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*Stubbs. Rodney. Mary Blank pt.*

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*N. Y.*

The devel<sup>t</sup> of 6 countatus into a territorial nobility seems a feature peculiar to Eng. hist<sup>y</sup>.  
 Something like int. hv. occur<sup>d</sup> in oth Germ. races, if  
 they had not been unit<sup>d</sup> & assim<sup>d</sup> under Frank Empire,  
 & had not worked out the feud<sup>sm</sup> under infl. of Frank  
 syst<sup>m</sup>. The Lombard gascind & Slav<sup>n</sup>. sindman  
 were orig<sup>ly</sup> same as A-S. g<sup>ri</sup>th; but they sank into  
 gen<sup>l</sup>. mass of vassalage as it grew up in 9 & 10 c<sup>is</sup>.  
 Frank vassalage grew up out of circles entirely unconn<sup>ed</sup>  
 w<sup>th</sup> 6 countatus, wh<sup>ch</sup> it superseded & swamped. Frank  
vassalage was based not on countatus, but on a  
 practice of commend<sup>n</sup> & a benef<sup>y</sup>. syst<sup>m</sup>. The benef<sup>y</sup>  
syst<sup>m</sup> bound rec<sup>or</sup>. of land to K, who gave it;  
 & the act of commend<sup>n</sup> pl<sup>ly</sup>. freeman & his land  
 under prot<sup>n</sup>. of L<sup>d</sup>. to whom he ad<sup>ed</sup> head; & result  
 was to br<sup>ng</sup> all landholders of c<sup>try</sup> grad<sup>ly</sup>  
 into pers<sup>l</sup>. dep<sup>ce</sup> on K. Ea<sup>ch</sup> of the pract<sup>s</sup> had  
 its parall. in Eng; but here the bestowal of  
folkland (benef<sup>y</sup>.) presupposed, not the creat<sup>d</sup>, &  
 close relat<sup>n</sup>. bet. K & rec<sup>or</sup>; & in most cases

Different  
 Historical  
 Development  
 of  
 Feudal System  
 in  
 England  
 &  
 on Continent

In England  
 develops from  
 the Ancient  
 Countatus

On Continent  
 created by  
 new practices  
 viz: Beneficium  
 & Commendation

## Stubs I

was made a gift in recog<sup>n</sup> of past services,  
 & did not imply a new count<sup>n</sup>. Conseq<sup>ly</sup>,  
 A choice of a lord (commendation) by a land-  
less man for his surty & prot<sup>n</sup>, & even the  
 extent<sup>n</sup> of the pract. to a free landowner  
 who req<sup>d</sup>. same prot<sup>n</sup>, was less liable in Eng<sup>d</sup>  
 than on Cont. to be confound<sup>d</sup> w<sup>th</sup> feud<sup>l</sup> dep<sup>en</sup>,  
 & the transact<sup>n</sup> in fact did not create an  
indissoluble tie. Hence a imp<sup>t</sup> diff<sup>er</sup>. On  
 Cont. a comitatus is absorbd<sup>d</sup> in the landed  
 vassalage" — disappears. " In Eng, the A-S  
 comitatus of geseith & Osgno forms the  
 basis of a new nobility, only partly vassalised

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Distinction  
 (as above)  
 between  
 Vassalage  
 &  
 Nobility of  
 Service

Upon the Cont. & later vassalage, when on  
 found, appears in wider extent<sup>n</sup>. On the Comitatus,  
 in relat<sup>n</sup> to private persons as well as to K.  
 It <sup>vass<sup>al</sup></sup> applies to a wider range of persons, to whom  
 it does not nec<sup>ly</sup> give such honors or r<sup>ts</sup> as  
 Com<sup>it</sup>. enjoy<sup>d</sup>, nor does it create the close pers<sup>al</sup>  
 Count<sup>n</sup> in wh<sup>ch</sup> the Comites stood to K.

A dep<sup>en</sup>. int<sup>l</sup> be Count<sup>d</sup> w<sup>th</sup> K. (1) by service,

(2) by comitatus, (3) by commendation, (4) by beneficium  
Frank feudalism grew out of latter two; Eng<sup>h</sup> nobility  
of service from first two. It is not pretended that  
 the principles & results were very diff<sup>t</sup>; but they did  
 not dist<sup>t</sup> hist<sup>y</sup> which was diff<sup>t</sup> at every stage  
 espec<sup>ly</sup> in Ot, as in so many Eng<sup>s</sup>, personal relat<sup>ns</sup>  
 in Eng rather pl. of terra, as they exist in Fr; and  
 the feud<sup>sm</sup> of folk! Cong<sup>t</sup> was Frank (cont<sup>l</sup>) & territ<sup>l</sup>  
 while Ot which preceded Cong<sup>t</sup> grew fr. pers<sup>l</sup> & legal  
 not fr. territ<sup>l</sup> influences

In Frank Empire the best<sup>l</sup> syst<sup>m</sup> is unconn<sup>ed</sup>  
with Count<sup>s</sup>; in Eng. they are in closest conn<sup>ed</sup>  
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But in the devel<sup>t</sup> peculiar to Eng. syst<sup>m</sup>,  
 the process nevertheless modif<sup>d</sup> largely the charac.  
 of the feith & feign. He who at first lived in K's house  
 begins to have an estate of land; & as almost at dawn of  
 hist<sup>y</sup> the charac. of the assoc<sup>n</sup> is varied: the anc<sup>t</sup> comes lived  
 with K, & was resp<sup>l</sup> for services with gifts & banquets, the Eng  
 feith, so still bound by oaths to L<sup>d</sup>, lives on our domain  
 there are still, of course feiths without land; but the  
old rule has become an except<sup>n</sup>

Results  
 and  
 Principles  
 not so  
 essentially  
 Different  
 as are  
 the History  
 and  
 Origins

Modification  
 of  
 Status  
 and  
 Relations  
 induced  
 by  
 English  
 Development

## Stubbs

No Centre  
of  
Union under  
Heptarchy

The characteristics of the social & pol<sup>y</sup> system  
were common to heptarchie & to the aggregated  
Kgd<sup>m</sup>. No higher org<sup>n</sup>, no higher mach<sup>y</sup> of race  
or terr<sup>l</sup> national<sup>y</sup> can be shown to exist until  
the beginning of W. Saxon Ks began work of consolidation  
the next per<sup>d</sup>, true, & most part<sup>l</sup> K of the period  
did ex. a sup<sup>er</sup> move on honorary, do not strictly  
of nat. of gov<sup>t</sup> x x x It is prob. two or of  
power & influence only; but it may be recog<sup>d</sup>  
by occas<sup>l</sup> acts of commend<sup>n</sup>, by wh weaker K sent  
themselves under prot<sup>n</sup> of stronger, for purposes of  
all<sup>ce</sup> or def. Such commend<sup>n</sup>, rat<sup>l</sup> by oath,  
was one of chief steps toward<sup>s</sup> org<sup>n</sup> feud<sup>sm</sup>; but  
in self was no more feud<sup>l</sup> on & limitatus, &  
origin of the in it being pers<sup>l</sup>, not-territ<sup>l</sup>;  
whereas in feud<sup>l</sup> system & origin of oblig<sup>n</sup> is in  
a land, & not in a persons consent w<sup>ch</sup> it

Illustration  
of how  
a Feudal  
Kingdom  
could grow  
by  
process of  
aggregation

The Church  
the sole  
Bond & Symbol  
of  
Unity

Dev<sup>y</sup> & per<sup>y</sup>. A unity of Ch. was & only  
work<sup>y</sup> unity, & law of religion & only unity  
recog<sup>d</sup> common jurisdiction The Abb. of C. stood  
const<sup>ly</sup>, as Prætorialis was stood, at head of an  
org<sup>n</sup> & segment<sup>l</sup> syst<sup>m</sup>, of wh. all off<sup>rs</sup> were  
bound, by prof<sup>n</sup> of obed<sup>ce</sup> to him

Development  
from  
Personal  
to  
Territorial  
Relations

The great tend<sup>y</sup> of the process of devel<sup>t</sup> in A-S.  
Constit<sup>n</sup> hist<sup>y</sup> may be described as a mov<sup>t</sup> from the  
pers<sup>n</sup>l to a territ<sup>l</sup> org<sup>n</sup>; fr. a state of things in which  
pers<sup>n</sup>l freedom & pol<sup>l</sup> st<sup>y</sup> were the lead<sup>g</sup> ideas, to  
one in which pers<sup>n</sup>l freedom & pol<sup>l</sup> st<sup>y</sup> had become  
so much bound up w<sup>th</sup> relat<sup>ns</sup> creat<sup>d</sup> by poss<sup>n</sup>  
of land, as to be act<sup>ly</sup> subserv<sup>t</sup> to it: A  
Anglo-cy<sup>m</sup> of the kind becomes the Engla-land  
of Car<sup>n</sup>te.

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The Final  
Result  
not reached  
before  
the Conquest

Before the Conq<sup>t</sup> the process was not fully  
worked out. The Anglo-Saxon K never ceases to  
be K of a Nat<sup>n</sup>, <sup>not a land only</sup> but he has become its lord &  
patron rat<sup>h</sup> on its fo<sup>r</sup>; & it is a st<sup>y</sup> of soc<sup>y</sup>  
in which all lordship is bound up w<sup>th</sup> land-ownership  
The K has become L<sup>d</sup> of a Nat<sup>l</sup> land, & needs only  
one step to become Lord of the People by title.  
This step, however, was not th<sup>n</sup> by the Eng K, but  
by Norman lawyers; & it was only because they  
thought a trans<sup>n</sup> so easy that they left unimpaired  
the auct. local org<sup>n</sup>, fr. which the st<sup>y</sup> grew a syst<sup>m</sup>.  
which w<sup>d</sup> ult<sup>y</sup> reduce the land-ownership to proper di-  
mensions & functions

## Stubs I

Perfection  
of  
Feudalism  
Prevented by  
Norman  
Conquest

Of the A.S. terr<sup>d</sup> syst<sup>m</sup> so steadily dev<sup>d</sup>?  
 led in Eng ripened into feud<sup>sm</sup>, or feud<sup>sm</sup>  
 wd. prov<sup>n</sup> no. on perm<sup>t</sup>. Haphily & ch<sup>g</sup>  
 at head? feud<sup>sm</sup> for a time (a long<sup>t</sup>) prod<sup>d</sup>  
 wd it impuls<sup>n</sup>. The Eng<sup>h</sup>, wh int. new as  
 strugg<sup>d</sup> agst. nat. lds, were roused by  
 & lds were strangers as well as oppressors,  
 & a Norman l<sup>o</sup> real<sup>l</sup> at if by wd int<sup>n</sup> &  
 land & y must make common cause wd best

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Periods in  
the Process  
of  
Development  
from  
Personal  
to  
Territorial  
Relations

Five hist<sup>l</sup> events define & per<sup>d</sup> wd in wh  
 were work<sup>n</sup> & changes from personal to territorial  
 relations

- 1 The accret<sup>n</sup> of a small settle<sup>ts</sup> wd. in the  
Kgd<sup>ms</sup>
- 2 Union of kept<sup>e</sup> Kgd<sup>ms</sup> under house of Cerdic
- 3 The first struggle wd the Danes
- 4 Pacif<sup>n</sup> of Eng<sup>d</sup> under Edgar
- 5 Introd<sup>n</sup> of new forms & principles of  
gov<sup>t</sup>. by Canute

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Predominant  
Effect of  
Saxons  
Numbers  
and  
Civilization

For the word law itself (dash) it is said we are indebted to Danes. Just as in Fr. Normans adopt? whig & institutions of Conq?, so in Eng & Danes sank almost merged with Amass of Angles

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Disruptive  
Tendency  
of  
Canute's  
Great  
Earldoms

The grt. Earldoms of Canute's reign were perhaps a nearer approach to a feud. div<sup>n</sup> of Eng than anyt wh. foll<sup>d</sup>. Nor. Conq<sup>t</sup>. x x The ext<sup>n</sup>. of wh. as creat<sup>n</sup>. of four Earldoms aff<sup>t</sup>. dist<sup>n</sup>. of next  $\frac{1}{2}$  C<sup>y</sup> can't be exagg<sup>d</sup>. The cent<sup>n</sup>. tend<sup>y</sup>. of such an arrang<sup>t</sup>. to become hered<sup>y</sup>, & the cent<sup>n</sup>. tend<sup>y</sup>. of her<sup>y</sup>. occup<sup>n</sup>. of cot<sup>n</sup>. fees ultimately to overwhelm royal pow<sup>r</sup>., are well exempt<sup>d</sup>. The process by wh. K. Consent in self pow<sup>r</sup> & sup<sup>n</sup>. of Nat<sup>n</sup>, as judge, patron & landlord, reaches its climax only to break up save where K's hand is strong eno to hold fast what he has inher<sup>d</sup>, and the peop<sup>l</sup> are coher<sup>t</sup>. eno to rust<sup>n</sup>. him. x x x Conseq. Arsenic<sup>n</sup> & weakness of? way for Nor. Conq<sup>t</sup>; & the Conq<sup>t</sup>.



## Stubbs I

restored nat. unity at a gov. temp.  
sacrifici, just as Danish Cong<sup>t</sup> in ot  
ways, & by diverse process had helped  
to create it

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Similar  
Conditions  
Induce  
Similar  
Results

In diff<sup>t</sup> times, and in widely contrast<sup>d</sup>  
pol. crisis, royalty, as in Eng & on Cont.  
was work<sup>g</sup> sep into forms in wh. old Germ<sup>l</sup>  
idea of K was scarce recog<sup>ed</sup>, whilst at same  
time & infl. of long-estab<sup>d</sup> org<sup>zm</sup>, of  
settled houses, of her<sup>g</sup> jurisdictions, was  
prod<sup>g</sup> a territ<sup>l</sup> syst<sup>m</sup> of gov<sup>t</sup> unknown  
to race in early stages

and

Does not  
Interact

A strong current of like events will  
prod. coincidences in hist<sup>y</sup> of peoples whose  
whole institutions are dist<sup>t</sup>; much more will  
like circ force nat<sup>l</sup> sim<sup>l</sup> const<sup>d</sup> into like  
exped<sup>ts</sup>. No aut. of analogy bet two syst<sup>ms</sup>  
can by itself prove deriv<sup>n</sup>

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In attempt<sup>g</sup> to estimate real amt. of chst-  
 nitrod<sup>1</sup> by feed<sup>er</sup> of Cong<sup>t</sup> x x x one thing of conserva-  
 tive trend? must be remembered. The Norman K is  
 still A K of A Nat<sup>n</sup>, not the nominal Sov<sup>r</sup> of gr<sup>t</sup>  
 indep. vassals. He has become supreme landlord;  
 all estates are held of him, med<sup>dy</sup> or mixed<sup>ly</sup>, but he  
still demands alleg<sup>ce</sup> of all his subj<sup>s</sup>. The oab he  
 exact<sup>d</sup> at Salisbury in 1086, w<sup>as</sup> a mod<sup>if</sup> of oab  
 tak<sup>n</sup> of Edmund, & w<sup>as</sup> intend<sup>d</sup> to set a gr<sup>t</sup>  
obly<sup>g</sup> of oab<sup>ce</sup> of K in its proper relat<sup>n</sup> to A  
new tier of oab<sup>ce</sup> homage & fealty by wh<sup>ch</sup> tenant  
 w<sup>as</sup> bound to lord. All men count<sup>d</sup> to be prim<sup>o</sup>  
K's men, & public peace to be K's peace. Their  
 lords int<sup>l</sup> demand for service to fulfil or own obly<sup>g</sup>,  
but K c<sup>d</sup> call to fyrd, summon em to his Courts,  
 & tax em about interest<sup>n</sup> of the lords; & to K  
by c<sup>d</sup> look for prot<sup>n</sup> a<sup>g</sup>t. all foes. Accord<sup>g</sup>, K  
 c<sup>d</sup> rely on help of bulk of free peop in all struggles  
 w<sup>ch</sup> feed<sup>er</sup> & o<sup>th</sup> peop, find<sup>g</sup> ot or count<sup>n</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> lords  
 w<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> excuse unfaith to K, had further induc<sup>t</sup> to  
 adhere to o<sup>th</sup> more perm<sup>t</sup> w<sup>ch</sup>l<sup>ts</sup>

Norman  
 Kings'  
 Relations  
 to the  
 People  
 Predominates  
 over  
 Feudal  
 Ties

## Stubs I

Circi called first grt. display of constm<sup>ts</sup>  
 per<sup>ty</sup> by H. I. An hd on shown even by W I.

It was fully awake to impos<sup>ts</sup> of gov<sup>ts</sup> but  
 w<sup>as</sup> fend<sup>l</sup> mach<sup>g</sup>, even when fettered by checks  
 Cong<sup>ts</sup> hd impos<sup>ts</sup>. The farther vol<sup>ts</sup> of baron & v.  
 new good excuse for subvers<sup>ts</sup> O m, fact<sup>g</sup> vices  
 of adm<sup>no</sup> per<sup>ty</sup> w<sup>as</sup> own hands, a few of his  
 devoted serv<sup>ts</sup>, & form<sup>g</sup> a strong minist<sup>l</sup> body

As to he w<sup>as</sup> aided by a admir<sup>bl</sup> list<sup>ts</sup>. Of his  
 sagacity select<sup>d</sup>. - Bp. Roger of Salisbury. x x  
 The routine w<sup>as</sup> R. inhibit<sup>d</sup> w<sup>as</sup> as grt. step tow<sup>ard</sup>  
 Const<sup>l</sup> gov<sup>ts</sup> as w<sup>as</sup> poss under so despotic gov<sup>ts</sup>;  
 and its clab. mach<sup>g</sup> w<sup>as</sup> itself check on wanton  
 tyranny. In subord<sup>n</sup> to R., it raised a set of  
 novi hominis, in nob<sup>l</sup> of blood aff<sup>ts</sup> to a ruling  
 race, w<sup>as</sup> dist<sup>l</sup> purpose of forming a counterpoise  
 to the older vassals, & these were used in work of Admn

Novi  
 hominis  
 of  
 Henry I  
 counterbalance  
 the  
 older vassals

Curia Regis

The Curia Regis was, in one aspect, a mach<sup>g</sup>?  
An wh jud<sup>l</sup> par. of Crown as ex<sup>d</sup>. in ot wide  
sphere of legal bus<sup>s</sup> on wh, in its now complic<sup>d</sup>.  
relat<sup>ns</sup>, it was brot<sup>t</sup> to bear

Embryonic  
Steps  
Towards  
Representation  
Institutions  
1100-1135

The justices while employ<sup>d</sup>. in prov<sup>l</sup>. work sat  
in the shire-moot; & as usage of H I, w<sup>th</sup> a  
sim. meas of H II, forms a link bet<sup>t</sup> a old  
& a new org<sup>z</sup> of a C<sup>try</sup>, by wh a Convent<sup>n</sup>  
of local mach<sup>g</sup> was prod<sup>d</sup>, out of wh. a rep.  
syst<sup>m</sup> arose. The part<sup>l</sup>. of 13 C<sup>g</sup>. was a convent<sup>n</sup>  
of local rep<sup>n</sup>. in & w<sup>th</sup> a Nat<sup>l</sup>. Council. It was  
no small step in a direct<sup>n</sup> when a act<sup>n</sup> of  
Curia Regis was brot<sup>t</sup> into direct Count<sup>n</sup>. w<sup>th</sup> a  
of shire-moot. In a visit<sup>n</sup> of a itinerant  
justices, a Norman Curia met the Anglo-Saxon gemot

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Employment  
of  
Mercenaries  
in  
England  
1100-1154

There can be little doubt- a for Norman was  
of H I, & for partisan warfare under Stephen, mer-  
cenaries were much used. These, drawn fr. Flanders  
&c, econ<sup>z</sup>. blood of Eng people, but caused much  
misery & irritat<sup>n</sup>. One of a most pop. meas<sup>s</sup> of

## Stubbs I

Limitations  
gradually  
introduced  
upon  
the military  
power  
possessed  
by the  
King

H " vs or expulse? The fact of three sources of  
mil? strength — feudal array, nat? militia &  
merc? Co? — were avail on both sides Channel,  
but a powerful Empire of war in K's hands; and  
one of very first steps towards recog<sup>n</sup> of nat? unity  
were meas<sup>rs</sup> "forbid<sup>d</sup>" introd<sup>n</sup> of merc? into  
Eng, (2) a grow<sup>g</sup> reluct<sup>n</sup>, and<sup>ly</sup> in pos. refusal,  
of feud<sup>l</sup> tenants to begin K's battles abroad,  
and (3) cessat<sup>n</sup> of any attempt to use Eng free  
prop<sup>ty</sup> for war abroad.

470-1

In the institutions of Henry I & II,

how much + what is Norman, what Eng, what new?

The view maint<sup>d</sup> by Stubbs recog<sup>s</sup> to full ext<sup>t</sup>  
merg<sup>e</sup> of A-S. institutions, and at same time

notes the features in & four Nor reg<sup>s</sup> which  
new. In pol<sup>y</sup> of Cong<sup>o</sup>: can be traced an idea

of work<sup>ing</sup>, of welding the adm<sup>n</sup> framework  
of & two races. In tax<sup>n</sup>, Danegeld is dist<sup>ly</sup>

Eng, feudal aid as clearly Nor: It maint<sup>d</sup> both.

In legal proced. hundred-moot & shire-moot  
are Eng; custom of trial by battle is Nor;

English  
and  
Norman  
dependent  
in the  
institutions  
of the  
Norman  
King

in mid. 19<sup>th</sup> org<sup>20</sup> A fynd is A-S., Kn<sup>t</sup> service is  
 Nor: in ea case Cong<sup>t</sup> introd<sup>s</sup> one about  
 abol<sup>?</sup> of This prin<sup>ble</sup> as dict<sup>d</sup> in first pl by  
 meas. of provid<sup>g</sup> instit<sup>ns</sup> for two diet. nat<sup>l</sup>ns;  
 and as the coaliced  $\frac{1}{4}$  was perpetuated, because  
 it gr. K per<sup>?</sup> & had balance of K<sup>ed</sup> w<sup>o</sup>  
 firm purpose of strong gov<sup>t</sup>. Just as nat<sup>l</sup>  
 Comb<sup>n</sup>? A prod one nat<sup>l</sup> str<sup>ct</sup><sup>d</sup> in charac<sup>t</sup>  
 in pol<sup>ty</sup> by union, so Comb<sup>n</sup>? of instit<sup>ns</sup> prod<sup>d</sup>  
 a new gov<sup>t</sup> in wh., which much old can be  
 detect<sup>d</sup>; there is much new that w<sup>o</sup> not be resist<sup>d</sup>  
 but for a Comb<sup>n</sup>.

The lead<sup>g</sup> prin<sup>ble</sup> of Cong<sup>t</sup> was Comb<sup>n</sup>? of  
 strongest pt. of Nor. syst<sup>m</sup> w<sup>o</sup> strongest of early  
 Eng<sup>l</sup> - the maint<sup>ee</sup> of a local & prot<sup>?</sup> mach<sup>y</sup> of  
 latter w<sup>o</sup> central & sov<sup>rn</sup> auth<sup>y</sup>. Character<sup>ic</sup> of former  
 471-2

Assize  
 of  
 Clarendon  
 1166

The Assize of Clarendon, 1166, is a most  
 imp. doc. It appeared since Cong<sup>t</sup>. It has got<sup>it</sup>  
 int<sup>e</sup> whether any? in its bearing on legal hist<sup>y</sup> or

## Stubbs I

Assize  
of  
Clarendon  
1166

ultimate const. develop<sup>ts</sup> x x It is arranged in  
22 arts, furnished to judges about to make  
a great prof. visit<sup>n</sup> x x x All men are req<sup>d</sup>  
to attend C<sup>o</sup> courts, & no franchise is  
exclude the justices

Judicative  
of the  
Permanence  
of  
the old  
Common law

The Assize is showed good for as long as  
K may choose. In it may be obs<sup>d</sup> sev<sup>l</sup>  
marks of a permanence of old common law  
not only is a agency of hundred-moot and  
shire-moot applied to & ex<sup>n</sup> of a edict,  
but a very language of a ant<sup>l</sup> laws is in  
instances repeated. The inquest itself may be  
native or not, but there is no doubt as to  
charac of each<sup>9</sup> by wh it is to be transact<sup>d</sup>.

Anti-feudal  
Tendency

In a direct<sup>n</sup> & no franchise shall exclude a  
justice may be seen one sign of anti-feudal  
pol? wh K had all his life to maintain

The visit<sup>n</sup> took pl in spring & summer  
of 1166. The two justices trav<sup>d</sup> on whole  
ctry x x x The entries, wh he sought correct<sup>d</sup>  
to be in Pipe rolls of earlier yrs, seem to

suggest that act, fr. wh by resulted, was a pt. meas.  
 of innov<sup>n</sup>; an attemp<sup>t</sup> to invig. a local adm<sup>n</sup> of  
 justice, & a init<sup>n</sup> of a newly develop<sup>d</sup> prin<sup>ple</sup>  
 of judicial process; a dist<sup>t</sup> step for<sup>d</sup> in pol<sup>y</sup>  
of bringing royal jurisd<sup>n</sup> into close count<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup>  
pop. courts, & by training nat<sup>n</sup> to concentr<sup>e</sup>  
of a part<sup>s</sup> of pop<sup>l</sup> in a rep<sup>re</sup>sent<sup>ive</sup> part<sup>s</sup> of later days

Broad  
 Significance  
 of the  
 new Relations  
 between  
 Local Courts  
 and  
 Royal  
 Judicature

507-9

The struggle of 1174 was the last wh a feud<sup>l</sup>  
 baronage undertook in arms a<sup>g</sup>st. r<sup>o</sup>yl. pow<sup>r</sup>. The  
results in Fr may testify to a skill & energy of  
 H 11; but a result in Eng shows chiefly <sup>Const<sup>l</sup></sup> of how  
 wh. he had obt<sup>d</sup> on body of nat<sup>n</sup>, on Ch, & on a new  
 less Norman, part<sup>s</sup> of baronage. The gr<sup>o</sup>t. Earls had, indeed,  
 could<sup>d</sup> revolt as so they did not mean to succ<sup>d</sup>. They  
 had no settled plan, no watchword whereby they m<sup>o</sup>ght  
 attract peop<sup>l</sup>. They trod in very steps of Reb Earls  
 under Rufus H 1, & were happy in a more merciful  
 coun<sup>ty</sup>. The Bp, sa Durham, had stood firm for K<sup>ing</sup>.  
 The free men, of both T & ct<sup>y</sup>, had been faithful at gr<sup>o</sup>t.  
 cost. Norwich, Nottingham, & Northampton had p<sup>ro</sup>



Shrobs I

Universal  
Fidelity  
of  
Church,  
Towns,  
Kings, and  
Lesser Barons,  
in the  
Revolt of the  
Great Vassals

1174

dearly for the fidelity. The shires, as well as  
75 had contriv'd for force willingly to do some good  
work. The baronage who had shrewd and some  
1100 from fam. promot'd & enrich'd by the King,  
which in many cases were four to one.  
Count<sup>r</sup> - poss<sup>ly</sup> no lands in Norm<sup>dy</sup> & unaff<sup>ct</sup>  
by the King's proposals - who was learning benefit  
of law and soc<sup>l</sup> secur<sup>y</sup>, & was being  
amalg<sup>td</sup> daily by sympathy & hopes with  
the peop<sup>l</sup> of Eng, as baronage had shown his  
faith & gratitude. The adm<sup>n</sup> self - the  
Justice & his subord<sup>s</sup> had proved equal to  
the strain; there was no treason among ministers;  
& if any showed weakness, was due to sudden-  
ness & bewild<sup>er</sup>ing change of a revolt

578

Loss of  
Normandy  
decides  
England shall  
not be  
feudal Kingdom

Even when the reign of John it became  
evident that the loss of Norm<sup>dy</sup>, by releasing barons  
fr. Count<sup>r</sup> with Cont, was all that was wanted  
to make the Eng<sup>men</sup>. With the last vestiges of  
Norman inherit<sup>ce</sup> vanished the last idea of making  
Eng<sup>d</sup> a feudal Kgd<sup>m</sup>

558

Weakness  
of the  
Royal Power  
in  
Scotland

When it is rememb<sup>d</sup> that large pt. of Scottish  
barons were adv<sup>ts</sup> of Nor. descent, who had obt<sup>d</sup>  
estates in Lowlands, too far fr. Eng Court to  
fear royal interfe<sup>ce</sup>, tis easy to see how feud<sup>l</sup>  
prin<sup>tl</sup> gained its str<sup>g</sup> in Scot<sup>d</sup> so as to color  
all later hist<sup>y</sup>. The Scotch Const<sup>n</sup>, as it appears  
under R David was a copy of syst<sup>m</sup> under  
H I, but without a safeguard wh<sup>ch</sup> a reg<sup>t</sup> str<sup>g</sup>  
sh<sup>d</sup> be impos<sup>d</sup> on a gr<sup>t</sup> vassals. Hence a  
nat<sup>l</sup> weakness wh<sup>ch</sup> so long withstood a determin<sup>d</sup>  
effort of a peop<sup>l</sup> for nat<sup>l</sup> indep<sup>ce</sup>

597

Limited  
Extent  
of  
Representation  
in the  
Great  
Council  
of the Realm

The prin<sup>tl</sup> of nat<sup>l</sup> Consent<sup>n</sup> applied whost  
is rarely applied to Council in 12 C<sup>y</sup>. The  
point at wh<sup>ch</sup> its prin<sup>tl</sup> had adv<sup>d</sup> attain<sup>d</sup> of Gr<sup>t</sup> Charter  
is marked by Art 12. The Council is no longer  
limited to magnates, but is not ext<sup>d</sup> to include whole  
Nati<sup>n</sup>, it waits at tenants in Chf.; nor are its  
funct<sup>ns</sup> of advis<sup>g</sup> on all matters occup<sup>d</sup>, it is  
simply to be assembled to impose tax<sup>n</sup>.

607

## Stubbs I

Decrease of  
Wealth  
1150-1200

The case in charge of taxation, 1204-7, serves to illustrate a part of the development of the world which followed the reforms of 1141. The burdens would not have been transferred from land to chattels (movables) if the latter had not been found much & more productive of 1200.

623

Status  
of  
Royal  
Navy  
1066-1214

As regards Navy, the usage of 1066 of Edward that each shire furnished its quota of ships, had disappeared by Domesday, although they had continued to be naval reserves of the Emperor. The great vessels of the King had survived or great rewards by or contributions to the fleet, but none received his English lands as a condition of service by sea. The fleet was not a prominent object in Domesday.

Let us see how far the sea-board in England in the 12th century were now at loss for ships, when required, & ships when needed were, like & food, arranged according to cost. The crusading expedition by which Lisbon was taken in 1147 was to some extent voluntary, & may not be a fair instance of usual practice, but ships there were in squadrons of shires &

To each com<sup>d</sup> by our capt<sup>n</sup>.

Even in flt. of 1190 last ht was in no sense national prop<sup>y</sup>; & transports - wh composed grt pt of it were no doubt hired by K, or impressed & x. Yes? Of war, gallies must be on prop<sup>y</sup> of K, & his prob<sup>y</sup> to the crusade we owe some of a perm<sup>t</sup>. Navy

Except for such dist exped<sup>s</sup> as Palestine, K needed only such squad<sup>s</sup> as wd carry him & Court across Channel on occas<sup>n</sup>; dep. of coasts must be on maint<sup>d</sup> as of old by local resources. Perm<sup>t</sup> fleet: as for very origin a flt of mere<sup>s</sup>, maint<sup>d</sup> to org<sup>n</sup> us first as a band of Brabançons, altho as Eng might serve us readiest resource for recruits, org<sup>n</sup> flt ch<sup>ly</sup> manned by Eng<sup>men</sup>. John's flt was manned on the plan, but his not till after Charter of Navy becomes hist<sup>y</sup> imp<sup>t</sup>.

It is clear that mere<sup>y</sup> force, both land & sea, was, as far as maint<sup>e</sup> goes, dep<sup>t</sup> on no aut<sup>y</sup> source of K, wh p<sup>d</sup> exp<sup>s</sup> out of gr<sup>nd</sup> fund of Eyeb<sup>g</sup>, over wh Nat<sup>l</sup> Council w<sup>ld</sup> poss<sup>bly</sup> unclaimed control

## Steuers I

The history of the presents some marked  
 contrasts w<sup>th</sup> that of Steu<sup>r</sup>, wh<sup>ch</sup> shed light  
 on later rep<sup>n</sup> of int<sup>r</sup> but see two cl<sup>s</sup> of  
 Comm<sup>tees</sup> The whole per<sup>d</sup> was one of st<sup>r</sup>  
 develop<sup>t</sup> in its respect; H II & minist<sup>r</sup> of  
 his was encour<sup>d</sup> growth of merc<sup>th</sup> spirit  
 & rapid. & benefit in st<sup>r</sup> inc of w<sup>lth</sup>.  
 and consequ<sup>t</sup> rev.

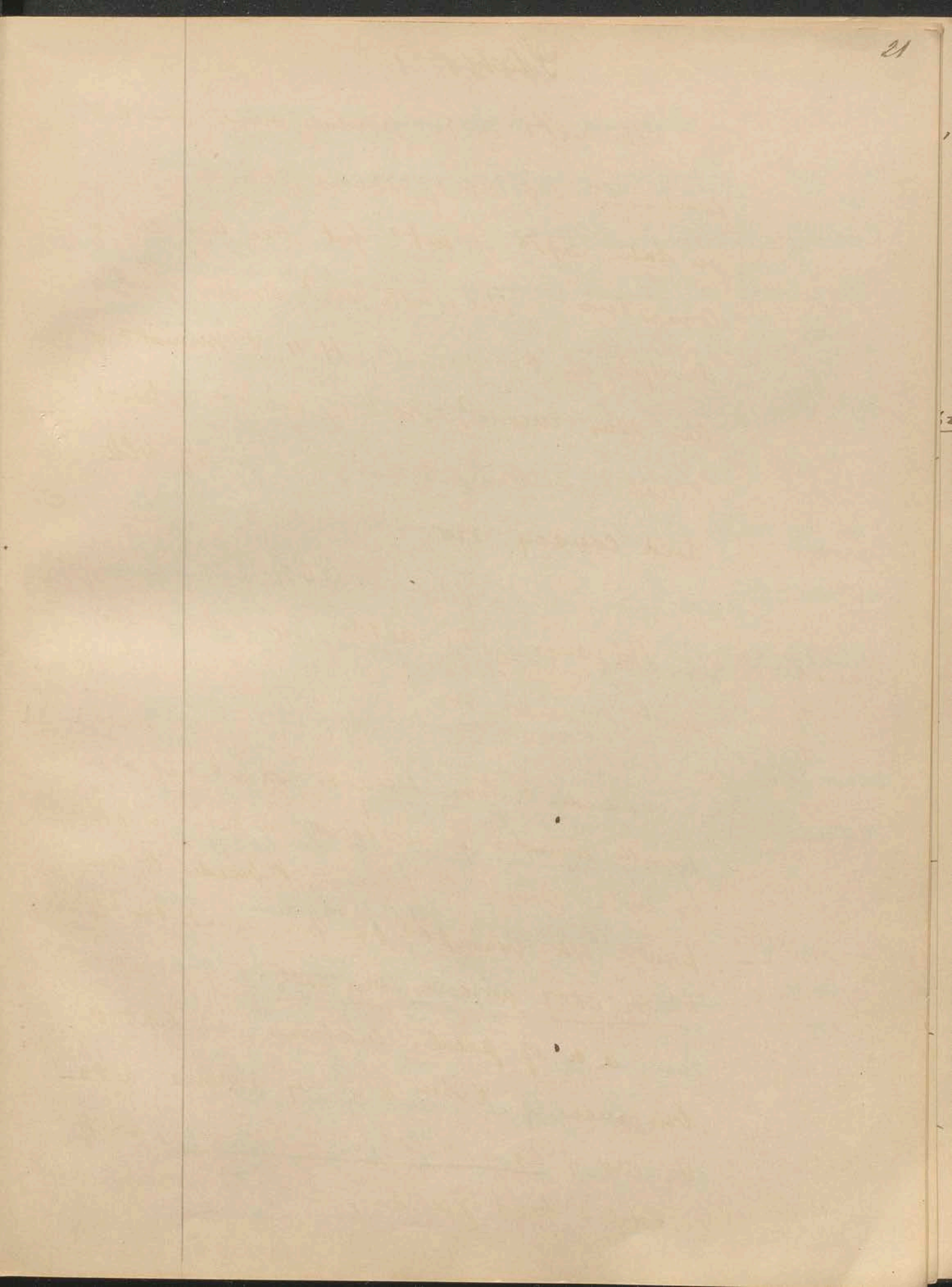
667.

Casual

The gains of the nation were rapid thro  
 power of concentration

Borders & Com. districts wh<sup>ch</sup> had to  
 unite the countries to act together in cases in wh<sup>ch</sup>  
 there was no ground for rivalry, & borders & Com  
 p<sup>r</sup>is wh<sup>ch</sup> exempted them from jurisdiction to  
 wh<sup>ch</sup> the city neighbors were liable, they passed in  
 some a n<sup>o</sup> of pecul. customs, wh<sup>ch</sup> kept the  
 burgenses of Ky<sup>dm</sup> a cl by others, also  
 they new, as in Scot<sup>d</sup> & in Germany, adopted  
 a confed bond of union, or org<sup>d</sup> others in  
 leagues

668-9



Rodney

Caesar  
or  
Rodney

<sup>youngest</sup> William (brother of Sir Edward Rodney  
(Sir E. born 1590) married the daughter of Sir  
Thomas Caesar  
[Caesar Rodney signed declaration of Indep<sup>ce</sup>]  
p. 26

Sir E. Rodney three bros. - Henry, George  
& William (supra)

Admiral's  
great grandfather  
or  
grandfather

George Rodney had a son Antony,  
who first of the family wrote his name  
Rodney. Antony grandfather to the Admiral

Admiral's  
Parents

Antony Rodney had a son Henry, who  
married Mary Newton, daughter of Sir  
Henry Newton, Envoy to Tuscany &c

Admiral's  
Brothers  
and  
Sisters

Henry & Mary Rodney had three  
sons, —, George & James, and two  
daughters.

Admiral's  
near  
Relations  
issueless

The eldest son died, aet. 22, the  
youngest married twice, but died without  
issue; as did the two daughters

Admiral's  
Name  
  
Relationship  
to  
Duke of Chandos

George I stood sponsor to Admiral, at the request of his father Henry; and the names given George Brydges, were after King & the Duke of Chandos, who was a connection by marriage; having married the granddaughter of Sir Edward Rodney, Miss Brydges and daughter of Sir Thomas Brydges, who married Anna Rodney

[As I work it out Henry Rodney was second cousin to the wife of the Duke of Chandos]

37

Admiral  
Born  
Hawk  
Howe  
Born  
Tervis  
Born  
Saunders  
Born  
Pellew  
Born

February 19, 1718  
1705 (Buckrow)



Early  
services

1730-1747

Went to sea at twelve (1730) Newfoundland  
Station six years. Lieut. by Adm<sup>l</sup> Baddock,  
Med<sup>r</sup>, 1739, & served successively (in  
Med<sup>r</sup>, apparently) in Essex; Royal American  
& Namur.

Posted, 1742, by Matthews into  
the Plymouth, 64, in which brought  
home convoy of 300 sail, & was captured  
in rank

1742-5 Commanded *Skermun*, *Sedlow*  
Castle, and *Centurion* Channel and North  
Sea. Single ship action, *Sedlow Castle* &  
*St Malo*, private, circ 1744

1745-7 *Centurion*; thence after  
two years of her *Eagle* 64

[was not *Centurion* <sup>(50?)</sup> one of Anson's ships?]

1747 In *Eagle*, with other ships, at  
interception of French Convoy off Ostend

Etendière Oct 14. 1747 Hawke's action with l' Etendière. Rodney still in Eagle 42

Remarks Rodney's reply to French Captain Geny II's remark concerning Rodney & Anson 42-3

Newfoundland March 1748 - October, 1752 Governor 1748-52 and Command-in-Chief at Newfoundland 45-6

Rodney's Discretion A letter from Earl of Sandwich, July 1749 shows at that early period the same confidence in Rodney's judgment & discretion as in his better known letter during American Revolution 47

Sandwich & Rodney Sandwich like Rodney born 1718, died 1792 First Lord, upon return from plenipotentiary at Madrid on signature of Peace of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748 till June 1751. Again, 1763-65; and again 1771-1782. He died Apr. 30, Rodney May 23 Encyc. Brit

## Rodney

Peace Ser-  
vice and  
Marriage

The Newfoundland Command, 1748-52  
was peace service. After return, Oct. 1752,  
he married, Feb. 1753, Jane sister of  
Earl of Northampton, who died in 1757.

After marriage com<sup>d</sup>? Fouguesy, 64,  
and on Feb. 8, 1754 Prince George, 90,  
up to May 1757.

War ~~data~~ began 1755

48

War Service  
1755-8

Rochfort expedition, under Hawke,  
1757, in Dublin, 74. In same ship,  
at siege of Louisbourg in 1758.

Rear Admiral

Rear Admiral May 19, 1759

First important  
independent  
Command  
1759-60

Off Havre July 1759 - end of 1760

{ There seems a queer gap here (p. 57) between  
letters dated July 6, 1759, and July 18, 1760  
Encyc. Brit gives Havre Operations 57-66  
under both years

Leeward Islands Command

In 1761 Rodney chosen M.P. for Penryn  
Hoists flag as C.I.C., Barbados & L.I., Oct 6, 1761,

Oct 21, 1761  
to  
Aug 16, 1763

on board Marlborough (Rate) [See note h. 67]  
Sails fr. Plymouth, Oct 21, 1761  
Arrives Barbados, Nov. 22 "  
Moncton arrives fr. N.Y. with letters Dec. 24

Martinique  
1762

Combined Army and Navy arrives of Martinique Jan 7, 1762  
In Operations see Letters and Beatson  
Fort Royal capitulates

67-75

French Squadron  
to St. Domingo  
1762

Orders rec'd Martinique, by "Sardin" fr. Eng<sup>d</sup>,  
& by "Cygnet" fr. Gibraltar, to begin hostilities against  
Spain, <sup>rec'd</sup> Dec 26 March 5; Saturday Aquilon,  
fr. squadron off Brest withdrawing escape of N. Squad<sup>n</sup>  
of of line, 5 frigates, 2,000 troops, on Dec. 23

Slow  
Comm<sup>ns</sup>

Note that Sardinie with Army dispatches of  
~~fr~~ Dec. 26, only reached Rodney March 5-

Independence  
of  
Action

Note Rodney's dispositions; but especially  
his decision to proceed to Jamaica with 10 of line, &  
Moncton's hesitancy (h 80)

Compare Nelson

76-81

Grenada  
 &  
 St<sup>a</sup> Lucia  
 1762

Rodney

Grenada surrenders to Com<sup>dr</sup> Swanton March 5  
 St<sup>a</sup> Lucia to Capt<sup>n</sup> Hervey, Feb. 26

81-3

Rodney receives votes of thanks from Paul<sup>t</sup>,

83 (note)

Rodney's intention to go in person to  
 Jamaica is stopped by orders from Ad<sup>miral</sup>  
 not to undertake any plans, on acct. of a  
 secret exped<sup>n</sup> to be expected (Pocock & Karama)  
 He had already left St. Vincent, Antigua, when he  
 had gone for water &c, and rec<sup>d</sup>. These orders  
 off Martinique on March 26; they, being dated  
 Feb 5, had made better time than those above  
 (p 84) R. nevertheless sends his ten of the line  
 to Jamaica under Sir Jas Douglas, which  
 with the number already sent "will make  
 17 of line & 13 frigates", which he thinks enough.

84-5

Applauds & in providing for the staff  
 of Pocock's Exp<sup>n</sup>.

85 & 4th

Rodney  
 sends Douglas  
 to  
 Jamaica,  
 not going in  
 person because  
 Ad<sup>miral</sup>'s orders

Administration  
of  
Command

The letter of May 31, gives a very good study  
of Rodney's all round provision for conditions,  
he being then, 1762, in the Prime of life - 44 yrs.  
Specially to be noted, his ready stepping of the  
Leeward Islands Station (his own) to strengthen Jamaica  
86 - 93

Moncton  
1762

Difficulties with Moncton - very important  
93-7

Great Britain's  
Choice  
at Peace  
1763

There are some sagacious and suggestive remarks  
on the choice of alternatives made by G.B. at  
the Peace of 1763, her leading principle in  
such choice, & its effect upon the U.S. revolt.  
It might be curious to consider the subsequent  
course of events had she decided to take her  
gains in the W.I., as Mundy suggests  
98-9-100

Promotions  
Marriage  
1762-5

Vice Adm. of Blue Oct 21, 1762  
Returns to England, Aug. 12, 1763; strikes flag, Aug 16  
Baronet, Jan? 21., 1764 { John, a Capt.  
in Triton (28) by  
Dec. 1760. V. 455  
Marries second wife, 1764  
Governor of Greenwich Hosp?, Nov. 1765  
107

RodneyPromotions  
1770-71

Oct. 18, 1770 V. A. of White

Oct 24, 1771 " of Red

Jan 23, 1771 appointed C. I. C at

Jamaica

Jamaica

Hoist flag May 13, sails June 3, arrives

Jamaica <sup>July 24 (111)</sup>  
~~Aug 7~~, 1771

107

Supersession  
by  
Pocock

Letter of Sandwich of Jan 15 reveals  
that Rodney was practically superseded  
in his career of conquest, after fall of  
Mart, Guad, St<sup>a</sup> Lucia, & Grenada,  
by Pocock, whose force was largely  
composed of Rodney's ships, & success  
forwarded by Rodney's precautions

106

Curious  
Doubts  
as to Cer-  
monies

His pre-dispositions as to Ceremony  
towards Sandwich.

Had S's refusal to entertain  
Governorship of Grenada produced Estabpment?  
109.

Sandwich's letter of Nov. 27, 1771, evidently betrays a belief that Rodney had expressed a wish for a Spanish war - always lucrative in prize money. It is impossible to understand otherwise his warning as to "Enemy of G.B." and his threat (court) that one of the first incidents of war would be Rodney's suppression (123)

Incidents bearing on Rodney's circumstances

Rodney's remonstrance by "Achilles" (113-15)

warnings from Sandwich

is perfectly correct in tone & just in substance; but with his application for Grenada, & Sandwich's suspicion shows that he was pressed for money

121-4

Sandwich's letters of Dec 30, 1771, and Mar 18 1772, confirm the above impression

124-7

S's letter of Apr. 20/72 is reassuring, but admits

127-9

Hope of a Government

R's letter of June 28, 1774, by its strong expression of "delight" at succeeding to some post betrays his embarrassed circumstances.

140

Permitted to remain in Jamaica in private capacity. Had



## Rodney

Free Post  
System

An interesting letter on the practical  
working of the free post system in various  
ways - naval as well as commercial  
also 142-3, 153, 154, 155, 158-9,  
135-40

Port Antonio;  
a  
Military Study

Advantages of Port Antonio Jamaica; con-  
ditions of land & industry in neighbourhood;  
naval & comm. conditions; expenditures by  
island for purposes of defence &c &c  
All interestingly stated

144-51

Rodney's Intelligence  
System

Intelligence system, pilots, free post  
system &c &c. All well & clearly told.

151-160

Return from  
Jamaica, 1774

Returns to England & strikes his flag, Sept 4. 1774

The statement of his embarrassed circumstances  
here follows. Disappointed of succeeding to  
Govt. of Jamaica, careless in accounts, election  
expenses, fashionable society - to which add  
probable poor returns in prize money through  
short period of war Command-in-Chief -

Returns to  
France

Takes up in France soon after return  
from Jamaica

162-5

Residence in France

Remains in France 1774-78, when upon the approach of war he makes strenuous efforts to get home; offers his services to First Lord; fails to go in person, but detained by debts owing in Paris; Beron's offer made (1777) renewed (1779) accepted to amount of 1000<sup>louis</sup> = 20,000 francs (180).

Application to Employment 1778

Out with Sandwich (180)

After a chance of Ministry and new First Lord Despatch with Sandwich (169, 171, 180)<sup>168</sup>

Lady Rodney goes to England prior to Feb. 1778 to work for his release and employment (168)

French Offers

Alleged offer of employment by French Crown 183-4 Note also the previous subsequently given to Beron's daughter after the denigration by English Govt. (Encyc Brit) 167-184

Debt to Beron repaid immediately 185 (+ note)

Arrival of White

Arrival of White (apparently passed on 13th) June 29, 1778 186

Read this letter

Consulted by Admiralty.

Appointment to W. I. Command

Appt. Command<sup>r</sup> in Chief Leeward<sup>d</sup> Barbadoes Oct 1. 1779 193

## Rodney

Memorial  
of the  
India Admirals

The memorial of the 12 admirals (193 note)  
was apparently directed against Palmer.

Verify this. Was he in civil employment?  
He left the admiralty to take command,  
did he hold that appointment & return to  
it 193 (note),

Note:

Pp. 228, 229-30, 295. Daughter's letter - accidents 264-4  
Sandwich's letters - cautious; remarks on discipline  
of Koor, on promotions by favor etc 265-271

Missing Slaps

P. 276. "That palpable want of respect for  
command, so observable in the beginning of the campaign  
also disappeared. Though the Admiral, both by  
nature and habit, was of a placid temper, and  
mild conciliating manners, as might be ex-  
pected of one who had spent much of his life  
in the world of fashion, he judged it on this  
occasion matter of good policy to assume  
a certain degree of sternness of demeanour."

Wound of  
Fashin

276-7

The Court Martial on Bateman showed that there  
was always possibility of crossing the line of misbehavior

Had the Ministers suffered us to have taken  
 with us the Copper-bottomed Ships that attended  
 us at Gibraltar, the French fleet had been no more, &  
 Martinique must have fallen again into our hands.  
 What are they about? Are they determined to undo  
 their country? Is it fair that the Br. fleet should  
 be so inferior to the French, and that the Br.  
 offrs and men are always to be exposed to superior  
 numbers? What right had the administration to  
 expect anything but defeat? &c &c"

Which read as showing utmost feeling  
 of heart  
 297-9

Note improvement of health  
 French swimming from Couronne to  
 Sandwich  
 299

Interesting to note that Nelson spent nearly  
 all his early career in W.I. and North America, made  
 his reputation in Medn

## Rodney

Public Feeling

in  
London  
against  
Rodney's Officers  
1780

All the world cries out against the intolerable conduct of some of your Officers. Many persons have been seen to sound me in regard to them, or to whatever you may have said in your letter to me (Lady Rodney)

p. 302

Rodney's  
Officers Censure  
of his  
Officers

} p. 306, note

Rodney "once  
afloat"

Sandwich takes undue credit to himself for the appointment of Rodney

His indication that R drank beyond habits of his age - but difference between personal and professional character "good opinion if he does not drink" "Always drank when needed".

"Rodney once afloat would do his duty"

Mad Jacky 315  
whom habitually in 1750 as an incompetent seaman &c  
Exigency for Ships in England, 1780

p. 317 and note.

Embarrassments  
and  
Disappointments

of  
June - July  
1780

Bad condition of individual Ships - France & Cornwall (<sup>Person</sup> ~~action~~ action) - Boscawen (324-5) 327  
Superior force 325, 327; Delay in Walsingham's arrival; Difficulty in collecting Conway at Antigua from Barbados & St. Lucia, owing to French fleet at Dominica or Martinique;

the bad conduct of the Bourton (330-1) preventing  
the reinforcement from N.A., according to Rodney's  
General Plan, before his assignment to the Command  
Q-V.

{ N.B. Rodney's assertion of the wisdom of strength-  
ening W.I. from N.A. in winter months 331

Successful  
Evasion by  
Spanish  
Fleet  
1780

It was in this year that the Spanish Fleet of  
twelve of the line successfully evaded Rodney who  
was waiting for them in latitude of Martinique, by  
going north of Guadaloupe. Anchoring in latter,  
they went to Guadalupe for reinforcement in their  
passage to leeward.

Treason in St<sup>a</sup> Lucia

332-4

General eulogium upon Rodney, summer of  
1780. "Our news from America is most cheering (cap-  
ture of Charleston) and all say that Clinton and  
Rodney have saved England

337-8

Comments upon  
his Officer's  
Conduct  
1780

The comments upon the conduct of his officers in Rodney's  
public letter July 13; also, the indications of full expression of  
opinion in private letter of May 21, evidenced by Sandvick's  
reply of July 14, 1780 { Good Conduct in May, 1780 } 341-5  
entitled 1.344

## Rodney

Hunt for a  
second

Sandwich's purpose & Park been up a good  
second in command. Wm Hood  
347

Vote of thanks

Rodney's acknowledgment of unanimous by N. of  
Command, to North & Norton — also St John's <sup>ship</sup> of  
Marrins  
346-50

Reprimand

The whole tone of Rodney's reprimand &  
Carkett is excellent, and should be enlarged  
upon. His grounds of complaint, specified  
353-4 are great and adequate; his consideration  
& tenacity of the cause therein equally clear.

of  
Carkett

Notable

The whole dignified in expression  
Carkett & Ship lost in hurricane of 1780.  
351-4

Reaction

from exertions of April & May  
shows in effect on health; also summer  
has come July 30, 1780

of  
health

Act 62

Walkeham's long delayed arrival, and  
its fatal consequences on campaign  
Disarmament of French Spaniards

355-6

Promotion  
by  
Fitness  
V. II, 19-20  
also, 186-7

Justification  
of his  
Censures on  
Captains &c

Could his evidently improper promotion (from  
the point of view of Hansa ship &c) ; 228, with  
his determination not to promote when Rodney  
357

Baheman only to be tried, not known non-de-  
terminants to form a Court; but "I have sent and  
will send home most of the captains &c &c, who  
were with me on that day. Ten said of them I  
have sent to Jamaica; the others are gone, or  
going to England with convoy. x x x x I am  
sorry they did not publish my public letter x x x  
I would fain think it (the conduct of the captains)  
was ignorance. I am unwilling to think worse  
Part I am sure was villainy with the hope of  
upsetting the Administration. I have told them  
(evidently the offenders) so; and, if it is necessary,  
can bring my charge home. The world will plainly  
perceive by my sending home all the ships that  
were on the station before my arrival, what is  
my reason for doing so: it wants no comment; nor  
did my praise of the French admiral - I meant that  
as a reproach & my own protest; they deserved it  
357-9



Financial  
Conditions  
1780

Rodney.

want of money. Still in debt. Not much  
wage money. "All war and battle." Pension  
granted of £2,000

360.

Administration  
Capacity

Fleet in Being

Note the dispositions of the fleet as shown in  
public letter of July 31, the methodical and  
seamanlike precision of the arrangements, and  
it may be added (pp 368-70) the illustration  
of the fleet in being operative upon an extremely  
cautious man like Guichen "R. succeeded  
with the very limited means at his disposal  
in providing for the safety of the widely extended  
British colonies in these seas." 365-70

His going to  
Continental

How to be  
Regarded

The going of Am. Cont. in July, 1780,  
is to be regarded, less as an exhibition of  
Energy than as the carrying out of a well  
formed purpose to carry a decisive force  
to either part of the scene of conflict, according  
to the season (See also p. 375)  
377, 376

370

Political  
Bear

The hard words that break us bones but <sup>do</sup> promote  
"Patriotic Rebels". Seizure of armed American  
vessels at St Martin

373-4

Movements  
prior  
to  
Rodney's going  
to N.Y.  
1780

Summary of movements (374-5). French Fleet  
sailed away from Fort Royal & Guadeloupe, <sup>July 5</sup> then  
westward July 9 (p. 363). Rodney leaves St. Kitts  
to avoid hurricanes near land, and cruises north of  
Barbuda (50<sup>th</sup> N. of Antigua, about 80 E. of St. Eu-  
statius &c) to intercept also enemy's convoys; "having  
left frigates with proper endeavors to bring him  
into view"

Though mis-  
taken in fact,  
Rodney was  
right in an-  
ception. For  
Wash<sup>n</sup> &  
Lafayette had  
both intended  
Guichen to  
go to the Cont<sup>t</sup>

Having learned that Spand<sup>r</sup> was arrived at  
Havana very sickly; Desichon at Cap. Francois  
in bad condition, & that Fr fleet was a convoy  
300 sail to Europe. "I had not a doubt but that  
part of that fleet was intended to reinforce  
Terway in R. I. of whose arrival I had been  
assured by the Capt<sup>n</sup> of an Am. vessel." In this  
diagnosis he was mistaken, as Guichen went to Europe  
with whole fleet. He preserves all hope of evacuation.  
(376) plus to Am, all but Hathorn & Vaughan's private,  
(377) & anchors off Sandy Hook Sept. 14, 1780.

Guichen  
sailed for  
Fr Europe  
(last) Aug  
16

See Clowes  
III 469

375-8

## Rodney

Health  
fails R.  
at N. Y.

Rodney arriving in N. Y., finds Arbuthnot  
off Narr. Bay & intends to join him in  
blockade of Ternay; but change of climate  
affects his health, and he goes ashore for a time

Contemplates an attack on Ternay

None of these plans carried out

378-9

Judicious  
Disposition  
of  
Ships

Rodney's disposition of ships during his  
brief stay in N. Y. (Sep 14 - Nov 16) was in  
every respect superior to Arbuthnot's.

Note especially the failure to protect  
approaches to Charleston (Columns of Army)

Contrast  
with  
Arbuthnot

against privateers, and the detaching to  
two of the line to Boston Bay which could  
only have been for prizes. Rodney condemns  
this, and also notes with surprise that not  
one British frigate was encountered from

Correct  
Military  
Ideas.

Charleston Bar & Sandy Hook (394) 420  
(409)  
His dispositions were, briefly to concentrate  
an increased force with Arbuthnot off Narr.

Bay, and a detachment off Delaware Bay, to intercept Conway thence to Jersey. This detachment was large enough <sup>raised to four of the line (408)</sup> to take care of itself, and had orders in case of superior enemy to join Arbuthnot.

Concentration and security of communications were the leading objects of his dispositions; prize money was chiefly secondary, by his acts as well as by his words, <sup>(376)</sup> which for a man still in debt, & having had his better experience, is notable.

Tom of Reprimands  
Note also Rodney's very proper action  
422

The tone of his letter to Arbuthnot also excellent, as that of Cockett - They show the gentleman and officer Consult here his statements of Arbuthnot's acts 421 391-5-

Drigby to Nelson

Note Drigby to Nelson "N. G. the station for prize money;" but Rodney did not make it a first object.

Clinton's views. Lake Clinton

397-400

Hood's Promotion

Note. Had to make a promotion to get a second D R. No factious person 403

First Lord Powel's before wife

"I wish if possible had Gibraltar before; but her capt. is just married and I do not wish a poor voyage -" near to quote 404

American  
Privateers  
Capt<sup>d</sup>

Sep 14 - Oct 10

1780

Rodney

I have likewise stationed a chain of  
frigates along the whole Southern coast, &  
six small privateers have already <sup>Oct 10</sup> (Sep 14 - Oct 10)  
been taken - " Later P.S. Two privateers  
to day brought in - [13 by Oct 20, & remainder driven and burnt]  
1400 prisoners 415

N.B Privateers poor prizes alongside of a  
well filled merchant vessel

410

Expectations  
from the  
Chesapeake  
Expeditions  
- " -  
Terrorism,  
" -  
Moral Effect

They " shall instantly proceed on the  
Exped. the Gov<sup>t</sup> & I have concerted (to  
Chesapeake (V. 400) which we are in  
hopes will give such a blow as to  
secure the fidelity of the S<sup>th</sup> provinces

400

French  
Projects to  
reinforce  
Ternay

There is more explicit information con-  
cerning the second detachment (Sea Power, 383)  
in Sandewich's letter of ~~4th~~ Oct 14, 1780 than  
I remember to have seen elsewhere.

Assented by R later that 412  
Mounted with 8 of the line left at  
Capt Fran<sup>c</sup> by Guichen had orders to join Ternay (417)

The  
Institution  
of the  
"Jersey"

Fourteen hundred prisoners taken, in pro-  
tion mainly if not wholly. "The great increase of  
prisoners, and the extreme bad condition of the  
prison ships render it necessary to convert the  
Jersey hospital ship into a prison ship." She had  
become "unsit for that service" and also was super-  
seded by "a naval hospital estab<sup>d</sup> on Long I."

416-17

In Rodney's Public Letter, Nov. 13. 1780

is summarized:

Effects of  
Rodney  
in  
America

1. Successful maintenance & passage of convoys
2. Windward Islands very base
3. Chesapeake exped<sup>n</sup>, which took O'Hara to  
Cape Fear, & involved him in Cornwallis's sur-  
render; also issued in capture of Romney.  
Cornwallis's reverse did away with much  
of good effect of Chesapeake exped<sup>n</sup>.

423-8

Rodney censures Cornwallis's exped<sup>n</sup> ill-concerted  
and records his opinion "of the inconceivable slackness  
in every branch of the war." It is "now turned into a war of  
troops." Expresses the current opinion of the day (which I  
share) of the impotence of the Hudson, & especially the  
Highlands & West Point. to Sandwich  
Public Letter, Nov. 13, 428-9

## Rodney

Rodney  
on  
Rhode Island  
and  
Chesapeake

Rodney's Remarks on the importance  
of Rhode Island have never than ever been  
quoted by me, but should be carefully  
read for more than cursory notice

So also on necessity of maintaining  
posts taken in Chesapeake

pp. 429-431

Casual

I cannot but think still that a  
more vigorous action by Rodney himself  
was wanted. Especially he should have  
gone to Narragansett Bay.

Rodney left N. Y. Nov. 16 and arrived  
Barbados Dec. 5. 1780

Conditions  
after  
the Hurricane  
of  
Oct. 1780

The great hurricane of Oct 10 had wrecked  
many ships, & the station was without supplies for  
repair. A concentration of French at Martinique  
feared. Mounted already there with four from Cap.  
Irvine expected, also others from Cadix. No complete  
repairs before Wood arrives with storeships

Independence  
of  
Independent  
Stations

Rodney's experience of Sir P. Parker and his  
Complaints were to show the fatal independence  
and obstructiveness of these independent Commands  
- like Nap's marshals in Spain. They should have been  
a C.I.C. for all the western waters, with subordi-  
nates at Jamaica and N. Y.

p. 457

Indications  
as to  
Rodney's  
reputation  
before  
1778

Compan Sandwich's "Rodney once afloat" I, 315, note

with the opposition of the W. I. Merchants, and  
Lord Geo. Germain's fear that he had made a mistake  
in recommending Rodney. II. 391

Also risk of his liberty, dared not set a foot  
beyond the limits of his privilege II. 390

St. Eustatius  
Taken

St Eustatius  
King's Proclamation of <sup>hostilities</sup> Dec. 20. 1780

Admiralty order to Rodney to seize, + St Martin Dec. 20/80  
Received by Rodney, at Barbados, Jan 27. 1781  
Rodney and Vaughan sailed Jan 30 "  
After demonstration off Martinique, } Feb. 3 "  
arrived St Eustatius }  
St Eustatius surrendered Feb. 3 "

II 9, 10



## Rodney II

Rodney &amp; Secy of Home Dept

"It is a vast capture; the whole shall seized for the King and the State, and I hope will go to the public revenue of my country. I do not look upon myself entitled to one sixpence, nor do I desire it; my happiness is having been the instrument of my country in bringing this nest of villains to condign punishment. They deserve scourging, and they shall be scourged."

Dutch convey from St. Eustatius

Capt. between Feb. 4 & 6. Adm. Killed  
All taken, p. 25 13. 14

"All is secured for King, to be at his royal

disposal. We propose to send all the W.I. & Am<sup>n</sup>. produce to G. B. with all dispatch possible, that the island may not remain an object to enemy when I am obliged to leave it for my duty to Woodward.

Money  
 and  
 Military  
 Value  
 of  
 Seizures  
 at  
 St. Eustatius

All for  
 the King

Supernumerary K. B. Nov. 14. 1750

17, note

Perhaps King will share

American merchants and seamen to number of over 2,000 have been secured. More still lurking in mts.

Looks crossed - 29 quints - at N.M. being part of seizure as prize money.

21

Orders to Conway

Conway shortly to be sent more valuable than any ever sailed to G.B., considering, (i.e. in prop<sup>n</sup> to) the number of vessels. Shall give positive orders to off<sup>r</sup> Command<sup>r</sup> to gain latitude of Lizard at least 200 leagues west of that if their Lords<sup>hs</sup> think well they may send an add<sup>l</sup> Squad<sup>n</sup> for its prot<sup>n</sup>.

x x x

Dependence of Enemies of G. B. on St. Eustatius

H.M.'s enemies depended upon the success of provisions & stores that were to have been sent them hence in Am. bottoms, many taken here having been loaded so for St. Do.

23-4

## Rodney II

Rodney's letters to his wife are perhaps even  
fuller than his public letters

Note the apparent attempts to draw him  
away from ~~St~~ Eustatius by false intelli-  
gence of arrival of Enemy's squadrons, 35-5,  
which may, in connection with false in-  
formation from Linzee, (22), in part ex-  
cuse R's remaining there and leaving  
Hood with inferior force off Martinique

Efforts of  
Enemy  
to lure  
Rodney  
from  
St. Eustatius

Hood writes, March 10: I c<sup>d</sup>

Hood on  
this matter  
March 10

not bring myself to give the smallest  
credit to enemy's arrival at Mart<sup>in</sup>  
and concluded it was a tricking, rascally  
report of the St. Kitts privateers to take you  
from St Eustatius; or else of the French to  
take me from my station

50

Captain of  
Demerara  
etc  
Value B, 55, 111,

Demerara, Essequibo, & N. St. Bart<sup>h</sup> Capt<sup>d</sup>,  
Latter makes N.M. the soon of all leeward islands &  
deprives Fr. privateers of all shelter in that  
region

50

Through fall of St. Eustatius Fr. islands are  
greatly distressed for every kind of provisions  
& stores. I will try so to blockade them that  
they can receive none. The only danger is from  
the Br. Ids, whose much Fr, regardless of duty  
to country, have already contract<sup>d</sup> with enemy  
to supply naval stores & provisions  
V. also pp. 56, 57, St Kitts & Antigua 56

British  
Traitors

Cause of  
Luzer's  
Mistake  
&  
of the Captains  
of  
Hotham's Army

The nature of Luzer's mistake (22) is ex-  
plained by Sandwich, who also gives the reason  
why the entrance of the Channel was in enemy's  
command, when Hotham arrived with the  
St. Eustatius convoy; namely, because Darby's  
absence relieving Gibraltar

59-61 also note

Approves Hood  
in a  
Disobedience  
of Orders

Rodney & Hood: I am favoured with yours  
of the 10<sup>th</sup> March, and am glad you did not  
look into Fort Royal agreeably to my orders. Your  
reasoning was exceedingly just. xxx I am persuaded  
twas a French trick to entice me away, and give them  
opportunity to retake this by Coup de main, or destroy  
the rich convoy going to Eng<sup>d</sup> under Hotham

## Rodney II

Rodney's  
Reasons  
for  
Stationing  
Hood  
to leeward  
— of  
Fort Royal

Rodney, anxious that Stotham and  
other convoys should get away safely, not  
endangered by the four Fr. of line in Fort Royal,  
orders Hood to blockade that port — i.e. to keep  
station to leeward of island.

Is partly influenced by the false intelli-  
Linzee's information also saves Curacao (96-7)  
gence from Linzee; and also mentions as an  
advantage that, to leeward, vessels in want  
of stores, water &c. can readily go and come  
to St. Lucia, & be there within easy reach  
"I wish therefore that you would not permit  
any of your fleet to water at Barbados,  
which would be a means of separating  
them, but but the scheme I propose  
is immediate ex<sup>co</sup>."

See  
whole  
letter  
  
Hood's  
Impatient  
Counter-Argument  
82-3  
and R's  
rejoinder  
85

Since you left this road (St. E) there  
has hardly been a night without an  
Am<sup>n</sup>. Capture

64-6

The critical situation of this island, with the fortifications therein of masonry and other stones demands Gen. Vaughn's and any utmost attention to prevent its falling into Enemy's hands.

The fortifications for protection are almost complete.

To Hood, March 24. 1781

Judications of local fishing in St. E. against  
 England 76-77

"Since the capture of this island, upwards of fifty Am. vessels have been here taken. The numerous letters found on board them plainly prove that, masts & hulls excepted, all rigging, sails, cannon, powder, amm<sup>n</sup>, & stores of all kinds, in order to nav. them, were sent from this island, without whose assistance Am. nav<sup>y</sup> c<sup>d</sup> not have been supported

Complicity of British merchants

77, and with

King's  
 Surrender of  
 Power Money

March 30, 1781

## Rodney II

Curacao is within the station of Jamaica  
 Urgently necessary to take a blockade it, as  
 a rendezvous of privateers dangerous to trade  
 passing S. shore of St. Dominick

"One week more will finish the sales  
 of all the stores found in the immense  
 magazines of this island

Rodney & Parker Apr 16, 1781

91-2

Precautions for convoy to England &  
 sail April 30. 1781

94

"This rock, of only six miles in length and  
 three in breadth, has done England more  
 harm than all the arms of her most  
 potent enemies, and alone supported  
 the infamous Am. rebellion"

"Ships alone cannot take mountains"

98

Evidence  
of  
Provision  
Poverty

My chief anxiety is that neither yourself nor  
my dear girls shall ever again be necessitated, nor  
be under obligations to others. Adversity is a good  
school, but I hope my children will never experi-  
ence her lessons lectures &c.

100

Hood's action of April 29.

Rodney to Sandwich:

"The Frigate, as usual kept a considerable distance"  
"As soon as I rec<sup>d</sup> the news, I instantly dis-  
patched the Convoys bound for Great Britain,  
Jamaica, and America, repaired Russell in  
six hours, & & & and put to sea to join Hood"

102

Sandwich  
urges  
Rodney not  
to leave  
W. I.

Sandwich, writing May 3, expresses  
the public confidence in Rodney, and his  
own hope that he will not use the per-  
mission to return to England.

Impossible to send reinforcements  
until Darby's return from Gibraltar

105-7



## Rodney II

Believe me, Sir, there is but one way  
 of bringing them (the Am<sup>ns</sup>) to reason. xxx  
 Commerce, Commerce alone has supported them  
 in their rebellion; cut off that resource, and  
 it will soon subside. I speak from known  
 facts, that the men nav<sup>d</sup> the Am. trading  
 and armed vessels dread nothing so much  
 as being sent prisoners across Atlantic to  
 G. B. When they know that must be their  
 fate, if taken, it will be impossible for the  
 merchants (the only support of the rebellion)  
 to prevail on them to go to sea. An end  
 to Commerce is an end to rebellion"

117

Rodney's account of his movements from  
 the time of receiving news of Hood's action,  
 Apr. 29, to the departure of the Fr. Fleet from  
 Martinique July 5, is to be found in his  
 letter of June 29. 1781, from Barbados

120-137

Rodney's  
 Estimate  
 of the  
 Dependence  
 of War  
 upon Commerce

Might be  
 incidentally  
 Quoted

Precautions  
to windward  
of  
Barbados

While in Barbados, in 1781, from June 6,  
or thereabouts, to some time in July, Rodney  
kept a heavy squadron cruising to windward, about  
10 to 20 leagues, with orders every four days to  
sight the island in case of signal of recall.  
This to clear the surroundings of enemy's cruises.

De Grasse's  
Departure  
for  
St. Domingo

On the 5<sup>th</sup> word is brought by Capt.  
Ford of the Nymphe that De Grasse sailed  
from Fort Royal July 5 for St. Domingo.  
Swallow at once sent D. U. Y., & Vaughan to  
Jamaica during these stations

Hood's  
Instructions

Hood, assumed command of the  
sailed to N.A., received orders July 25 to  
accompany the outward Convoy to Jamaica, as  
far as C. Teburin, thence to send a detachment  
only of Kingston with Convoy, and a light cruiser  
only to protect those bound to N-side of Jamaica  
Hood himself with rest of line of battle & frigates  
to make his way to N.A. making first, Ches-  
apeake, 2<sup>d</sup>. Delaware, 3<sup>d</sup>. Sandy Hook, of which

Modified,  
See Clowes

## Rodney II

course Rodney tells him the command. opp. in N. A. has been notified in order to facilitate a junction. Rodney has decided that cruisers should be looking out off the Cape after Chesapeake

Size of  
Hood's  
Detachment

Hood's detachment 14 or 15 sail of line, five frigates. The admiral at Jamaica also directed to support the concentration with his ships of the line

Rodney's  
Personal  
Proceedure

Rodney goes from Barbadoes to St Eustatius and thence sails with the whole trade of Barbadoes & Leeward Ids for

August 1  
to Sept. 17  
1781

England Aug 1, his flag in the Gibraltar, 80; Conway proper Triumph 74, Panther 60, & frigates. Part from Conway in latitude of Bermuda, (where it drops Eastward), says whether a few degrees further north might not brace up his health; having first detached Pegasus, with 6 victuallers & 4.

Precautions  
to  
ensure safety  
to  
Conway  
approaching  
Channel

to notify Commander there of Hood's coming & that  
he himself possibly might come. Before getting  
Conway gives its Commander Douglas not to  
attempt Channel but to fair latitude of C. Clear  
at least 300 leagues East of that cape, and to  
proceed in that latitude looking out for intelligence.  
In case Rodney is forced to go England (as it  
proved) he would follow same course, and,  
as a swift ship would outstrip the Conway,  
would send any papers he met on that  
parallel to it with news. - The did so &  
met and send the Arcturusa & Eurypice,  
and writing from Cork, Sep 17, to Carlisle  
Lord Lt. of Ireland, he expects Conway would  
come along in ten or 12 days - towards end of the  
Expresses his hope to add Gibraltar &  
Channel Fleet in view of approach of  
Franco-Spanish fleet

Rodney in  
England

Arrow Cork, Sep. 17(?), Laws and Bay, 19 - 8 letters of  
Monsieur, presented to King 24<sup>th</sup>, 800 ft Bath  
141-153 -  
156

## Rodney II

In England  
Sept - Dec  
1781

Spends October in Bath, returns to town  
in November, under orders to resume com-  
mand which is now extended to embrace  
all West Indies

V.A. of G.B.

Acknowledges appointment as V.A. of  
Great Britain in room of late Lord Hawke  
157-8

Hoists  
Flag  
Again  
Dec. 1781

Early in December goes to Portsmouth  
when he finds only four ships ready. Dec. 12  
writes that he intends to sail next day, &  
has sent "an express to Plymouth for ships  
fitting them to join him when he appears off  
the Sound. 171

Forced into  
Plymouth

Date of reaching Plymouth not reported  
but he writes from there Dec 30 that the  
Admiral's express of Dec. 18 had just arrived  
which would seem to show that he had  
sailed about the 18<sup>th</sup>, and had been  
forced by the wind to enter Plymouth

Peremptory  
Assumption

Peremptory action there; rather under

of  
Responsibility

his command ships intended for him, directs  
Commander of dockyard to send him men from  
ships under repair; vindicates his action to Admiralty  
and complains roundly of the sluggish indifference  
of the dockyard officers 177-8

Slow  
Captain

"My own captain is among the slow ones  
I have seen him write, that he shall not remain  
my captain" 179

171-80

Sandwich

"The fate of this Empire is in your hands"  
182

Ready!  
But head  
wind  
Jan. 1782

Stubborn and persistent S.W. winds  
Foremast ready Jan 1. 1782, only waiting for  
wind but dockyard attendants make trouble  
about getting her to the Sound. "I have  
written public letter of complaint"

Recommends Nelson's Sir R. Hughes to  
Command proposed reinforcements to W.I. 184

Departure  
and  
Arrival  
Barbados  
1782

Sails from Plymouth Jan<sup>y</sup> 15, (v.p. 190) <sup>written</sup>  
Stokant in a gale, 17<sup>th</sup>, arrives Barbados  
Feb. 19, "after five weeks passage" <sup>Journal</sup>  
190

## Rodney II

Fleet in  
Being

"I am fully convinced that Jamaica  
cannot be taken which I have the honor to  
command a large fleet in these seas &c"

192

## Summary of movements

193

Character-  
istic

"Nothing could have prevented my bringing  
him to action. That great event is  
postponed, but every opportunity that  
offers shall be taken &c"

Q.V. 194

Character-  
istic

None but an English Squadron and  
Copper bottoms could have forced their way  
as we have done. We weathered Ushant in  
a storm but two leagues, the sea  
mountain high &c but was necessary  
for public service that it should be  
done, that ~~the~~ <sup>way</sup> risk should be run  
Persist and Courage is a maxim that I  
had good in war, even against the Elements

and it has unswind etc

Nelson never tried with a fair wind

196 Q.V. & quote-

Gout

Violent bit of gout in both hands and feet

196

N.B.

Portraits of the girls etc etc

Quote

196-7, 202  
264

Opinions as to the venality and worn

treachery of merchants 197-99

Insubcidity of defence of S. Eustatius

Money re-captured there

"I am of opinion that the great events  
which must decide the empire of the Ocean  
will be either off Jamaica or St Domingo  
200-01

Fate of the Caesar 244, 276

Fate of the Glorious

Rodney's reasons for bringing to after action 248-50

General  
Depression

Should the enemy afford us a few more such  
opportunities, I hope we shall yet be a people, in spite  
of all our late humiliations  
247



## Rodney II

The French as usual kept an awful distance  
had they come down, as they showed, in all  
probability half my fleet wd have suffered & sunk

257

Ten of my ships only sixty four

253

To sleep these four nights. \* \*

within two little years I have taken two (?)  
Spanish, one Dutch, and one French admiral

255

Great supplies of naval stores lately (Apr 14)  
arrived will soon repair all damage

256

Formidable near 80 broadsides

258

Rodney's proceedings April 14 - 28  
off St. Domingo Apr. 20 (263) on way to Jamaica  
Arrived Jamaica Apr. 29, (272) 267 - 2

Girls

Mentioned again. "French Officers in loss with  
them particularly Count de Brosses"

265-

Personal

Superintend-  
ence again

off Tiburon April 26, will then leave Hood  
with Next & go himself with crippled ships to

Jamaica, in order to hasten refitting, and to the  
case no delay be made " Nothing shall detain me  
in port but the absolute necessity of being person-  
ally present to enforce Egypt, and to consult  
with Gov: re relative to defence of J.

266

Expressions of joy in Jamaica on their  
deliverance by April 12.

267-71

Statement that the French did not even  
know the live oxen, when clearing (2) traction  
273 (with )

Wretched destitution & disorg<sup>2d</sup> of Jamaica Yard

283

280-2

272-5

Sir P  
Parker's  
Return Day

Sir Peter Parker is to sail to narrow with Conroy  
flag in Sandwich, in which DeGrasse also embarks.  
May 19. 82  
287

Precautions  
needed  
in consequence  
of  
failure to  
follow up  
Victory

Notwithstanding his neglect to follow up the victory,  
Rodney did not neglect to blockade, or rather to  
watch, Cap Franc, Curacao, Mona, &c (286-8)  
but this would not have been necessary had he follow-  
ed victory, nor is it ever a sure remedy

## Rodney II

A convenient summary of Rodney's achievements, together with interesting reminiscences, by Cumberland, of Rodney and Douglas, corroborated as to the latter by Sir G. Blane; the Patroclus story is told in a different shape by Blane (p. 231)

Note braggadocio attributed to Rodney <sup>376</sup> 302-3, also his "not wanting advice" so diff<sup>r</sup> to Nelson 299-306

Tunis to  
Plymouth  
1782

Evidently an unusual speed, to stop Pigot's sailing, 28 hours 307

Luck in  
Recall

Rodney's proverbial luck is shown in his recall immediately after victory, taking from him all chance of failure later  
News news to have reached Army May 18 <sup>307<sup>n</sup></sup> (308) 307-8

Joy in  
London

In a very little time after receipt of news all London in uproar, the whole town illuminated  
We were at the play, when we went in the whole house testified, by their claps & huzzas, the joy they felt & or love for you Q.V. 309

Rewards

Vote of Thanks, May 22

Advanced to Penson by K, June 29.

Penson £ 2000

Dink Estate £ 1000, in 1806

312

Delay of  
the Ville de Paris  
Convoy  
in Jamaica  
1782

The unfortunate Convoy and fleet which was devastated by the cyclone of Sept: 1782, was delayed in leaving Jamaica by "the extreme bad weather, which has continued for near six weeks, & has prevented the trading ships from taking in their loading." Sailing postponed to

July 10 - whole fleet & accompany 319

Pesot  
arrives

July 10 Rodney's relief, Pesot, arrived in Jamaica, 327.

Voyage to  
England  
—  
Landing  
Anecdotes

Rodney sailed from Jamaica July 22, arrives Kinsale, Sep 7, sails 14<sup>th</sup>, puts up Cork 15, sails from Cork 19, lands at Bristol —

Anecdotes 334 note

332-4

Political  
Connections

After return he is principally in retirement - Only political action, noted of 1788-9. 350

Profession of Political faith

351-3

## Rodney II

Rodney's letter to a member of the Board of Admiralty (supposed Chatham) shows entire familiarity with the course of the service, and sound common sense, but has nothing specially original

355-361

Taking  
Distances  
from  
The Centre

That distances were to be taken from the centre appears quite clearly from these instances from the volume 2132.1 Navy Dept. Library  
of H.M. Fleet in Medn. 1741-1744  
"Narrative of Proceedings" &c &c

1 Page 77 note cites Article 1, Fighting Instructions, "Every ship is to observe and keep the same distance (as) those ships do, that are next the Admiral, always taking it from the centre."

This is misquoted in above note, but by one copied from Fighting Instructions of 1741, where it is inserted in writing; but the evidence shows that it was in force at the date of the publication - 1745 by title page.

2 Same writer quotes Adm. Vernon's Second  
(h.133)

Adm. Fight<sup>g</sup>. Instr<sup>s</sup>. On a particular signal for <sup>69</sup>  
close engagement "every ship is to obey the signal,  
taking the distances from the center."

3 In Second Pamphlet, bound in same volume,  
"Original Letters &c between Matthews and Lestock"  
p. 31, Lestock writes to Matthews:

"In the 1<sup>st</sup> article of the Figh<sup>t</sup>. Instr<sup>s</sup>, you  
Ii. yourself have made a MS. addition, viz.  
"And every ship is to observe and keep the same  
distance those ships do, which are next the ad-  
miral, always taking it from the center."

N.B. As this insertion is in the copy of  
Sailing & Fighting Instr<sup>s</sup> for 1741 in the Dep<sup>t</sup>.  
Library, and is not in that for 1781-2, also in  
Library, there seems good reason to believe  
that the former was our actually issued  
by Matthews to his fleet and in use in  
his action

D. J. M.

Byng's Affairs  
 &  
 Mediterranean  
 Command  
 1756-7

Hawke was ordered to Gibraltar to  
 relieve Byng, June 8, 1756. He reported  
 ready to sail June 9; and on June 16 was  
 on his way. Arrived at Gibraltar July 4  
 in the Antelope, 50. Sent back in her  
 Byng and other necessary officers, shifting  
 his own flag to Ramillies, 90, lately Byng's  
 flagship. Sailed from Gibraltar July 10,  
 and on July 15 learns surrender of Minorca  
 and Port Mahon

Loss of  
 Wife

He was ordered home before the end  
 of the year, arriving in England Jan. 14, 1757,  
 an absence of only seven months. Much indignation  
 and wife had died during his absence. Oct 28, 1756

Attitude  
 Towards  
 Byng

It would appear from pp. 271 that he  
 thought Byng did not "do his utmost";  
 but his letter to B., 270 shows gentleness and  
 courtesy & professional sympathy.

Relations  
of  
Hawke  
and  
Pitt

Apparent condescension, implication of  
censure, and tolerant forbearance of Pitt towards  
Hawke, indicated p. 276.

Observe p. 277 and Burrows remark "All  
this throws light upon the subsequent relations  
between the great statesman and the great  
admiral. There was always a want of cordiality.  
It was exhibited in 1757-8-9

276-8

Pitt's  
Removal  
and  
Restoration  
by  
George II

In early part of 1757 Pitt was unable  
to make any effectual change in the direction  
of military & naval affairs. He was dis-  
missed Apr. 9. 1757 by the King, who took  
advantage of Pitt's unpopular defence of Byng,  
but was reinstated through the popular demand  
on June 29

At this time the resources of the country  
were for the first time pledged for the  
defence of Stanmore

281

Wright's Life of Wolfe

300 note



# Hawke

Rochefort  
Expedition  
Dates  
1757

- Pitt takes office, after a brief dismissional, June 29
- { Clarke gives Ligonier (C.I.C) observations upon  
Rochefort made in 1754 July 15
- Pitt's Instructions to Hawke & Mordaunt Aug. 15
- Hawke hoists flag, "Rauvilleis" at Spithead. "
- Fleet and troops ready - but transports not, about Aug. 20
- After delays due to transports & wind the } Sep. 10  
fleet sails, with wind at N.N.E
- Rhe' and Oleron sighted Sep. 20
- Owing to thick weather, contrary wind } Sep. 22  
and tides, three days lost in getting to } 9. P.M.  
Basque Roads; where anchored
- Isle d' Aix compelled to surrender Sep. 23  
12.45 p.m.
- Coast sounded and reconnoitred for } Sep. 24  
landing of troops. Reported feasible } P.M.
- Council of War, at which all agree landing } Sep. 24  
can be made; but Mordaunt does not consider }  
escalade feasible
- Second Council, early morning, Begins to } Sep. 28  
put troops in boats, when a message from R. G.  
Mordaunt causes suspension V. 317-19

Hawke inquires of Mordaunt if there are } Sep. 28  
any further operations contemplated } P.M.

Mordaunt replies, apparently "No", and } Sep. 29  
Hawke writes to Admiral that he will start on }  
return Sep. 30

280-307

Hawke expressly offers to Anson his readiness at any moment after anchoring to land troops, and that he used Mordaunt to the utmost of his power.

The possibilities of Baegge Woods seem as new to him as they are impressive

307-8

It will be advisable to note the presence and opinions of Wolfe as perhaps accounting for his selection in 1759

V. p. 339

315-16

The importance of Louisbourg in 1758, as before stated by Burroughs

Note also reference in Massachusettsensis

p. 341 (note)

Louisbourg

# Hawke

Rockfort  
Operations  
1758

Had forgotten but must not omit, (because characteristic) Hawke's Operations off Rockfort in 1758, §

341-7

Difficulty  
with  
Admiralty  
May, 1758

The fracas with the Admiralty; because of the appointment of Howe to a quasi-independent Command, is to be noted. Characteristic  
348-50

Reality of  
Grievance  
not  
removed

I cannot suppress me that the assumption of Command by Anson, over Hawke, at all vitiates the grievance of Howe's appointment "at the head of a special Flotilla in the independent position for which Pitt had designed him." Vide Burrows

p. 352-3

Off Duty  
June 1758  
to  
May, 1759

Hawke's letter of Adm<sup>y</sup> - that he has struck his flag - is dated May 10. Goes to London & has it out with Admiralty May 12. Next sails from Spithead May 27, Anson in command; Howe's Squadron follows June 1. June 18, Hawke asks leave to return to Spithead on account of illness; & on 22<sup>d</sup> at Spithead asks sick leave, and remains on shore till May 13, 1759, when he again hoists flag in "Rouille's"

354-6

Anson's  
Command  
1758

Anson kept command of Channel Fleet  
from May to September, covering Howe's operations  
in 1758.

In September turned over command to Saunders  
356-8

France threatened to invade England; Eng-  
land did invade France  
358-9

Hawke  
strikes his  
flag for ever  
1762

On September 3. 1762, Hawke strikes his  
Royal George  
flag for the last time and comes on shore for ever

His last sea fight then fought

His work of glory done. 444

Ranke  
on the  
Internal  
Conditions  
of  
Great Britain  
and  
France  
1756-63

Once more, in this world embracing conflict be-  
tween the two Kingdoms, France & England, the  
internal superiority of the English was proved. In  
spite of an enormous debt the credit of England  
held good, and it was not necessary to lay on  
very excessive taxes; while the French Govt had  
to resort to advances from those who rented State  
lands, and was obliged to increase by fresh im-  
posts taxes which were already oppressive, so that  
it exhausted all its resources

## Ranke

The  
Seven Years  
War  
the crowning  
stone of the  
great  
Revolution

We may regard the Seven Years War as a continuation and completion of those great contests which came in with the Revolution of 1688. They were all directed against the predominance of France, and were at once Continental and maritime. Less than ever was said about religious grounds. As a matter of historical fact, however, the religious motive was more conspicuous than before. The Protestant Powers were on one side those of the [Roman] Catholic and Greek faith on the other.

The Apogee  
of the Unbroken  
English  
speaking  
Community  
1763

What a glorious Empire was it, & the head of which George III came! — the product of one history, all of one piece, from the moment of the first Sautonic settlement in Britain until the founding of its maritime dominion in both hemispheres. Through long centuries the logical and active mind of the people which rejected all that was foreign, and accepted only that which was akin to it,

Consistent had worked at the great edifice which now was  
Development the strongest representative of the West among  
England distant nations. The living elements of cul-  
500-1763 ture which the Empire included within  
itself worked in free movements, often op-  
posed to each other, but for that very  
reason all the more strong and many-  
sided. Individual and corporate inde-  
pendence did not in the least disturb a  
united development of power.

iv. p. 420

Hawke became Admiral - i.e. full Admiral -  
in Feb., 1757; and was made Vice-Admiral of  
Great Britain in 1765

474 note

Perage in 1776

473

Howe

The three incidents to be elaborated as illustrations

of Character

Incidents  
to be  
elaborated

1. The campaign of June - August 1778
2. Relief of Gibraltar - in which contrast with Rodney in numbers of allied fleets & their presence at Gibraltar
3. The manoeuvres of May 28-29, rather than, but not exclusive of, the Battle of June 1.

Defects of  
Qualities

Solid, equable persistence, precision in drill and attention to regulations, becomes exaggerated into one precision, attention to form &c &c

Howe The General Officer as Tactician

A. V. <sup>Disadvantages</sup> The Strategist and organizer of Victory

Summary The Divisional Commander

Two years employment 1752-54  
protecting trade in Straits of Sicily, and along  
Coast of France Spain & Barbary gave him local  
knowledge of currents p. 18

Equable temper

p. 44

Defensive  
Orders  
of  
1793

Due regard to the security of Great Britain and  
Ireland which was always to be considered a  
very material object of his attention

211

Contract Howe's time of commission 1793, with  
Hawke's, 1759. Barrow says Howe middle of  
July to middle of December

215

Value of  
Local  
knowledge

Bowen's knowledge of Channel Navigation <sup>1794</sup>  
Cf with that of Lawson Gower, Med<sup>n</sup>, 1782

223

Superintendant

Persistence in keeping Howe in command  
after demonstration of inferiority & repeated appli-  
cation Cf. Howe's own words of wisdom, p. 309-10; 317-18

294 - 295



Howe

Pecuniary  
Liberality

Liberality in arranging to surrender his  
Emoluments, and, apparently, prize money  
which bring in with his action as Treasurer of  
the Navy, 1765-70, in "Our Naval Heroes" or  
"Twelve Sailors"

Also, state amount of personal fortune

298-7

Current Mem<sup>da</sup> for Proposed Book

Sep. 16. 1913

America itself an expans<sup>n</sup> of Europe.

Develop this idea thro per<sup>d</sup> of such expans<sup>n</sup>. to epoch  
when further such was interdict<sup>d</sup> by Monroe D.

— " —  
America the Home of the Races, under aegis of  
English (not British) political trad<sup>n</sup>

"This is the deepest sign<sup>tee</sup> of a Discov<sup>ry</sup>  
of Am." Fiske, Old Va<sup>n</sup> and Neighbors p. 11

— " —  
Expans<sup>n</sup> of U.S. has on, and continues, expans<sup>n</sup>.  
of Eng. trad<sup>n</sup> of ordered liberty and submiss<sup>n</sup> to Law  
Self

— " —  
Fourth of July a singular instance of precise  
date for birthday of a nation (not of a state)  
Self

Self Govt. guaranteed Con<sup>st</sup>.

Fiske p. 31

Defeat of Armada Requiring of U.S. that " 39

— " —  
Govt. is an enforced Capitalism as well  
as Adm<sup>n</sup> Self.

— " —  
Interesting Compar<sup>n</sup>: bet. 3 forms of gov<sup>t</sup>. that hav. sprung  
up, correspond<sup>g</sup> to threefold division of K. James  
Charter of 1606 Fiske 63-64

Old Virginia  
+  
the Neighbors

Note pt of 2 Col<sup>rs</sup> enterprises started by  
Charter of 1606, Northern (in Kennebec) failed  
and had no renewal Fiske 71

Sept. 17

From p. 80 - 155 nothing of int<sup>t</sup> to my plan.  
The Period of John Smith, 1607-1609. Only  
futile the romantic incidents of struggling  
infancy of Col<sup>rs</sup>

Religious  
Query

How does the experienced failure of communitarian  
attempts at progress bear upon the question of pre-  
ference for Church common organ<sup>z</sup> effort, as a  
means of promoting social and industrial effects,  
over personal action as the foundation of  
Church efficiency?  
Self

Sept. 19.

Estab<sup>t</sup> of self Govt in Va House of Burgesses  
called togeth. July 30. 1619. p. 186  
Legislat. Aut<sup>y</sup>, how constd. p. 187

Instructive  
Extract

Few episodes in Eng. Hist<sup>y</sup> more curious than  
Found<sup>y</sup> of Va. In course of mighty conflict bet.  
powers of despot<sup>m</sup> & use of freedom, caused  
chiefly strat<sup>al</sup> led Eng to make ocean her  
battle ground, out of wh. circ. grew idea of

estab<sup>d</sup> mil<sup>l</sup>. posts at imp<sup>t</sup>. strateg<sup>l</sup>. pts on N. A coast,  
to aid operat<sup>o</sup> of Navy. In a few far sighted minds,  
this idea devel<sup>d</sup> into scheme of planting one or more  
Prot<sup>t</sup>. states, for inc. of Eng<sup>l</sup> Com<sup>l</sup>., & expans<sup>o</sup> of her  
pol. influence, & maint<sup>e</sup> of her nav. adv<sup>o</sup>. After  
royal assist<sup>e</sup> had been sought in vain, & private  
enterprise singlehanded had proved unequal to  
founding a state, the joint stock principle,  
herald of a new indust. era, was want<sup>d</sup> to, &  
we see creat<sup>n</sup> of two rival j<sup>t</sup> stock Co<sup>s</sup>. for  
purpose of undertak<sup>g</sup> task. Of two col<sup>s</sup>.  
sent out one succumbs to starv<sup>n</sup>. Other  
barely escapes, but is saved by capacity of one  
man until London has invest<sup>d</sup> so much treas. &  
life, that she will not see it perish. Then  
L<sup>d</sup>. Mayor, merch<sup>ts</sup> &c to remodel & London Co<sup>o</sup>  
into a truly st<sup>t</sup> Comm<sup>l</sup>. corp<sup>n</sup>. with an eff<sup>t</sup>.  
gov<sup>t</sup> & Colony is saved

Then tobacco supplies a new unexpected  
source of w<sup>l</sup>t. Common tenure and labor abol<sup>ish</sup>  
private ownership estab<sup>d</sup>. Raising of tobacco  
supplies motives, and no<sup>s</sup> of col<sup>l</sup> increases

Old Va & Neighbors

Wealth from tobac increases int<sup>y</sup> of stockholders,  
and concourse of many richer manag<sup>r</sup>. more the  
affair of many and so more democ<sup>ty</sup>. Pol.  
dissensions in Eng - Court Party & C<sup>try</sup> Party -  
emphasize content. C<sup>try</sup> Party proponents  
& gives Va free rep<sup>ty</sup> govt on general  
model of Eng inst<sup>ns</sup>, rooted in precedent  
and in trad<sup>n</sup>. Then James I awakes to  
fact that this estab<sup>t</sup> of rep. govt in Va  
threatens Stuart theory of King's Govt.  
The Va Co (London Co) is ~~abol~~ abolished  
which has the effect of making the Col<sup>y</sup>  
more than ever indep<sup>t</sup> of home Govt.

Valuable  
Summary of  
Develop<sup>t</sup> of  
Free Institutions  
in  
Virginia

Summarized from Fiske 191-193

Principle  
Asserted by  
James I as  
to Parliament  
and Colonies

In compassing the dissol<sup>tn</sup> of Va Co, James  
I forbade Parlt<sup>y</sup> to meddle w<sup>th</sup> C<sup>o</sup> matters, as  
certifying at "Govt of Col<sup>s</sup> was business of K<sup>g</sup> &  
his Privy Council, & at Parlt<sup>y</sup> he wought to  
do w<sup>th</sup> it. This was first & doctrine of  
Am. Col<sup>st<sup>s</sup></sup> in 18<sup>th</sup> cent<sup>y</sup>

218

Date: Dissol<sup>tn</sup>  
Va Co

Virginia C<sup>o</sup> dissolved, June, 1624

219

Progress in  
1624 - to what  
date

Progress visible in V<sup>a</sup>, 1624, mostly of time of J<sup>r</sup> Dur<sup>r</sup>.  
dating fr. abol<sup>n</sup> of Comm<sup>am</sup> & begin<sup>n</sup> of Tobac. culture  
By far gr<sup>est</sup> part obtain 5 y<sup>rs</sup>, since estab<sup>t</sup> of  
rep. inst<sup>ns</sup>, & founding of family life. 223

Effect of  
Communications

Absence of roads due to poor water Comm<sup>am</sup>,  
but same contrib<sup>d</sup> to partial isol<sup>n</sup> of planters'  
estates, to wh. due many charac. features of  
life in old V<sup>a</sup>. 224

Contrast of  
Virg<sup>a</sup>. Co. w<sup>th</sup> that  
of Mass Bay  
+  
Effects on Col.  
Development

Co. of Mass. Bay profit<sup>d</sup> by example of V<sup>a</sup>. Co. in  
its dissol<sup>n</sup>. In 1629, leaders of M.B. Co. decided  
to carry Br. Co., w<sup>th</sup> charter, to N. Eng<sup>d</sup>, where  
they might work w<sup>th</sup> less danger of K's interfe<sup>re</sup>. This  
transfer to Am<sup>a</sup>. was most fund<sup>tl</sup> circ. in early  
hist<sup>y</sup> of N. Eng. The physical fact of direct trans-  
form<sup>t</sup>. & Comm<sup>am</sup>. Co. into a self-gov<sup>n</sup> Rep., w<sup>th</sup>.  
for more on 50 y<sup>rs</sup> manag<sup>d</sup> aff<sup>rs</sup> in almost  
entire indep<sup>ce</sup> of Br. Gov<sup>t</sup>. (Out of sight, out of  
mind. Moreover, during Comm<sup>am</sup>ld, more sympathy  
with N. E. than w<sup>th</sup> royalist V<sup>a</sup>.) Safeguards of Mass.  
Co. were diff<sup>r</sup> of access & infring<sup>em</sup> of Comm<sup>am</sup>. If  
it had held its meetings in London, life w<sup>d</sup> not be  
be worth 5 y<sup>rs</sup> purchase 236-7

Old Virginia &  
the Neighbors

Thro' fall of V<sup>a</sup> C<sup>o</sup>, V<sup>a</sup> attained such degree of  
self-govt as it had thro' Col. per<sup>l</sup>, much like that  
of Mass after 1692, but far less complete than that  
of Mass before 1684

237

Analogy of  
Feudal System

In opin<sup>n</sup> of James I, all colonizable terr<sup>y</sup>  
claimed by G.B. was royal Domain; was his to do  
what he liked with. [This seems to me the Feudal Theory  
of all land held of the Crown.] If he had lived to

A.B. So same  
theory to be found  
undermining  
all Col. Charters,  
or Grants

complete his Constit<sup>n</sup> for V<sup>a</sup>, he wd prob<sup>ly</sup> have swept  
away exp<sup>ty</sup> gov<sup>t</sup> estab<sup>d</sup> by V<sup>a</sup> C<sup>o</sup>, but Char<sup>r</sup> I  
allowed it to stand. Death of Jas. ∴ an imp<sup>t</sup>  
era in hist<sup>y</sup> of V<sup>a</sup>. House of Burgesses cont<sup>d</sup>,  
elect<sup>d</sup> by perp., but Gov<sup>r</sup> & Council thenceforth app<sup>nt</sup>  
by Crown. Change from app<sup>nt</sup> of Gov<sup>r</sup> & Council  
by C<sup>o</sup>. a gain of indep<sup>ce</sup> for Col., because K<sup>g</sup> c<sup>d</sup>  
not give his whole attent<sup>n</sup> to Col., whereas C<sup>o</sup>.  
c<sup>d</sup>.

239

If coddling & fostering c<sup>d</sup> with a col<sup>y</sup> spirit,  
Fr. in Can ought to be dominat<sup>d</sup> N. Am. From  
all pt<sup>s</sup> of view ∴ it was well for V<sup>a</sup> that  
C<sup>o</sup>. fell when it did

240

Single  
Legislative  
Body

In V<sup>a</sup> <sup>H.B.</sup> ~~Assembly~~, Burgesses, Gov<sup>r</sup> & Council  
met togeth in a single assembly, just as in Mass  
until 1644, & as in Eng. Lords and Commons  
usually sat togeth before 1339 243

This Act<sup>4</sup> both legis. & judic<sup>l</sup> body  
made laws and tried by jury 245

Kingdom of  
Virginia

The app<sup>t</sup> of Wm Claiborne as sec<sup>y</sup> of State  
to a col<sup>y</sup>, calls V<sup>a</sup> "our Kingdom of V<sup>a</sup>." It  
apparently stood on same individual basis  
as G. B., Ireland etc. 251

Data

1642

V<sup>a</sup>

See Wm Berkeley, Gov<sup>r</sup> of V<sup>a</sup> for 35  
yrs, beginning 1642

Popul<sup>n</sup> 1624 : 4,000 Eng, 22 Negroes  
1642 : 15,000 " , 300 "

N-Eng<sup>d</sup>

Pop<sup>n</sup>, N-Eng<sup>d</sup> 1642 26,000, distinct, among  
several self-governing Col<sup>s</sup>.

253

Palatinate  
of  
Maryland

After a very brief descript<sup>n</sup> of Palatinates in genl.,  
& one of Eng<sup>d</sup> in partic (256-260) Fiske adds:

When K<sup>g</sup> of Scots came to be K<sup>g</sup> of Eng<sup>d</sup>,  
this principality of Durham afforded inst<sup>ce</sup> of a



Old Virginia  
and  
Her Neighbors

Palatinate  
of  
Maryland

dominion thoroughly Eng<sup>l</sup>. yet semi-indep<sup>t</sup>; loyal,  
but distinct in adm<sup>n</sup>. Not strange, ∴ it  
sh<sup>d</sup> be serv<sup>d</sup> as pattern for col<sup>d</sup> gov<sup>t</sup>s to be  
set up in new world. For such [distant] gov<sup>t</sup>s,  
[corresponding, in fact, to the 'marches' of a feudal Kg<sup>m</sup>]  
virtual indep<sup>ce</sup> combined w<sup>th</sup> hearty allegiance was  
the chief desideratum. This count<sup>y</sup> George III.

unhappily for him, forgot at a critical moment

260

Distinctive  
Features of  
Maryland  
Settlement

In two ways found<sup>d</sup> of M<sup>a</sup> was a new departure  
in methods of Col<sup>d</sup>. First, introduced into Am.  
a new type of Col. gov<sup>t</sup>. Spanish + Fr. Col<sup>d</sup>s.  
were simple despotisms adm<sup>nt</sup>d by viceregal  
gov<sup>t</sup>s, sometimes w<sup>th</sup> advis<sup>r</sup> Council, sometimes  
partly held in check by an "intendant," a sort  
of counter-despot. Gov<sup>t</sup> of V<sup>a</sup>, after  
suppress<sup>n</sup> of C<sup>d</sup>, was call<sup>d</sup> Crown Gov<sup>t</sup>  
[Crown Col<sup>d</sup>?] because gov<sup>t</sup> + Council app<sup>t</sup>d by  
K<sup>g</sup>; it was not despot<sup>m</sup>, because there was  
assembly elect<sup>d</sup> by peop<sup>l</sup>, without whose consent  
no taxes c<sup>d</sup> be assessed or collect<sup>d</sup>. The bond  
of connect<sup>n</sup> w<sup>th</sup> mod<sup>l</sup> C<sup>d</sup> was loose, but real.  
Mass. diff<sup>r</sup> in it, under first charter, 1629-1684,

it was a true republic, govt., Council, & assembly all elect<sup>d</sup>. within 0 col<sup>y</sup>, so that adm<sup>n</sup> c<sup>d</sup>. move on quite indep<sup>?</sup> of any act<sup>n</sup> in Eng.

M<sup>d</sup> a proprietary govt., and first example <sup>in Am<sup>a</sup></sup>

Proprietary  
Government  
Described

Proprietor steps into place of Crown, while a charter [like a contract] made impos. for him & become absolute monarch. Charter c<sup>d</sup>. be recalled in case of abuse. In M<sup>d</sup>, elective legislature, [3<sup>d</sup> in Am<sup>a</sup>, after V<sup>a</sup> & Mass] was expressly provided for in Charter. This limited pow<sup>r</sup>. of Prop<sup>r</sup>, but his depend<sup>ce</sup>. on K<sup>?</sup> little more than nominal. A nominal annual tribute [feudalism again] <sup>not money</sup> was prescribed, and oath of allegiance [to K<sup>?</sup>] c<sup>d</sup>. be administered, if necessary, but save the formal recog<sup>n</sup>. of overlord, Prop<sup>r</sup> was virtually K<sup>?</sup> in M<sup>d</sup>.

Second, L<sup>d</sup>. Baltimore att<sup>pt</sup>. to inaugurate a policy of complete religious tolerat<sup>n</sup>. 269-70

Proprietary Govt. seems essentially feudal in its character. July

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N. B. <sup>mainly</sup> A general feature of transition from small indep<sup>t</sup> communities to a federation seems to be that tax<sup>n</sup> by a central govt. is levied not directly on all units but upon each comm<sup>n</sup>, wh. in turn appropriates among its members. See p. 276, Denton

Old Virginia  
+  
The Neighbors  
Vol II

N.B. By mistake,  
this page & opp. precede  
the two following, which  
they should follow

Dates and  
Numbers

The date to be rememb<sup>d</sup> in connect<sup>n</sup> w<sup>th</sup> Com<sup>o</sup>  
of Cavaliers to V<sup>a</sup> is 1649, and it is instruct<sup>v</sup>  
to compare it w<sup>th</sup> exodus of Puritans to N. Eng.

The little sett<sup>l</sup> of Mayflower pilgrims (1620)  
was merely a herald of the great Puritan  
exod<sup>s</sup>, wh. really began in 1629, (when Charles I  
entend upon his per<sup>d</sup>. of 11 y<sup>r</sup>s rule w<sup>th</sup>out  
parl<sup>t</sup>), and cont<sup>d</sup>. till about 1642 when  
civil war began. Dur<sup>n</sup>. t<sup>h</sup>e 13 y<sup>r</sup>s more or  
20,000 Puritans came to N. E. The great  
Cavalier Exo<sup>d</sup>. began w<sup>th</sup> K's execut<sup>n</sup>. in 1649  
& prob<sup>ly</sup>. slack<sup>d</sup>. after 1660. It must hv.  
bn. principal cause of remark. inc. of pop<sup>l</sup>.  
in V<sup>a</sup>. from 15,000 in 1649 to 38,000 in 1670

The per<sup>d</sup>. of a Commonwealth marks an <sup>tt</sup> imp<sup>t</sup>  
epoch in V<sup>a</sup>, and we must guard against  
confusing what came after (Cult<sup>o</sup>) w<sup>th</sup> what  
preceded it. + + + Berkeley about 1649  
act<sup>d</sup>. w<sup>th</sup> so much energy ag<sup>t</sup>. Puritans he  
w<sup>th</sup> less th<sup>n</sup> 1000 left Col<sup>o</sup>. Upon news of K's<sup>d</sup>  
d<sup>e</sup>, he sent message to Eng. inviting royalists to  
V<sup>a</sup>, & w<sup>th</sup>in 12 months as many as  
1,000 arriv<sup>d</sup>, picked men and women. From

this moment we may date beginning of Car. ascend<sup>cy</sup>.  
in Va

16-18

Virginia a Kingdom 22-23

Important to remember in connection w<sup>th</sup> diff<sup>ty</sup> -  
feeling in col<sup>s</sup> in 1763-1776, concerning relation  
to King and to Parlt. See

Both in Va & N.E. princ<sup>l</sup> element of immigrat<sup>n</sup>  
was of picked (by charac. & conscience) of same (in Va & N.E.)  
stat<sup>n</sup> in life, & diff<sup>ty</sup> only in views as to civil &  
eccles<sup>l</sup> pol<sup>y</sup>. Diff<sup>cs</sup> wh. arose bet. Va. & N.E.  
due, not to doc<sup>l</sup> qual<sup>ty</sup>, but to eccles<sup>l</sup> opin<sup>ns</sup>, &  
to econom<sup>l</sup> circ<sup>um</sup>stances [Hered<sup>ty</sup> & Environment]

Township arose from extreme Puritan  
Congregat<sup>ion</sup>. Each Congreg<sup>n</sup> was a little  
self-gov<sup>er</sup>ng Comm<sup>ty</sup>, and immigrat<sup>n</sup> toget<sup>her</sup>. At a  
common center estat<sup>l</sup> Church, and, as soil  
did not favor large plant<sup>ns</sup>, members of Cong<sup>reg</sup>  
c<sup>ts</sup> all have farms near, within riding dist<sup>ance</sup>.  
Near meet<sup>g</sup> house wd. be town pasture &  
block house.

As Gov<sup>ts</sup> of Mass. fav<sup>or</sup>! As kind of immigrat<sup>ion</sup>  
[ship over two meet<sup>g</sup>]  
ph

Old Virginia  
and  
Her Neighbors

Original,  
Palatinate  
Constitution  
Maryland

The original, Palatinate, Constitution of Mary-  
land was on this wise, analyzed:

The Executive Officer  
The Governor was chief minister of the Pro-  
prietary, absent in England, but whose prerogatives  
were jealously guarded. In addition to purely  
executive functions, he had judicial and  
legislative powers; presiding over Court of  
Chancery, and having a veto over legislation  
qualified by reservations in favor of Proprietor

[Court of Chancery once highest court of  
judicature in Eng. under Parliament, exercising  
jurisdiction in law, but chiefly in Equity.  
Now, confined to decisions in equity]

Under Governor four chief executive functions  
three of which general viz: (1) Secretary, or  
Receiver General of revenues, (2) Surveyor Genl.,  
(3) Master General of the muster, the military  
head under the Governor, (4) There was in  
each county a Sheriff

Judicial officers, County Courts and  
Provincial Court. Judges of the last were  
all <sup>also</sup> members of Governor's Council to

which the chief (i.e. general?) exec. off<sup>r</sup> belonged  
also

- Legislative Powers (1) Governor with veto;  
(2) Council, consisting of justices of the  
Provincial Court and of chief exec off<sup>r</sup>s;  
(3) Assembly; at first, 1635, a primary  
body, but in and after 1638, representative  
one member from each hundred, ~~and~~ <sup>or</sup> later,  
from each county

281 - 285

Differences in  
a tenure in  
Va. and in Md.  
That is,  
between a  
Crown Colony  
& a Proprietary

William Claiborne was by Lord Baltimore  
made welcome to the property and position  
he had estab<sup>d</sup> on Kent I<sup>d</sup>; only he was  
reminded he must hold it as a tenant of  
the Lord Proprietor of Maryland, not as  
a tenant of the King in Virginia

290

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Old Va. &c

It is only in connect<sup>n</sup> w<sup>th</sup> tidewater Va. that migrat<sup>n</sup>  
of Cavaliers fr. Eng. to Am. has hist. sign<sup>if</sup>ce

12

Fiske's Estimate

The formative period of modern polit<sup>l</sup> society  
from 14<sup>th</sup> Cent<sup>y</sup> onward.

14

grants of land were made not to indiv<sup>s</sup> but  
to Comp<sup>s</sup> of peop. wh. wished to live togeth,  
& attend same ch. N.H. 30, 31

In the town meeting the govt. is the  
entire adult male pop<sup>n</sup>. — A primary

that exist<sup>s</sup> by first settlers has re-  
mained to this day pract<sup>ly</sup> unchanged 32

Period when most imp<sup>t</sup> was in  
stormy discuss<sup>ns</sup> proceed<sup>g</sup>. Rev<sup>n</sup>. 34

In Va upper class col<sup>ts</sup> of much same  
social stand<sup>g</sup> as in N.E. ; but (1) there  
was a large servile white pop<sup>n</sup>, (2) negro  
slavery assumed large dimensions after 1670  
(3) a great staple, tobacco, found large ~~estates~~  
plant<sup>ns</sup> ; i.e. a scattered pop<sup>n</sup> inst<sup>d</sup> of  
concent<sup>d</sup>. The large estates were kept

lost by primogeniture & entail, until  
overthrown by Jeff<sup>n</sup> in 1776. For

the reasons the township not so feasible  
in Va.

The unit in V<sup>a</sup> was the parish, affairs of wh. admin<sup>ed</sup> by vestry of 12. This not primary govt., but rept<sup>v</sup>; but at last when vestry obt<sup>d</sup> pow<sup>r</sup> to fill vacancies in Br n<sup>o</sup>., was not even rept<sup>v</sup>, but govt. by a "close" corp<sup>n</sup>.

Further, in N. E. township was unit of corp<sup>n</sup> in Col<sup>d</sup> legislature, whereas in V<sup>a</sup> its unit was the County. The County contained 1, 2, or 3 parishes; but these were not rept<sup>v</sup> districts, they were only adm<sup>nt</sup> units.

The general taxes for county, as well as County's share of the Col<sup>d</sup> tax was estimated by Col<sup>d</sup> legislature. The County taxes proper were assessed by County Court.

The Parish taxes were assessed by Vestry.

The contrast between ~~vestry~~ parish system and township system is more the different origin from diff<sup>t</sup> themes of Church Govt.



Old Virginia  
and  
Neighbors  
Vol. II

In Va., the County, the unit of rep<sup>n</sup>,  
was divided into two or three parishes.  
In N.E. the townships the unit of rep<sup>n</sup>  
were accumul<sup>d</sup> into counties.

Summary (1) In N.E. local off<sup>s</sup> mostly  
in town off<sup>s</sup>; county being super-  
added for cert<sup>n</sup> purposes, chiefly judicial.

In Va. manag<sup>t</sup>. of local off<sup>s</sup> chiefly  
in County off<sup>s</sup>, certain functions  
chiefly eccles<sup>l</sup> being reserved to parishes.

(2) In N.E. local magistrates, ex-  
cept justices, chosen by people.

In Va., so some were nominally  
app<sup>nt</sup> by gov<sup>t</sup>, they generally continued  
to appoint themselves - self perpetuating

General consequence: Virginia  
fruitful in leaders (as South<sup>n</sup>. Carol<sup>n</sup>)  
Mass. strong in mass of the peop.

Stability of  
Colonies &  
Columbia  
1662

In course<sup>a</sup> of effect of Stat<sup>n</sup> Acts in lowering  
price of tobacco, attempt<sup>s</sup> made to curtail crop; e.g.  
in 1662, it was tob. sh<sup>d</sup>. be planted in N<sup>o</sup>. or V<sup>a</sup>.  
for following yr. Such proposals recurr<sup>d</sup> fr.  
time to time, but imposs. to secure concert<sup>d</sup>  
act<sup>n</sup> bet. 2 col<sup>s</sup>. 57-52

In Bacon's Rebellion, 1676, a st<sup>t</sup>. major<sup>n</sup> of  
wealthiest & most imp<sup>t</sup>. men of Col<sup>y</sup>. were ass<sup>t</sup>.  
k<sup>il</sup>l (1.97) x x x Per<sup>d</sup>. of Caval<sup>y</sup>. immigr<sup>n</sup>.  
1650-1670, charac<sup>ter</sup>ed by rapid inc. of size  
of landed estates, & supply<sup>t</sup>. of servile labor.  
Same per<sup>d</sup>. saw sign<sup>t</sup>. changes in local instit<sup>ns</sup>  
wh. are most vitally imp<sup>t</sup>. pt. of whole pol<sup>tl</sup>. structure  
Vestries, until 1645, elect<sup>d</sup>. by people of parish,  
such being an open Vestry. In March, 1662, law  
it in case of vacancy be filled by minister and  
vestry. This a close corp<sup>n</sup>., self perpetuating.  
Vestry's pow<sup>r</sup>. very extens., so it when peop. lost  
pow<sup>r</sup>. to elect members, they lost only share they  
h<sup>d</sup>. in local govt. Nothing left them but right to  
vote for burgesses, & as curtailed in 1670 by a  
property qual<sup>ty</sup>. Thus pow<sup>r</sup>. rapidly became concentr<sup>d</sup>.  
in hands of a leading families. 99-100

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Conditions  
tending to  
draw Va. & Mass  
into sympathy

From Bacon's Revolt? (1676) to Decl<sup>n</sup> of Ind<sup>ca</sup>  
just a century. Va. from first had a royal  
gov<sup>t</sup>. In (n about) 1676, differences bet Ed. Randolph,  
- sent to enforce stat<sup>s</sup> Act in Mass, & to report  
upon N.E. aff<sup>rs</sup> - and col<sup>ts</sup> led to revoc<sup>n</sup> of  
Mass charter, & Mass also rec<sup>d</sup>. a royal  
gov<sup>t</sup>. Thereafter, both Mass. & Va. assemblies  
in freq<sup>t</sup> friction w<sup>th</sup> gov<sup>t</sup>, w<sup>th</sup> caused copious  
discuss<sup>ns</sup> in both as to pow<sup>r</sup> and prerog<sup>y</sup>  
of gov<sup>t</sup>. This not only elucidated principles  
and gave charac. to pol<sup>l</sup> trusts, but drew  
the two col<sup>s</sup> into sympathetic attitudes  
Thus came into exist<sup>ce</sup> cond<sup>ns</sup> necessary  
for estab<sup>t</sup> of pol. indep<sup>ce</sup> & format<sup>n</sup> of  
Fed. Union of U.S.

Syst<sup>m</sup> of absentee gov<sup>t</sup> was now (1697)  
permanently adopt<sup>d</sup>. In 1697, Geo. W. Douglas  
was appt<sup>d</sup> gov<sup>t</sup> in chief of Va, and for next  
40 yrs drew annual salary w<sup>th</sup>out going thr.  
A lieut-gov<sup>t</sup> (Nicholson) did the duty  
1698

Anticipation  
of  
Tax? colonies  
c. 1700

Nicholson when <sup>the</sup> gov<sup>s</sup> of VA proposed a grand Union  
of col<sup>s</sup> for mutual defence ag<sup>st</sup> Fr. W<sup>m</sup> III  
approved, & rec<sup>d</sup> to col. assemblies. As these  
were not responsive, N. angry, recom<sup>d</sup> that all  
col<sup>s</sup> sh<sup>d</sup> be placed under a single viceroy,  
& tax<sup>d</sup> for support of stand<sup>g</sup> army. Queen  
Anne & ministers reject<sup>d</sup> this, as unwise  
129-130

Relations of  
Virginia and  
Maryland

Compromises bet. M<sup>d</sup> & VA adopt<sup>d</sup> in 1658  
secured cordial relations thenceforth bet. the two  
131

Attempted  
Revolution  
in  
Maryland  
to  
Overthrow  
Proprietary  
Government  
1659-60

The unsettled cond<sup>s</sup> in G. B. bet. d<sup>th</sup> of  
Crown & access<sup>ion</sup> of Chas II led to proceedings  
in M<sup>d</sup>, by wh. Puritan element, numerically  
prepond<sup>ant</sup>. threw off proprietary gov<sup>t</sup>, and in-  
stituted self-gov<sup>t</sup>; i.e. elect<sup>d</sup> own gov<sup>t</sup> (1654-60)  
In VA ass<sup>embly</sup> also elect<sup>d</sup> gov<sup>t</sup>, but pro-  
ceeding, awaiting royal pleasure

Chas II promptly annul<sup>d</sup> Baltimore, over-  
throwing action of M<sup>d</sup> Ass<sup>embly</sup>; but confirmed VA  
elected gov<sup>t</sup>.  
136-138

Side  
Remark

Aspects of local instit<sup>ns</sup> being most  
important part of polit<sup>l</sup> structure, to the  
downfall of Spanish col. syst<sup>m</sup>, govt of col. was  
by Span<sup>ds</sup> from Madrid. See Art. "Colony"  
Encyc Brit.

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The transactions wh. involved southern boundary  
of Penna., and Penn's acquiesc<sup>nce</sup> of Delaware  
to be found pp. 144-146

Resemblances  
and  
Differences  
bet  
Penn's Charter  
and  
Baltimore's

Penn's charter creat<sup>d</sup> govt. very similar  
to Baltimore's (proprietary) but less indep<sup>t</sup>, for  
laws passed in Va must be sent to Eng. for  
royal app<sup>ro</sup>, & Br. Govt. wh. so gov but had  
expressly reserved right to tax Inds, now  
expr<sup>ly</sup> assent<sup>d</sup> right to tax Pa

This change marks growth of imperial  
sentiment, and of anti-feudal ~~sett~~ sentiment,  
feeling that privileges accord<sup>d</sup> Baltimore, (as  
of a great vassal) were too extensive for  
a subject - contrary to int<sup>s</sup> of central govt. 145

Manners in  
Maryland

The Manorial Syst<sup>m</sup> in Md., as described by  
Fiske, the feudal in deriv<sup>n</sup> & origin, presents

some analogy to township of Mass., in that it secured a local self gov<sup>t</sup> in many matters. A manor was granted to any settler, who had or over 2,000 acres, should bring w<sup>th</sup> him fr. Eng 20 able-bodied men, with suitable amount of weapons.

"These manors were little self gov<sup>t</sup> communities.

The Court next was like a town meeting. Every freeman c<sup>d</sup> take part in it. It enacted by-laws, elected officers

The Court Baron was an equality per se in that all freehold tenants sat etc etc." 148

But descent fr. Eng to etc, such institutions were admirably adapted to sparse settlements the centers, or manors, being far apart. They were brought to an end, partly & another by inc. of pop<sup>n</sup>, and better comm<sup>ns</sup>; but also largely by negro slavery, wh. diminished imp<sup>ce</sup> and numbers of freemen, and caused authority & center in some - a patriarchal system. 149

Proprietary gov<sup>t</sup> in Md. lasted from 1689 to 1714, when it was restored and lasted till 1776. There had been much dispute bet. lower and upper Houses (As<sup>sbly</sup> + Council) the Prop<sup>r</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> being a member of Council. Delay in receiving

Manorial  
System  
in  
Maryland

Old Virginia and  
Neighbors. Vol 11

Maryland a  
Royal Province  
instead of Proprietary  
1689-1715

notice from Prop<sup>r</sup> of Access<sup>on</sup> of W<sup>m</sup> & M. led to  
an armed uprising, in 1689, prompt<sup>ly</sup> partly by  
fear of R.C. tendencies of Baltimore, in the  
cond<sup>ns</sup> of antag<sup>on</sup> on existing bet Prop & R.C.  
W<sup>m</sup> III was asked to undertake gov<sup>t</sup> (make  
M<sup>d</sup>. a royal prov<sup>ce</sup>) wh. he did.

The Prop<sup>r</sup> capital was aband<sup>d</sup>, & royal  
cap<sup>l</sup> fixed at Annapolis.

Royal Gov<sup>t</sup> introduced a privilage in  
tax<sup>on</sup> of all for support of Ch. of Eng. clergy  
to  $\frac{3}{4}$  of pop<sup>on</sup> not Anglican

Royal Gov<sup>t</sup> ceased in 1715. The then (4<sup>th</sup>)  
Ld. Balt., being a Prot<sup>t</sup>, petitioned for restor<sup>on</sup>  
of Prop<sup>r</sup> Gov<sup>t</sup>, wh. was grant<sup>d</sup> & one was  
no more royal gov<sup>t</sup> But features of  
old Palat. Gov<sup>t</sup> were not restor<sup>d</sup> 161-173

Absence of  
Town Life  
in  
Virginia

The result of absorpt<sup>on</sup> of all activ<sup>ty</sup> in  
tobac. plant<sup>g</sup>, & of absence of developed  
arts & trades, was non-exist<sup>ence</sup> of town life.  
In 1700 hardly a village in V<sup>a</sup>, unless  
Wmshung, seat of Gov<sup>t</sup> & College. There about

200 houses, streets unpaved. Richmond, founded  
1737, in 1790 pop<sup>n</sup>? 3,761. Norfolk, founded 1705  
except! grow<sup>th</sup>, owing to W. I. trade, and N.C. Lumber;  
in 1776, pop<sup>n</sup>? 6,000. At that time Phila. had  
35,000, + N.Y. 25,000 though pop<sup>n</sup>? of the  
two states (V<sup>a</sup> + N.Y.) then total, scarcely equalled  
V<sup>a</sup> 210

"St. Augustine, a Spanish Garrison, being  
about 100 leagues S. of us (Charleston) makes  
Carolina a frontier to all Eng. settl<sup>ts</sup> on the Main"  
270

Double  
Aspect of  
the Carolinas

(N & S)  
Carolina <sup>(N & S)</sup> thus a frontier, but also a backwoods  
to V<sup>a</sup>. Until recently, one of most imp. factors in  
Am. Hist<sup>y</sup> has been existence of a perpetually advancing  
front<sup>er</sup>, where new terr<sup>it</sup> has to be won by hard  
fight<sup>ing</sup> ag<sup>st</sup> savages. Then democracy has assumed  
its most distinct Am. features. Cessat<sup>ion</sup> of its  
prob<sup>ly</sup> one of foremost causes to make Am. of  
20<sup>th</sup> cent<sup>y</sup> diff<sup>er</sup> fr. that of 19<sup>th</sup>.

For full devel<sup>op</sup> of its front<sup>er</sup> life, two  
cond<sup>ns</sup> needed: 1, struggle w<sup>th</sup> wilderness; 2, isolat<sup>ion</sup>  
fr. Eur. Cond<sup>ns</sup> currents of thought w<sup>th</sup> wh. countr<sup>y</sup>  
aboard was kept in contact. These front orig<sup>in</sup>  
in N.C., + the transp. to Tenn + Kent<sup>y</sup>.



Old Virginia  
and  
Neighbors

N.C. was 4000 pt. where backwoods start'd fr  
Coast. S.C., with 900 for buffer, is rather  
a frontier agst Spain.

Name Carolina fr. Char. II who <sup>1663</sup> granted to  
8 Prop<sup>rs</sup> Palatinate, diff<sup>r</sup> from Ind. Chiefly  
in 8 Prop<sup>rs</sup> inst. of one. These, as tenants  
in chief of Crown were feudal sovr<sup>s</sup> over Car. <sup>275</sup>

Differentiation  
of North and  
South Car.

No pt. of orig<sup>l</sup> plan to plant 2 bars,  
but early centers so far apart, Albemarle  
(Ashley R. Col<sup>y</sup>) and Charleston, <sup>founded 1670</sup> at c<sup>d</sup>. not well be united  
in single community, so opt<sup>d</sup> one Gov<sup>t</sup>. <sup>276</sup>

Dates

An intermediate Col<sup>y</sup>, <sup>founded 1665</sup> Clarendon, at  
mouth of C. Fear was aband<sup>d</sup> in 1690 (h. 290)  
Present City of Charleston <sup>founded</sup> 1672, took name 1680 <sup>285</sup>

The formal separ<sup>n</sup> of Carolina into 2 prov<sup>es</sup>  
not till 1729; but from outset were distinct  
and indept. govts, and by 1690 spoken of  
as N and S. <sup>290</sup>

Change  
Proprietors  
to  
Royal  
Government

Dissension between the assembly <sup>(S.C.)</sup> and  
the prop<sup>rs</sup> ~~led~~ about money matters led to  
substitution of a royal gov<sup>t</sup> for proprietary  
in 1719. Disturbances opt<sup>d</sup> in N.C.

led to Part<sup>r</sup> in 1728 requesting King to buy Carolina, wh. was done, and in 1729 the Palatinate with 8 prop<sup>r</sup>s, founded by Chas. II in 1663, came to an end, and in its place were two royal prov<sup>cs</sup>, N.C. and S.C.

308

Contracts - bet. N.C. & S.C. so gr<sup>t</sup> as to mk.

Contracts  
bet. Colonies  
&  
Especially  
Southern:  
North Carolina  
South  
Virginia

imposs. any gen<sup>l</sup>. state<sup>t</sup>. applicable equally to both.  
Contract diff<sup>t</sup>. fr. bet. N.E. & Va. In N.E.  
marked concentr<sup>n</sup> of soc<sup>l</sup>. life in villages and T<sup>s</sup>  
co-existed w<sup>th</sup> complete democ<sup>y</sup>, whereas in Va  
isolat<sup>d</sup>. life in gr<sup>t</sup> plantns connect<sup>d</sup>. w<sup>th</sup> aristoc<sup>r</sup>.  
structure of soc<sup>y</sup>. But bet 2 Car<sup>s</sup>, con-  
tract precisely reverse. In N.C. society  
scatt<sup>d</sup>. (as in degree in Va) town life little develop<sup>d</sup>.  
y<sup>t</sup> least aristoc<sup>r</sup> of all S<sup>n</sup> col<sup>s</sup>. In S.C.  
strong concentr<sup>n</sup> of social life in one focus.  
Charleston, y<sup>t</sup> type of soc<sup>y</sup> in some respects  
even more aristoc<sup>r</sup>. on Va

308-9

North Carolina.  
Physical Condi-  
tions affecting  
settlement

The coast of N.C. determin<sup>l</sup>. charac of col<sup>l<sup>z</sup></sup>  
unapproachable - or, at least diff<sup>c</sup> of access. Pine  
barrens hindered clearing, and swamps sugared  
malaria. Conseq<sup>t</sup>, col<sup>l<sup>z</sup></sup> diverted to Chesapeake

Old Virginia  
and  
Her Neighbors  
II

No Am. St. gov. nat? adv. on N.C. : Diversity  
of soils, salubrious climate, variety of flora and  
fauna; but coast diff. impeded settle, and in  
end N.C. simply a border land of Va. with wh.  
flowed poorest material for civil<sup>z</sup>.

Characteristics  
of  
North Carolina  
Development

Hence charac<sup>ter</sup> of border pop<sup>n</sup>, clearing  
the way, but not evol<sup>ving</sup> civ<sup>il</sup> society, or  
order. Lawless &c

Such a pop<sup>n</sup> scarcely seafaring. No mfg.  
Everything mfg. imp<sup>ort</sup>. Industries purely agric.  
Nav. stores, rice, tobacco, mat<sup>er</sup> for Corn, but  
nav<sup>y</sup> entirely in hands of N. E<sup>ast</sup> 312-14

Inhabitation

No town life. In 1776, Newbern & Wilmington  
500-600 inhab<sup>ants</sup>. Nearly all peop. small farmers,  
work done by blks. or by white servants. Ruffians  
abounded. Habitations isolat<sup>ed</sup>, peop. saw  
little of each other. 314

Trace of Causes  
Affecting  
Ultimate Character  
of  
N.C. Society

"All these consequ<sup>ences</sup> foll<sup>ow</sup>. fr. charac. of  
emigr<sup>ation</sup> by wh. N.C. first peop<sup>led</sup>, & its  
charac. determ<sup>ined</sup> by its geog. pos<sup>ition</sup> as a  
wilderness front. To such a Commonwealth as Va  
In charac. of emigr<sup>ation</sup> & reasons for compar.  
democ<sup>ratic</sup> soc<sup>ety</sup>. So few large plant<sup>ations</sup>, while  
nearly all peop<sup>le</sup> small land owners, & as requir<sup>ed</sup>

class was <sup>as</sup> much lower in dignity on Corresp<sup>d</sup> class  
in Va, twice easier for mean Whites to rise to  
highest class. N.C. thus afforded home for better  
posn. of Va's poor, "who also wd. not <sup>be</sup> seek  
place where they were more on equality 315-16

Characteristics  
and  
Distribution  
of  
Virginia's  
White Freedmen

### Four Classes

1. Most enterpris<sup>e</sup>? wd. succeed in maint<sup>n</sup>? report  
posn. in Va.
2. A much larger no., less thrifty and enterpris<sup>e</sup>?  
wd. find easier place in N.C.
3. A lower stratum, not even energy to go to N.C.  
wd. remain in Va.
4. Worst of all wd. flee to N.C. to escape hangman

Of class 3 so many drifted out of Va, that in 1773  
it was said fewer cases of poverty (in Va) than any-  
where else in universe 316.

Some of Class 3 went to Pa, but most  
to S + W front<sup>s</sup>, & at first S<sup>n</sup> was a more  
eligible retreat to W<sup>n</sup>. 317

Immigration  
into  
Appalachian  
after 1700

Above is time of earliest pt. of N.C. hist<sup>y</sup>. Fr.  
about 1720 visible ch<sup>rs</sup> (1) Germans fr.  
Palatinate after 1693, some of wh. to Mohawk

Old Virginia  
and  
the Neighbors  
II

Change of  
Characteristic  
in  
Immigration  
to  
North Carolina  
after 1719

Valley; very many to Susqueh. Valley, & from Pa. large  
no. foll'd valleys bet. Blue R & Allegh. as far as  
S.C. Later on; in 1745 Scotch Highlanders (Flora  
McC). But more compact & far more num. On all  
of elements in pop. were Scotch-Irish fr.  
Whites who began com. in large num. about  
1719, & he played a much gr. & more extens.  
pt. in the Hist. On intimate recog. There  
was not one of the 13 Col. upon wh. the  
Sc-Irish did not leave a mark. In N.C.  
they had come to be, before Rev. & strongest  
element in pop. Under the better influences  
charac. of Col. gradually but effect. chgd

318

Result of  
above

As N.C. Soc. became more orderly &  
civil, old mean white element pushed out  
to Wd, to Tenn &c

320

Golden Age of the Pirates

338-369

Continentalism  
in  
America

Postage, from Col. to Col, w. ob. questms,  
show'd a grad. but sure and steadily a cont.  
st. of obs was coming on. Fr. Pensacola & Savannah  
a contin. strip of Eng. World, so narrow & c.  
Scarce anywhere reached > 150 miles from C. at  
Work of estab. postal Comm. thro. the region

1715

Reasons  
for  
Growth of  
Controversialism  
&  
Results thereof

Seemed to require some cont. aut<sup>n</sup> indep. of 6  
12 col. legislatures. - Parl<sup>t</sup> w<sup>th</sup> best intentions  
stepp<sup>d</sup> in & exerc<sup>d</sup> such cont. aut<sup>n</sup>, & we  
see Va. resist<sup>d</sup> such act<sup>n</sup> on ground th<sup>t</sup>  
to lay species of tax known as port. rates was  
by Parl<sup>t</sup> to usurp functions wh. belong<sup>d</sup> only  
to col. legis. Thus did 1718 witness slight  
passage of 17<sup>65</sup>th

Naught did so much tow<sup>rd</sup> bring<sup>g</sup> of  
several col<sup>s</sup> to face w<sup>th</sup> cr<sup>t</sup> court<sup>s</sup> set<sup>n</sup>  
as struggle w<sup>th</sup> Fr. wh. began w<sup>th</sup> expuls<sup>n</sup>  
of I<sup>st</sup> marks, <sup>1688</sup> & not ended till 1759  
376-7

Interesting  
Hist<sup>l</sup>.  
Summary of  
Course of Events  
1555-1688

Destruction of Armada (1588) show<sup>d</sup> at G. B.  
was to belong to Prot. Ref<sup>n</sup>; downfall of J<sup>a</sup>. II  
& G. B. was not to be won back to Counter  
Reform<sup>n</sup> wh. began in 1555. When Va. founded  
Fr. of Henry IV was in sympathy w<sup>th</sup> Eng<sup>l</sup> &  
hostile to Spain; but by end of 17<sup>th</sup> cent<sup>y</sup> &  
Fr. of Louis XIV had. on. won to Counter Ref<sup>n</sup>.  
The destron<sup>t</sup> of J<sup>a</sup>. II came almost like rejoinder  
to expuls<sup>n</sup> of mill<sup>n</sup> Prot<sup>s</sup> from Fr. (1685). Might  
struggle wh. Fr. began was to determ. whether N. A. sh<sup>d</sup>  
be controlled by Prot<sup>em</sup> & Whiggery, or by Counter Ref<sup>n</sup> 377

Old Virginia  
and  
Her Neighbors

II

Continental  
Consciousness

Aroused by  
Conflict with France

1690-1759

First notable effect in English Am<sup>a</sup>. by  
outbreak of hostil<sup>y</sup>? [War of League of Augsburg, 1689-  
1697] was the assemb<sup>y</sup> of a Cont<sup>l</sup>. Congress in 1690  
the first of its sort in Am. A Cont<sup>l</sup>. aspect of  
sit<sup>n</sup>. not yet appar<sup>t</sup>. save to a few minds;  
hence south<sup>most</sup> col<sup>l</sup>. rep<sup>td</sup> was Md.

Soon, however, Cont<sup>l</sup>. aspects became  
more appar<sup>t</sup>. In 1708, Gov<sup>t</sup>. at Charleston  
S.C. laid stress on Car<sup>s</sup>. being front<sup>r</sup> to  
all Eng<sup>l</sup>. sett<sup>s</sup>. on mainland. Alliance of  
Spain w<sup>th</sup> Fr [Sp. Succ<sup>n</sup>. 1701-1713] Great<sup>l</sup>.  
Eng<sup>l</sup>. Am. at both ends of line. Thus, destruct<sup>n</sup>  
of Deerfield, 1704, and att<sup>kt</sup> upon Charleston, from  
Fl<sup>a</sup>, 1706, were by common foe: Alms, Fr & Sp

From its date may be dated first dawning  
Consc<sup>ness</sup> of Comm<sup>ty</sup> of int<sup>s</sup>. all way fr. Mass  
to S.C. Still, only a few clear-headed  
persons were quick stand<sup>rd</sup> sit<sup>n</sup>. Governors  
(i.e. Exec<sup>s</sup>) saw first and best.

Necessity for  
Common Government  
All the Colonies

Dur<sup>g</sup> half of 18<sup>th</sup> cent<sup>y</sup>, as strugg<sup>l</sup> w<sup>th</sup>  
Fr. began again & again, the experiences of  
royal gov<sup>ts</sup> w<sup>th</sup> delatory ass<sup>ts</sup> convinced

Kind of  
Governors

Franklin's  
Scheme  
1754

One of the most needed was a Contl. Govt wh<sup>o</sup> c<sup>d</sup>  
impose taxes upon peop. of all col<sup>s</sup> for common defence.  
At Albany Cong. of 1754, Benj Franklin introduced  
scheme for creat<sup>n</sup> such a central govt for  
purely federal purposes. This w<sup>d</sup> be inaug<sup>rd</sup>  
a Federal Union, with president app<sup>nt</sup>. by  
King; w<sup>d</sup> be lodged pow<sup>r</sup> of tax<sup>n</sup> in a fed<sup>l</sup>.  
Council representing Am peop; & w<sup>d</sup> be left  
w<sup>th</sup> sev<sup>l</sup> states (i.e. col<sup>s</sup>) all govt<sup>l</sup> functions &c  
not expressly grant<sup>d</sup>. to Central Govt 378-382

(This use of word states, emphasizes to me  
my own comment of essent<sup>l</sup> element in a state  
is that it exists by its own will. This a col<sup>y</sup>  
scarcely does; nor yet a Dominion.)

Need for such a constitution enforced con-  
spicuously in Seven Year War, 1756-1763; and  
to reach the desired end Br. Parl<sup>t</sup> about  
due consid<sup>n</sup> instit<sup>d</sup> Stamp Act to provide a  
steady cont<sup>l</sup> revenue for N. Am. 382

"Nowhere in hist<sup>y</sup> is the solidarity of events,  
in their causal relat<sup>ns</sup>, more conspicuous than in  
Am during 18<sup>th</sup> Cent<sup>y</sup>; and for this reason disputes  
of royal gov<sup>ts</sup> w<sup>th</sup> Br. assem<sup>bl</sup>ies are nearly always rich  
in political lessons 383

N.B



Old Virginia  
and  
The Neighbors

Spotswood's expedition across Blue Ridge  
to Shenandoah Valley, 1716 383

Dates

French had already erected posts at  
Kaskaskia + Cahokia, 1700; Detroit, 1701;  
Mobile, 1702, Vincennes, 1705; and  
Bienville founded New Orleans, 1718.

384 (note)

Expansion

Spotswood's exped<sup>n</sup>, and his summary  
(p. 387) of the necessity of counteracting  
French possession and encroachment  
between Canada and the Gulf, by  
establishing advanced English posts, even  
as far as L. Erie, may be considered  
an early instance of expansion necessitated  
to consolidate position, and to preserve  
freedom of movement as well as defence  
Self.

Immigration  
of the  
Scotch Irish

Our 9<sup>th</sup> gov<sup>t</sup> of Va. by W<sup>m</sup>. Gooch, 1727-1741  
began devel<sup>mt</sup> of W<sup>d</sup> movt. across mts, mainly  
by Scotch Irish, scarcely less imp<sup>t</sup> on com<sup>g</sup>  
of Puritans or Cavaliers.

~~Notes~~

Suppose <sup>stand</sup> drift of Am. hist., soc<sup>l</sup> + pol., since  
time of A. Jackson, about studying early life of  
S.I. pop<sup>n</sup> in Allegheny reg<sup>n</sup>, pioneers of Am.  
backwoods. There was consid. German element,  
also some Eng; but S.I. for most num<sup>s</sup> + imp<sup>t</sup>.  
Pa. was primit. center of distrib<sup>n</sup>. Oro S + W.

Summary  
Account of  
Cause and  
Character of  
Scottish Irish  
Immigration

Who were S.I.? In 1611 Jas I began to  
people Ulster from Scot<sup>l</sup> + N. of Eng<sup>d</sup>. Planned to  
put in Ireland Prot. pop<sup>n</sup> wh might in end  
outno. Cath<sup>s</sup>, + so control. By 1650, 300,000  
in Ulster; transform<sup>d</sup> face of country; estab<sup>d</sup>  
mfg, wool + linen; By 1700 nearly 1,000,000;  
intellig<sup>t</sup> + educ<sup>ed</sup> yeomen + mechanics.

After barely 3 generat<sup>ns</sup>, adverse legislat<sup>n</sup>,  
econ<sup>l</sup> + religious, drove them out. In 1698,  
br linen + woollen ind<sup>s</sup> discrimin<sup>d</sup> against. In  
1704, religious legislat<sup>n</sup>. By 1719 hope of redress  
disapp<sup>d</sup>, + fr. 1/2 of people of Ulster began to  
flock to Am. x x x Bet 1730 + 1770, probably  
500,000 souls fr. Ulster to Am. col<sup>s</sup> - one sixth  
whole pop<sup>n</sup> in 1776. Very few to N.E.  
In Pa, plan of Gov<sup>t</sup> to outpace them as buffer  
to W<sup>d</sup> ag<sup>st</sup> Ind<sup>ns</sup> Once on, in Allegheny

Old Virginia  
and  
the Neighbors

region, spread rapidly to S.W. along Shenandoah  
& into Car: At later per? almost whole pop<sup>n</sup> of  
W. Va., and b<sup>l</sup>t up Kentucky & Tenn. When  
War of Secess<sup>n</sup> b<sup>o</sup> S. I gr<sup>t</sup> p<sup>w</sup> on both sides,  
but mass stuck to Union, held K<sup>y</sup> & gr<sup>t</sup>  
pt. of Tenn., & broke Va. in two

393-395

Political  
and  
Social  
Characteristics  
Scottish Irish  
in Virginia

A very democratic and Prot (Presb<sup>?</sup>)  
Comm<sup>ty</sup>, brought side & side w<sup>th</sup> Arist<sup>e</sup>,  
Ch. of Eng. Both elements necess<sup>ly</sup> rep<sup>t</sup>  
in H. of Burgesses; consequ<sup>t</sup> conflict of  
opp. pol. & soc. types

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Scottish Irish  
Immigration  
spreads  
North West  
towards  
Alleghany  
and  
Monongahela  
Rivers

The Scotch S. I. immigr<sup>n</sup> carried Va. front?  
w<sup>th</sup> Ohio R. Hitherto, conflict w<sup>th</sup> Fr. hd. on.  
Confine<sup>d</sup> to Car: at one end & Can. at o<sup>th</sup>; but  
by 1750 white pop<sup>n</sup> of Va. hd inc<sup>d</sup> fourfold since  
1690, and looking down Monongahela to junct<sup>n</sup>  
of Alleg<sup>y</sup> saw one gateway to Great West, &  
longed to possess it. But Fr. got one first.  
Then followed G. Mack<sup>n</sup>'s surveying exped<sup>n</sup> &  
Capt. by Fr. sent to warn of Fr. 1753,  
and capt<sup>d</sup> by Fr. 1754

399

Washington's Mission to warn of French, 1753  
marks end of per<sup>d</sup>. when treat<sup>y</sup> of Va. can be dealt  
w<sup>t</sup> separately. Struggle ag<sup>t</sup> Fr., so long  
sust<sup>d</sup>. by N.E. and N.Y. acquies. Cont<sup>d</sup>. charac  
when Va. comes to the pt. With first encounter  
of Fr. & Eng. in Alleghenies, 1754, stream of  
Va. hist<sup>y</sup> becomes in sep. pt. of ht of Am. Union  
H.00 (and end)

