

although no order had been given, no previous concert or correspondence established, the movement of the colonists on the frontier was rapid, general and consentaneous; and when the multitude was collected, nothing was required but a proper leader to direct its operations. This leader was soon found in Colonel Nathaniel Bacon the younger.

Colonel Bacon was an Englishman by birth, of very respectable connections, a lawyer by profession, and a man of large property, a portion of which was situated immediately on the exposed frontier. He was young, bold, active, of an inviting aspect and of powerful elocution. Before he had been in the country three years, for his extraordinary qualifications, he had been made one of the Council of State; he was held in great honour and esteem among the people; and was regarded as one of the most distinguished men in the colony (w)—To him, therefore, the eyes of the assembled multitude were naturally turned as directed, and he was unanimously elected as their General. So soon as he was thus chosen, being desirous to receive the sanction of the Governor for what he was about to undertake, Colonel Bacon dispatched a messenger with a letter to Sir William Berkeley, informing him of what had occur'd and desiring a Commission to go against the Indians. In the mean time, he adopted the necessary measures for the better organisation of the assembled force.

(p. 51) The caution of old age, the recollection of what had occur'd in England not long before, and the high ideas entertained by this old cavalier of the respect due to his own official station, seem to have wrought an entire change in the character of the Governor, about this time. Instead of granting the Commission asked for at once, and so securing to himself the appearance at least

(w) See Beverley's History of Virginia. page 68.

of directing a movement commenced without his authority; or of promptly rejecting the application, commanding the dispersion of the assembled multitude, and assuming upon himself the conduct and responsibility of the Indian war; Sir William Berkeley began to temperize. He wrote a reply to the letter he had received, in which he stated that he could not decide upon this important subject without the advice of his Council, a meeting of which he promised to summon immediately, and to forward the result of their deliberations with all possible dispatch; concluding his letter, which was full of complimentary expressions to Colonel Bacon, by merely hinting to him the alarming tendency of the measures pursued. (x)

Conscious, probably, of the perfect innocence of his own designs, and confident of his own standing with the Council, Colonel Bacon regarded this answer of the Governor as an implied promise of the desired Commission; and feeling the necessity for prompt action, he continued his preparations diligently, while he dispatched a second messenger to James-town, to hasten it. All the necessary arrangements being completed before the return of this second messenger, Colonel Bacon commenced his march into the Indian country, not doubting that the expected Commission would soon overtake him—His force consisted of about six hundred men. With these he fell upon several of the nearest of the Indian towns, all of which he took by surprise, making a considerable number of prisoners. (y)

The proud spirit of the old Governor was roused by this apparent contempt of his authority, and instead of sending the Commission asked for, he issued a Proclamation, of the 29th, of May 1675, commanding Bacon and his party to disperse immediately, under pain of being punished as mutinous rebels. (z) Nor did

(x) See Burk's History of Virginia. Vol: II. page 163.

(y) See Beverley's History of Virginia. page 69.

(z)

he stop here, but collecting an armed body of his friends, he proceeded with them to the falls (p. 52) of James river, with a view of arresting the supposed insurgents. (a)

This course was precipitate, certainly; and in the situation of the country at the time, was the most imprudent of any that could have been adopted. The Governor ought not to have expected that a body of armed men would have ~~dis~~ obeyed his proclamation, and dispersed themselves in an enemy's country; nor ought he to have entertained the wish of punishing them for presuming to defend themselves against their savage foes, although without his orders. Had he have continued at the seat of government, and contented himself with even censuring these nominal mutineers for their apparent contempt of his authority, all might have ended well. But this unjust denunciation of Colonel Bacon and his adherents, for undertaking to defend their country without orders, naturally engaged the sympathies of all in their behalf, and added the last drop to the cup of discontent, already filled to the very brim. By leaving his post too at such a juncture, and taking with him to the frontier all the force upon which he could rely to quell any insurrectionary movement, the Governor but invited the out-breaking which was the immediate consequence of his rash acts.

While he was absent, the inhabitants of the lower and central counties of Virginia—(who had no concern with the movement of the people of the frontier) rose in arms, under the command of Ingram and of Walklate. They demanded the dismantling of the forts, the erection and maintenance of which they regarded as an useless and intolerable oppression; and the immediate dissolution of the Assembly, which had been base enough to countenance these and other such acts. (b)

(a) See Park's History of Virginia. Vol: II. page 164.

(b) See Ibidem. page 165.

Surrounded on all sides by malcontents in arms, the Governor was at last compelled to yield to their demands. Upon his return, he order'd the forts to be dismantled, the dissolution of the old Assembly, and the issuing of writs for holding new elections. These elections terminated, as might have been expected at such a time, in the absolute triumph of the malcontents; and Colonel Bacon himself was chosen as one of the burgesses of the County of Henrico, within which county he resided. (c)

(p. 53) Returning in triumph from his expedition, Colonel Bacon met the intelligence of these occurrences, all of which had taken place while he was in the Indian country. He determined immediately to proceed to James-town in person, in order to procure a reversal of his attainder, and to take his seat as a Member of the new Assembly. On his way down James River, he was seized by the master of one of the English ships then lying off Sandy point, and sent as a prisoner to the seat of government. Here, in consequence of his written acknowledgment of his error and solicitation for pardon, which paper, signed by Bacon himself, is still preserved in our public records; (d) and in pursuance of the advice of the Council, Sir William Berkeley was pleased to pardon him. May not only to pardon him, but to release him upon his parole; to re-admit him to his seat in the Council; and as the report then was, to promise him the desired Commission to go against the Indians, the war with whom was not yet terminated.

Colonel Bacon remained in James-town some days, waiting for this Commission; but finding himself delayed at this the best season for Indian operations, and

(c) See Ibidem. page 156.

(d) See Henning's Statutes at large. Vol: II. page 543.

suspecting some deception, probably, he at length left the seat of government without the Commission, and rejoining the force already assembled to renew the Indian war, he informed them of all that had taken place. All these things occur'd just before the meeting of the new Assembly, which had been summoned for the 5th, of June 1676. (e)

Colonel Bacon was wrong in thus breaking his parole, and in placing himself again at the head of that very armed force for assuming the command of which at first he had already assigne signed a written paper acknowledging himself to be in error and humbly begging forgiveness of this his fault. But the situation of the country was very critical. The frontier was still threaten'd with the incursions of the savages—the proper season had arrived for an expedition against them—the Governor had not intimated any purpose of prosecuting such an enterprise—the exposed inhabitants of the frontier were thus constrained to rely for safety upon themselves alone—and the conduct of their leader, during the former campaign, in proving his ability to lead them to victory, had naturally invited them to call upon him again, for the same purpose. The course (p. 54) adopted by the Governor in the recent case of Ingram and Walktate, justified the belief that he would yield to peremptory demand, what he had not granted to humble solicitation; and so embolden'd the assembled multitude to attempt a similar proceeding. Hence, the people, enraged at the recital they had heard from Colonel Bacon, proposed to him that they would go back with him to James-town, and if they could not obtain the desired Commission for him by fair means, to compel it by force. (f)

(e) See *Ibidem*. 341.

(f) See Hurk's History of Virginia. Vol: II. page 251.

Colonel Bacon yielded to these suggestions—He thereupon broke up his camp, and after marching all night, surprized the capital the next day. His army surrounded the Statehouse while the Assembly was sitting and demanded a Commission for their leader. The Assembly were willing enough to accede to this wish but the indignant pride of the old Governor refused, at first, to lend his name and sanction to what he regarded as an act of open rebellion. But the importunity of the Assembly, being backed at length by the advice of the Council, he reluctantly assented to do what was asked, and signed General Bacon's commission. Not only so, but he sanction'd an act of indemnity passed by the General Assembly in favor of Bacon and his adherents, and actually wrote a letter to the King, strongly applauding all their designs and proceedings. (g) Having thus succeeded in his sole object, General Bacon marched out of town and proceeded again towards the frontier, with the view of prosecuting the Indian war.

Very soon after his departure, the Governor dissolved the Assembly, issued a new proclamation, on the 29th of July 1676, declaring General Bacon a rebel, commanding his followers to deliver him up and to disperse themselves peaceably, under pain of being punished as traitors. After this, the Governor proceeded to the loyal county of Gloucester, where he raised the Royal standard, and called upon all the friends of order and good government to rally around him. (h) (p. 55)

These proceedings, to say the least of them, were ill-timed. Whatever might have been the former misconduct of General Bacon and his adherents, the seal of promised oblivion had been put upon it, by the Commission and Act of indemnity then recently granted and approved by the Governor himself. Even if these acts were obtained by compulsion, yet the sudden revocation of them, by

(g) See Ibidem— Henings Statutes. Vol: II. page 363.

(h) See Ibidem— Vol: II. page 171.

the Governor alone, was certainly illegal; and necessarily involved many innocent persons in the guilt now imputed to all. Moreover, it was unreasonable to expect that an armed force, assembled to defend themselves against a savage foe, under a leader duly authorized to command them by the Governor himself, and in pursuance of a law just passed by the Assembly for that very purpose, would desist from this necessary and authorized undertaking, until it was accomplished. The Governor appears to have been aware of this; and from the measures he adopted to prepare for it, seems to have expected disobedience to his proclamation. Thus, as before, he most probably hasten'd the catastrophe, which he ought to have been and no doubt was desirous to prevent.

So soon as General Bacon and his followers were informed of this proclamation, they were much incensed at the course pursued towards them. They immediately wheeled about, and proceeded towards the Governor, by forced marches. The loyal inhabitants of Gloucester, having given up their arms at the commencement of the war, with the view of better arming the force embodied against the Indians, the Governor, unwilling to expose them, withdrew himself privately, with a few friends on whom he could rely, and took refuge in Accomack, which, although subject to the government of Virginia was nominally a distinct territory.

The flight of Sir William Berkeley, by disappointing the expectations of General Bacon, compelled him to adopt a new course. He, therefore, moved towards James-town, the seat of government, and on his route thither, some injuries were done by his followers, as well to the persons as to the property of those who in any way opposed them, or were found adhering to the Governor. These injuries were few and inconsiderable however, and were probably the only excesses which had then been committed.

(p. 56) Arrived in the vicinity of James-town, General Bacon, under the pretence that the Governor had abdicated the government by withdrawing himself from the country, issued a proclamation calling a Convention of the people.

This Convention being assembled at Middle Plantation, afterwards called Williamsburg, on the 3^d day of August 1676, adopted the opinion that the government was vacant; that in pursuance of the usage established in such cases, the Council might supply the vacancy, until the King's pleasure should be known; and advised the calling of a General Assembly. In conformity with this advice, General Bacon immediately summon'd an Assembly, by writs signed by himself and four other members of the Council. But this Assembly never met, owing to the causes now to be stated. [a?]

General Bacon having thus restored something like order, resumed his Indian expedition, which had been suspended, as has been stated. The late disorders had given new confidence to the savages, who had committed many new outrages after General Bacon had withdrawn his force from the frontier. These made it incumbent upon him, to relieve the country from the apprehensions under which it then labor'd. Hence, he proceeded with all dispatch into the Indian territory, where he destroyed many of their towns and their growing crops. The Indians retreated before him, (p. 57) towards the place they had appointed for their general

(a) Hening in his Statutes at large, Vol: II. 341, has given a whole body of laws, being all the Statutes enacted by the Assembly during the session that commenced on the 5th, of June 1676, which Statutes he calls "Bacon's Laws." The fact that all the Statutes passed by this Assembly, were afterwards abrogated by a Royal proclamation, probably induced Hening to suppose that they were enacted during Bacon's Rebellion. But this is a mistake, certainly. This Assembly, was that convened by Sir William Berkeley while General Bacon was engaged in his first expedition against the Indians. It is true General Bacon was elected a member of this Assembly, while he was absent in the Indian country; but he never took his seat in that body, probably. He was made a prisoner while on his way to James-town; and upon his arrival there he was put upon his parole. Breaking this parole, he left James-town, privately, before (p. 57) the Assembly met. He returned there again, at the head of his army, after the session commenced; and having then obtained a commission, he immediately left James-town, with his army and (p. 58) proceeded again on his Indian expedition. This Assembly was dissolved, by the Governor, soon after General Bacon's departure. So (p. 59) that he could have had but little to do with the proceedings of that body. The Assembly summoned afterwards, by General Bacon and his associates of the Council, in August 1676, never met.

rendevous. Here they halted, and having strengthen'd all the approaches to them, they waited his coming. A great battle took place in the present county of Henrico, on the bank of a streamlet which was afterwards called "the bloody run", from the sanguinary conflict that here occur'd. This name the streamlet retains to the present day. In this battle, General Bacon was completely successful. Many of the Indians were slain, many others made captives; and all their hopes and plans were effectually destroyed.

While these transactions were passing in the Indian country, an attempt was made by Giles Bland, the Collector of James-town and an adherent of Bacons, to surprize the Governor in Accomack. To effect this, Bland, under some pretext or other, seized the ship of one Lovimore, and some other smaller vessels. On board of these, he placed a number of armed men, and proceeded with them to the Eastern shore. The plan, however, was privately disclosed to the Governor, by Captain Lovimore, who promised that if a sufficient force was sent to him, he would put them in possession of his ship, and so enable them to acquire the whole squadron. In consequence of this, the Governor dispatched a small body of men, under the command of Philip Ludwell, a brother of the Secretary, who, guided by Lovimore, succeeded, during the darkness of night, in taking possession of the whole fleet.

Possessed thus of a naval force, which gave him the absolute command of the water, the Governor hastily collected about six hundred men, and transporting them to James-town, took possession of that place, without opposition, while General Bacon was yet absent on the Indian expedition. Sir William Berkeley then again proclaimed Bacon and his adherents rebels and traitors, re-organized the government, and restored every thing to its former condition, as nearly as he could.

Returning from his Indian campaign, in October 1676, (p. 58) General Bacon was informed of all these unexpected events. Before this intelligence reached

him however, he had disbanded many of his soldiers. Notwithstanding this, he proceeded at once to James-town, with the remnant of his reduced and fatigued army; and he laid it siege to this town, so soon as he arrived before it—The force of the besieged was superior in numbers to that of the besiegers: but it was composed of a motley and undisciplined crew. Yet the gallant old Governor order'd a sally, in which his troops were readily beaten back. After this, General Bacon, having procured some canon, forced the vessels to retire further from the island; and having received a small reinforcement, he was preparing for an assault upon the town. In this state of things, the Governor yielded reluctantly to the remonstrances of the few trusty friends who still adhered to him, abandon'd James-town, during the night, and going on board of his fleet vessels, removed them out of gun-shot. The next morning, General Bacon took quiet possession of the defenceless town; and finding it impossible to retain it against a superior naval force, in order to prevent it from becoming a harbor and refuge to his enemies, he order'd it to be destroyed. It was accordingly burnt, in sight of the Governor's fleet, which thereupon returned to Accomack.

Quiet being thus restored once more, General Bacon dismissed his troops. He did not long survive this event. A severe cold, caused by his exposure in the open trenches before James-town, during a wet season, soon assumed a different character; and he died of a bloody flux, at the house of a Mr. Pate, in the county of Gloucester, about the latter end of the year 1676.

After the death of General Bacon, the insurgents having no longer any defined object, and wanting a leader, began to lose their hopes of success. It is true a desultory warfare was kept up for a short time, longer in which much private mischief was done on either side, and many cruelties were committed under the orders of the indignant Governor. But this state (p. 59) of things did not continue long. On the [date omitted] day of January 1677, a body of regular soldiers arrived from England, which had been sent out at the request of Sir

William Berkeley, made many months before. With this force, there came Commissioners, duly authorized by the King to inquire into the causes and authors of the disturbances. And soon after this, the tranquillity of the Colony was restored permanently.

Such is the history of Bacon's Rebellion. A commotion, which, in its commencement, seems to have had no other object, than to secure the inhabitants of the frontier against the incursions of the hostile Indians. The imprudence of Sir William Berkeley, the Governor, by inducing him to thwart this necessary and proper attempt, gave fair occasion for the breaking out of other discontentments, which had long been felt in other parts of the country. The steps then taken, necessarily caused the co-operation of the two classes of malcontents, who, being a majority in the Assembly, were so able to accomplish all the attainable objects of either. Here the commotion would probably have stopped, but for the second indiscreet proclamation of the Governor. This, by destroying all the remaining confidence of the country in him, forced the malcontents into insurrection, which, however, even then, had no other than a personal object; as is sufficiently proved by the ill-concerted scheme of Giles Bland, to seize the person of the Governor. The failure of this project, while it excited the indignation of the old Governor more highly, gave a new character to the insurrection. It might then have assumed a new object, possibly, but for the death of General Bacon. While he lived, but few excesses were committed. But the numerous depredations and cruelties, practised by the Governors party, after Bacon's death, provoked retaliation on the part of the insurgents; and this must certainly have ended in a dreadful state of things, but for the seasonable arrival of the troops and Commissioners from England, and the recall of Sir William Berkeley.

(p. 60) The other important event occurring during the life of Colonel Southy Littleton, in which he had any agency, was, as has been said, the Treaty

with the Five Nations, concluded at Albany in New-York in 1677. It must be a matter of curiosity to most of the present generation, to learn what circumstances could possibly exist, in 1677, to render it desirable to the government of Virginia to send agents to Albany in New-York, there to negotiate a treaty with the savages dwelling on the great lakes. To explain this extraordinary matter, it will be necessary to give some account of these people.

Before the English established their first settlement in America, at Jamestown, the French had discover'd Canada and made a settlement there at Quebec. By the French historians, we are told that when this settlement was made, about the year 1603, the French found a numerous tribe of Indians, who they call Iroquois, dwelling on the river Saint Lawrence, in the vicinity of the present town of Montreal. This tribe of Iroquois, better known to the English afterwards as Mohawks, and who called themselves Kingos, occupied the region above the mouth of the Iroquois river, now called the Sorel, and on the lakes Iroquois and Sacrament, or Champlain and George.

From these their primitive seats, probably, the Kingos extended their conquests, on both sides of the river Saint Lawrence, above Quebec, and on both sides of the lakes Ontario, Erie and Huron. In this career of conquest, unlike most other savage tribes, they successively incorporated their vanquished enemies into their confederacy, which confederacy was afterwards distinguished as "the Five Nations"; and upon a subsequent addition of another tribe to the confederacy, it received the appellation of "the Six Nations."

See Galsen's Five Nations. Vol: I. page 37.

The Senecas, who live to the west; the Mohawks, to the east; and the Onondagas between them, are the elder tribes—The Cayugas and Oneidas are the younger tribes—The Monacans or Tuscaroras, who were taken into the Confederacy, in 1712, make the sixth nation. See Jefferson's Notes, page

(p. 61) Governor Pownall says, in his "Administration of the British Colonies,"

that about the year 1664, this Confederacy had carried its arms as far South as Carolina, and as far west as the Mississippi, over a vast country, extending twelve hundred miles in length and about six hundred miles in breadth, where they destroyed whole nations, of whom there were no accounts then remaining. Every part of this region they visited in their periodical expeditions, either for hunting or war; passing to the south as the cold weather approached, and returning to their more northern habitations, with the advancing spring.

During these expeditions, they sometimes encounter'd the Indian tribes dwelling about the head of Chesapeake Bay and to the West and North-west of Virginia. Some of these tribes, either driven by the power or flying from the expected ravages of such a formidable foe, fell, in their turn, upon the Virginia Indians, dwelling in the immediate vicinity of the colonists. The usual consequence of this, was a harder war between the colonists and their savage neighbors, whose necessities as well as habits induced them to perpetrate many acts of hostility and barbarity.

The outrages which caused the first expedition of General Bacon against these Indians, in 1675, were, very probably, traced to the causes I have stated. To prevent a repetition of such mischiefs, by removing the cause from which they generally proceeded, was a subject that occupied the early attention of the government of Virginia, very soon after tranquillity was restored to this colony upon General Bacon's death.

The Colony in Maryland, had been exposed to similar mischiefs, by the same causes. And as the Five Nations were in close amity with the English in New-York, Maryland endeavor'd to use the influence of that colony, to establish a firm and lasting peace with these savages. For this purpose, Colonel Coursey had been sent by Maryland, as an envoy, to Albany. To this gentleman, Sir Herbert Jeffries, the Governor (p. 62) of Virginia, had committed the interests of this colony also, until he could dispatch Commissioners of his own to the

same place. Colonel Southy Littleton and Colonel William Kendall, were afterwards appointed such Commissioners, on the part of Virginia. They proceeded to Albany, and there confirmed the peace which Colonel Coursey had already concluded with the Five Nations.

Colonel Southy Littleton died, in Albany, during this negotiation; and the Treaty was signed by Colonel Kendall alone, on the part of Virginia. The chief objects of this Treaty, were that the Five Nations should recall all their warriors from Maryland and Virginia; and that they should not thereafter molest the Indians within these colonies.

III. Gertrude Littleton.

(p. 63) Gertrude Littleton, the youngest child of Colonel Southy Littleton, was born in Virginia, and was very young at her fathers death, in 1679. By his will, he committed her to the guardianship of Major Edmund Bowman, who I presume was her uncle. This is the same man, who our ancient historians records state to have been order'd to appear before the Council, for treasonable words used concerning King James the Second; and of whom the Justices of Accomack were order'd to take bond with surety for his appearance and good behavior. This was in 1686, during the administration of Lord Howard of Effingham. But the history of that day, will probably satisfy all who read it, that the circumstance stated, ought rather to be consider'd as evidence of the sagacity of Major Bowman than of his turbulence and evil disposition. He may have been, very probably, the first in Virginia to utter openly what many of the wisest and best in England then thought; and what, very soon afterwards, was proclaimed throughout the realm of Great Britain, by the authority of the Parliament itself.

When Gertrude Littleton grew up, she married Henry Harmanson, a descendant of one of the oldest and most reputable families on the Eastern shore of Virginia---He died in the year 1709, leaving a will now recorded in Northampton County Court. Gertrude Harmanson, survived her husband many years, but never married again. She died in 1732.

It appears by her will, a copy of which I have, that she had had several children, none of whom were then living however, except her son Henry and her daughter Sophia. Two others of her daughters had married and died, during their mothers life. One of these daughter's Esther, had married John Stratten, and left no issue. The other had married---Eyre, and had left a son Littleton Eyre, the grandfather of the present John Eyre esq; of Eyre Hall in Northampton County. To this grandson of hers, Gertrude Harmanson devises part of her estate.

If the accounts which tradition has handed down to us concerning this lady are correct, she was a most singular woman indeed. After the death of her husband, she (p. 64) managed all her estates herself, with as much industry, skill and attention, as any man could have done. Mounted on horseback, she rode from one end to the other of the Eastern shore, visiting her different plantations; and was reputed one of the best managers there. During her widowhood, she acquired, by her own enterprise and exertion, several landed estates and much other property, for the settlement of which, according to her own inclination, she procured the passage of an Act of Assembly. By some means or other, she had picked up some knowledge of the law; and she was said to have prepared, with her own hands, not only all her own deeds contracts and other legal questions submitted to her by her neighbors and friends. The honourable James Henry, who was still one of the Judges of the General Court, after I came to the bar, has often told me, that during the period he practised on the Eastern shore, where he resided in the early part of his life, he had seen several of these legal opinions given by Mrs. Hanson, formerly, which were even then held in high repute there; and as he thought, were singularly correct. But my grandfather Keller, who I have heard say that this lady had been a client of his, and that he too had seen many of her legal opinions, did not appear to consider them so remarkable for their correctness, as being female productions. However, if the Act of Assembly refer'd to above, or her own will, be, either of them, her own composition, and tradition affirms that both are, they manifest, unquestionably, no mean specimen of the legal skill of that day.

Part of the plate bequeathed by this will to her grandson Littleton Fawcett, marked G. H., was still preserved in my family a few years since, having been handed down to me from generation to generation since her death, now more than a hundred years ago. Other similar plate, I have recently seen in the possession of John Eyre esquire, derived to him, in like manner, from his

grandfather Littleton Eyre.

Henry Harnanson, the husband of Gertrude Littleton, was a native of Northampton County. I have not obtained any particular information concerning him from the records of that County, although his whole life was passed in it, and his (p. 65) family was one of the oldest there. Mention is made of a Mr. Harman (for this is the name of Harnanson as it was formerly written and is still generally pronounced on the Eastern shore) in a patent granted to one Roger Saunders, in 1632. This Mr. Harman, who I doubt not was the ancestor of Henry Harnanson, is described in this patent as being a landed proprietor, at its date. His land was coterminous with that granted by this patent to the said Saunders, which land was situated in the Old Plantation of Accomsacke. Therefore, this Mr. Harman must have been a very early settler on the Eastern shore; and was established there, probably, before Colonel Nathaniel Littleton settled himself in this region.

Henry Harnanson was a widower at the time of his intermarriage with Gertrude Littleton. It appears, by his will, that he left several children, by each of his two marriages. Of these, Matthew Harnanson, who was afterwards distinguished as Major Matthew Harnanson, and who became a man of some notoriety in the County of Northampton, was his eldest son by his first wife. Henry Harnanson the other son, was the child of Gertrude Littleton, and was born after his father's death. The youngest child of Henry Harnanson and Gertrude his wife, who was born during her father's life, was a daughter, Sophia Harnanson. It will be of her only I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

IV. Sophia Harmanson.

(p. 66) Sophia Harmanson was the youngest daughter of Henry Harmanson and Gertrude his wife. She was born in the County of Northampton about the beginning of the last century, for she is mention'd by name in the will of her father, which bears date May 28, 1709; and she was a married woman, having had five ~~four~~ living children, who are all named and provided for in the will of her mother, which bears date September 11, 1732.

When Sophia Harmanson grew up, she intermarried with William Fazewell, of whom I will speak presently.—This event occur'd about the year 1721, probably, for by the will of her Aunt Sarah Custis, which bears date April 14, 1720, a legacy is bequeathed to her "kinswoman Sophia Harmanson", who of course must have been unmarried at that time; and what has been already stated, will suffice to show that Sophia Harmanson must have married soon afterwards. She survived her husband William Fazewell, but never married again, and died about the year 1755, I believe. Her body is inter'd in the old grave yard situated to the southward of the present dwelling house at Elkington, where she dwelt at the time of her decease.

William Fazewell.

William Fazewell, who intermarried with Sophia Harmanson, was the first, and so far as I have ever heard, the only person of my name who ever came to this country. The few persons of this name now in it are all of them his descendants. He was an Englishman by birth, but from what part of England he came I know not. He was born in the year 1691; and his family in England was respectable, I believe. This seems to be evinced, not only by the anecdote I have mention'd at the commencement of these sketches, and by another I I will

presently relate, but also by the ancient armorial insignia of his crest and shield. And that he must have been a young man of some consideration, is sufficiently shewn, by the fact of his marrying the daughter of Gertrude Harmanson, during the life time of her mother. In those days, the pride of family was great; and it cannot be doubted that Gertrude Harmanson was a woman of such discernment and great discretion, who being possessed of an ample estate, deriving her descent for more than a century, (p. 67) certainly, through a line of ancestors among the most conspicuous persons in the country during that period, and having married her other daughters into the most reputable families then existing in that region, neither this old lady herself, or her connexions, would ever have assented to such a marriage, unless the situation of William Fawcett (who was then quite a young man) had been unexceptionable at least.

He was a lawyer by profession, and seems to have had a very extensive practice in the County of Northampton, where he resided. I have seen many declarations, pleas &c, in the records of that county, which are drawn and signed by him. Indeed, I do not recollect to have found a single important case there, in which he is not mention'd as being of counsel with one of the parties litigant.

A mourning ring, now in the possession of my wife, informs me that he died July 6th, 1752, aged Sixty one years. And as the will of Gertrude Harmanson, dated in 1732, shews that he was then a married man, having had five children by his wife, I infer that he came to Virginia about the year 1715. This supposition is confirmed by the date of a deed for some land bought by him of one Savage, which deed is of record in Northampton County Court; as well as by the fact that he is one of the subscribing witnesses, and probably the draughts man, of the will of Sarah Custis before mention'd, which will bears date April 14th, 1720.

The records of Northampton county, in which county he lived and died, give

but little information concerning William Tazewell, nor did I expect to find much there. For although the early records of this and of the other ancient counties of Virginia, contain a good history of all the events that occur'd there soon after their settlement commenced, yet before the year 1700, these records had become what they now are, the depositories of the common assurances of property and the mere histories of the judicial proceedings in the county courts. From such sources, but little biographical information can, of course, be derived. I will mention a single extract only, as descriptive of the manners of the times. In the year 1728, an order of Northampton County Court is enter'd, making an allowance of twenty five pounds of tobacco to William Tazewell, for squirrels heads produced by him. There seems to have been a custom prevalent in the County of Northampton at this time, that every (p. 68) house keeper should produce a certain number of the heads of crows or squirrels, for each tithable in his family; and in default of doing so, that he should pay a certain quantity of tobacco for every head not produced. Those who produced more heads than were required of them, had credit for the surplus, to be paid by the delinquents; and all the accounts were arranged each year, when the County levy was laid. This custom, afterwards became a law, which embraced the whole Eastern shore and Northern Neck of Virginia.

In the order mention'd above, and in several other instances wherein he is mention'd in the records of Northampton County, he is distinguished as Captain William Tazewell; and old Mr. Brickhouse of that county, the only one who knew him personally, with whom I have ever conversed, always called him old Captain Tazewell. Mr. Brickhouse could recollect little else of him however, than that he was an old man when he (Brickhouse) first saw him; that he was much afflicted with the gout; and that he always wore a large white wig.

My grandmother has frequently told me, that after her marriage with my

paternal grandfather, a letter was received by him, which was addressed to his father, this William Faxevell, but did not get to hand until after this old man's death. This letter was written by some connexion of his in England, who requested that the old man would send one of his sons to the writer, which son the writer promised to make his heir. The writer stated in the letter, that domestic calamity had deprived him of all nearer male relatives, and that he felt a desire to keep the estate in the family. My grandfather proposed to send over his brother John, when he grew old enough; but the death of my grandfather, prevented this plan from being carried into execution. My father also informed me, that his uncle John Faxevell had mention'd the same thing to him, while he was a boy, and was about to send him to England; but that he was prevented from going, by some cause which I have now forgotten.

(p. 69) Connecting all these circumstances, and considering them as facts, as I have no doubt they are, the following sketch will probably exhibit the true history of William Faxevell. He was the younger son of respectable English parents, who, although in competent circumstances, yet had not enough to provide well for all their children, who were numerous. This younger son, therefore, after receiving a good education, was put to study the law. When he had acquired some knowledge of this profession, he came to Virginia, about the year 1715, to push his fortunes here; and he then settled himself in the County of Northampton. Here he commenced the practice of the law; and some years afterwards, he married Sophia Harmanson, the daughter of an old, wealthy and most respectable family, long established in that region of the country. Some ten or twelve years after his marriage, his wife's mother died. Under her will he acquired a considerable augmentation of his fortune; and being afterwards afflicted with the gout, he then quitted the practice of his profession and passed the residue of his life in a retirement made in some measure necessary

by this disease. After his departure from England, the family he left behind him there, with which he seems to have kept up a regular intercourse while he lived, became nearly extinct, in its male branches at least; and its name now, most probably, remains no longer, except with such of his male descendants as yet exist in Virginia.

William Fazewell, as I have stated, died July 6, 1752. He lived about two miles from the present court-house of Northampton County, at Elkington, now the seat of Mr. Alfred Parker, one of his descendants. Here his remains are inter'd, together with those of his wife, in the brick grave yard nearly in front of and not very far from the present dwelling house. Sophia Fazewell did not survive her husband long. They had several children all of whom died without issue during the life time of their father except four [sic] (p. 70) several children during their marriage. Of these four only Littleton, Gertrude, Ann and John, survived their parents. Three others Henry, William and another daughter called Ann, had died infants and without issue during their fathers life.

(p. 69) Since writing the above, I have seen, in a Canadian newspaper, an obituary notice of "The Reverend Samuel Fazewell," who seems to have been an Englishman and the Rector of one of the Parishes in Upper Canada. This is the only instance in which I have ever met with the name of Fazewell, in all my reading, except as that of William Fazewell or of some of his descendants.

(p. 70) Gertrude Fazewell, the eldest daughter, intermarried with Mr. John Stratton, of Northampton County, and left descendants, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter—Ann, the youngest daughter, was brought by her brother Littleton, who was her guardian, after the death of their parents, to the County of Brunswick, where he then resided. Here, she married, first, the Reverend William Divison, the Rector of the parish of Saint Andrew in that County, by whom she had children. She survived her husband, and after his death

she married, a second time, the Reverend Arthur Emerson, by whom she had children also. Of these descendants I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

John Tazewell, the youngest child of his father, was brought by his brother Littleton, who was his guardian, after the death of their parents, to the County of Brunswick, where he then resided. Here he commenced the study of the law, under the direction of his brother; but he dying before John had completed his legal studies, he then removed to the City of Williamsburg. There he finished his legal education, and having obtained a licence, he commenced the practice of the law in that vicinity. He attained eminence as a lawyer, and enjoyed the most lucrative practice of any one then at the bar, probably. At the commencement of the Revolution, John Tazewell succeeded Mr. Wythe as Clerk of the House of Burgesses. From this situation he was transfer'd to the Bench as one of the Judges of the General Court. This office he continued to hold so long as he lived. He died about the year 1780, much esteemed and regretted by all who knew him.

John Tazewell married Sarah Bolling, the daughter of Colonel John Bolling of Chesterfield. By her he left several children, all of whom, however, are dead, and their issue has become extinct, except in the case of Doctor William Tazewell, his second son. He too has died recently, in the City of (p. 71) Richmond, but leaving a son and several daughters. With these together with myself and my own children, the name of Tazewell now exists. There is none other of this name in the United States, I believe.

V. Littleton Tazewell.

Littleton Tazewell, the eldest child of William Tazewell and Sophia his wife who survived his parents, was born in the County of Northampton, about the year 1728. When he attained the proper age, he was placed by his father in the Secretary's Office, in the City of Williamsburg, about the year 1745. After completing the customary term of five years in this Office, he returned to the County of Northampton, and there commenced the study of the law, under his father. For those designed for this profession, the Secretary's Office was an admirable preparatory school; therefore, Littleton Tazewell, being so prepared, soon made such proficiency in his legal studies as to obtain a licence to practice—in the course of his future life was probably regulated very much by the circumstance of his having been brought up in the Secretary's Office, an excellent institution, which has long since ceased to exist, this will be the proper place to give some account of this valuable establishment, the regulations of which have now passed into very general oblivion.

The Office of Secretary of State, was of ancient origin in Virginia. In the Ordinance established by the London Company, on the 24th, of July 1621, as a Constitution for their Colony, there is to be found the name of Christopher Davison, who was thereby appointed Secretary of State; and our ancient historians inform us, that Mr. John Rolfe and Master John Pory had each of them been Secretaries of State, before that period. So that the Office was probably coeval with the Colony itself. By the Ordinance above refer'd to, the Secretary was made one of the Council of State, and he derived his authority directly from the Superior Council of the Company in England.

(p. 72) After the dissolution of the Charter granted to the London Company, in the provisional government then appointed for the Colony, by the king, the office of Secretary of State was continued as before; and we find

the name of William Claiborne then mention'd as such Secretary. This office was continued ever afterwards, during the existence of Virginia as a colony of England; and it ceased with the revolution only. The Secretary of State derived his appointment directly from the crown. But after the death of Mr. John Carter, as I have heard, the office was granted by the King, as a mere sinecure, to some favorite in England; and Mr. Thomas Nelson who succeeded Mr. Carter, and who was the last Secretary in Virginia, although nominally such, was really but the Deputy of a principal Secretary in England, to whom he paid an annual stipend for his office.

In dignity, the office of Secretary was next to that of Governor; and in emolument, the office of Secretary was thought to be the better. Besides the rents or profits of several estates in different parts of the Colony, which were annexed to his office, the Secretary was entitled to his fees of office, (including the clerkship of the General Court) to a certain portion of the annual fees of the Clerks of all the County Courts, and to other perquisites. These emoluments, exclusive of those received from the Clerks of the County Courts, exceeded One Hundred and Ten Thousand pounds of Tobacco, when Beverley wrote.

It was the business of the Secretary, to keep the public records of the country, and to take care that they were fairly, and regularly made up; to issue all writs both ministerial and judicial; to make out and record all patents for land; to register the return of all inquests of escheat, all probates of wills and letters of administration, of all births, burials, marriages and emigrants, of all tavern licenses, of all public officers in the country, and of many other things. From this office, always kept at the seat of government, all writs of (p. 73) election issued, and in it all Proclamations were recorded.

As an incident to the general duty of keeping all the public records of the country and taking care that these were regularly and fairly made up, the Clerk of the General Court and the Clerks of all the County Courts were consider'd as but surrogates of the Secretary, from whom all these received their appointments, originally. Of this enormous patronage the Secretary was deprived, in the year 1645, and it was then bestowed upon the Governor. But the act making this change was repealed, in 1651/8, and by a new law then passed, the power of appointing their own clerks was vested in the County Courts respectively. These Clerks, however, were even then required "to pay the Secretarie the usual composition and fees as formerly."

Both these Acts were repealed at the general revision of all the Statutes, made in 1661/2, after the Restoration. In consequence of the repeal of these two acts, the power of appointing the Clerks of the County Courts became again vested in the Secretary, as an incident of his office. But by an Act of Assembly, passed in 1676, the power of appointing and removing their clerks, was declared to be "an inherent and unquestionable right belonging to the County Courts." All the Acts of this Assembly, however, were afterwards abrogated by a Royal proclamation, and were also repealed by the Assembly itself. The power of appointing these Clerks, then reverted to the Secretary, as was generally supposed—and this power was constantly exercised by him ever afterwards, without question or doubt, until a short time before the commencement of the Revolution.

Then, although no new law had been enacted, in reference to this matter, the County Courts, in several instances, began to assert a claim to this power, as their necessary and inherent right. In the beginning of this contest, the County Courts, while asserting such a right on their part, yet regularly appointed and qualified (p. 74) the nominees of the Secretary. So avoiding all

controversy with that Officer. But afterwards, as I have heard, the County Court of Brunswick, upon the death of Littleton Taxwell, refused to qualify the appointee of the Secretary; and appointed a Mr. Fisher in his stead. This caused a legal investigation of the subject; and the question was brought before the old General Court. By this Court, it was decided in favour of the Secretary. An Appeal from this decision, was thereupon taken by Mr. Fisher, to the King in Council. The Revolution came on before this Appeal was decided; and the new Constitution, by continuing in office all the then existing Clerks of the County Courts, and by directing that future vacancies in such offices should be supplied by the respective County Courts, put an end to all such doubts.

The office of Secretary of State, to which such multifarious and burthen-some duties, as I have before mention'd, were attached, necessarily required many subordinate agents, to aid in the performance of these duties. The compensation of such agents, if they had been procured in the usual mode, would have absorbed a large portion of the emoluments of the Secretary, especially after the deduction made from these emoluments, by the payment of the annual stipend to the principal Secretary in England. To avoid this, the following judicious plan was adopted by the Secretary, at a very early day, I believe; and it was continued ever afterwards during the existence of the office.

By the permission of the Secretary, any young man, of a respectable family, of proper age and who wrote a fair hand, upon either his own, or the application of his father or guardian, might enter the office, upon these conditions. He was to continue in the office, as a Clerk, for the term of five years, if not sooner discharged by the Secretary. During this whole period, the young man was to be maintained at his own charge; and was to receive no wages. At the expiration of the five years, if he had conducted himself properly during that term, he was at liberty to continue in the office, upon wages, if he thought proper to do so; or he might leave it. Whether the young man then left the

office or not, (p. 75) however, if he continued to maintain a good character, he was entitled to have the first clerkship of any County Court that might be vacant, and which he desired. He did not forfeit his right to a clerkship so earned, by refusing to accept the first or any other vacancy that might occur. He retained this right as before, until such a vacancy happen'd as he liked to fill; and he was at liberty then to claim it.

If any young man, who had served out his probationary term satisfactorily, did not wish to accept a Clerkship, he was at liberty to dispose of his privilege to any other in the like situation, and the contract was always approved by the Secretary, who did not hesitate to bestow the vacant clerkship upon the alienee. In that case, however, the claims of both parties were consider'd as being fully satisfied. No deviation from any of these rules was ever made, except as to the counties of York, Gloucester, Hanover and Caroline. These four clerkships, Secretary Nelson retained for himself; and bestowed them upon the members of his own family, who had been brought up in his office, like others.

The Clerk of the General Court, who had the general super-intendance of the Secretary's office, was he upon whose report of the qualifications of the young men, the Secretary always relied, in granting his permission to enter the office, upon the terms above mention'd. And a report made to the Secretary, by this officer, of the misconduct of any person attached to the office, was surely followed by the discharge of the reported delinquent.

Such was the Secretary's office, into which Littleton Tazewell was introduced about the year 1745, when he was about eighteen years of age. While he sojourned in the City of Williamsburg, as a probationer in this office, during a casual visit to some friend in the neighbouring County of Surry, made in the Christmas vacation, he there met with Miss Mary Gray. A mutual attachment was the consequence of their acquaintance, which was afterwards ripen'd into an

engagement between them. After he left the Secretary's Office and had obtained a licence to practice the law, he (p. 76) returned to the Western shore, to fulfill his engagement. About this time the Clerkship of the County of Brunswick becoming vacant, Littleton Taxewell applied for and obtained this Clerkship from Secretary Nelson. This appointment was the more desired by him, because Brunswick was then a large County contiguous to that of Southampton, where the family of his intended wife resided.

Having obtained this Clerkship and married, Littleton Taxewell purchased a landed estate in the County of Brunswick, situated on Hottoway river, and established himself upon it. Soon after he removed thither, his father William Taxewell died. By this event, Littleton Taxewell acquired an augmentation of his fortune—He thereupon purchased another landed estate, which was then in the County of Brunswick also, but is in the present County of Greenville, and is situated on the Otter-lan Swamp that falls into the Meherrin river. Upon this estate he built and improved it very much; and thither he then removed. Here he ever afterwards lived; and here he died about the year 1761. His remains are inter'd in the grave-yard near the dwelling house on his estate.

Besides his Clerkship, Littleton Taxewell practised the law in several of the Courts of the Counties contiguous to Brunswick; and he was doing well in his profession, at the time of his death. He died intestate, in competent circumstances, leaving two children, Henry and Sarah Taxewell. The latter of these children died an infant of tender years, soon after her father. So that the name was then confined to his son Henry and to his brother John Taxewell. The latter, as I have said, was brought by his brother, after the death of their mother, from the County of Northampton to the County of Brunswick; and as he never afterwards returned to the Eastern shore, as a resident, the name of Taxewell then became extinct in that region.

The short life of Littleton Tazewell, furnishes no event in which he had any share, that is worthy of mention, (p. 77) except what I have already stated. He died about Thirty Three years of age; and during the brief period of his manhood, he changed the place of his abode several times. From the City of Williamsburg, he returned to the County of Northampton, about the year 1750; and from thence he removed, in about the year 1752, to the County of Brunswick. Here also he changed his residence after his first establishment there; and he was busily employed throughout his whole life there, in the duties of his office, of his profession, and in completing his new establishment on the Otter-Jam swamp. This was a task of no easy performance, in a remote region of the Colony, at that day. Yet it was executed by him with both skill and taste. What I have said of him, will show that his ~~life~~ ^{conduct} must have been exemplary, and that his life, although not distinguished in any way, was spent innocently and usefully.

Mary Gray, the wife of Littleton Tazewell, was the oldest child of Colonel Joseph Gray and Martha his wife, whose maiden name was Simmons. Both Colonel Joseph Gray and Colonel John Simmons, the father of Martha Simmons, were descendants of two old families in the County of Isle of Wight, whose ancestors had often represented that County in the General Assembly. When the County of Isle of Wight was divided, in 1748, the abodes of both Joseph Gray and John Simmons were found in the new County of Southampton, of which they became distinguished inhabitants, filling the first offices in it, as did their descendants afterwards for a great many years.

Colonel Joseph Gray left seven children, two sons and five daughters. Of his sons, I very well remember Colonel Edwin Gray the eldest. He represented the County of Southampton many years, as well before as during and after the American Revolution. After his death, one of his younger sons, Edwin Gray,