts. If Swanson has a rival for this honor it is Gov. Byrd.

[2] *Richmond Journal.*

W. C. PENDLETON, *Appalachian Va.*, p. 518.

teur deplored the action and insisted that it was not justified in the circumstance. This coincides with the best thought of the South today.

An equestrian statue of General J. E. B. Stuart (May 30) and a classic monument to President Jefferson Davis (June 3) were unveiled in Richmond (1907).

The Jamestown Exposition opened April 26, 1907—three hundred years to the day after the landing at Cape Henry.[3] Actual construction cost $5,444,500, and many more millions were spent by individuals and exhibitors. The colonial architecture of the Exposition was very artistic and effective. Eight permanent buildings faced Raleigh Court; many state buildings are still in use.[4]

TER-CENTENNIAL

Connecticut built a replica of Col. Tallmadge's colonial home at Litchfield; Georgia reproduced Bulloch Hall, the maternal, ancestral home of President Roosevelt; Kentucky rebuilt Daniel Boone's Fort at Boonesboro; Maryland rebuilt Carrollton, Chas. Carroll's home; Massachusetts, the Old State House at Boston; New Hampshire, John Landon's home at Portsmouth; New Jersey, Washington's headquarters at Morristown; Ohio, the first stone house west of the Alleghanies, at Adena; Pennsylvania, Independence Hall, Philadelphia; Rhode Island, the state's first capitol; West Virginia, Blennerhasset Manor; Delaware, Illinois, Louisiana, Michigan, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Vermont and Virginia had beautiful

[3] SQUIRES' *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 1-15.

[4] Now the United States Naval Operating Base.

buildings not of especial historic design. The Daughters of the Confederacy reproduced Beauvoir, President Davis' home in Mississippi. There were 2,500 exhibits; some very elaborate.

But the Exposition was not a financial success. It was managed by politicians; not by practical business men. Weather conditions, transportation, and labor conditions were unfavorable.

Yet the Exposition was a magnificent conception and gave Norfolk a stimulus she has retained.

In 1907 forty-six counties in the state were dry. Under local option the first elections nearly always went wet, especially in cities and towns. But public opinion registered a gradual change. Perhaps no argument was so convincing as the thrift and prosperity of a typical dry community and the unhappy conditions that seemed to radiate from saloons and their patrons. The Mann Law (1906) closed 800 rural saloons.[5]

LIQUOR

Governor Swanson's term was marked by other social and economic benefits. Electrocution was substituted for hanging. Convicts were taken from cells to build roads. Cocaine was put under a strict ban. Appropriations for primary schools were doubled. Two teachers' colleges were founded: Harrisonburg and Fredericksburg.

The finest bit of legislation in this term was the loaning of money on good security at 4% to build high schools. The state loaned to itself, received a larger per cent. on the funds than the banks paid, and the schools paid less interest to

LOANS

[5] Chap. CXXIV.

the state than they paid the gentle bankers. Splendidly equipped schools were erected in all quarters of Virginia, and the Literary Fund has not lost a dollar! When Swanson took the oath of office there were seventy-five accredited high schools in Virginia. When he retired there were 405.[6]

Catawba Institute, in Roanoke County, is a monument to the humane legislation of this term. No estimate can be made of the good it has accomplished.

Alexandria celebrated the 120th anniversary of the inauguration of George Washington (April 30, 1909). The Governor made the oration of the day. He also welcomed President Taft at Petersburg (May, 1909).

When Judge William F. Rhea[7] was appointed to the State Corporation Commission (1908), there was much criticism, owing to the heated Rhea-Walker controversies, and because both Rhea and Swanson were organization Democrats. Judge Rhea served for seven years, so efficiently that, when he was reappointed (1915), opposition had completely disappeared.

In the primary of 1909, four candidates were ready. Judge Mann was acceptable to the organization Democrats. He was popular with the dry element; in fact, he was the chief spokesman against the saloon. He was a Confederate veteran, a successful farmer and a successful business man. Henry C. Stuart, Carter Glass and Harry St. George Tucker were receptive, but the

FOUR

[6] Judge Mann introduced and pushed this legislation. Chap. CXXIV.

[7] Chap. CXXI.

fight was between Mann and Tucker. Judge Mann's versatile abilities secured him both the nomination in August and the election in November, defeating William P. Kent, the Republican nominee.

When Swanson resigned his seat to Mann, he had given Virginia the best quadriennium since the Civil War. He ranks as one of our greater governors.

CXXIV.

JUDGE WILLIAM HODGES MANN

Governor: February 1, 1910–February 1, 1914

The Confederate colonels returned to power once again, and for the last time, in Judge Mann. But he was none the less a successful business governor, and in his person the two eras were happily blended. His term was filled with perplexing problems and delicate situations which he handled tactfully and well.

He was born in Williamsburg (1843) and educated at a private academy in Brownsburg, a village of Rockbridge. Although recognized as one of the ablest jurists on our bench, he had no college education, for at seventeen he enlisted with the Petersburg Riflemen, Mahone's Brigade.[1] He reached the age of patriarchs, eighty-four, and outlived every

[1] It was fitting and graceful that his last public appearance was his address at the dedication of a monument to Gen. Mahone on the battlefield of the Crater.

member of his company, despite an injury received at Seven Pines.

Governors Mann and Tyler were of an age; they were similar in temperament and habits. Their careers ran strangely parallel. Both were elders in the Presbyterian Church. Both enlisted at seventeen; both were wounded, but fought through the war. Both demanded for the rising generation the education they were denied. Both were dry advocates, progressive farmers and enthusiastic Virginians. Both were beloved by the farmers, in particular, and both lived to an honored old age. If one desires to sketch a typical Confederate colonel we commend Mann or Tyler.

LIKE TYLER

After the war the young veteran, twenty-one, turned to law and became the first judge of Nottoway County. He served twenty-two years, and only two of his decisions were reversed.

The Judge turned to politics late in life. In 1899 he took a seat in the state senate. Swanson defeated him in 1905. Four years later he defeated Tucker (1909).

As a senator the Judge was the patron of two bills, of which he was ever proud and which are carved upon his tomb in the quiet shades of Blandford Cemetery (Petersburg). The Mann Law of 1906 closed eight hundred rural saloons and made Virginia dry, except the urban centers. His loan bill aided in the erection of 350 high schools during Swanson's term (1906). It is more than mere coincidence that the hand which closed the saloons opened the schools.[2]

TWO BILLS

[2] Chap. CXXIII.

"Mary Cary" was published (1910) by a Richmond author, Kate Langley Bosher, after which she sent a romance, each year, into the world of letters.

The census of 1910 brought Virginia encouraging statistics. The state was twentieth in rank, but it increased eleven per cent. Of 2,061,612 people, 1,389,809 were Caucasians; 671,096 were colored. The white increase for the decade was 196,954; the colored increase 10,374. The white population increased nineteen times as fast as the colored.

CENSUS

The markets were expanding, the cities were growing, progress and prosperity were in the air. The six largest cities were:

Richmond, 127,628; Norfolk, 67,452; Roanoke, 34,874; Portsmouth, 33,190; Lynchburg, 29,494; Petersburg, 24,127.

Our veteran Senator, John W. Daniel, was re-elected January 25, 1911, but died soon after (June 29). Governor Mann appointed Governor Swanson, who is still one of the most influential members of the United States Senate.

The Democrats of Southwestern Virginia made a determined effort to defeat Bascom C. Slemp. The time seemed propitious for, in national affairs, the Republican party was split from stem to stern. Henry Carter Stuart made the race. Unlike many staged in that section, it was a campaign between gentlemen. Slemp was elected by 250 votes, but Stuart's defeat made him governor of the state.

SLEMP

A law was passed forbidding automobiles to speed

faster than twenty miles an hour. Considering the condition of the roads as we painfully recall them, we do not see how any driver could make more than twenty miles an hour!

In 1911, Henry Sydnor Harrison, a young Richmond journalist, published a novel, "Queed," and awoke to find himself famous.[2]

The production of the coal mines was constantly increasing, and reached 6,507,997 tons (1911).

The state was overwhelmingly dry in sentiment. Eighty-five counties and six cities—Charlottesville, Clifton Forge, Fredericksburg, Radford, Suffolk and Winchester—were without a saloon. A bill providing state-wide prohibition passed the Delegates, but was defeated by a narrow margin in the Senate.

Governor Mann's greatest contribution to the state was his stern and inflexible refusal to interfere with the processes of law in the notorious Floyd and Claude Allen case. These desperate mountaineers assassinated Judge Massie on the bench and killed and wounded many others. Sentimentalists brought every influence to bear upon the Governor to save the desperadoes from electrocution. The state needed a lesson in respect for law, and Mann gave it.

ALLENS

"The night before the execution of the Allens, the Governor left for Philadelphia. Those who had done their unavailing best to secure a pardon attempted to persuade Lieutenant-Governor J. Taylor Ellyson to act. A swift message to the absent

[2] Born in Sewanee, Tenn., February 12, 1880, he lives in New York.

executive brought him to Alexandria, and he wired Richmond next morning: "The Governor of Virginia is in the state." Four hours later the superintendent of the penitentiary was notified: "The Governor of Virginia is in his office, ready to transact business'."[3]

Virginia watched the heroic struggle of Woodrow Wilson, his rapid rise to power and the promise he gave of a compelling career. The state was for Wilson, Virginia's great son. An acute situation developed in Norfolk when the State Democratic Convention refused the popular demand for Woodrow Wilson. It shows at once the danger and the power of machine politics and the unresponsive attitude of professional politicians in a uni-party commonwealth.[4]

MACHINE DRIVEN

William G. McAdoo pled with Virginia to give her vote to the great Virginian; but Virginia went to Baltimore "uninstructed."

[3] There was never any proof that Mr. Ellyson would have pardoned the Allens. We are positive that he had no such intention.

[4] The author was an interested spectator at this Convention.

CXXV.

HENRY CARTER STUART

Governor: February 2, 1914–February 1, 1918

This princely family, which sought the Valley of Virginia with the Scotch-Irish migration, has given to the state three stalwart sons, without whom our history could not be written: Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart, General James Ewell Brown Stuart and the Governor.

Henry was born in Wythe County (January 18, 1855) to William Alexander Stuart, a brother of the famous Confederate chieftain. His grandfather, Archibald Stuart, lived in Patrick County and the county seat was named for him. He was an officer in the War of 1812, a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1829-1830 and of 1850-1851. He served in Congress with marked distinction.[1]

Henry Carter Stuart graduated from Emory and Henry and studied law at the University. But he found his fame and fortune in the sequestered blue-grass pastures of Russell County, which climb to the top of the mountains lifting along the Appalachian summits.

He served Virginia in the Constitutional Convention, and on the State Corporation Commission (retiring in 1908); and, as previously stated, made the race for Congress, being narrowly defeated by C. Bascom Slemp.

[1] WALTER P. STUART.

No governor was ever elected as was Stuart.[2] He had no rival for the Democratic nomination, and the Republicans did not enter the contest. As a piquant editor remarked, "The office was handed him on a silver platter."

The popular sentiment for prohibition was thoroughly rooted in the conscientious convictions of the people. Other states, notably North Carolina, had adopted state-wide prohibition. The rural districts, flooded with liquor from the cities, resented the traffic. An Enabling Act, once blocked in the state senate, was introduced again and passed. The referendum called for September 22, 1914, swept the state by huge majorities, and Virginia's last saloons, eight hundred in number, closed their doors November 1, 1916.

LIQUOR

The World War, August 1, 1914, had a permanent and profound effect upon Virginia. At first there was a slackening of industry, uncertainty as to the future and the usual timidity of capital. Cotton, corn, coal and tobacco had no market; labor was idle on the farms and in the cities.

But with 1915 the tide turned: a strong demand for everything men eat, wear and use in warfare set the wheels of industry in feverish activity. Prices soared and filled the state with gold. This continued for seven years, until in 1921-1922 prices relaxed, money became tighter and trade returned nearer normal levels.

But labor and the prices demanded and paid for most products became so thoroughly organized that

[2] ALBERT SHAW, *Review of Reviews*, November, 1913.

there has never been a return either to pre-war standards of living, nor to pre-war salaries. In common with all America and the civilized world, Virginia reached a higher level. Yet Governor Stuart secured a reduction from 35c to 10c per $100 on all real and personal property. In 1912 the 2,061,612 people possessed $2,402,000,000 of wealth. In 1922, 2,309,189 people had accumulated wealth estimated at $4,892,000,000—figures eloquent of the change that transformed Virginia during these years.[3]

PROSPERITY

Justice Charles E. Hughes[4] delivered (June, 1915) the opinion of the Supreme Court in the controversy between the two Virginias. The Court placed West Virginia's share of the old state debt at $4,215,000, with $8,175,000 accrued interest. They computed that 23½ per cent. of the debt of undivided Virginia should be paid by the new state.

DEBT

The cost of administering the state's affairs crossed the ten million mark, and has been steadily climbing.

Woodrow Wilson declared war on Germany April 6, 1917. No state was more active than Virginia, and no governor more patriotic or efficient than Stuart. Virginia was the first state in the Union to report to President Wilson that all the requirements of the Draft had been complied with.

Hampton Roads became a great naval and mili-

[3] Figures supplied by the State Chamber of Commerce, CLARENCE W. NEWMAN.

[4] ALBERT SHAW, *Review of Reviews*, July, 1915.

tary base. Millions of men and hundreds of millions of supplies left this great harbor for the seat of hostilities. These colossal figures are not exaggerated.

Three prominent Democrats volunteered to continue the work Governor Stuart must resign: J. Taylor Ellyson, of Richmond, reputed to be the choice of the Organization; John Garland Pollard, Governor Stuart's efficient attorney-general, popular with those Democrats who did not like organization rule, and Westmoreland Davis, the favorite of the farmers and of many business men. The triangular contest was prolonged, personal and heated. Westmoreland Davis won. He was triumphantly elected over the Republican nominee, Thomas J. Munsey.

TRIANGULAR

One of Governor Stuart's last acts, perhaps the very last to which he attached his signature, created the State Highway Commission, by which the state took over 3,800 miles of arterial roads and began their improvement. At last an efficient lever had been found to lift Virginia out of the mud through which our fathers had travelled THROUGH CENTURIES THREE.

CXXVI.

WESTMORELAND DAVIS

Governor: February 1, 1918–February 1, 1922

Westmoreland Davis was born on the high seas (August 21, 1859). He graduated from the Virginia Military Institute at eighteen (1877), and secured his first employment as a clerk with the Richmond and Danville Railway. Later he was admitted to the New York bar (1883); but the green fields of Old Virginia beckoned to him, for Westmoreland Davis was a farmer born. He made his home at Leesburg, and became at once one of the influential men of the state. For years he was president of the Farmers' Institute (1908-1915), and was, and is, the editor of the "Southern Planter," Richmond. Nothing that concerns a farm or farmers is foreign to Davis. He once declared, "Whatever aids the farmer benefits the state."

As governor he used his best endeavors to teach young Virginians the value of pure-bred stock as distinguished from scrubs, and if he had his way there would not be a scrub farmer nor any scrub stock in Virginia. The value of co-operation, of intelligent marketing and of crop selection were doctrines he never tired of preaching.

Eighteen months before his election, Mr. Davis declared: "The keynote of my administration will be an efficient government, economically administered." When elected he immediately secured from

the Assembly an act for a biennial budget. The governor, legislators and heads of the state's departments prepared an estimate of the fiscal needs of the state and submitted the same to the Assembly.

BUDGET

To a layman it is inconceivable that the colony and commonwealth should have been governed THROUGH CENTURIES THREE without a budget. Had Westmoreland Davis done nothing else, this contribution to Virginia would entitle him to everlasting remembrance. To him the executive of a great state is not a political prestidigitator, but a business manager, responsible to God and man for an holy trust. Before Westmoreland Davis left the chair, eight states had adopted the "Virginia budget plan" (North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Oklahoma, Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho and Arizona).

COAL

In these hectic days, when the world was on fire, a strike of miners would have paralyzed industry, seriously impaired our shipping and certainly made the winning of the war more difficult; yet that calamity[1] was impending. Governor Davis hastened to the mines and, with John Hirschberg, induced the miners to return to work. It was a delicate and perilous situation diplomatically handled.

Peace came at length, and the years of relaxation were perhaps more difficult and trying than those of war. The Governor became a preacher of financial righteousness. The pity of it is that untold thousands did not heed. "We need an abiding faith

[1] ALBERT SHAW, *Review of Reviews*, February and March, 1918.

in the Higher Power which rules the destiny of man, and a determination to address ourselves earnestly to our work, and in a spirit of thrift to save rather than to practice those extravagances which modern life encourages."

THRIFT

After the Armistice, many heroes were entertained at the Executive Mansion. The Governor and First Lady of Virginia fully maintained Virginia's reputation for hospitality, at no small personal expense, without touching the funds of the commonwealth. Marshals Joseph Joffre, Ferdinand Foch, Robert G. Nivelle and others were guests. General John J. Pershing visited Richmond and was received officially by the General Assembly then in session (February, 1920).

The annual census was encouraging; the preponderance of the white population constantly increased. Of 2,309,187 in our total population, 1,617,909 were white, an increase of 228,100 for the decade. Some 690,017 were colored, an increase of 18,920. The white population increased twelve times as rapidly as the colored; and the colored population was less than thirty per cent. Corn brought our farmers forty-two million dollars a year, and tobacco thirty-seven million. The state handled twenty-five million dollars of tax money, and the Governor declared, "We have kept the state within her income."

CENSUS

Carter Glass, of Lynchburg, for years an influential editor and Congressman, an uncompromising foe of the liquor traffic and an advocate of open as opposed to machine politics, was

GLASS

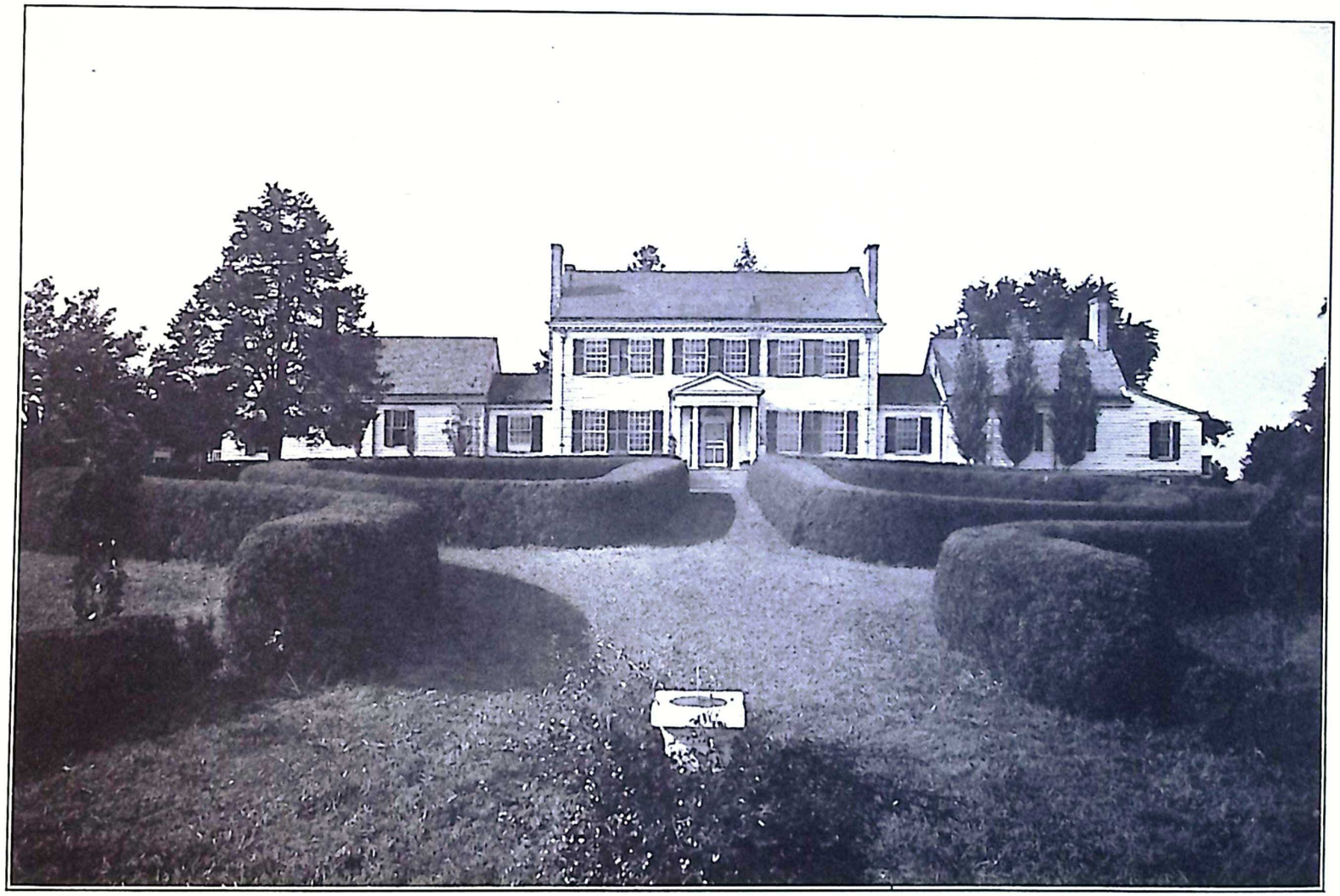

Photo by H. P. Cook.

RED HILL

"In 1794, Patrick Henry bought a fine estate on the Staunton River, called 'Red Hill,' which he made his permanent home. The dwelling was a plain wooden structure in Charlotte County, a few yards from the Campbell line. When he died he was laid to rest at the foot of the garden." (WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, "*Life of Patrick Henry*," Vol. II, p. 514.)

"Red Hill" was burned, 1919.

appointed by Governor Davis to the Senate (1920) to succeed the late Thomas S. Martin.

Westmoreland Davis declared, "The constantly decreasing death rate for Virginia is a source of profound gratification." The state wages a winning war on typhoid, tuberculosis, dental and throat diseases and malaria.

Norfolk appreciated this word: "The finest natural harbor in the world and the basic jewel of Virginia's economic well-being is Hampton Roads," a possession never fully appreciated by the state at large nor utilized, as it should be, by those along its littoral.

The franchise was extended to women.

It was proposed to build a worthy and adequate state library at Richmond as a memorial to our war heroes. Unfortunately the plan did not carry. The state library is a college for those who cannot attend college, a school for those who cannot attend school and a university, not for a favored few, but for all the people all the time.

LIBRARY

The schools were rapidly developing. In 1915 the state spent $7,612,000 for education; in 1920, $13,790,000. All the state institutions were crowded to their capacity.

When Governor Davis bade the legislature farewell, he sounded this warning. Some $10,521,200 has been voted for roads to be built (in 1922-1924). There will be a temptation to make political offices rather than build highways. We do not believe the highways have suffered. Perhaps the warning was sufficient.

ROADS

Two leaders entered the primary in 1921; E. Lee Trinkle, reputed to be the choice of the Organization, and Harry St. George Tucker, of Lexington.

Like Governor Henry Carter Stuart, Senator Trinkle made a campaign in Southwestern Virginia against C. Bascom Slemp, long the Congressman from that district. Like Stuart, Trinkle was defeated by Slemp, but his campaign won for him the regard of the Democratic party in the state and secured the nomination.[2]

TRINKLE

Senator Trinkle was elected in November, over the Republican candidate, Henry W. Anderson.

Governor Davis' valedictory was in these words (January 11, 1922):

"In years to come, the highest claim that may be made for my administration is that I was trusted by Virginia, and I have kept the faith." Of him it was written, "If ever a man elected to office lived up to his platform, and to the reforms he promised, that man is Westmoreland Davis." His quadrennium was the most prosperous Virginia had enjoyed to that time.

[2] Chap. CXXV.

CXXVII.
ELBERT LEE TRINKLE
Governor: February 1, 1922–February 1, 1926

The nation's intense activity and abounding war prosperity were followed by a sharp reaction, through seven straightened years (1921-1928). Weaker firms failed, the poor and improvident suffered and unemployment became more or less acute; as in the era that followed the memorable panic of 1873. The steady progress and development of Virginia despite adverse conditions are a tribute to the executive ability of the new Governor.

The budget system was strengthened and made more effective. A million dollar office building, erected in Capitol Square, provides convenient and proper equipment for many departments and officials.

Shenandoah National Park[1] remained no longer a beautiful vision, but became a reality of enormous potential value to the commonwealth.

The State Chamber of Commerce was established, and has, ever since, heralded the attractions of Virginia the wide world over.

Governor Trinkle was anxious to lighten the taxpayers' burden. High taxes depress industry, deter investment and discourage capital. Those who would likely build their homes and factories in our midst pass to other states where taxes are lower. The Governor secured a reduction on intangible property from $1.10 to 55 cents.

TAXES

[1] WILLIAM JOSEPH SHOWALTER, *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, April, 1929.

Though a temporary loss, the reduction has brought much wealth into the state.

ROADS

The outstanding achievement of Governor Trinkle's quadrennium was the construction of good roads. Virginia's unhappy experience with Hugh McCulloch and the bankers had not been forgotten. The people[2] opposed a huge, bonded, interest-bearing debt. North Carolina issued bonds, but Virginia preferred to pay for the highways as they were built. The Governor recommended a tax of three cents a gallon on gasoline, which was afterwards increased to five cents. More than forty million dollars were raised and expended on the roads during the terms of Trinkle and Byrd.[3] Those who use the roads pay for them, and in very small, but steady instalments. There are no bonds, no coupons, no interest charges and no bankers to congregate in the lobbies and dictate to the state. The Governor was happy in the selection of Henry G. Shirley as Road Commissioner. A commission under Dr. James Hamilton Eckenrode has placed markers on historic sites along all the highways. Those who run may read the story of Virginia's achievements.

SEVEN IN ONE

When the plastic Hand of God formed our mountains, plains and rivers, the state was divided into seven sections, distinct yet merging each into the other. Tidewater, Northern, Central, Southside and Piedmont Virginia lie east of Blue Ridge. The Valley and Southwestern Virginia are

[2] They were led by Harry Flood Byrd, of Winchester.

FRENCH STROTHER, *World's Work*, December, 1926.

[3] HON. WILLIAM MOSELEY BROWN estimates that 87 millions have been raised and expended (1929).

clearly defined. Governor Trinkle has done more, perhaps, than any living man to bind these sections together in sentiment. Hampton Roads is the port for the coal, cattle and tobacco upstate, and Shenandoah Park is a real asset to Tidewater and Richmond.

The segregation of taxes discussed through several terms was another stride in the right direction.

The development of the state for seventy years is shown by these figures:[4]

In 1850, the taxable value of property expressed in millions, including West Virginia, was 431; in 1860, 793; in 1870, Virginia alone, 328; in 1880, 707; in 1890, 862; in 1900, 1,102; in 1904, 1,288; in 1912, 2,402; in 1922, 4,892.

The development of the educational institutions and the increasing efficiency of the public school system is the pride of the state. The Governor's presence at many functions, and his personal interest in the state's institutions added no little to popular enthusiasm.

The most elaborate and successful pageant staged in Virginia, perhaps in America, was given for a week in Richmond, May 22-28, 1922. The story of Virginia THROUGH CENTURIES THREE was told in song, story and drama. Those participating entered heartily into the spirit of the occasion. The colonial costumes, customs and dances in a perfect setting made the pageant a triumph of art.[5]

[4] CLARENCE W. NEWMAN, State Chamber of Commerce
U. S. CENSUS: *Wealth, Debt and Taxation*, pp. 24-26.

[5] Richmond newspapers of even date.

Mr. and Mrs. Alexander W. Weddell purchased Sulgrave Manor, Warwick Priory, and had the historic English building carefully reconstructed west of Richmond in a park overlooking the James. As "Virginia House" it is to become the home of the Virginia Historical Society and will hold the priceless treasures that patriotic organization has gathered. The late Mrs. John Stewart and her daughters presented to the Society the home of General Lee, 707 Franklin Street, and that modest mansion has served the Society well, but it is now too small and is not fire-proof.[6] The state and nation owe Mr. and Mrs. Weddell a debt of gratitude for a gift at once so distinctive, so useful and of surpassing historic interest.

The National Democratic Convention at Madison Square Garden (1924) sorely tried the patience of many loyal Virginia Democrats who felt that the party of Tilden, Cleveland and Wilson was dragging its anchors.

Two candidates waged an interesting campaign to succeed Governor Trinkle (1925): Harry Flood Byrd, who was popularly supposed to be the choice of the Organization, and Senator G. Walter Mapp, of Accomac, a staunch dry advocate and popular with anti-Organization Democrats.

Mr. Byrd won the primary race and defeated the Republican nominee, S. Harris Hoge, in a contest devoid of excitement.

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[6] *Va. Hist. Mag.*, January, 1926

CXXVIII.

HARRY FLOOD BYRD

Governor: February 1, 1926–February 1, 1930

We have come to the last chapter of our story, for the wisest may not guess what the future will unfold. Nothing is more certain than the unexpected. The road makes many a turn, but it leads ever to the light.

The present Governor of Virginia is the seventh of the seven business governors, younger men of the second generation from the Civil War, who followed the seven Confederate colonels.

Harry Flood Byrd is Virginia's best Governor. He stands 128th in line from gallant Walter Ralegh, but first in his achievements for this commonwealth. He has inaugurated, set forward or aided more benefits for people and state than any previous executive. And these are superlative words, for Virginia has placed her laurels on the brow of many mighty men.

He was born in Martinsburg, a quiet West Virginia town in the Virginia Valley, June 10, 1888, the eldest son of Richard Evelyn and Elinor Bolling Flood Byrd. His father was too young for Confederate service (1860-1925); but, as a distinguished lawyer, editor and politician, Speaker of the Delegates (1908-1914), did patriotic service in his day. The young governor's mother was a sister of Congressman Hal Flood, of Appomattox, a brilliant and successful politician.

The Governor is of the eighth generation in the male line from William Byrd (1652-1704), the immigrant, and seventh from William the Great (1674-1744), the founder of Richmond, both of whom appear frequently in these pages.[1]

FAMILY

There are three Byrd brothers: Hal, Dick and Tom. Richard Evelyn Byrd is famous as an inventor, aviator and explorer. The third brother is a large orchardist at Winchester.

When a lad of fifteen, Harry edited the "Winchester Star." Like his brother Tom, he has large orchards. One season he shipped more than 500 carloads of apples.

In 1915 he was elected to the State Senate, and in 1922 he was Chairman of the State Democratic Committee. He was only thirty-seven when he took the oath.

Governor Byrd found a business on his hands with an annual income in excess of twenty-five millions of the people's money; trust funds, to be wisely, conscientiously and economically administered. The new Governor was fortunate in his personal training, fortunate in his predecessors and fortunate in the time of business revival. His chief desire, like that of Trinkle, Davis and Stuart, was to apply strict business principles to state affairs, centralize power at Richmond, hold the leaders of that power to strict account and reduce overhead expenses.

We have no inside information, but we imagine that this simple and efficient program aroused a hornets' nest. Politicians of the old school are not

[1] SQUIRES' *Days of Yester-Year*, pp. 78-87.



Photo by E. W. Browne, Jr.

L'ENVOI

"In the sunset glow over the marginal marshes of Lynnhaven, the cloud mass of crimson and gold burns to dross and ashes ere the evening star begins dimly to appear."

hospitable to modern business methods. Central power with strict responsibility to the electorate was the cardinal creed of Alexander Hamilton. It is the English theory. For a century, Virginians have been taught to worship at the shrine of Thomas Jefferson and toss metaphorical stones at Hamilton—and, lo! the leader of the Jeffersonian Democracy of Virginia is a convert of Hamiltonian efficiency! Reducing overhead and saving the commonwealth $800,000 a year by eliminating waste, requiring real service of every servant and dismissing those not needed would at once call for a hundred thousand protests throughout the state. To the young Governor's credit, be it said, he did not flinch.

EFFICIENCY

Byrd realized that there are other states besides Virginia. They, too, have problems; and other governors have solved them. He brought across the Potomac such system, ideas and theories as might aid Virginia.

At the close of his first year, a Norfolk editor declared: "Byrd in his first four months accomplished more than any other Governor during a full term."[2] The Governor declared: "Today opportunity is knocking at the door of Virginia." "Hal" would never let that goddess knock in vain. His first program had five points:

FIVE-FOLD PROGRAM

A reduction of those taxes which have kept capital and industries out of Virginia;

A million dollars saved annually on subjects "segregated to the state";

[2] LOUIS JAFFE, editor *Norf. Va.-Pilot.*

All state institutions carefully protected;

A million dollars for Shenandoah National Park, to bring twenty times that amount from the Federal Government and to create a perpetual attraction to tourists;

Payment of the deficit, which resulted from post-war conditions, and the erection of the State Office building.

The press and people liked Governor Byrd's messages because they were pointed and practical. He spoke in the accents of the man who knows, and in a language all could understand.

When he had served the state two years, there was a surplus of two million dollars. All the points of his five-fold program had been accomplished or were in fair way to be done in due time.

SEVEN-FOLD PROGRAM

He, therefore, set a seven-fold program before Virginia for his last two years (1928-1929). It was his ambition:

To increase the annual industrial products until they reached 1,000 million dollars by January 1, 1930;

To establish Shenandoah Park in the west, to develop Hampton Roads in the east, and to harness the rivers between;

To invite and stimulate colonization and travel to and through the state by making known what Virginia offers;

To raise all necessary food for men and cattle on Virginia farms, and thereby increase farm profits;

To reduce taxes as rapidly as possible without embarrassment, because a reduction of taxes means a proportional increase of population and wealth;

To make changes in the Constitution of 1901 whenever it clogs the wheels of progress and shackles the will of the people;

To use the increasing revenues of the state for further tax reduction, education, health and sanitation.

The Madison Square Convention of National Democracy, with its unfortunte developments and its widening rift between the Democratic South and the Democratic East, was followed by the Houston Convention of 1928, in which the Democratic South surrendered to the East and accepted its program in full.

When the politicians of Virginia returned from Houston, they found the people sullen and angry. Loyal Democrats did not wish to revolt, but could not accept the Houston men and measures.

The press and the politicians were in the very embarrassing position of forcing the people to vote contrary to their desires and convictions. A campaign of unexampled bitterness ensued. The Governor, Senators, Congressmen and even the presidents of state institutions took part in the campaign.

CAMPAIGN

Virginia for the first time repudiated the National Democratic ticket. The other border states did likewise. The party met the most crushing defeat in half a century. National Democracy is unfortunate in possessing two wholly antagonistic elements, which fight together in national affairs but which are otherwise uncongenial. A similar situation faced the Old Line Whigs seventy years ago, and

they could not overcome it. It remains to be seen whether the Democratic party can be reknit, or whether it shall disappear and its progressive elements unite with the progressive Republicans and create a wholly new alignment.

* * *

THE AUTHOR'S DEBT

For long years the history of Virginia, replete with interest and instruction for ourselves and others the wide-world over, was sadly neglected. Now, however, the commonwealth long silent is silent no longer. Alexander Brown by scholarly research threw a spotlight on our early Colonial struggles. Philip Alexander Bruce has a fine array of titles to his credit. No student of Virginia can neglect the works of Lyon Gardiner Tyler. Henry Read McIlwaine, the efficient State Librarian, has given the world volumes of data long forgotten and all but lost. The Virginia Historical Society, under the hand of William Glover Stanard, has made its magazine a veritable mine of information. Mrs. Edith Tunis Sale has rescued the Colonial homesteads she knows and loves from that oblivion which threatened many of them. R. A. Brock and Earl G. Swem have been diligent students of our ancient families. The noble army of professors have found time to teach the world. Hamilton James Eckenrode, of Richmond; Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, of Princeton; John Walter Wayland, of Harrisonburg; John Holladay Latane, of Johns Hopkins; Arthur Kyle Davis, of Petersburg; J. A. C. Chand-

ler and Richard Lee Morton, of William and Mary; and Churchill Gibson Chamberlayne, of Richmond, have given posterity a library of Virginiana.

William Joseph Showalter, of the National Geographic Society and Landon C. Bell, of Columbus, Ohio, have heralded Virginia beyond her borders. Beverley B. Munford has exhibited slavery and secession from the true Virginia angle.

Southwestern Virginia has two worthy authors in Lewis Preston Summers and William Cecil Pendleton. The work of Alfred James Morrison ended abruptly and Mary Newton Stanard lives in her books. The accuracy and industry of Conway Whittle Sams, and the minute but discriminating data published by William Asbury Christian must be mentioned. The artistic touch of Fairfax Harrison and the biographical sketches of Armistead Churchill Gordon have a charm on every page. Perhaps the most influential critic in America is Henry Irving Brock, of the "New York Times," a son of Virginia keenly alive to the welfare of the state and thoroughly informed as to its story. The most casual reader of these pages will note the debt this pen owes these, and many more besides, who have labored diligently to make the glory of Virginia known.

L'ENVOI

Dim and distant are the days of regal Elizabeth and gallant Walter Ralegh, and they must grow ever more dim and distant as the long lane of the years grows longer still. As we gazed the years grew into decades and the decades into centuries.

What a rare comradeship has been ours THROUGH CENTURIES THREE. We have walked with the heroes of ages and talked with monarchs among men.

If in this, our drama, we might call all our actors to the stage for a grand finale, what a multitude of noble men and matchless women would be assembled here! For mighty men have been cradled by Virginia's shining waters and nurtured in her rocky mountain glens.

Our tomorrows are built upon our yesterdays. Therefore let none spurn a noble past. From each era springs an age of wider range and broader sweep and vision. Generations pass, as souls pass, into realms ever more spacious and to horizons ever expanding. What the race has done the race will do again.

The weary plowmen in our sequestered mountain glades when their day of toil is done, sing snatches of a simple song as they turn their horses homeward. Farther and fainter the echoes fall until lost in the

deepening twilight. But when the dew of morning glistens in the rhododendron thickets the laborers resume their toil with a gladsome shout. The tasks of farm and field pass from sire to son, ever interrupted are they, but their work is never done.

In the sunset glow over the marginal marshes of Lynnhaven, the cloud mass of crimson and gold burns to dross and ashes ere the evening star begins dimly to appear. Chill winds sweep in from the Chesapeake and lay shrouds of mist and fog over the level pocosons of sedge, over the runlets and hummocks. The fretful waters no longer hold the stars in their bosom, for the day is dying in a storm.

But the day dies as the soul dies to find itself again at sunrise. The dawn will lighten the fringe of the forest, caress the wave-washed strand and the curling wisps of surf that sweep in from the broad Atlantic.

Like the song of the mountaineer, like the beauty of the sunset, the story of Virginia is not done. Every sunset is prophet of the dawn. Other crested chiefs will rise, other victories will be won, and, as we trust, the future triumphs of peace will be finer far than our trophies of battle and blood.

"I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way to judge the future but by the past," cried Patrick Henry.

Inspiration for the long future must be drawn from the patient labors, the dreadful disasters, the unfortunate failures, the stern struggles and the dauntless deeds of daring written for us on the page of history by generations gone.

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