

sat in eager expectancy, well knowing that some disaster was about to befall him; and when a half-barrel of flour was poured upon his devoted head they would burst forth in the most boisterous manner. Any catastrophe that occurred to the police was always hailed with delight. Why is it that these guardians of our safety are held in such contempt theatrically? When a double-dyed villain gets his quietus, and the innocent heroine is restored to the arms of the first walking gentleman, we applaud with delight. Surely under these circumstances one would suppose it to be our duty to resent any affront offered to the "force"; but no, the slightest indignity be-



BENJAMIN WEBSTER.
(FROM PHOTOGRAPH BY ELLIOTT & FRY.)

stowed upon a virtuous policeman, such as the emptying of a bucket of water over his helmet, seems to give us joy.

It was very pleasant to meet with some of the artists, actors, and men of letters in London. To sit and chat with renowned people that I had heard of from boyhood — to have the erratic and domineering advice of hot-headed, kind-hearted Charles Reade pounded into one; to be patted on the back by dear old Planché; and to be glared at through the fierce but honest spectacles of Anthony Trollope, was a treat indeed. I had come unheralded and unexpectedly among them, and they made me very welcome.

Joseph Jefferson.

NATHANIEL BACON, THE PATRIOT OF 1676.



Of Bacon's Rebellion, probably the most romantic episode of colonial history, I purpose to give an account here, drawn not only from all the familiar sources of information, but also from the great mass of documents relating to this period preserved in the British Public Record Office, as well as from some manuscripts of the highest importance acquired about 1875 by the British Museum, and not before used by any student.¹ I have also used manuscript authorities lately acquired by the Library of Congress.

¹ Reference is here made to some of the papers in the volume numbered Egerton, 2395, in the British Museum. Perhaps the most important of the papers in the Record Office is the report of the royal commissioners sent to Virginia at the time of the rebellion. There are many other manuscripts there necessary to the right understanding of Bacon's movement, but they

EARLY STRUGGLES FOR LIBERTY.

NOVEMBER 13, 1618, O. S., is perhaps the most important date in colonial history; and November 23, which corresponds to it in our style, is the great forgotten anniversary of American history. On that day the Virginia Company granted to the colony a "Great Charter," by which representative government was set up in America for the first time.² The first representative assembly in what is now the United States met in the chancel of the little church at Jamestown, 1619, the two houses and the governor sitting and deliberating as one body.

When King James determined to crush the seem to have been almost or quite unknown to writers on Virginia history.

² A note preserved in the Public Record Office in London, in the handwriting of Secretary Davidson, is my authority for the date of the Great Charter. But the date is confirmed by certain ancient deeds cited in the Aspinwall papers which refer to a Great Charter bearing this date.

Virginia Company, because it had fallen into the hands of Sir Edwin Sandys, the Earl of Southampton, and other liberal statesmen, he used great art to persuade the colony to surrender the Great Charter of 1618. But the Virginia Assembly defended their charter, and even cut off the ears of their clerk for taking a bribe from the king's commissioners to betray their secrets. In 1624 this little pioneer assembly laid down the fundamental principle over which the struggle against English encroachment was to take place, by declaring that a royal governor could not levy taxes without the consent of the burgesses. But declarations of sound principles will not establish liberty. In 1635 the Virginians went further. One of the very commissioners whom James had sent to cajole them into a surrender of their Great Charter had been made governor of the colony. The colonists sent many vain petitions to England for relief from his arbitrary rule. Harvey had made friends with Lord Baltimore and the rival Maryland colony. The colony named for Queen Henrietta Maria, and affording a refuge for her co-religionists, stood easily first in the king's favor. At length the colonists rose bodily against Governor Sir John Harvey, and packed him off to England in May, 1635. In October, 1636, he was sent back to govern a colony in which he had the ill-will of every human being except those who were partners and abettors of his oppressions.

Every effort of the Virginians in these days to relieve themselves of this tyranny failed, for Baltimore steadily sustained Harvey, except when in 1637 he entered into a sinuous intrigue through which, by cool deception of the king, he proposed to get himself made governor of Virginia, at a salary of £2000 a year.¹ This last is almost the only petition of his in these days that was not granted just as he made it. When Harvey had wreaked his will upon the devoted colony for three years London was filled with the scandal of his administration, and the king and his council were overwhelmed with bitter outcries from Virginia. The king at length consented to restore the colony to the old Virginia Company, but Baltimore appears to have defeated this. In 1639 even the influence of Baltimore could no longer shelter Harvey. He was removed, and Sir Francis Wyatt, who had governed Virginia under the Company, was sent out to allay

the discontent, and perhaps to pave the way for the proposed reestablishment of the Company. Wyatt, "a most just and sincere gentleman and free from all manner of corrupt and private ends," stripped Harvey and his fellows of the property they had gained by confiscation. But the triumph of the popular party was short. Kempe, the secretary of the colony and a supporter of Harvey, eluded Wyatt's vigilance, and got away to London, carrying with him "the charter of the colony." This may have been the "Great Charter" of 1618, which appears to have been destroyed or irrecoverably lost at an early date.

When in 1641 George Sandys and other friends of the colony thought themselves in a fair way to get the Virginia Company reestablished, they were taken by surprise at the success of an intrigue of Kempe, Wormley, and other fellows of Harvey, by means of which Wyatt was removed and Sir William Berkeley appointed governor.

Sir William Berkeley was from the outset a bigoted courtier. In reference to all questions of religious or political progress his eyes were in the back of his head. On the other hand, in affairs relating to material advancement he was almost visionary in his attachment to novel projects. He had received from Charles I. by patent a monopoly of the right "to gather, make, and take snow and ice, and to preserve and keep them in such pits, caves, and cool places as he should think fit." As governor of Virginia he recommended himself to the king and his ministers, and no doubt to the Virgin-



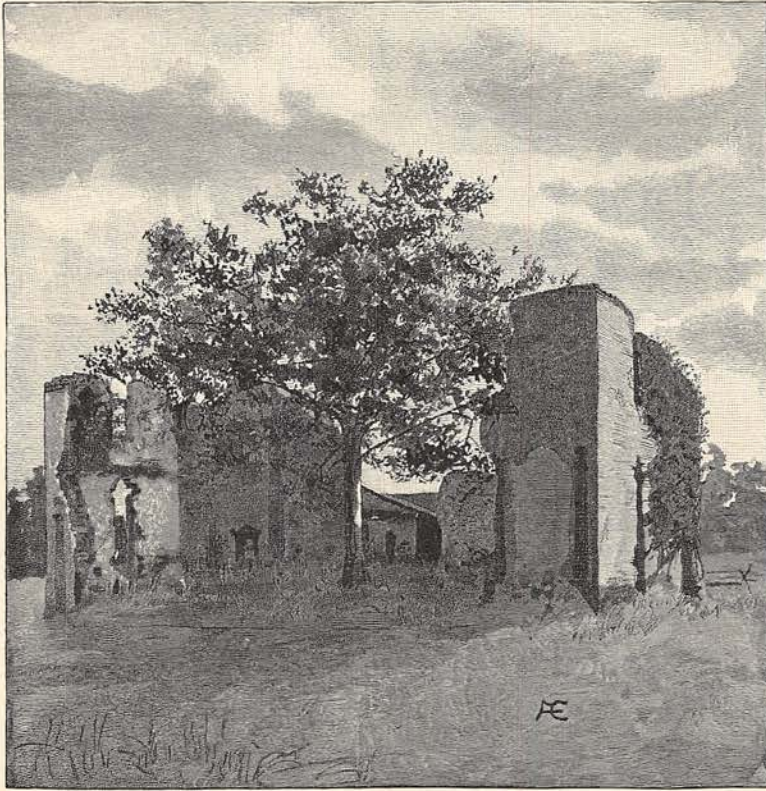
OLD FIREPLACE AT GREEN SPRING PLANTATION.

ians themselves, by his patronage of every kind of novelty in trade and agriculture. He endeavored to promote the culture in Virginia of silk, flax, hemp, rice, cotton, indigo, and currants, as well as the manufacture of pitch and potash, and the exportation of masts.

¹ Baltimore to Windebauk, March, 1637; Colonial Papers, Public Record Office. Also printed in Maryland Archives.

He adroitly turned the tide against the movement to restore the Company, and obtained from the assembly a protest against it. He no doubt endeared himself to the Church and Cava-

fore they dared to set up the standard of the king, chose Berkeley governor in order to be ready for whatever might happen. Berkeley, in the absence of definite intelligence from Eng-



RUINS AT GREEN SPRING, GOVERNOR BERKELEY'S PLANTATION.

lier party by expelling the Puritan ministers who had come from New England, and in 1644 he won applause by conquering and capturing the veteran chief Opechankano after the Indians had massacred five hundred of the colonists.¹ By his resolution in holding the colony for Charles II. after the death of Charles I., and by the favorable terms he exacted from the Protector's agents, he won still greater applause. The expulsion of the Puritans from Virginia in 1643, the immigration before 1650 of many hundreds if not thousands of cavaliers, and the enforced transportation of sixteen hundred royalist soldiers in one batch, fixed the cavalier character of the colony.

The Virginia cavaliers as soon as the Commonwealth began to show weakness, and be-

¹ From a brief document dated 1648, and preserved in Westminster Abbey, which I examined by the courteous permission of the Dean, it seems that even in this honeymoon of Berkeley's government there were suspicions of speculation in the royal revenues in Virginia, and that "the king's late ministers" were charged with complicity in it.

land, accepted the election in a good-lord-good-devil sort of a letter, as not knowing into whose hands he might fall. The first act of Charles relating to the colonies after his return was to issue a warrant granting anew to the staunch old royalist the governorship of Virginia. His salary was made independent of all grants from the colony, and he was provided with a commission for a court of oyer and terminer; thus the two deadliest weapons of colonial despotism were put into his hands.

BERKELEY'S SECOND REIGN.

A CHARACTER in which prejudice is intensified by egotism and passion gains nothing by adversity. Sir William began where he left off. Traveling Quakers and Puritan refugees had intruded into the colony. Imprisonment and banishment — unanswerable arguments much in vogue then in Old and in New England — were applied, and Berkeley used also the more profitable argument of confiscation of

goods. He discouraged the laudable desire of the Virginians to found free schools, declaring that "learning had brought disobedience and heresy into the world." He would have no printing presses, nor any ministers who were not "very orthodox." He did not like preaching; he preferred parsons who contented themselves with reading the prayers, and for the rest, let the world wag as it would. It was a political maxim of his time in Jamestown that wise men and rich men are given to faction, while poor men and fools may be governed. Without schools or printing presses, and with little preaching, he would prevent Virginians gaining much wisdom, nor did the exactions of his rule leave them hope of wealth enough to make them dangerous.

But even poor men and fools turn upon their oppressors at last. There were only about fifteen hundred negroes in Virginia in Berkeley's second term, but in 1670 there were about six thousand bond white servants — poor people, some of whom had volunteered to come to America and be sold for four years to pay their passage, others who had been kidnapped by force or trickery, and some convicts sentenced for petty thefts or transported for political offenses. Fifteen hundred of these passed out of bondage every year, each receiving a warrant for fifty acres of land. These new freemen composed a formidable democracy, ever disposed to resent the oppressions of the magnates or "grandees," as they called the rich planters.

The Virginians, rich and poor, were victims of the English merchants. The new government passed again the oppressive navigation act of the Commonwealth, made it more stringent, and exacted obedience to it. As all Virginia tobacco was thus compelled to go to England, a ring of about forty English merchants got the whole trade into their hands on their own terms, and ate up almost the whole profit of tobacco-planting. Berkeley, who had a large tobacco plantation at Green Spring, overcame his dislike for the printing press so far as to publish in London a brochure against the oppressions of the tobacco merchants.¹ But in the very year, 1663, in which he was thus warm against a monopoly that pinched him, he tried to get

what he called "a perticuler commission" by which the whole Indian trade of the colony should be given over to himself, his cousin, and certain associates — a scheme which he succeeded in carrying out in another form, and which was the main cause of the desolation that came upon the colony thirteen years later in Bacon's Rebellion.

If the governor, his cousins, and his friends, with the English tobacco traders, had been the only hawks hovering over the colony, the case would not have been quite desperate. But the easy-going Charles II. was surrounded with courtiers whose greed has rarely been matched. Even a remote colony of planters seemed to them worth the plucking. In the very year of the death of Charles I. a group of them wheedled his exiled son into making them a grant of the whole northern neck of Virginia, and this grant was renewed after the Restoration, in total disregard of the rights of those who already owned the land. Such a grant threw doubt on the validity and perpetuity of all land titles, and this was sure to shake the very financial foundations of an agricultural colony.

After years of uneasiness from these earlier grants, the colony was startled in 1672 by a grant of the whole colony to Lords Arlington and Culpepper almost without any reserve. They were to have the royal quit-rents and the escheats; to them was to appertain the sole right to grant lands. They were at the same time given powers that were yet more formidable in that day of uncertain wilderness boundaries, neglected titles, and corrupt courts. Arling-



VIEW FROM THE UPPER END OF JAMESTOWN.
(The piles mark the ancient location of the Sandy Beach peninsula.)

¹ I have seen a copy of this rare pamphlet in the White Kennet collection at the house of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, in London. It is called

"Discourse and Veiw of Virginia." A note in the margin, in the handwriting of Bishop White Kennet, ascribes the authorship to Sir William Berkeley.

ton and Culpepper were to have the appointment of the sheriffs who executed the laws and collected the taxes; they were to name the escheators, whose business it was to recover lands the title to which had been forfeited, and the surveyors, in whose hands were questions of lines and boundaries. They had power to make new seals, and they could regulate the division of the colony into counties and parishes at their pleasure. This wholesale grant of royal powers, with all its half-hidden possibilities of cruel extortion, had thirty-one years to run, and during that time the landholders of Virginia would be unsheltered from the rapacity of the two proprietors.

It was at length decided to send a commission to protest against the grant, and to buy off the grantees. To pay the expenses of the commis-

loyal fervor of 1662. From that time Berkeley refused to order a new election until the rebellion under Bacon, fourteen years later, compelled a change. The governor had a pliant assembly, originally chosen by the freeholders only, and one that had long since ceased to represent anybody. The members, with the governor's help, had provided liberally for themselves. Besides a large daily pay from the time of leaving home, each member drew an additional allowance for a man-servant, and yet another for his horse—the whole pay of a burgess aggregating two hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco a day. The assembly, if its services were sufficiently prolonged, might be made to yield to a member a far better crop than his plantation. The liquors consumed by “commit-

Nathaniell Bacon General by the consent of the people

SIGNATURE TO THE FIRST DRAFT OF A PROCLAMATION, PROBABLY AUTOBIOGRAPHIC. (BRITISH MUSEUM.)

sioners, and to supply blackmail for the noble lords whose clutch was on the very throat of the colony, an additional tax of sixty pounds of tobacco was levied on every “tithable poll” in Virginia. By this means the poor, already overburdened with an undue share of the taxes, were again made to pay charges for what could benefit only the landed proprietors. For since the poor man's substance was sure to be consumed in any event, it could not make much difference to him whether he was robbed by favorites of the king in England, or plundered by favorites of the governor in America. Culpepper and Arlington, finding themselves confronted with a commission from Virginia, were readily persuaded, or perhaps paid, to sign an agreement by which they yielded their claims under the grant to everything except the royal quit-rents, which last they contrived to increase one-third by a stipulation that they should be paid in tobacco at three halfpence instead of at twopence per pound, as had been the custom.¹ But by the time the news of this release reached Virginia, the attention of the colonists was wholly turned to the disasters of a new Indian war, and to troubles which were fast driving Virginia into civil strife.

Below the discontent with the taxes lay a deep-seated dislike of the assembly which levied them. It had been elected in the

¹ Mr. Doyle reads this paper wrongly when he supposes that Arlington and Culpepper were to receive a tax of three halfpence per pound on Virginia tobacco. This would have extinguished the planter's interest. By adroitly lowering the customary price of the tobacco in which they were paid, the grantees increased their quit-rents.

tees” were also charged to the colony, and there were “clerks” to these committees who received salaries of four thousand pounds of tobacco sometimes “for scarce twenty lines of writing.” Men who were not landholders were not suffered to vote, but the salaries of the burgesses were collected by a poll tax; for, by the rule of that time, the rich were to enjoy, and the poor were to pay. As each county paid its own representatives, the three hundred tithable men of one thinly populated county were required to contribute five hundred pounds of tobacco a day to support the dignity of their burgesses at Jamestown. And this was only one of many charges, for an assembly so well cared for could not be mean. In addition to the governor's high salary he was kept in good humor by an annual “present” voted in recognition of this or that imaginary service rendered to the province. Members of the governor's council, who engrossed the most lucrative offices, were, as a special mark of nobility, freed from the poll tax on themselves and ten servants apiece, and received a salary besides. There were also smaller officers who took their toll with a large hand: the sheriffs had the first chance, and they got ten per cent. of every levy for collecting it; the clerks' fees were similarly exorbitant. The parson of each parish had also his claim for sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco, raised, like all the rest, by taxing the “polls.” On these same tithable polls, and never upon land, were laid many other grievous burdens; as the tax for arms and ammunition, forts



J. D. W. sc.

ENGRAVED BY J. UNDERHILL.

Jbra: Bletting sculp

Effigies Illustrissimi
Baronis BALTEMORE
Hiberniae Absoluti
Provinciarum Terrae
Americae etc.



Dux Cecilius Calvert,
de Baltimore in Regno
Britanniae et Proprietarij
Mariae et Aragoniae in

PORTRAIT OF THE SECOND LORD BALTIMORE.
 (AFTER A PRINT PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.)

and cannon, and for other charges from which the country received no visible benefit whatever, but from which Berkeley and his friends ever grew visibly richer.

With all these multiplied charges to pay, it is not surprising that the planters should be curious to know to what the permanent tax of two shillings a hogshead on tobacco collected since 1659 had been applied. The people living nearest to Jamestown were the most puzzled by this riddle. There was no printing press, and the planters in each county were dependent on the gossip of their "court-day" for information; it is not surprising, therefore, that many of them even believed that the story of the king's having granted away the land and privileges of the colony was but another device for taxing them to enrich the "grantees." Often imposed on by fictions, they had grown suspicious. For there was every year a tax to buy ammunition for the militia, and yet the militia were "feigne to buy their own powder and shott themselves." And what had become of all the "castle duties" levied on

vain, for Berkeley was ever amusing the king and that portion of the English public which took any interest in Virginia by sending over specimens of hemp and other new commodities raised on his own plantation.

THE INDIAN MASSACRES AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES.

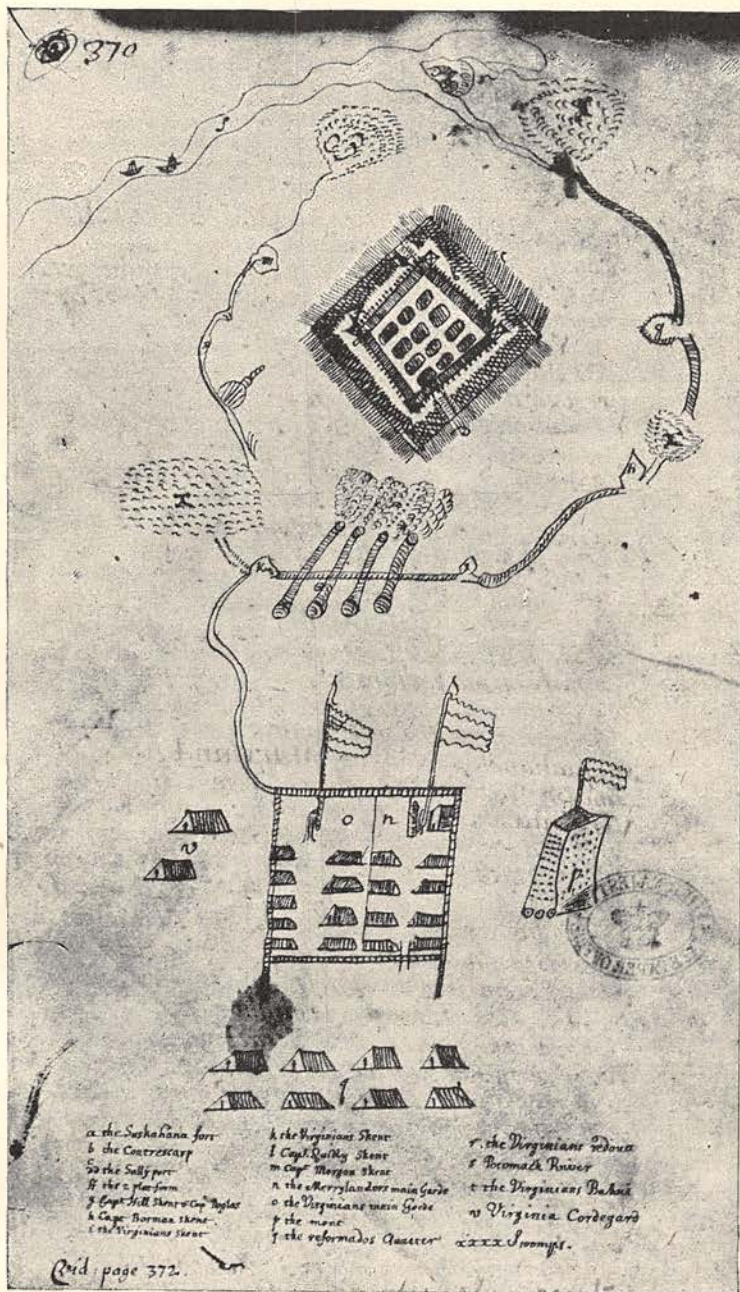
"KING PHILIP'S" Indian war, which broke so fiercely upon New England in 1675, was thought to have spread a contagion of hostility far to the southward by means of that quick intelligence which existed between the tribes. Indian aggressions took place on the Potomac, which led to rash and indiscriminate reprisals from the settlers. The Virginians were presently involved in war, not only with their old enemies the Doegs, but with the more dangerous Susquehannocks as well. These last fortified a well-chosen position in Maryland with a skill worthy of a more civilized race. They surrounded their camp by a high bank of earth constructed with flankers and pierced with many port-holes; this again was inclosed by a trench, while without the trench was a stockade of tall tree-trunks. The bases of these were planted three feet below the surface, and they were wattled together six inches apart, in order to leave space for the defenders to shoot through. The tops of the trees thus arranged were interlaced, so as to give great firmness to the whole. The location in wet ground prevented the besiegers from mining. A hundred and fifty Susquehannocks held the place against a thousand colonists. From this impregnable stronghold the Indians killed fifty of their assailants, but the lack of providence in the matter of food is the weak point of savagery; the Susquehannocks were soon obliged to depend for sustenance on horses captured in their sallies against the besiegers. These failing at length, they sued for peace, sending six of their head men as ambassadors to ask for terms. The colonists, exasperated by their losses, and finding, as they claimed, some of the original murderers in this embassy, detained the chiefs, and after awhile put five of them to death. The Maryland officers concerned in this breach of faith were afterwards severely punished; the Virginians were rebuked by Governor Berkeley. The Susquehannocks, seeing that there was no chance for escape by surrender, were pushed to desperation. Watching their opportunity, they succeeded in getting out of the fort in the night, with their wives and children and all their goods, "knocking on the head" ten of the besiegers as they made their way out. The Maryland government entered into a separate treaty of peace with the Indians, and thus the fury of the Susque-



TOMB AT JAMESTOWN PARTLY INCLOSED IN A TREE.

ships for many years, and certainly not spent in maintaining forts? Notoriously these duties were often collected from ships in shoes, and these were appropriated to private use.

But there was no apparent means of relief from the strong hand of oppression. Berkeley stubbornly refused to dissolve so obliging an assembly; he said that men were the more valuable, in any calling, in proportion to their experience. To the mutterings of the storm about him the governor was the more insensible that he was now old and hard of hearing, and was, moreover, married to a young wife, who was believed to be the very devil of the whole situation. There was small encouragement to appeal to England against Berkeley, who was backed by powerful court influences, and who had there a high reputation for loyalty and public spirit. Almost continually for a dozen years the colonists had complained in



PLAN OF THE SUSQUEHANNA FORT.
 (FACSIMILE OF A DRAWING IN THE BRITISH PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.)

hannocks' revenge was turned wholly upon Virginia.

The Susquehannocks, though much reduced by their conflicts with other tribes and with the whites, were a fierce race, loving war for its own sake, and, having now abundant provocation, they soon made their revenge felt. In one night in January, 1676, they cut off thirty-six people in the upper settlements of the Rappahannock and Potomac. The governor thereupon ordered out a competent force to pursue them, giving the command, with ample power to make peace or war, to Sir Henry Chicheley; but, with that sudden change of purpose which more than once marked his course at this critical time, he presently disbanded the troops and recalled Chicheley's commission.

The infatuated Berkeley, perhaps rendered sullen by opposition, now persisted in postponing all effectual preparations until the assembly should meet, "in the mean time leaving the poor inhabitants in continual and deadly fears and terrors of their lives," while the Indians, meeting with no organized resistance, scourged the upper settlements more savagely than ever. Of seventy-one plantations in one Rappahannock parish on the 24th of January there were but eleven left seventeen days later, "what with those that ran away . . . and such as staid and were cut off." By the time the burgesses met in March the number of victims had mounted to three hundred.

The assembly was the old and rotten one chosen fourteen years before. As was its wont, it did what the governor desired and what the people detested. Provision was made for building frontier forts and garrisoning them with five hundred soldiers; these were to be raised in the seaboard counties, where the dissatisfaction with the governor was somewhat less pronounced than among the people on the exposed frontier. But these troops were on no account to be allowed to attack any Indians without getting specific orders from the governor, unless, indeed, the Indians should be so indiscreet as to be caught in the very act of murdering the settlers. The simplest frontiersman could see that forts so far apart were of no service to settlements so sparse. The structures built under the act were so flimsy that they were soon reported to be falling down of themselves from the mere effect of wind and rain. They served the ends of their projectors, however, in giving an excuse for a new levy of no less than two millions of pounds of tobacco on the tithables, already driven to desperation by the accumulation of their burdens, and especially by the sixty pounds of tobacco a head which they were obliged to pay to ransom the colony from Arlington and Culpepper.

Stung by the cruel and unrevenged desolations wrought by the savages, and outraged by this un pitying taxation, the people cried out upon their rulers. They declared that they would rather plant no more tobacco than to pay for the building and maintenance of the forts, deeming the whole proceeding "merely a design of the grantees to engross all their tobacco into their own hands." They humbly petitioned for leave to go against the Indians at their own cost under some leader of the governor's appointment, but Berkeley met this reasonable request by forbidding such petitions under a heavy penalty.

Much of this war against public opinion may have been the mere obstination of a narrow-minded and unsympathetic old man, adhering first and last to a dogmatic belief in his own infallibility, and feeling himself badgered by a populace he had been wont to control and to hold in contempt. But the exasperated Virginians did not hesitate to ascribe to Berkeley far meaner and more mercenary motives. The colonial law forbade traffic with the Indians without license. Berkeley had made use of this to secure the monopoly he had first sought to get by royal grant. He licensed a few men to trade, and exacted from them every third skin. These licensed partners—one might rather say accomplices—of the governor sold arms and ammunition to the neighboring Indians with impunity, though the law made this a capital offense. The nearer Indians had a "go-between trade" with the hostile savages, and these were thus amply supplied with materials of war. Open criticism of a governor so absolute was dangerous, but the people passed their thoughts from mouth to mouth in dark proverbs. The current saying, "No bullets can pierce beaver-skins," told, as plainly as men dared to utter it, their belief that a tenderness for this lucrative trade withheld the governor from sending an expedition into the Indian country. The people went so far as to believe that Sir William and his friends were even willing to goad his enemies to open rebellion that they might have a pretext for confiscation, and this surmise was also coined into a proverb to the effect that "Rebels' forfeitures will be loyal inheritances."

The governor not only suppressed petition; he even tried, whenever there was any possibility of success, to discredit reports of Indian massacres. But no authority could keep intelligence of the outrages from traveling swiftly from plantation to plantation; and the panic-stricken refugees, fleeing in destitution from the frontiers, were a perpetual censure of the governor's administration. Nor could any vigilance of Berkeley's keep back the darker stories of the hideous tortures to which cap-



OLD CHURCH TOWER, JAMESTOWN.

NATHANIEL BACON.

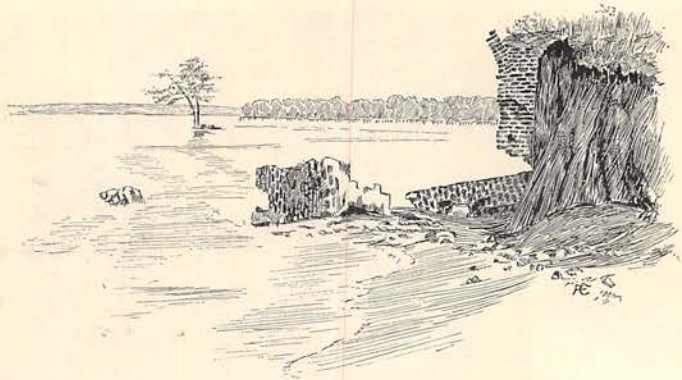
tives were subjected by the savage foe, the favorite device of the Virginia Indians being that of slowly flaying the victim alive, after having torn the nails from his fingers with their teeth.

But none of these things moved the un pitying governor. At the very time when he had intelligence that fresh bands of savages were descending on the upper James River settlements, he refused a new request made by the men of Charles City County that they be allowed to go against the enemy. But the cup would now hold no more; the settlers could no longer be restrained by the shadow of royal authority. "The cries of their wives and children had grown grievous and intolerable to them." They beat up for volunteers on their own account; and though such an act was held in that age to be rebellion, the magistrates offered no interference while the inflamed people were day after day "drawing into arms" and waiting "for nothing but one to head them, and lead them out on their design."

GENTLEMEN of fortune and education were the natural leaders of every undertaking in a society like that of Virginia in 1676. But it was not surprising that men of property were loath by any act of technical rebellion to put their estates within the reach of the cupidity of the governor, in whose hands centered every kind of legislative, judicial, and executive power. Many of the great proprietors, and even some members of the council, could not quite conceal the sympathy they felt with the popular indignation. There were, besides, several gentlemen of less fortune who took the popular side more or less openly. Among these was Lawrence, a brilliant man, bred at Oxford, who had lost an estate by an unjust decision which Berkeley had made on the bench; another was Drummond, a shrewd Scotchman, who had been governor of North Carolina.

But the most important adherent to the popular cause was Nathaniel Bacon, the younger of the two Virginia councilors of

that name. He was of "no obscure family," being son of Thomas Bacon, of an ancient seat known as Friston Hall, in the county of Suffolk, in England. From the characterization of Thomas Bacon, in an exceedingly rare tract of that time, as "a gentleman of known loyalty and ability," we may infer his adhesion to the royalist side in the civil wars. Nathaniel Bacon entered St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, as gentleman commoner, in 1660, and proceeded to his M. A. in 1667.¹ "To the long-known title of gentleman," says the tract cited above, "by his long study at the Inns of Court he has since added that of esquire." He had also been abroad; "his erratic fortune," as the royal commissioners put it, "had carried & shewne him many Forraigne Parts."² He did not escape the taint of his time—a time in which lavish expenditure was accounted a mark of generosity of spirit in one of his rank. His father had given him a "genteel" competency; "but he, as it proved, having a soul too large for that allowance, could not contain himself within bounds, which his careful father perceiving . . . consented to his inclination of going to Virginia, and accommodated him with a stock for that purpose to the value of eighteen hundred pounds sterling"; a very liberal outfit for a new country, considering the value of money two hundred years ago. His age at the outbreak of the rebellion was twenty-nine.³ "He was indifferent tall, but slender, black-haired, and of an ominous melancholy aspect," say the royal commissioners, who were naturally not favorable to him; and they add that he "was not given to much talk or to make sudden replies." He "lived in that continent in very good repute," says the tract I have cited before; "his extraordinary parts, like a letter of recommendation, rendering him acceptable in all men's company." His cousin, Nathaniel Bacon the elder, was "a rich politic man," and already for many years a member of the governor's council. The younger Bacon, who arrived in Virginia in the autumn of 1673, or the winter following, was soon raised to the



POWDER MAGAZINE, SO CALLED, AT JAMESTOWN.

same dignity. The elder Nathaniel, who was childless, proposed to make the younger his heir, and it is said that at a critical time he offered to "his uneasy cousin" a considerable part of his estate, if he would lay down his arms and "become a good subject."

But the younger Nathaniel had settled at a plantation about twenty miles below Richmond, known then as now by the name of "Curle's." He was, therefore, not far removed from the Indian frontier. Three servants of his neighbor, Captain Byrd, had been killed by the savages; and Bacon's own "outward plantation," on the brook yet called "Bacon's Quarter Branch," within the present limits of Richmond, had been ravaged, the crops and a great stock of cattle destroyed, and his overseer killed. Among papers recently acquired by the British Museum there is a copy of a letter from Bacon's wife, a daughter of Sir Edward Duke, to a sister or sister-in-law, palpitating with alternate fears that her husband will be killed by the savages or hanged by the governor. In this she thus naïvely tells how Bacon came to undertake the leadership:

If you had been here, it would have grieved your heart to hear the pitiful complaints of the people, the Indians Killing the people daily and the govern'r not taking any notice of it for to hinder them, but let them daily doe all the mischief they can: . . . and the poor people came to your brother [Bacon] to desire him to help them against the Indians, and hee being very much concerned for the losse of his overseer, and for the losse of so many men women and children's lives every day, he was willing to doe them all the good he could; so hee begged of the Governour for a Commission in Several letters to him, that hee might goe out against them, but hee would not grant one, so daily more mischief done by them, so your brother not able to endure any longer hee went out without a Commission.

Bacon's own account is equally striking:

Finding that the country was basely for a small and sordid gain betrayed, and the lives and fortunes

¹ I am much indebted to Dr. Charles Waldstein for examining the college registers for me.

² "A True Narrative, &c." MS. Pub. Rec. Office.

³ The authority for his age is a letter kindly sent me, in answer to one of inquiry, by Henry F. Bacon, Esq., of Bury St. Edmunds, who informs me that he was born January 2, 1647.

of the poor inhabitants wretchedly sacrificed [I] resolved to stand up in this ruinous gap and rather expose my life and fortune to all hazards, then basely desert my post, and by soe bad an example make desolate a whole country in which no one dared to stirr against the common Enemy but . . . crowded together like sheep leaving their plantations and stocks a prey to the enemy.

The royal commissioners relate that Bacon hesitated long to take the decisive step of putting himself at the head of the volunteers without a commission; but three prominent men, Crewes, Isham, and Byrd, persuaded him to visit the camp and "treat" the volunteers, when at a preconcerted signal the men cried out, after the old English fashion, "A Bacon, a Bacon, a Bacon!" This sudden election by acclamation, or rather by clamor, turned the scale of his decision.¹ The "whole heart and hopes" of the distressed people "were now set on Bacon as the only Patron of the country and preserver of their lives and fortunes," say the king's commissioners. His force consisted of three hundred men, who pledged themselves to him by signing their names in a round robin on a large paper, and taking a solemn oath to stick together. Meantime the governor issued a warning proclamation,² and mustered a company of gentlemen to disperse Bacon's men; but when Berkeley reached the falls of the James River, Bacon and his three hundred had crossed to the south bank and pushed off southward into the Indian country, whither neither the governor nor his escort of gentlemen had the stomach to follow. Sir William Berkeley found means to vent his angry feelings by gallantly informing Mrs. Betty Bacon that her husband would be hanged as soon as he returned, and by uttering another angry proclamation, dated the 10th of May, in which he denounces Bacon as "young, inexperienced, rash, and inconsiderate," and his followers as "rude, dissolute, and tumultuous," declares Bacon a rebel, and deposes him from his seat in the council and from his office as a magistrate.

Eight days later the governor's whole tone had changed. While he was lying in wait in Henrico County for the return of the volunteers from the Indian country, and, as the Baconians believed, even sending information to the Indians, a new storm suddenly arose among the people of the lower counties, who cared little about the Indian war, but who looked on Bacon as their champion against the oppressive tax of two millions of tobacco for worthless

forts. Berkeley issued another proclamation, on the 18th of May, 1676, while he was yet in Henrico County, dissolving, though with manifest reluctance, the old but never venerable assembly, which for fourteen years had braved public opinion in making laws at the governor's dictation. The rising in the lower counties was by this time taking on the proportions of a serious insurrection, and Berkeley could only avert the hurricane by dismantling the useless forts and returning promptly to Jamestown, thus reluctantly leaving open a door for Bacon's return.

BACON'S CAPTURE AND RELEASE.

A PARTY of the Susquehannocks had taken refuge on an island which is described as two hundred miles to the southward of James River, and which seems to have been in the Roanoke River. This island was the seat of the Ockinagees, one of the trading tribes. These Indians are thought to have belonged to the great Dakota family. Their island was "commodious for trade, and the mart for all the Indians for at least five hundred miles."³ These Ockinagees appear to have been the same as the Mangoaks, of whom Raleigh's colonists heard, who had a great trade for copper, which was brought from the Northwest, passing through the territory of several tribes before reaching them.

When Bacon reached this isle of traffic his provisions were exhausted, and he was not strong enough to engage both the Ockinagees and the Susquehannocks. One may conjecture that the Ockinagees, as the great trading tribe, were the Indians that Berkeley wished to shelter, for at this moment they had a thousand beaver-skins in store which would naturally pass into the hands of the governor and his partners, and no doubt it was through an intermediary trade with the Ockinagees that the Susquehannocks were able to procure arms and ammunition. But Bacon, affecting friendliness with the Ockinagees, persuaded them to fall upon the Susquehannocks, which for some reason they were not loath to do. By this sudden and treacherous attack thirty Susquehannock warriors and all their women and children were slain.

But by this time the Ockinagees, who had three forts on the island, were reinforced. Perhaps also they had got wind through the Pamunkeys, or some other protected tribe, of the wish which the Berkeleian party openly

¹ The royal commissioners say that he had been previously plied with wine to render his acquiescence the more certain.

² This first proclamation is probably not extant, but it is referred to in the second.

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³ A manuscript by Sir William Berkeley in the collection of the late S. L. M. Barlow, Esq., entitled "Virginia's Deplored Condition," and dated August, 1676, is authority for some of these particulars.

confessed, that the savages would "knock Bacon on the head." Bacon could get no food. Many of his men deserted, and his force was now reduced to seventy. The savages grew more hostile as the whites grew fewer. At length one of Bacon's men was shot from the mainland. At this signal a bloody battle ensued. Bacon, who never failed of resource in an emergency, drew his men close to the open palisades of the Indian party, so that the Indians could get no range on them, while the Virginians thrust their guns between the very palisades and fired on the huddled mass of yelling savages within. Many Indians tried to escape, but large numbers were slain. The destruction was pitiless and indiscriminate; it was the seventeenth century. After fighting all night and a great part of the next day and quite destroying one of the forts, Bacon withdrew his men, exhausted by heat, hunger, and fatigue. He had lost eleven men. On his return to the settlement he was received with acclamation, both as the first who had given a check to the Indians, and as a champion whose action had compelled the calling of a new assembly.

Bacon prudently sought to make peace with the governor and to secure even yet a commission against the Indians, who were now ravaging the border in revenge of Bacon's raid. Meantime, however, a guard was kept night and day in Bacon's house, for fear the governor should have him assassinated.

You never knew any better beloved then hee is [privately writes Mrs. Bacon of her husband]. I doe verily believe that rather then hee should come to any hurt by the Governour or any body else they would most of them loose their lives.

Bacon having been displaced from the council, the people of Henrico returned the blow by choosing him and his friend Crewes to the House of Burgesses in the new "June Assembly." Throughout the colony there was a democratic reaction, and the governor was compelled to give way, by allowing all freemen to vote. The people in many cases refused to trust a land-holder, but chose men "that had but lately crept out of the condition of servants" and those who had been "eminent abettors of Bacon."

But when the June Assembly met, the lead against the governor was taken not by the humble freemen, but by some gentlemen who got a committee appointed to inquire into the collection and expenditure of the revenue. Sir William Berkeley with characteristic facility forgot the fair promises made before the election, that he would submit to investigation, and now sent pressing messages to the lower house "to meddle with nothing until the Indian business was despatched." The de-

bate between him and the house rose high, but the governor's new-born zeal in "the Indian business" prevailed, and the profound mystery of the public accounts was never penetrated by the profane. The Virginians presently had work more serious than looking into expenditures, and in the troublous times that followed the governor had the satisfaction of hanging one Mr. Hall Clarke, a gentleman who had been guilty of no other offense than that of "a prying curiosity" into the administration of public funds and such like secrets of state.

Bacon's constituents, though they had chosen him their burgess, were loath to trust their idol within the governor's reach. Forty of the Henrico men, guns in hand, resolved to bear him company to Jamestown. On the evening of the second day of the session Bacon's own sloop, with this guard on board, reached the neighborhood of the little town; and that night Bacon rowed ashore with about twenty of his men, whom he stationed in the bushes at various points in the scattering town, while he resorted to the house of his friend Lawrence for consultation. The presence of the rebel in Jamestown was discovered by Clough, the parish clergyman, who gave notice to the governor, so that by the time Bacon could reach his sloop the guns of the fort had opened upon it, and Bacon sailed up the river out of shot. The next day armed boats were sent to take him, but these were probably unwilling to close with the fusileers of Henrico. The ship *Adam and Eve*, however, intercepted Bacon's sloop, and he surrendered himself and his men, and was brought to Jamestown, to the joy of the governor and his friends.

A curious scene ensued. When Bacon was brought before Sir William Berkeley the governor said, "Now behold the greatest rebel that ever was in Virginia." After a short pause he added: "Sir, do you continue to be a gentleman? And may I take your word? If so, you are at liberty upon your own parole." This clemency was well judged, for the rumor, already spreading from plantation to plantation, that Bacon was in arrest had set the country ablaze with excitement. The men of the upper James River and the men of New Kent were quickly in motion "with dreadful threatenings to double revenge all wrongs" done to Bacon or his men.

THE FIRST MARCH ON JAMESTOWN.

BERKELEY had before shown his knack of seeming to bend before an opposition too strong to be resisted, while clinging tenaciously to his purposes. Jamestown was by this time full of determined though unorganized men come to

watch the course of affairs. Further to allay the dangerous popular jealousy, the governor intimated his willingness to pardon Bacon and restore him to the council, and even to grant him the much-desired commission against the Indians, if Bacon would only salve his wounded honor by a public apology. Bacon had professed a desire for such a settlement two weeks before. "If you can propound any honorable way," he had written to Berkeley, "I will run as great a risk to procure your esteem as I do lose it for." It was besides a life and death matter with him, so that though he afterwards claimed to have yielded to the entreaty of his cousin, it is probable that being a prisoner he did not stickle long at signing and reading in public the very humble apology prepared for him by the elder Nathaniel Bacon, acting as mediator. He was almost at once admitted to his old seat in the council, and the news of the reconciliation dispersed the excited up-countrymen who had continued to crowd into town.

So fine a day presaged a storm, for Berkeley had learned statecraft in the school of Charles I. He had gone so far as to make public announcement of Bacon's appointment, but the commission was left unsigned, and the wind soon began to set from another quarter. Orders were privately sent out to raise the train-bands of the neighboring counties, and so to dispose of them that Bacon's friends could not again assemble in such numbers. The governor, relieved from pressure, found a pretext for not signing the promised commission. Intelligence was secretly given to Bacon that he was to be re-arrested, and that the road and the river were beset with men to put him to death if he essayed to go home the next morning, as he had proposed to do. He thereupon, to use his own phrase, "took the next horse" and escaped in the night. The party sent to seize him early in the morning searched Lawrence's house, sticking their swords through the beds in the vain hope of finding Bacon somewhere concealed. But the up-country was already flocking to him, and in an incredibly short space of time he was marching with characteristic celerity towards Jamestown, and this time there were five hundred armed men at his back. It was late in the day when the news came; the governor promptly ordered four great guns set up at Sandy Beach, which was then the only approach by land to the Jamestown peninsula, and which has now quite disappeared. Thirty men, all that could be mustered, were called out, a barricade across the narrow neck at Sandy Beach was planned, and scouts were sent out over night. The next morning there was a cry of "Arms! Arms!" in Jamestown,

but all attempts to secure trustworthy recruits from the York train-bands had failed, for the whole country was filled with disaffection. The soldiers of Jamestown were few, and the half of them not to be depended on against the popular leader. Reports were brought, moreover, that Bacon's men had sworn to put all to the sword if any resistance should be offered. With characteristic versatility and finesse, Berkeley had the cannon thrown from their carriages and the small arms laid aside, so that the town which had beat to arms in the morning presented an utterly peaceful and non-resistant aspect when on that June day Bacon marched in at the head of four hundred excited men on foot and a troop of a hundred and twenty on horseback. He left a party at Sandy Beach to prevent surprise from the land side or the escape of any one from the town, sent another squad to the ferry, another to the river landing-place, and a fourth to take possession of the fort, "so that no place could be more securely guarded."

Everybody in the little capital seems to have been panic-stricken except the old governor, whose cardinal virtue was the courage of a Cavalier. After some parley through councilors, he became furious at his own humiliation and the sturdiness of Bacon's demands. Going out, he bared his breast and declared that they might shoot him before he would sign a commission for such a rebel as Bacon. Then, forgetting his age and station, he drew his sword and offered to settle the matter on the spot by single combat with the young rebel. It is indeed the seventeenth century that we are here dealing with! "Sir," answered Bacon, "I come not nor intend to hurt a hair of your Honor's head, and for your sword your Honor may please to put it up; it may rust in the scabbard before I shall desire you to draw it. I come for a commission against the heathen who daily inhumanly murder us and spill our brethren's blood and no care is taken to prevent it." All the time of this dramatic parley between the slender young leader and the aged governor Bacon's hand was nervously put now to his hat and now to his sword-hilt, as though in an unconscious alternation of respect and defiance.

But courtly speeches did not avail. The governor and council retired towards the state-house; upon which Bacon, following them, took another tone, and burst out with one of those ingeniously meaningless oaths with which the young gentry of the Restoration period garnished their speeches, and in the making of which Bacon was notoriously ingenious. "God damn my blood!" he cried, "I come for a commission, and a commission I will have before I go.

I'll kill governor and council and assembly, and then I'll sheathe my sword in my own heart's blood." Rhyming his action to his words, he turned to his fusileers and said, "Make ready and present." The loaded matchlocks of the enraged Baconians were now leveled at the state-house, from the windows of which the burgesses were eagerly watching the scene between Bacon and the governor. One of the frightened burgesses waved a handkerchief at the troops and called out, "For God's sake hold your hands a little and forbear, and you shall have what you please."

Bacon probably felt that in his perilous position he could not afford even a half victory. He refused the first commission offered to him, and extorted a satisfactory commission for himself as major-general and thirty commissions in blank for officers to serve under him. He required the assembly to pass an act disabling certain of the worst spirits of the governor's party from holding any office, and he extorted a letter to the king signed by the governor and the speaker in exculpation of himself. In vain the old governor professed himself sick and sought permission to go home; the ferry and the peninsula were guarded, and Berkeley, subdued for the time, assented to a set of laws well adapted to reform abuses and relieve the people. When Bacon was dead and his work abrogated the oppressed Virginians begged for the reënactment of "the laws of the June Assembly," and "Bacon's Laws" are an oasis in the Virginia legislation of the seventeenth century.

THE SIEGE AND DESTRUCTION OF JAMESTOWN.

THIS legislation at gun-muzzle was interrupted before it was completed. In the forenoon of Sunday, the 25th of June, Jamestown was thrown into commotion by news "that the Indians had been ffole and murdered eight of our people . . . at two several places on York River." These bold murders were but twenty-three miles from the capital, and were more than forty miles within the line of frontier settlements. Bacon therefore ordered provisions to the falls of the James River, and on Monday morning marched out of Jamestown to try his new commission against the savages. On that very Sunday in which Nathaniel Bacon, for the moment virtual dictator of Virginia, was getting ready to go against the Indians, England was agitated by the news of his earlier movements, and Thomas Bacon of Friston Hall was presenting a pathetic petition to the king begging that he would not be too angry with his son in Virginia until all the facts were known.

No sooner were the rebels out of Jamestown than the governor set himself to undo their work. He summoned the militia of York and Middlesex, under pretense of going himself against the Indians; but when the train-bands were informed that it was Bacon against whom they were to march, it is said that a murmur of "Bacon, Bacon, Bacon," arose among the men, who sullenly broke ranks and returned home. The old governor fainted on the field with chagrin.

The "general," as Bacon was now called, had completed his preparations for the Indian campaign, when, on the very night before the proposed departure of the expedition from the falls of the James River, there arrived a messenger sent post to inform him that the governor was raising the militia against him. Fearing to go against the savages with the certainty of encountering a hostile force when his men should come back exhausted, Bacon made a ringing little speech to his men and marched straight back to Jamestown. The governor, not wishing to encounter the rebels single-handed, fled across Chesapeake Bay to the eastern shore, where the inhabitants, from their remoteness and perhaps from their peculiar character, had always remained loyal, and free from the agitations of the rest of Virginia. But even the men of Accomac, while affording him an asylum, higgled with Berkeley for relief from abuses.

Bacon now found the government of all Virginia, except the two counties on the eastern shore, left derelict on his hands. He therefore summoned the leading gentlemen of the country to meet him on the third day of August at Middle Plantation, the site upon which the new capital, Williamsburg, was planted a few years later.

The men of estate were very willing to have their battles fought out for them, but many of them were naturally loath to put their own necks in reach of the governor's halter. Bacon, however, boldly threatened to deliver up his commission to the assembly, leaving the people to get out of the fix as best they could, unless they would enter into the most stringent engagements with him. He was not in a position to be content with a half support; Berkeley from Accomac was threatening vengeance, and he knew that he must soon settle his account with England itself, for the governor had sent Lady Berkeley across seas to make sure of assistance. A clergyman who opposed the taking of an engagement hostile to the king's troops was imprisoned, as were Sir Henry Chicheley and some others; some were won over by Bacon's arguments and persuasions, and some whom he suspected he compelled to go with him to the Indian country. Just at

the opportune moment the scale was turned in favor of Bacon's propositions by a new Indian raid into Gloucester County, and even York fort, from which the governor had but the day before taken away the arms and ammunition, was in danger of being captured by the savages. The general prescribed an oath which was administered in almost every county by the lawful magistrates, binding the Virginians to resist any forces sent out from England until Bacon could have time to inform the king of the true state of affairs and get reply; to divulge to the general all words spoken against him; and to keep his secrets. Bacon now made the only military mistake of his whole career; but, owing to the coincidence of unfortunate circumstances, it eventually proved a fatal one to his cause. He trusted to Carver and Bland, two of his lieutenants, the delicate task of sailing to Accomac and capturing Berkeley. It was the only one of his important undertakings that he put into other hands, and the only one that miscarried. It might have been better to have sent Carver, seaman that he was, to fight the savages, and to have gone after the larger game himself.

Of his second expedition into the wilderness the accounts are very conflicting. The royal commissioners — who, however, knew little of Indians — censure him severely for attacking the Pamunkeys, who were ostensibly at peace with the whites. But the Virginians for the most part held to the theory, adopted by all frontier people when smarting under long-continued, cruel, and treacherous Indian outrages, that all Indians are hostile, overtly or covertly. Detained by rain until provisions were short, he offered to all who wished permission to return home; but this was done so adroitly that only three or four dared to brave the ridicule of their fellows by deserting the general. When all the provisions were consumed, he sent away all those who were not willing to subsist on horse-flesh and chinquapins. With the hardy little band that was left him, he kept up as long as possible a relentless scouring of the woods.

But when Bacon emerged from the wilderness it was to find the province again in confusion. The governor had captured the ship sent to take him, and had joined to this sixteen or seventeen sloops of the country; with these, on the 7th of September, he reëntered Jamestown, which had been hurriedly evacuated by the Baconians without any attempt at defense. Berkeley had mustered for this expedition six hundred sailors and other adventurers. It was reported at the time that he had promised them, besides regular pay, twenty-one years' exemption from all taxes except church

dues, and the plunder of all who had taken Bacon's oath—"catch as catch could."

When Bacon received intelligence of the governor's return he had left but a hundred and thirty-six men, including "baggatiers" or porters; and this little troop was exhausted by fatigue and scant diet. But by one of those martial appeals which never failed to stir the blood of his followers, he contrived to inspire his wan and weather-beaten little company with his own valor and confidence. He boasted to his men of their courage; he ridiculed the governor's force as composed of cowards and plunderers; he made the fiercest threats of vengeance; and to work his men up to the courage of savage desperation, and to intimidate his foes, he swore them to give and take no quarter — an oath not hard to them, since they were pretty sure to be hanged if they should surrender.

He did not take time to secure many reinforcements, but pressed forward towards Jamestown. The people cheered the valiant little forlorn hope as it pushed along the roads; they uttered prayers for the general's happiness, and railed at the governor and his party. Fruits and victuals were brought forth to the soldiers as they passed, and the patriotic women passionately cried after Bacon that if he needed help they would come themselves to aid him.

Such was the celerity of this march, that before the governor had warning of his approach Bacon reached Jamestown — "outstripping the wings of fame," in the words of a writer of the time. His last day's march was thirty or forty miles, and he halted at Green Spring, in the neighborhood of Jamestown, where he disclosed to his tired men the tremendous odds against them, and animated them again by a speech pitched in a high, romantic key. "Come on, my hearts of gold," he cried; "he that dies in the field lies in the bed of honor." Drawing up his men after dark in the old Indian field by Jamestown, he rode forward to Sandy Beach — the neck, about ten paces wide, that connected the town with the mainland. He began the siege in the chivalresque fashion of the time. Instead of leaving the enemy to discover his arrival as best they could, he commanded a trumpeter to sound a defiance, and had a carbine fired; this was presently answered by a trumpeter from the town. Having performed the ceremonies due to the occasion, he dismounted, surveyed the ground, and ordered a trench made across the neck.

All night the men worked in the moonlight, having but two axes and two spades. Berkeley again attempted his favorite ruse of a conciliatory hypocrisy: he ordered his troops not to

attack, believing that the rebels would not dare begin an open battle with the royal governor, and pretending that he wished to avoid a war on account of Bacon's services against the Indians. The game had been played too often; Bacon assured his followers that the governor's party were as perfidious as they were cowardly. The little earthwork was at length completed, and at daybreak six of the Baconians announced the beginning of the siege by making a dash at the Jamestown palisades, firing a volley in bravado, and retreating in safety to their trench. In the contest which ensued Bacon's works, though built so hurriedly, effectually sheltered his men from the fire of the ships in the river and from the sallies of the governor's troops. By showing the men how to shield themselves with fagots carried in front of them and deposited on top and at the ends of the breastwork, the general extended and strengthened his fortifications under fire, apparently without losing one of his volunteers in the whole struggle. A sentinel perched on a neighboring chimney reported to the leader "how the men in the town mounted and dismounted, posted and reposted, drew on and off, and what number they were." Bacon's followers, after the childish fashion of the time, taunted and braved their adversaries, and even made a display on the top of their works of the Indians they had captured.

One attempt was made by a strong sally to carry the besiegers' works, but the rebels repulsed this, killing two of the attacking party, and Berkeley's troops never essayed it again.

On the 17th of September Bacon secured some cannon. Finding it difficult to mount these without losing the lives of some of his band, he sent to the neighboring plantations and brought into his works the wives and other female relatives of the governor's principal advisers and set them in an exposed position in front of his breastwork, sending one of the number into the town to give notice to the husbands of these ladies of the nature of his defenses. When his guns were in position he politely sent the ladies home again. A jaunty time, when men in deadly struggle played such schoolboy pranks!

Berkeley's recruits had come for plunder, and the business was getting too serious for them. Jamestown, with its malaria and its brackish water, "not grateful to the stomach," was an uncomfortable place in September. Every day was adding to Bacon's strength, and great numbers were rising in Isle of Wight and Nansemond counties. The governor's friends were particularly anxious to save the spoils already in their hands. On the 18th of September, the day after Bacon's great guns

were placed, the plunder that had been gathered — of which the governor had Lawrence's cupboard of beautiful silver plate — was carried on shipboard and the town evacuated.

The governor's fleet, however, halted in sight of the town; there was evidently an intention to reoccupy it at the first opportunity, nor was it very defensible from the water side. Besides, if Bacon remained he would soon be entrapped, for Major Brent was marching against him with a thousand men mustered from the northernmost borders of Virginia, where the causes and course of Bacon's movement were only known from vague rumors. The rebels did not want any stronger reasons for destroying a place which seemed to them the very fountain-head of all their calamities. Jamestown consisted, at this the pinnacle of its splendor, of sixteen or eighteen widely scattered houses. Of these about twelve were large, new, and built of brick, as was the church. There were only about a dozen families permanently resident there, "getting their livings by keeping of ordinaries at extraordinary rates," as a writer of the time tells us. All the dwellings, with the church and the state-house, were burned on the 19th of September. Lawrence and Drummond set fire to their own houses, and, if one may believe the governor, Bacon fired the church with his own hand. Drummond saved the records from the burning state-house.

BACON'S DEATH.

WITH his usual promptness in meeting a danger half way, Bacon started at once to encounter Brent, but the tidings that the general had beaten the governor out of the town demoralized the northern train-bands. Their adhesion to the governor was perhaps already doubtful; some of them fled; the greater part deserted bodily to Bacon, "resolving with the Persians to go and worship the rising sun." In his hour of triumph Bacon showed much moderation. He was full of plans for reorganizing the colony and for withstanding the forces expected from England. But Jamestown, whose unwholesome air had from the outset cost the colony many valuable lives, was now to revenge itself even on its destroyer. The week that Bacon spent in the trenches of the pestiferous peninsula had smitten him with a fatal dysentery, and he died in Gloucester County on the twenty-sixth day of October, full of military anxieties to the last. With admirable devotion the friends who surrounded him took precautions against the possibility that his body should ever be exhumed and exposed on a gibbet. In later times nobody knew where Nathaniel Bacon was buried. The only hint that has come down to us is that stones were placed in the

coffin by his friend Lawrence, from which we may conjecture that he found a sea-burial in the wide estuary of York River.

His character is sufficiently apparent from his career. The royal commissioners, who arrived in Virginia after he was dead, use some harsh words about him; it was to be expected that the commissioners of Charles II. would not speak well of a rebel. But their whole narrative of the rise of the rebellion is a justification of his action; nor can the commissioners quite conceal their admiration for some of his qualities. They testify that he was not "bloodily inclined"; in spite of all provocation he put but one man to death in cold blood, and that one a spy who had made a business of enlisting with Bacon and then deserting to the governor. Bacon offered to pardon him if any soldier in his force would but speak a word for him, but no word was spoken. The rebel leader seems to have lived without a suspicion of personal vindictiveness or mercenary corruption. He restrained the appetite of his troops for plunder in an age which accounted spoils the legitimate reward of the soldier. Men did not simply obey him — they were ready to die for him. In some things his movement foreshadowed the American Revolution, which it preceded by a hun-


dred years. His contrivance of a quasi-voluntary engagement of the people, as a substitute for legal authority, resembles strangely the "Articles of Association" exacted by the Congress of 1774; it is possible that the patriots of the later rebellion took lessons from him. For, in 1774, the "Virginia Gazette" printed an account of Bacon's movement from an old manuscript, now lost, as a means of animating the people to resistance. The signature to one of the proclamations in the British Museum, "Nathaniell Bacon, Generall by the consent of the People," strikes a note that has a strangely modern and republican sound. He was, as we have seen, an adroit speaker, and he possessed courteous manners and great powers of persuasion. His writings, though never elegant, and though sometimes lacking in correctness, are strong and effective; in spite of occasional turgidity and youthful declamatoriness, they are in places nervous and even eloquent. Considering the really great administrative qualities that were combined in this man of unflinching resource, one is tempted to wish that the Virginia Hampden had chanced on a more fortunate time and a larger field for the exercise of his genius.

Edward Eggleston.

[BEGUN IN THE JUNE NUMBER.]

THE ANGLOMANIACS.

III.

T was not until Mr. Ernest Jencks, late passenger on the steamship *Etruria*, and future professor of biology in Illyria University, Michigan, found himself and his luggage shut up in a dingy cab of the "night-hawk" pattern, and oscillating violently towards the Brevoort House over pavements unutterably bad, that the conviction dawned on him he had been tricked by fate. Verily, in the words of his prophet Carlyle, might have been said to him, "The understanding is indeed thy window — too clear thou canst not make it; but fantasy is thine eye, with its color-giving retina." Imagination had him in her grip. Since the pantomimic but expressive interview with the goddess of his dreams on shipboard he had actually not had speech with her alone. With returning sunshine, dry decks, good appetites, and hopes of land, the ship's passengers had suddenly blossomed out into a host

of chirping, joking folk, full of the affairs of a world that did not interest him and that subtly divided him from Lily.

Among the first to emerge from seclusion was Lily's mother. Trig, alert, stylish, conscious of a becoming hat, and sustained by stays that took ten years from her age, Mrs. Floyd-Curtis was herself again. At her beck were attendants aggressively correct and solemn. Surrounding the chairs of mother and daughter was a throng of gossipers. And if chance offered him a loop-hole, by seeing Lily set out for a walk, she was at once followed and entwined by Mrs. Clay. To hang around with the crowd in the hope of receiving the sixteenth of a smile or the thirty-second part of an opinion as to Lili Lehmann's voice did not allure him irresistibly. The whole complexion of things between them had been altered by fine weather. He was almost tempted to find his divinity sometimes pert, as he thought her mother vulgar. A light frost, in fact, had fallen upon his blooming rosebush. And then a great event had taken place, reconciling Mrs.