Assembly to succeed Edmund Randolph as Attorney General of Virginia, an office he was able to fill for ten years—until ill health forced him to resign.

Williamsburg remained his home, though his house had been damaged during the Revolution. In 1785 he purchased the lot on the corner of Waller and York streets adjoining Christiana Campbell's property, and the house there doubled became his principal residence. There were times, however, while he was Attorney General when his family was living near the new capital—perhaps at Randolphville. In 1790, for example, he wrote Tucker from Richmond:

I arrived safely at the hotel of St Tamany—and found all well at home, the Turtle not excepted—Tell Harrard [the Williamsburg doctor] it dies on Tuesday next and will be interred with the honors of War—Will you & he come up and grace his Funeral?

Several times he was asked to fill a national office but refused because of his health and perhaps as a secondary consideration the insecurity of his personal finances. In 1782 on the nomination of Theodorick Bland, Jr.,

---

7 Election November 23, 1786, in H C 18.
8 Letter of resignation, James City, November 13, 1796, in S C 397.
9 Probably the one on Prince George Street which he advertised for sale in 1779. Va(GD) 3 (1) 79:21. Of the frequent visits of Dr. Galt to Innes and his servants recorded several times each month in 1783, John Minson Galt, MD Medical Account Book, December 1782-September 1783, pg. 1-154, Colonial Williamsburg Archives.
10 Deed, William Ramsay and Frances his wife to James Innes, April 18, 1785, recorded in York County Records, Deeds, VI, 1777-1791, p. 263.
11 A Society of St. Tamany, patron saint of the American Colonies, was active in Norfolk in 1776. 6 R 217. A Richmond branch held regular meetings in the 1780's. Beveridge, Marshall, I, 180-189. For this witticism, Innes apparently uses "hotel" in the French sense of a public building or town hall.
12 Innes to Tucker, Richmond, August 26, 1790, Tucker-Goleman MSS. This year he was interested in buying Gloucester lands, but there is no record of purchase. George Washington to Innes, September 26, 1790, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Writings of George Washington (Washington, 1931-1946), XXX, 127.

---

the Continental Congress elected him Judge Advocate of the Army, but he declined the office. In 1791 Secretary Jefferson suggested that he stand for election to Congress:

...I wish you would come forward to the federal legislature and give your assistance on a larger scale than that on which you are acting at present. I am satisfied you could render essential service; and I have such confidence in the purity of your republicanism, that I know your efforts would go in a right direction. Zeal and talents added to the republican scale will do no harm in Congress.... I repeat my wish that I could see you come into the federal council; no man living joining more confidence in your principles and talents to higher personal esteem than, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

Four years later, when John Marshall refused Washington's offer of the attorney-generalship of the United States, Innes was one of the others being considered for the post. In a series of private letters to Edward Carrington, Marshall's brother-in-law, the President requested a confidential Virginia estimate of Innes to supplement information available in the national capital. Washington, who had no definite personal knowledge of his, was under the impression that he possessed great natural endowments but was extremely indolent. At the same time, Patrick Henry's problematical willingness to accept appointment as Secretary of State was being investigated if he should wish to accept this post, Innes was not to be asked to fill the other. Marshall and Carrington apparently decided not to act definitely on either appointment but suggested instead that Innes be offered John Blair's seat on the Supreme Court. Washington's reaction to this suggestion is not known; shortly after

---

14 Ibid., XXIII, 572.
receiving Carrington's letter he made Samuel Chase an Associate Justice. 16

Two national appointments Innes did accept. In the fall of 1794 he went to Kentucky as a special messenger of President Washington to inform the Kentucky people of the state of negotiations with Spain for free navigation of the Mississippi River. 17 His elder brother Harry, soon to be Judge of the Federal District Court, had already established a flourishing law practice in Kentucky and was active in the political intrigues that later merged with the Burr Conspiracy. 18 As a final preparation for the western journey James Innes sent off a short note to Tucker:

Including is my last will and testament, which I deposed in yr Care—Should the Scapling Knife of the tamey tenant of the Wilderness—or any other Casualty prevent my ever seeing you again—You will remember yr friend. 19

The enclosure, no longer filed with the covering letter, was probably a will dated March 20, 1790, of which Tucker and Harry Innes were to be two of the executors. The estate was to go to Eliza during her widowhood, then to the children Robert 20 and Anne. 21 If Robert should study law, he was to inherit his father's library. 22

24 See Thomas Perkins Abernethy, The Burr Conspiracy (N.Y., 1925), Chapter VII.
25 Innes to Tucker, October 26, 1794, Tucker-Coleman MSS.
20 Apparently the child born in 1780 who was still living at the time of his father's death, but he did not grow to manhood.
21 Innes's only descendant, born not later than 1783; married Peyton Randolph of Wilton.
22 Draft filed in the Tucker-Coleman MSS under date of the will.
To the Memory of
James Innes Esqr.
of
VIRGINIA,
formerly Attorney General of that State,
A
Sublime Genius
Improvd
by a cultivated Education;
united
with pre-eminent Rigidity of Character
and greatness of Soul,
Early attracted the notice
and obtain'd the Confidence
of his
Native Country;
to whose Service he devoted
those conspicuous Talents
which, to describe,
would require the powerful Energy
of his own nervous Eloquence.
His domestic & social virtues
equally endeared him to
his family & friends,
as
his Patriotism and Talents
to his Country.

He died in this City August the second, 1798, whilst invested
with the important trust of one of the Commissioners for
Carrying into Effect, the Sixth Article of the late Treaty
with Great Britain. 26

26 The inscription was almost illegible when Griswold had it copied. This
is Tucker's MS draft except for the date of death, which appeared on the stone
itself. Tucker-Coleman MS.
A few miscellaneous papers connected with the administration of the
estate, together with Henry Tazewell's draft of a later will of Innes, may be
found in the Tucker-Coleman MS.
F. H. C. MEDAL formerly owned by James Innes

Photograph from original, December 1916
INDEX

Allen's Ordinary, 138, 139
Ambler, Jacquelin, 104
American Philosophical Society, 68
Andrews, Robert, 36, 43, 51, 73, 98, 101, 107
Arbuthnot, Admiral Marriot, 125
Arnold, Benedict, in Virginia, 24, 29, 122-135; invasion described, 123, 124-125
Arundel, Capt. Dohickey, 89, 91
Banister, Col. John, 47, 49, 50, 51, 105, 133
Balls, 24, 26, 73-75, 101-102
Barraud, Dr. Philip, 156
Barron, James, 108
Baylor, Robert, 5, 22, 70; at Robertson's school, 14, 53; F.H.C. certificate of, 2; sketch of, 53-55
Baylor, Col. John, 13, 14
Belles of Williamsburg, 73-75
Bernard, John, quoted, 1
Blair, Anne, 33, 74, 105
Blair, Judge John, 157
Bland, Theodorick, Sr., 57, 58
Bland, Theodorick, Jr., 36, 39, 44, 97, 112, 156
Board of Trade, 113, 116-117
Board of War, 107-117
Boucher, Rev. Jonathan, quoted, 41
Bowdoin, Elizabeth, 37, 39, 40
Bracken, Rev. John, 47, 52
Brandywine, 37, 54
Brock, Robert A., quoted, 3
Bunker Hill, 43
Burwell, Lewis (1737-1779), 5, 67, 69, 102-105
Burwell, Nathaniel, 67n, 80, 87
Burwell, Rebecca ("Belinda"), 1, 103-104
Burwell's Ferry, 123-125, 137-139
Byrd, John, 67n
Byrd, Mary (Willing), 126-131
Byrd, Otway, 126
Byrd, Thomas, 66-67
Byrd, William, III, 89

Camden, 120
Camm, Rev. John, 19, 20, 62, 87
Campbell, Alexander, 155
Carr, Dabney, 40
Carrington, Edward, 97, 157-158
Carter, Charles, 56
Carter, Edward, 56
Cary, Archibald, 25
Cary, Elizabeth (Booth) Yates, 58, 59
Centilevre, Mrs., Busy Body, 73
Chad's Ford, 96
Charleston, 120
Chickahominy shipyard, 139
Clark, George Rogers, 47
Clinton, Gen. Henry, 112, 120
Cocke, Elizabeth, 26, 36, 61, 74-75, 93, 94, 98, 99, 100, 105
Cocke, James, 33, 106, 147
Cocke, Martha, 27-28, 33, 34, 61, 99, 100
Collier, Admiral Sir George, 24, 112
Collins, Capt. Henry, 76, 77
Cook, Augustine, 56
Corbin, Richard, 89
Cornwallis, Lord Charles, 24, 29, 31, 122, 131, 135, 142, 148; in Williamsburg, 147
Curle, William R. W., 79, 134, 135
Davis, Rev. Thomas, Sr., 32n
Davis, Thomas, Jr., 5, 22, 61; ordained in England, 33-34; quoted on "stealing" sermons, 36; quotes Shakespeare, 73; sketch of, 31-40
Davis, Rev. William, 32
Dawson, Rev. Thomas, 56
Delaporte, Capt. Decrine, 116
Dickson, Beverley, 83
Digges, Dudley, 101
Digges, Edward, 62-64, 101-102
Digges, Maria ("Molly"), 62-63, 90
Dixon, Rev. John, 19, 62, 88
Duckwing stool, used in Norfolk, 32n
Dunmore, Governor, 36, 76-84, 89; quoted on John Page, 80-81; reports on Powder Magazine incidents, 76, 82-83
Dwitt, Phoebe, 65

Eddins, Capt. Samuel, 125, 146
Eggleston, Joseph, 64
Ernulphus's anathema, 72
Eutropius studied, 18, 46
Eyre, Severn, 56

F. H. C. Society, 1, 33, 43, 54, 90, 95, 100, 102, 109, 112, 159; anniversary celebration, 60;
certificate, 2; dues, 34; history, 2; ideals, 60, 68-69; journal, 5; library, 5, 69-72; medals, 3-4;
membership, 5-6; motto, 4, 60; name, 6-7
Finnie, Col. [William], 101-102
Fithian, Philip V., quoted, 11n
Flag of truce, misuse of, See "Westover affair"
"Flat Hat Club," 2, 3
Foomey, 76, 83, 84
Fox, John, 56
Foy, Capt. Edward, 77, 79, 80, 89
Freemasons, Williamsburg Lodge, 1, 64n, 83
French aid, 133, 135, 136, 140, 151

Gates, Gen. Horatio, 120, 122
Goosley, Martha, quoted, 20
Graham, Prof. Richard, 67
Grammar schools See College of William and Mary, Rev.
James Maury, Walker Maury, Donald Robertson, Rev.
William Yates
Greene, Gen. Nathaniel, 30, 95, 122, 133, 135, 136
Griffin, Col. Samuel, 108, 123
Grigsby, Hugh Blair, quoted, 7-8, 9
Guilford C. H., 24, 29-30
Gwatkin, Thomas, 19, 42, 53, 62-65, 88, 90; prepares
F. H. C. library list, 69-72; sketch, 70

Half-Way House, 134
Hansford, Betsy, 20
Hare, Lt. Charles, 126-131
Harrison, Gov. Benjamin, 110
Harvie, John, 6
Hanley, Rev. Samuel, 19, 43, 62, 88
Henry, Patrick, 42, 76, 81, 98, 101, 106, 112, 154, 157
Horrocks, Rev. James, 19, 67
Howe, Sir William, 94, 95, 121
Hutchings, Col. Joseph, 77n
Independent companies, 76, 77-78, 81-82, 85, 86. See also Volunteer companies
Indian students sent to Williamsburg, 47
Innes, Harry, 13, 158
Innes, Col. James, appellations, "the fat knight," 38, 73; "the Major," 33; "Thunderbolt of War," 75; as example of Revolutionary leadership, 10-11; as lawyer, 9, 22, 115-116, 154-155; as soldier at Burwell's Ferry, 123-125; at Chad's Ford, 96; at Trenton, 92; at York Garrison, 134; in defense of Richmond, 141-142; in Gloucester, 143-148, 150-153; in New Kent, 123, 138-142; in Williamsburg, 1791, 125-126, 132, 148-150; on Eastern Shore, 90-91; on recruiting service, 88-89, 97-98, 144-148, 150-153; with Artillery Co., 88-89; with Continental Line, 90-99; with Virginia militia, 120-153; with Williamsburg Volunteers, 42, 78-79, 82, 84, 97; criticizes army politics, 94; relations with Jefferson, 107-115, 117-118; relations with Washington, 97-99; resigns commission, 99; riot charge, 102; without commission, 123, 126, 131; as student at Robertson's school, 13, 18; at College of William and Mary, 19-22, 34, 61-66, 68, 69, 87-88; as symbol of F. H. C., 7; health, 134, 156; in private life, parents, 12, 16; marriage, 100; children, 119, 158; death, 159; will, 158; epitaph, 160; estate, 160; property, 105, 156; losses in Revolution, 119; in public life, Attorney General, 9, 156, 160; Board of War, 107-115; College Board of Visitors, 155; Convention of 1788, 7-8, 155; diplomacy, 158, 159; House of Burgesses, 106-107, 114, 115-119, 132, 134; House of Delegates, 9, 155; Navy commissioner, 101, 106; Notary Public, 155; Williamsburg town meeting, 107-108; declines public office, 156-157; letters to Henry, 106; to Jefferson, 114, 117-118, 120, 125, 132, 133, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140-141, 142; to Nelson, 149, 149, 153; to Page, 111; to Steuben, 127-128, 133, 134, 137, 139, 142-143; to Tucker, 60, 73, 93, 94, 95, 98, 102-103, 105, 115, 119, 154, 155, 156, 158; oratory, 8, 10; patriotism, 93-95; pen portraits, 9-10; personality, 10; quoted on F. H. C., 6, 60; on Virginia militia, 121, 125, 132, 139, 140, 141, 149; quotes Addison, 73; speeches, 7-8, 10
Innes, James of Yogohania, 106
Innes, Rev. Robert, 12-16
Innes, Dr. Robert, 13

Jamestown, 122, 138, 139
Jefferson, Thomas, 1, 68, 89-91, 109-111; and "palace furniture," 117-118; in Westover affair, 126-131; problems as governor, 112-114, 117-119, 120-145; quoted on F. H. C., 6; on student disturbances, 67; on Virginia situation in April 1781, 136; reading list for Skipwith, 70-72
Johnson, Rev. Josiah, 19
Jones, Emmanuel, Sr., 19, 62, 67, 88
Jones, Emmanuel, Jr., 5, 34
Jones, Rev. Hugh, quoted, 13
Jones, Walter, 67

Kelly, Capt. Thad, 137, 138, 139
Kingsmill, 123

Lafayette, the Marquis de, 130, 135, 140, 143, 145, 148, 150, 151
Lafong, George, 63
Lawson, Col. Robert, 24, 29, 97, 108
Lee, Charles, 91
Lee, Richard Henry, 89, 91, 97
Lee, Thomas Ludwell, quoted, 91
Leslie, Gen. Alexander, 28, 120, 122
Lewis, Andrew, 91
Lewis, Warner, 5, 67
Lilly's Grammar, 56
Loyalist activity, 146, 152; See also Westover affair
Luzerne, Chevalier de la, 136
Lyne, William and Henry, merchants, 15

"Macaroni," London fop, described, 34
McClurg, Dr. James, 5, 67, 73, 90, 95, 147
Madison, Bishop James, 5, 40, 62, 73, 88, 147
Madison, Pres. James, 17, 120
Magdalene, 76
Marshall, John, 96, 155, 157
Mason, Col. David, 88
Mathew, Gen. Edward, 24, 112
Maury, Rev. James, 40-41
Maury, James, Jr., 40-43
Maury, Mary (Grymes), 43
Maury, Walker, 5, 6, 22; school in Orange Co., 43-44; in Williamsburg, 45-52; in Norfolk, 52; sketch of, 40-52
Mercer, Gen. Hugh, 92
Militia, attitude and condition, 121, 124, 125, 132, 139, 140, 141, 148-149
Monroe, James, 40, 64
Moody, Mr., shopkeeper, 101
Muhlenberg, Gen. John Peter, 95, 133, 134
Muter, George, 115n

Nelson, Molly (Grymes), 26
Nelson, William, 5, 67, 68, 108
Nicholas, George, 77-79, 92
Nicholas, Robert Carter, 76
Norfolk Sons of Liberty, 32n

Otter, 79

P. D. A., 1
Page, John of Rosewell, 5, 35, 43, 54, 67, 87, 90, 91, 109, 110, 120, 154; described by Dunmore, 80-81; quoted on Arnold's invasion, 124-125; on defenses of Gloucester, 145-146; on F. M. C. charity, 68-69; on relations with Dunmore, 79-81; on tavern party, 61; on Williamsburg Artillery Co., 89; on Yates's school, 55-56
Page, Judith, 103
Page, Mann, 111
Palace furniture puzzle, 118
Pasteur, Dr. William, 77
Parson's Cause, 20, 41
Pendleton, Edmund, 13, 15, 18
Petersburg plundered, 143
Peyton, Sir John, 146, 150
Phi Beta Kappa, 1, 2, 60n
Portsmouth occupied, 1780, 120
Powder Magazine incidents, 69, 76, 82-87
Prentis, Joseph, 53, 54
Price, William, 56

Raleigh Tavern, 24, 60, 61, 130
Randolph, Beverley, 5, 22, 33, 47, 61, 69, 99, 100; sketch of, 25-31
Randolph, David Meade, 101
Randolph, Edmund, 130, 156
Randolph, Frances (Bland), 24, 38, 39, 99, 105; sons of, 24, 38, 44-51
Randolph, Harold, 3
Randolph, Major Innes, quoted, 3
Randolph, John of Matoax, 24
Randolph, John of Roanoke, 24, 38, 44, 48, 50; quoted on Maury's school in Orange, 44-45; student at Maury's school in Williamsburg, 45-48, 51
Randolph, John, the Tory, 80
Randolph, Richard of Curles, 24
Randolph, Richard, brother of John of Roanoke, 24, 47, 48, 50, 51
Randolph, Theodorick, 24, 44, 48, 49, 50, 51
Randolph, Peyton, 76
Randolph, Elizabeth (Harrison), 147, 151
Randolphsville, Cumberland, 27
Red Clay Creek, 95, 96
Revolution, battles and campaigns, See individual place entries
Richeson, Holt, 88, 96, 125
Richmond raided, 124
Robertson, Donald, 13-18
Robinson, Christopher, 56
Rochembeau, Comte de, 151-152
Rodney, Commodore George, 28, 120
Sandy Point, 127, 131, 133
Salt, scarcity of, 28
Short, William, quoted, 1
Skippeth, Robert, 70
Small, William, 56, 67
Smith, Mrs., college cook, 63, 64, 65
Starke, Bolling, 101
Stephens, Col. [Edward?], 95, 96
Steptoe, William, 64
Steuben, Baron von, 122, 123, 134; in Westover affair, 126-131; in Southside, 131-143
Student plays at Maury's school, 48
Tarleton, Col. Banastre, 145
Tarring-and-feathering in Norfolk, 32n
Tatham, William, quoted, 122-123
Tavern parties, 1, 41-42, 60
Tazewell, Littleton Waller, quoted on Innes, 9-10;
on Maury's school, 46
Thompson, William, 67-68
Throckmorton, Capt. Mordecai, 15
Tilly, Commodore de, 135
Travis, Capt. Edward, 130
Trenton, 92
Tucker, Anne Frances, 105
Tucker, Robert, 56
Tucker, St. George, 2, 5, 22, 34, 35, 37, 39, 42, 43,44, 46, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58, 60, 61, 68,70, 72, 93, 94, 95, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 105,107, 119; quoted on F. H. C., 6, 69; on Guilford
C. H. battle, 29-30; on Innes's oratory, 8; on
Jefferson as governor, 112; on Washington's
arrival in Williamsburg, 1781, 151-152; on Williams-
burg during British occupation, 147-148; quotes
Belles of Williamsburg, 73-75; Busy Body, 73;
Tristram Shandy, 73; sketch of, 23-25; writes
epitaph for Burwell, 104-105; for Innes, 160
Tucker, Dr. Thomas Tudor, 149
Turberville, Major George Lee, 126-131
Tyler, Lyon G., quoted, 3

Valley Forge, 98
Virginia Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge,1, 60n, 68
Volunteer Companies, 75, 78, 86. See also Independent
Companies

Walker, Jack, 40, 67, 109, 120
Walker, Dr. Thomas, 40
Ware v. Hylton, 155
Washington, George, 31, 42, 95, 97, 98, 99, 114, 121,151, 157, 158, 159
Washington's birthnight ball, 1779, 101
Weedo, Gen. George, 92, 93, 95, 131, 133, 153
Westover affair, 126-131
White, John, 64
Whiting, John, 56
Whiting, Peter Beverley, 56
William and Mary, College of, Botetourt medals, 41; Brafferton funds, 47; described in 1770, 19-22; Grammar School, 19, 22, 25, 32, 41, 45, 56, 57, 87; scholarships, 21; student celebrations, 101; student disturbances, 41-42, 62-68; student societies See F. R. C., P. D. A., Phi Beta Kappa; terms and holidays, 22n Williamsburg occupied, 147-149; threatened, 122-123, 125, 137-138, 141
Willis, Francis, 56
Willis, Lewis, 56
Wilton, 123
Woodford, William, 42, 95
Wormeley, Ralph, 89
Wythe, George, 22, 74, 123

Yates, Nancy (Ann Isham Poythress), 58
Yates, Rev. Bartholomew, 55
Yates, Rev. William, 55, 67
Yates, William, Jr., 5, 22, 34, 63-64, 95, 105; sketch of, 55-59
Yorktown campaign, 24, 151, 153
Younger, Thomas, 15