

The Personal and Family
Correspondence of
Col. John Carlyle
of Alexandria, Virginia.



Annotated by J. F. Carlyle

INTRODUCTION

John Carlyle's large, imposing house in Alexandria, Virginia, stands as testimony to man of wealth and position in mid-eighteenth century America. It is proof in stone that what would later be known as the American dream was a reality, even before the time of the revolution. An energetic man of modest means could make his fortune in the land of opportunity then, as well as now, and Carlyle proved it.

Though his house has stood firm for over 250 years, very little was known of the life of John Carlyle until comparatively recently, when a bundle of his letters was discovered in a country house by the shores of Loch Fyne in Scotland. These letters are now in the safe keeping of the Virginia Historical Society. Their discovery among the belongings of one of the descendants John Carlyle's brother, George, sheds light on both his personal and business life, revealing a man of warmth and loyalty in his private life, and great enthusiasm in his business affairs.

The letters written in the immediate aftermath of his father's death in 1744 tell of John Carlyle's work in helping to wind up the estate for his elder brother, who was executor of the will. His father, William Carlyle, had been a successful apothecary in the city of Carlisle in Cumberland, the northernmost county in the west of England. Under the terms of that will the bulk of William Carlyle's estate went to George, after provision had been made for his widowed mother. John's inheritance was to be £300 to be paid to him only after his mother died.

George had received a university education at Leiden, in Holland, and returned to England to take up the post of family doctor in Kendal, south of Carlisle. He married Dorothy Dacre Appleby in 1751 and settled down to married life, later moving back to Carlisle with his family.

John lacked his elder brother's education. By modern standards, his spelling remained eccentric throughout his life, whereas George's corresponds much more closely to twenty first century expectations. He also lacked George's inherited capital, but these disadvantages seem to have spurred an ambition to improve himself socially and financially, in both of which he succeeded extremely well. To begin with, he had been apprenticed to William Hicks, merchant of Whitehaven, a port on the coast of Cumberland. An early link between Whitehaven and Virginia was the burial there of George Washington's grandmother, Mildred Warner Washington, in 1701.

Whitehaven had long thrived on trade with Ireland. However, about the year 1675, a local sea captain had first brought back a cargo of tobacco from Virginia and a new era dawned for the port. By 1740, when John Carlyle was aged twenty, over 4.4 million pounds of tobacco was passing through Whitehaven annually. This constituted 20% to 25% of the total tobacco imports for the whole of England at that time. By the time of Carlyle's death in 1780, Whitehaven was second only to the port of London in the tonnage of goods it handled.

Naturally, as an enterprising merchant, William Hicks was engaged in trade with the American Colonies and young John would make the hazardous journey across the

Atlantic acting as his agent. It was reckoned that a round trip to and from Virginia could take as long as twelve months, and traders were in no hurry to endure the arduous voyage back home too soon after arriving in the Colonies. During his time in Virginia, therefore, the young adventurer came to know many among the landed classes who used their estates to farm the very products that William Hicks wanted to import to England. Young John clearly possessed a good business head. He made friends easily among his social superiors and he eventually speaks in his letters of his courtship and advantageous marriage to Sarah Fairfax, daughter of William Fairfax of Belvoir, Virginia, and cousin of Lord Thomas Fairfax who was by far the largest land owner in Virginia at the time.

Other friends and acquaintances included the youthful George Washington, a man yet to make his mark on history, and Robert Dinwiddie the Governor of Virginia, who enrolled Carlyle in his efforts to keep the French army from encroaching on the Colony, as this correspondence relates.

Buying up land at a rate that must have astonished his brother back home, John quickly developed business interests of his own, quite apart from what he was doing for William Hicks, and he eventually felt sufficiently established to sever the connection with his employer altogether. By the time he reached his early thirties he had become a founding trustee of the new town of Alexandria on the Potomac River, owned numerous slaves, thousands of acres of farm land, and in 1752 built for himself and his wife of five years the largest house in town; the only one at that time made of stone rather than wood. But his correspondence will tell the rest of the story with far greater immediacy than any commentator.

His life was not without personal tragedy which was at its greatest in the deaths of his wife Sally, his second wife Sybil West, and seven of his ten children. John himself suffered illness following a nervous breakdown, apparently brought on by sheer pressure of work during his time as keeper of stores to the militia at the beginning of the French Indian War of 1754-63. His health remained considerably weaker from that time onwards and he never really recovered his old energy.

John died aged sixty and was buried in the graveyard at the rear of the old Presbyterian Church in Alexandria. His grave is marked with a stone slab lying on four short pillars, and a metal plate informs the visitor of the identity of the man buried there, though it is his letters which bring to life the sort of person he was.

John Carlyle's correspondence shows how, when not concerned with his family and business affairs, he took a keen interest and an active part in the social and political life of his day. I hope that, by annotating his family letters, I have been able to deepen the understanding of the reader into some of the people, places and circumstances of mid eighteenth century America and Britain, as they are mentioned in these pages.

John F. Carlyle
Birmingham, England
March 2011

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Left: Col. John Carlyle



Right: John Carlyle's brother,
Dr. George Carlyle

Right & Below:
John and George
Carlyle's parents

Rachel Murray
(d. 1755)

and

William Carlyle
(c. 1685 – 1744)



To Doct^r Carlyle, Physician at Kendal¹

Carlisle Aug^t 10th 1744²

D^r Sir,

I see yours to my Mother and am Glad you Rece^d No harm by the Rain, I had not Much but In my Return home I Got a Dang^s fall from my horse but (Thanks be to God I was no worse) he fell himself and Cut his Mouth & hurt himself much I went over his head Above Three Yards – I have been very busie In Getting the Goods Pack^d Up Mr. Graham³ had Business of his own that he Lent me little help. it has detained me here til now but I intend for Papcastle⁴ this day, Y^r part of the Goods as my Father had Charged them in a List in Mr. Grahams hand (which is 500pc More than Mr Ewebanks Charges & I think must be very Dear) Will Amount to 13£ sterg And Mr Grahams Is £50 sterling In All £25 – Mr Graham Says for this 50£ he will take medicins out of yr Shop so the whole Acco^t Is betwixt You & me this Method will take a great part of y^r Drugs of [off] yr hands, and Mr. Ewebank (who was here on Tuesday) Says Mr. Wm. Ponsonby who Served his Apprenticeship at W^haven To Mr. Blencow⁵ is Comeing down to Settle at Workington⁶ or Egermond⁷ Wil want a Lot of Materials, I Will Make Inquiries & shal Get a Letter to him about Your Lot & purhaps

¹ Kendal is a market town in the county of Westmorland (now part of Cumbria), lying about 40 miles south of Carlisle.

² This letter was written by John Carlyle to his brother only six weeks after the death of their father, William Carlyle, apothecary in Carlisle. His death occurred on the 3rd July and he was buried at St. Cuthbert's Church in the city. George was appointed his father's executor, but clearly John was very active in helping him with some of the practicalities involved. The letter is concerned with the settling of outstanding debts and the winding up of his affairs. [William Carlyle, will 23rd March 1743, Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle, Probates 1744, fol. 201.]

³ There are two Grahams mentioned in this letter. The first is probably John Graham, who was an apothecary and surgeon in Carlisle and mayor of the city (1746-47). He died 25th June 1757, aged 48. The second is Gabriel Graham who may have been the Gabriel Graham, a butcher, who died aged 66 and was buried at St. Cuthbert's, Carlisle, in March 1769. [Margaret J. Ferguson (ed.), *The Monumental Inscriptions in the Church & Churchyard of S. Cuthbert, Carlisle* (Carlisle 1889), pp. 24, 90 & 128.]

⁴ Papcastle is nowadays a suburb lying to the west of Cockermouth about twenty five miles south west of Carlisle on the road to Whitehaven.

⁵ A notice in the deaths column of the Cumberland Chronicle of the 17th May 1777 reads, "Last Wed at Egremont, 'in an advanced age', Mrs Blencowe, widow of the late Mr Peter Blencowe, surgeon of Whitehaven." The Parish Register of Whitehaven notes that a Peter Blencow, son of Henry and Jane Blencow, was baptized there on the 20th June 1717.

⁶ Workington is a coastal town eight miles north of Whitehaven.

⁷ Egremont is a small inland town five miles south of Whitehaven.

he may take them - Dr. Douglass has been with my mother to Get John Irving of atchinson bank's⁸ acco^t & that money will be got my mother has Got W^m Henderson to draw the acco^t out also the Lady Wamphrey's⁹ for Mr. Rob^t Irving he also wants the Laird of Bonshays¹⁰ Bond or Note and he will get you the Acco^t Settled, My Mother Desires you to send word where it is that She may get it for him - I have Settled with Rob^t Bennett & have allowd him 18/ for Six Chairs made also 14s/6d p^d Since last Settlement In money which made £2.9s.6d Due you last Whitsontide & have taken his Note on Mr Mayor for 2 [*page torn*] which Mr. Mayor has promised to Stop for you and the Nine Shillings is for the [*page torn*] Chairs unfinished¹¹ I hope this wil meet with Y^r Approbation as it is the best [*page torn*] Could get done with him, - As My Goods are now Pack^d Up and Clear my mother Intends to Get W^m Henderson to go thro' the Shop Next Week and do In Every thing as you desire – As Soon as Mr Graham knows what Goods are left he wil take his £10 worth out. – Gab^l Graham has been Speak^g About the Houses if you were Inclined to Sell them I told him you woud Sell or Let Just as you saw to Y^r Advantage.¹² I do not know what I can Add further but that my moth^r Joyns with me in our Love to you and all Friends & I am Your affectionet Broth^r –

John Carlyle

⁸ JC could be referring to Aitchisons Bank, which is a farm lying about a mile north of Gretna on the English/Scottish border.

⁹ There is no surname of Wamphrey or Wamphray. JC may be referring to the wife of the Laird of Wamphray, Dumfriesshire, Scotland. In 1744 Wamphray was owned by a Captain James Johnston who died unmarried the following year. Lady Wamphray was, therefore, perhaps his mother Isobel, widow of Robert Johnston of Wamphray who had died in 1733. Wamphray lies between Lockerbie and Moffat in Dumfriesshire.

¹⁰ 'Bonshay'. JC may actually have meant 'Bonshaw', the home of the Irvings of Bonshaw in Dumfriesshire, about four miles east of the old Carlyle family home of Limekilns.

¹¹ The British system of currency until 1971 was made up of pounds, shillings, and pence. Twelve pence were worth one shilling, and twenty shillings were worth one pound. Thus when JC speaks of £2.9s.6d he meant two pounds, nine shillings and six pence. The 'd' was a hangover from the mediaeval use of the Latin 'denarius' meaning penny. Values of less than a pound were written with a stroke between the shillings and the pence, thus 14s/6d, more normally rendered simply as 14/6, was fourteen shillings and six pence. A value in shillings only, with no pence, retained the stroke, so 18/ or 18/- meant simply eighteen shillings. Though this may all seem complicated to those who use a decimal currency system today, it was, in fact, quite easy to use in practice once you were accustomed to it.

¹² As the elder son, George Carlyle inherited his father's estate, (hence the earlier references to 'your shop' and 'your drugs') after provision had been made for William's widow and a £300 bequest made to JC, which clearly included a number of houses in or near Carlisle. [William Carlyle, will 23rd March 1743, Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle, Probates 1744, fol. 201.]



Above: Whitehaven from an 1815 engraving based on an 1808 pencil drawing by Joseph Farrington, R. A. from Harry Fancy's *An Outline History of Whitehaven* Published by the Copeland Borough Council, 1996.

Below: An aerial view of Whitehaven today, showing how it is still dominated by its harbour, from which John Carlyle left for Virginia.



[From JC's mother, Rachel Carlyle, to her son, Dr. George Carlyle]

Dear Son,

I recved yours both by Mr. Sourby and Mr. Airey And am glad to hear of your and your Brothers halth and that he is not yet gone having had no leters from him last wicke I have been under great consern aboute him and am sorey to hear that you have lost the worthy Mr. Culbarts but your lose will be his gane. As for dardare¹³ I have let it all to Robert Shouell with his difarene he is to gave the same rante but I wase obledhed to promeis him 20 shilings for 20 carful of leime he leiding it him salef to be lode early upon the ground which I thought beter then gaving doun in monny this is the bast I could make of him after A thousand words it is only A verbal agrement befor lard seuale which he brought with him he hath not fixed the term of years till the Artkele be dran which nednot be till you com overe if you think fit I had no other oferes but himselef so you may let me have your thoughts aboute it I have non inqerying yet about the houes those pepel have taken that they wer about when you wer hear Brother Fanton wase hear and I let him seea the nots over aske which he says he will deliver som way or other but befor he can do anithing you must write him something like A later of aturniy to

[on a separate scrap....] call for them I would have you can *[missing]*

I am dear son

Your Affackned *[missing]*

Rachell C*[missing]*

Nov^r 4, 1744

¹³ Durdar is a village on the edge of Carlisle, about 3 miles south from the city centre.

To Doct^r Carlyle, Physician at Kendal
Per The Hudson¹⁴ Capt Gilpin in 2 DC

Virginia Feb^{ry}. 20th 1745/6

Dr Sir

I Was much Disappointed by Not Receiveing any Letter from you, but am now told The Reason, which was In my Cock[ermouth] Chest in Which was Y^r letter was carri'd on b^d a Man of War So have Never Got Y^r Letter, which Give me Great uneasiness as it Left me in doubt as to Y^r & my D^r Mothers health -

This now Comes by the Hudson on board of which Ship Comes My Good freind [*sic*] M Jn^o Dalton¹⁵ by whome I have Sent you a Stone that was taken out of the Guts called the manyfold of a Dear, it was much more beautiful when I had it first than now I am Sure its True that it Came Out of that place the man I had it from is a Very honest man & he will take his Oath of it, I Also have Sent You a P^r of Indian Boots that belong^d to one of the Kings. within this 12 month they Use them when they Go upon any Journey or Grand Expedition, Also I have Sent Some few fine Bright Christell Stones that are found In Springs Here Abouts, I desire Y^r acceptance of them & If any more of them or anything Else that this Coloney Afords I will readily get it, I had Got you some flowers of Sasafrass but they are Spoiled by Keeping I hope Next yr to Get you Some better, I had a present made me last ~~yr~~ Week of a Learge Buffalow Cow which If I could get home would be worth y^r Seeing – I have been for Some time Uneasey on Y^r & my mothers Acco^t for fear of this Disturber the Young Chevalier¹⁶, I hope before this he has Got his quietess we are In Great Uneasiness

¹⁴ The Hudson was a vessel belonging to William Hicks, merchant of Whitehaven (q.v., page. 6, note 18), which crossed the Atlantic with his cargoes, often also carrying letters between John Carlyle and his family.

¹⁵ JC would form a very close business relationship with John Dalton in the years to come, frequently entering partnerships with him, from time to time, to accomplish some particular venture or other. The name of Carlyle & Dalton became well known in Alexandria as sellers of rum and sugar among other things. [James Munson, *Col^o John Carlyle, Gent.* (NVPA 1986), p. 14.] JC also formed a business partnership with another Alexandria merchant, Robert Adam. Among those they traded with was George Washington, see contract to buy his wheat dated 18th January 1763. [*George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4. General Correspondence. 1697-1799.*]

¹⁶ A reference to Bonnie Prince Charlie, whose failed venture to recover the Crown of Scotland and England had taken place in 1745. Most of England was terrified of the Prince's highland army, even to the extent of believing rumours that they ate children. On his march from Scotland south towards London, the Prince and his apparently fearsome army arrived at the outskirts of Carlisle on the 10th

here About it pray miss No Opportunity of Letting me heare from you About it We have Nothing of News to let you heare off here, only the Indians have been Tampered with by the French but we hope to no Effect. Still We are preparing to be on our guard

I have The pleasure to tell you that I am in hopes to Get my Affairs made Up Soon now & Shall Get home as Soon As possible, tho If it was not Upon Your & my D^r Mothers Accot I Never wou'd See England Again, I Shall Now Conclude with my Service to Mr. Shepherd & All our Good Friends at Kendal, & That I Ever am –

Dr Sir

Y^r Affectionat Brother &

Hum^{bl} Ser^t.

John Carlyle

P.S. I am Oblidged to Write this Almost in the Dark. Mr. Dalton & I haveing much to do and Little time to do it In Therefore I hope you'l Excuse faults in Y^{rs} While
Jno Carlyle

P.S. Since the Writing the Above I have Meet with The Indians Treatey done Lately & printed In Virginia the Sight of Which may devert you a little –¹⁷

November and demanded the surrender of the city. The inhabitants prepared for a siege expecting relief from General Wade's English forces in Newcastle, sixty miles to the east. When they learned that no such help was to be forthcoming the defenders surrendered and the prince entered Carlisle on the 15th. Charles left the city on the 21st November and moved further south, arriving at Kendal on the 23rd where he stayed for two days at Strickland House, owned by Justice Thomas Shepherd, and which still stands today.

Having decided to pursue matters no further than Derby, the Prince and his army returned north and, when an advance party reached Kendal again, they were attacked by local militia. One highlander and a local farmer were shot. The main army arrived on the 15th December and the Prince again stayed at Strickland House. In the course of the retreat, the Prince's enemy, the Duke of Cumberland, slept in the same bed the night after the Prince had left. See page 46, note 100, for a fuller description of the Duke.

Prince Charles' supporters were finally crushed by the Duke of Cumberland at the Battle of Culloden in the Scottish highlands on the 16th April 1746. [David R Ross, *On the Trail of Bonnie Prince Charlie*, (Edinburgh 2000), pp. 47-50, 66-7.]

¹⁷ There were thirteen such treaties between 1736 and 1762. This was probably the Albany Treaty of October 1745 under which the Indians were prohibited from crossing the Potomac River or the Blue Ridge Mountains in Virginia. This permitted the Colonies to make gradual moves westward over the next ten years. [Ruth S. Bentley, "From Indians to Speculators," *Waterford Perspectives* (Waterford Foundation (1983). Historical Society of Pennsylvania (1938), *Indian Treaties Published by Benjamin Franklin 1736-1762*.]



Bonnie Price Charlie



Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, and brother of King George III, who dashed Bonnie Prince Charlie's hopes of gaining the throne of Great Britain. Both men and their armies passed through George Carlyle's home town of Kendal in 1745, much to the anxiety of Col. John Carlyle.

[George Carlyle's notes]

Sent in answer the Newcastle papers Continued Acc^t of things rec^d D^r Crofts Death my Invitation to Lancaster & refusal D^r Christopherson's acceptance of it M^r Hicks¹⁸ to be here this Day and my mother well and to be sent for hither next week M^r S my worthy friend the author of the essay in the Paper of May the 10th –
May 29. 1746

Mo^r & I not uneasy at report of his marriage on acc^t of his Promise at Parting M^r Hicks spoke handsomely of him & Situation of his affairs and a Letter wrote Sep^r or Oct^r D^r Rotheram's¹⁹ Courtship and Suppos'd marriage with Mr^s B the young D^r settled here²⁰ and Miss Mally's Marriage with Mr Enroyde[?] Excavations at Carlisle and state of Publick affairs promis'd Newcastle Papers with my next
Dec^r 6th 1746

Mother well M^r Bennet dead & buried in meeting House Yard Invalids removed to Wh^haven & Capt Hutchinson dead M^r Patrickson dead and M^r Langton at Cockermouth married to Miss Wren²¹ M^r Ponsonby been over here as is s^d

¹⁸ William Hicks (d. June 1758) was a merchant in Whitehaven, which was, in those days, a major west of England port on the Cumberland coast, where shipping to and from America accounted for most of the business. JC was his agent in Virginia. Hicks was Sheriff of Cumberland in 1756. He bought Tangier House, Whitehaven, from William Gilpin for £800 in 1745 and lived there until his death. Hicks' wife, Sarah, was a sister-in-law of Richard Gilpin, elder brother of William. It is likely that Captain Gilpin of *The Hudson* (see page 4) was of the same family. Tangier house had been occupied from 1716 to 1720 by Henry Blencow, Collector of Customs, who was possibly the father of Peter Blencow mentioned in JC's first letter of the 10th August 1744 q.v. [W. Jackson, F.S.A., *Whitehaven: Its Streets, Its Principle Houses and their Inhabitants*, Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Old Series, vol. iii, p. 369.]

¹⁹ This is a reference to the Rev. Dr. Caleb Rotheram DD (1694–1752) who trained for the ministry under Thomas Dixon at Whitehaven. He was appointed minister of the dissenting congregation in Kendal from 1716, where he was ordained in August 1717, and was the one who built the present Unitarian Chapel in the town. In addition, he founded an academy there in which he taught divinity, science and mathematics. He married Mary, the daughter of Thomas Strickland of Kendal in 1719. She died in April 1746 and he subsequently married Ann Bowes, widow of Edward Blackstock (cf. "Sister Sarah Bowes" though any relationship is uncertain, see page 69, n. 156, & page 78, n. 173). Strickland and Blackstock were both trustees of the chapel. Knowing the protestant religious background of George Carlyle he was probably a member of Rotheram's congregation. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxvii, pp. 898-9.]

²⁰ "The young Dr" was Caleb Rotheram's son, Dr. John Rotheram (c.1719–1787). He had, by now, finished his medical studies at Edinburgh and would shortly settle in Hexham. About 1760, he and his family moved to Newcastle-on-Tyne where he became a physician at the infirmary and where he lived for many years. [Eneas MacKenzie, *A Descriptive & Historical Account of the Town & County of Newcastle*, (Newcastle 1827), pp. 505-6. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxvii, pp. 899-900.]

²¹ John Langton married Barbara Wren at All Saints Church, Cockermouth, Cumberland, on the 14th November 1746. [*Old Parish Records*, England, County of Cumberland, Cockermouth Parish, LDS Batch no. M056002.]

courting a great fortune but Success uncertain Publick affairs in such a Situation not to be Judg'd of till after the Campaign the Allied army of 140,000 men Commanded by the Duke while France is push'd by the austrians & K. of Sardinia in Provence whence if the Campaign be successful we hope a happy and lasting Peace may succeed²² the Newcastle Papers to be sent with my next

Jan 29 1746/7

[George Carlyle writes on a separate sheet of paper]

D^r Brother

As I hear the Hudson is shortly to proceed on her voyage towards you I would not omitt So good an opportunity of acquainting you of the Wellfare of your Friends here I hope you rec^d my former Letters of Feb 6th Apr 9 & May the 29th by what ships they came I cannot tell you as I always send them to M^r Hicks and desire him to forward them by the first opportunity Yours by Cap^t Crosthwait which I rec^d Since your former by Cap^t Gilpin Came very opportunely as my mother was then over with me where She Stay^d three weeks as a little Relaxation after the Hurry they had been in at Carlisle and was very well it gave us great pleasure to see you were recover'd your Illness and the Journey you propos'd to Philadelphia from which I hope before this you are safely return'd will I make no Doubt bring you again into a still more confirm'd State of Health I am Sorry you Should be under Such Uneasy apprehensions on our acc^t during our Troubles but expect you are Satisfied of our Lucky escapes before this by the receipt of some of my Letters that you may have a more perfect notion of our Situation than either the newsPapers I have sent from time to time as my former Letters gave you I have with this Sent an [particular' *inserted*] acc^t of Both the Carlisle and Kendal affairs the 1st Sent me by M^r Armstrong the attorney and my Tenant the Latter done by my worthy friend M^r S as he had drawn it up to Send to a friend of his and of which he very readily gave me a Copy to transmitt to you our Publick affairs you have a full acc^t of in the ('N.C.' [*Newcastle*] *inserted*) Papers I also send you with this from the time the ones I sent Last Left from which you may Judge for yourself how much more a comfortable Situation Providence has now plac'd us than we

²² This refers to the Duke of Cumberland, third son of King George II, who, after defeating Bonnie Prince Charlie in Scotland, returned to the European continent to continue the struggle of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) which dragged almost all the major European powers into conflict. See also page 4, note 16.

were in some months ago and the Change from the (I hope I may now say) entire Suppression of the Rebellion in Scotland the prosperous Run of the arms of our allies in Italy²³ and the alterations that are likely to ensue upon the Death of the King of Spain²⁴ and the Succession of the Pr. of Asturias²⁵ who has all along been look'd upon as favouring the English and not much inclined to France at Least not So much as the former administration give us great reason to hope if any advantages can be got in Flanders (which the allies it is expected will yet push for before the End of the Campaign and to enable them to do which they have a glorious army and perhaps may also have our young Hero who is already return'd to London²⁶) that we may even ['shortly' *inserted*] see a general and advantageous Peace Succeed our so long continued war & Commotions I hear of nothing remarkable from Carlisle worth detaining you with the Town continues very full and will still be more so the 4 Judges who come to the Northern Circuit this Assize being all to meet there in order to try the Rebels If my affairs will permitt I will endeavour at that Time and if any thing remarkable occur Shall take the next opportunity of acquainting you I am with Sincere wishes for your Prosperity and Safe Return in due Time

Your ever affect. Bro^r
GC

July 30th 1746

²³ This is a reference to the success of the Austrian army against a Franco-Spanish force at the Battle of Piacenza, on the 16th June, during the War of the Austrian Succession.

²⁴ King Philip V of Spain had died on the 9th July.

²⁵ Ferdinand VI succeeded his father Philip V on the Spanish throne. The title Prince of Asturias is automatically given to the heir to the Spanish throne. In fact, Ferdinand steered a neutral course between France and Britain in the War of Austrian Succession.

²⁶ The Duke of Cumberland, then aged 25, had returned to London by the date of this letter after his success against Bonnie Prince Charlie at the notorious Battle of Culloden, on the 16th April.

Hunt^g Creek²⁷ Dec^r 1st 1746

D^r Sir-

I do not know that I shou'd Troubled [*sic*] you with Another Letter this winter only the Bear^r Mr. Skyrin coming home and When he's at home Living at or Near Kendal I tho^t you might Expect one tho' I have very Little to Add to my former by the Olive & Since have received none from you-

The only thing that has been the Subject of Discourse here for Some time has been our fears on Acc^t of the Brest Squadron (No Doubt before this) you have heard) Arrived After A Long & Dangerous passage of 100 Days in A harbour in Nova Scotia, and it being Too late to make any attempts for this Year Landed their men to Recruit their Sick their but it did not Answer their Intent for In that harbour they bured 5000 Men their Comdr the M^r D'Anvils Poisoned himself & he that had the Command after him fell on his Sword - but is Not Dead by a Vessel from boston this Week We have the Agreeable News of their Going off Again With Not half their Number that they bro^t from france & 4000 of those Sick.²⁸ In their passage here they

²⁷ Hunting Creek runs into the Potomac River to the immediate south of Alexandria. It is possible that John Carlyle settled in the only built up area in the district at the time which was known as Cameron. There he may have bought a 30 acre plot from a Glasgow merchant named John Pagan. [See James Munson, *Col^o John Carlyle, Gent.* (NVPA 1986), p. 6.]

²⁸ The disastrous attempt by the French to recapture Louisbourg, Cape Breton, in Nova Scotia, after its capitulation to the British in the summer of 1745 following a six week siege, later became the subject of the poem *A Ballad of the French Fleet*, by Longfellow. Admiral Jean-Baptiste-Louis-Frédéric de la Rochefoucauld, Duc d'Anville, had been appointed Lieutenant General of French naval forces in 1745. He does not seem ever to have received proper naval training, and was in no way qualified to lead the expedition which he commanded the following year. He assembled a fleet of over 70 vessels to sail from France carrying 13,000 men, in the spring of 1746. After much delay, they sailed for Chebucto, which is modern Halifax, on the 22nd June, their task to reverse earlier defeats at the hands of the British, expel them from Nova Scotia and then proceed down the American coast to attack Boston, New York, and on to capture the West Indies. There was great apprehension in the Colonies. However, the fleet struggled with severe difficulties from the start. A gale blew up in the Bay of Biscay as soon as they had left France. Bad weather with contrary winds slowed further progress across the Atlantic. Men became ill, food rotten and water sour. Deaths on board were frequent. A second storm hit the fleet near the Canadian coast. Finally, on the 10th September, the first ships sailed into Chebutco. They had been at sea three months.

The Duc d'Anville died suddenly less than a week after landing. Rumour had it that he had killed himself with poison, as JC reports. However, this is refuted by historians today, with suggestions that he died of one of the same illnesses that were sweeping the fleet, or possibly, he had been suffering from a brain tumour. Others state that he died at 3.00 o'clock on the morning of the 27th September "of an attack of apoplexy, which has seized him on the morning of the 25th while walking on his forecandle deck." His second in command was Vice Admiral Constantin Louis d'Estourmel, who arrived only hours after D'Anville's death. A Council of War was assembled on the 30th. With 2,500 men already dead d'Estourmel despaired, repeating "All is lost. It's impossible." He left the meeting, went to his cabin, and, as JC records, fell on his sword. He survived his attempted suicide and resigned.

Took Several of our Ships & am Afraid The Hudson Cap^t Gilpin among the Rest, who Now has been Missing a Great While,²⁹ I wrote for Several things to be Sent me by her from Whitehaven Which I Now hope are not Sent, If they are they are Surely Gone if She is Gone it will hurt Mr. Hicks Trade Very much here As he Expect^d large Cargo's by her, before I Determine When you may Expect me home Must Wait My Next orders from him – Tho' While the Times is So uncertain I Shall be In No hurry home as I am here Upon a Certainty & at home upon A Very Great Uncertainty, The Bear^r Is a Gentleman Well acquainted with My Intentions and affairs & Will No doubt Give you a Candid Acc^t of Me & If you Approve of My Method of Life Shall be Very Glad –

I Shall conclude with desiring you to Give my Duty To My D^r Mother & Service To All Y^r Good Friends Mr. Shepherd & Mr. Rotherem Especially & believe me to be
Dr Sir - Yr Most Affect. Brother & H^{ble} Ser^t
John Carlyle

[George Carlyle's notes on the reverse]

D^r Bro^r

Yours I have ~~the pleasure of~~ by favour of M^r Skyrin which gave me great Pleasure in the agreeable acc^t it brought of your Welfare and the happy Situation of your affairs the more full acc^t of which also by word of mouth from M^r Skyrin was still more agreeable I am very glad to find by him you are in advantageous a way for yourself and so much to your satisfaction this if publick affairs now in a more settled State would be a Sufficient argument to hinder me from desiring your coming over 'till it was ~~agreeable~~ proper and Convenient for yourself but as

The numbers of dead quoted in JC's account are exaggerated, but reports do vary widely. An account written by Jean Paul Mascarene (1684-1760), Governor of Nova Scotia and the English Commander closest to the fiasco, recorded that over 1,000 were buried at sea on the voyage and 1,500 buried at Chebutco. A further 500 sick were sent home to France. Another contemporary account gives 2,000 dead at sea and 1,800 buried at Chebutco. Yet a third account reported 587 dead and 2274 sick out of 7006 sailors and soldiers. [*Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (1974), vol. iii, p. 356.]

Not a single shot had been fired during the adventure. However, Cape Breton was returned to the French as part of the Peace of Aix-la-Chappell in 1748, see George Carlyle's note of July that year copied on JC's letter of 25th January 1747/8 below, page 17.

²⁹ We must conclude that both Captain Gilpin and the Hudson did avoid the French, since the ship is mentioned in JC's letter of the 3rd December 1747, page 13, and the captain himself is mentioned again in a further letter from JC dated the 6th July 1748. See below, page 18.

Sailing continues still very difficult and precarious thro' the Double Hazards that are now to be Run of Both Sea & Enemies I am far from wishing to see you undertake the Voyage 'till one of those Hazards at least are remov'd which I know is also my mothers way of thinking but pray let me hear from You as You have Opportunities - I hope you have before this rec^d three or four letters from me Since my Last of Jan^{ry} 29th Very Little material has happen'd here D^r Rotheram is at Last married to Mr^s Blackstock³⁰ He got almost ten months from the Death of his first wife to his Marriage his Son the young D^r Still Continues here they take a great Deal of Pains to push him forward but I hope all their Efforts for him will not hurt me much tho' considering the Profesions [*sic*] of friendship I have had from the Famely [*sic*] and the Promises made me he had no Intentions of fixing here I cannot under their present Conduct think myself very generously treated it has yet had no Effect upon me for this last year my Business has been above one half more than any former year since I came to Kendal – He was said to Court miss Bena Harrison tho' now they say it is off how it realy is I cannot tell There have been few alterations at Carlisle that I have heard of since my Last they have got one Robinson from Cockermouth In the Room of M^r Bennet³¹ who was latterly a scholar here with D^r Rotheram and is a very pretty young Gentleman Perhaps you may have heard before this Reach you that M^r Griffith at Whitehaven has been dangerously Ill but is recover'd but poor Mr^s Huddleston Is dead in Child Bed which I dare say must affect M^{rs} Hicks greatly as She deservedly poses'd so large a Share of her affection & Esteem – I will not detain you ~~any~~ with any acc^t of our Publick affairs as I send you a set of the NewCastle Papers continued from the former Parcellle I have rec^d two Pair of thread Stockings from my Mother for you but those I shall not sent 'till M^r Skyrin goes which he says he expects may be in about Two months and of which He has promis'd to inform me before he goes – I heard from my Mother Last week and she was then very well I propose seing [*sic*] in a week or Ten Days as I have not has an opportunity to do it before since Sept^r or Octo^r If She then want any thing material to you I shall acquaint you in my next and In the mean Time am &c.

March 18 1746/7

³⁰ Caleb Rotheram married Ann Blackstock in Kendal on the 12th February 1747. [Church of Latter Day Saints Records, England, Westmorland, Parish of Kendal. Ref. I02935-4] Cf. page 6, note 19.

³¹ Cf. George Carlyle's reference to Mr. Bennett having died and been buried in the "Meeting House Yard" in his note of the 29th January 1746/7 added to his brother's letter of 20th February 1745/6 (above page 6).

Virginia Dec^r 3^d 1747

My D^r Broth^r

By accident I met with The Bear. Cap^t Chubbard (Via) Liverpool & Wou'd not omit Writeing & owning My D^r Broth^{rs} letter by Mr. Skyrin Who Arrived here Safe, I

I writ you by the Olive In full & Mentioned my Intention of Settling In This Country, & Entering In to Another State of Life which I have not yet done, Waiting for y^r Approbation In the Affair, Also Freindly Advice Which hope You'l do frealy.³² Al that I am Sorrey for is that We Shou'd be So farr Seperated that I Cannot Advise with you on All Occations however If you was here & Saw All the Advantages that I propose to my Self by this Allyance you wou'd think as I do', A Woman of a Virginia Education I Always Was Afraid of, The young Lady that I am under Ingagem^t With has had A Good, Religious one & brought up In a frougal Genteel Manner and of one of the best famelys In the Country & a Moderate fortune, Such As Will Inable me to Live Independent I am Apprehensive that Mr. Hicks & I Shall Not Agree Long together So am preparing to Settle with him, I have Writ him I had Rather Settle here, With one that he might appoint here with proper powers but If not agreeable to him, I am Always Willing to Come Settle personally, Let that be as it Will I propose to Get My Affairs Ready So As to See you by April 1749 At farthest When Shall Come by London Where Thro' the Interest of Col: Fairfax & his famely hope to Settle A Correspondence Much to my Advantage There, & at Barbados but As my Scheam is pretty Extensive I Shall Not Now pretend to Explain it To you, but Wait Another Opportunity & Make no doubt of y^r Assistance As it Will be no farther than y^r Interest With Sum particular people –

This Letter No doubt Will appear To you Writ In a hurrey As it Rely is, & hope you'l Excuse all Errors in it & Ashure your Self as I am Now Launching into the Worald³³ I Shall Always Think it my Greatest happyness to have y^r Approbation, If I am Acting any thing Contrary to y^r Likeing or Opinion Shall Always Receive Any Advise or Rebuke from So D^r a Brother Without Looking Upon it In Any other Light Then

³² The letter to which JC refers has not survived. However, Dr. George Carlyle mentions his awareness of JC's intention to marry in a note written as early as 6th December 1746 (see page 6 above). Clearly, his response had not reached JC even by the date of this letter.

³³ World. The spelling that John Carlyle uses here gives phonetic rendering of the word when spoken with a Scottish accent.

Advise from the Dearest Friend I have, one that Rivals In Me, My D^r Sally Fairfax who I only wait Til The Arrival of the Hudson To be happy In³⁴ So shall Conclude With Wishing you All happyness In this Life & In hopes of a happy meeting In due time Conclude Me to be Y^r ever Affectionet Broth^r & Humbl Sert.

John Carlyle

[George Carlyle's note]

Agreeable acc^{ts} from all Hands of the good Prospect from his intended Settlement. Approve his Scheme of Returning by London wish an amicable agreem^t with Mr. Hicks. Had a Call from cous J. Carlyle & his master³⁵ – do have State of the acc^t With R^d Ferguson & Hodgson Stationer at Carlisle. Denton gone off Qu. if any with John Brown & I to pay to an order on Mr. Hicks no news publick uncertain Peace or War the armies drawing out while the Plenipo^s [Plenipotentiaries] are meeting to open the Congress for a Peace at Aix which many believe in great forwardness³⁶

Apr. 11th 1748

Virginia Hunt^g Creek Jan^{ry} 25 1747[/8]

³⁴ Sarah Fairfax, b. 1730, was the daughter of Colonel William Fairfax of Belvoir, Virginia, a member of the wealthiest family in the Colony. His cousin was Thomas, 6th Lord Fairfax of Cameron, was owner of vast lands in Virginia which extended along the entire length of the western side of the Potomac River and were bounded by the Rappahannock River to the south. In all, his estates probably totalled five million acres. The Fairfaxes were, naturally, well connected. Sarah's sister, Anne, married Lawrence Washington of Mount Vernon, the half brother of the up and coming young army officer, George Washington. [Gerry Webb, *Fairfax of York*, (York 2001), p. 113ff.]

³⁵ This was another John Carlyle, the son of Alexander Carlyle, and Margaret McClester, elder brother and sister-in-law of JC's father, William. He was born in Stepney Parish, Somerset County, Maryland, in January 1724/5. However, he did not remain all his life in America. A draft document, dated October 1741, shows that he was to be apprenticed for three years to Archibald Ingram & Co. of Glasgow. The extant paper may be an unsigned copy of an actual indenture, and it is not certain whether the apprenticeship actually proceeded. His uncle, John Carlyle of Limekilns, was to stand as cautioner and pay the £70 apprenticeship fee. Ingram was a very successful Glasgow merchant, trading with Maryland, who eventually rose to become Provost of the city. [Nicholas Carlisle, *Collections for a History of the Ancient Family of Carlisle*, (London 1822), p. 123. See transcript of the Apprenticeship Indenture held at Alexandria Public Library, Virginia.] This John Carlyle married Frances, daughter of Wade Netherland, in Cumberland County, Virginia, some time around February 1751/2, (cf. letter from JC to his brother dated 4th August 1752, page 29). [William Shepherd, Cumberland County, Virginia, Marriage Bonds, *William and Mary College, Quarterly Historical Magazine*, vol. xx., no. 1 (July 1911), pp. 21-2.] He signed a will on the 16th December 1760, of which probated was granted on the 25th January 1761/2, and in which he left his estate to his wife and four godchildren. No children of his own are mentioned. JC was appointed executor in the will to sell his cousin's lands in Maryland. [Charles Hughes Hamlin, *They Went Thataway*, (Baltimore 1966), p.14, citing Cumberland County, VA., Wills and Marriages (1749-99), p. 17.]

³⁶ In fact a congress finally assembled at Aachen (Aix) on the 24th April 1748. The result was the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle which was eventually signed on the 18th October. This brought an end to the War of the Austrian Succession which had been fought both in Europe and in America where Britain and France were struggling for supremacy. Six months later the celebration and firework display in Green Park, London, was the premier of Handel's famous Music for the Royal Fireworks.

My D^r Brother

Sir

My Last to you was by way of Leverpoole per the Griffin Cap^t Chubbard, it was Writ In A hurrey but hope you have Received it, as it Wou^d Inform you of my Intention to Change My State of Life, The Young Lady's Mother, We had the Misfortune to Loose A few months Ago³⁷, which Threw the Managem^t of her Fathers Great house Upon her, it Made her uneasy as She Was under Ingagem^{ts} With Me to be So oppressed, & She at the Same time had Many other offers Men of Very Considerable fortunes, that I thought delays might be Dang^s as I Rely Lov'd her, the Above Reasons Ingaged me To put an End to the Affair & the 31st of Decem^r I Was Made happy In My D^r Sally, Without Waiting for your Approbation, Which I hope you'l Excuse, for the Above Reasons as I have No Father I Looked upon y^r Consent & Advise Absolutely Necessary & Shou^d have been Very glad to had it –

the Ceremony was Performed before but A few but Those of As Great Note As any of this Country I had the Honour to have the Right Hon^{ble} L^d Fairfax³⁸ for my Second at the Time –

I have Writ my Mother by the Opportunity for her Pardon as I had not her Consent (More than Yours) I depend on y^r Brotherly Love both to Excuse me to y^r Self and to Interced with her, –

I Shall be at housekeeping my Self In a few days and Thorowly Settled With My D^r Partner I have the Pleasure to Tell you I am as happy as I Can be Any Where at a Distance from my Relations, In a Good Virteous Partner, I do not know What Resepcion my marrage may Meet with from M^r Hicks however I am Provided Against the Worst I Can Live Without him My Plantation Goes on Very Well, & I Want Now Nothing but Sum Ready Money, My wife's fortune Consists of Lands & Sum Negro's, I am at Preasent Master of between 8, & Ten Thousand Acres of as Good

³⁷ Sarah Fairfax's natural mother, Sarah Walker, died on the 18th January 1731. Her father later married Deborah Clarke, who died in 1747. Though JC reports the death as having happened 'a few months ago' the exact date is unknown. [Gerry Webb, *Fairfax of York*, (York 2001), p. 112.]

³⁸ Thomas, 6th Lord Fairfax of Cameron, first cousin of Sarah's father, William Fairfax of Belvoir. He had moved to Virginia permanently for the first time only a year or so earlier, in 1746, to look after his estates there. [Gerry Webb, *Fairfax of York*, (York 2001), p. 118.]

Land As any In Cumberland³⁹ – If M^r Hicks & I Shou'd Differ I then may be obliged to Trouble you to Advance me Sum of my Fortune but may Depend I will Not Without Great Advantage In View Draw for any⁴⁰ - Pray In y^r Next Please Inform me If I Shou'd have Occation Wou'd it be Convenient for you to Assist me –

As I have No Other to Apply Too but you If I Shou'd be Distressed I hope You'l Excuse it Your Advancing Money May have this Effect that it Will Inable me the Sooner to Make A fortune Sufficient for me To Live In England Which I Will do As Soon As I am Able to Live Independent To End my Days In My Native Country is one of My Strongest Wishes - If I am Blessed with Children those Shall have English Education & not be Allowed to Imbibe the Principals Looked upon here to be Polite, Gaming & Drinking, Principals I hope me Nor mine be Adicted Too -

I Shall Long for your Answer As I make No Doubt but you'l be free In Adviseing as I Look upon you In A Degree Above A Brother – My D^r Salley Joyns With Me In our Hearty Wishes for y^r Health and am

Your Ever Affectiont Brother & Humb^l Ser^t

John Carlyle

P.S. My Sally proposes Writing To her New Broth^{er} by Next Oppertunity.

Ut Supra J.C.

[*George Carlyle's notes*]

³⁹ To put these figures in perspective, when George Washington acquired his Mount Vernon estate in 1754 it consisted of 2,126 acres, but had grown to 8,000 acres by the time of his death in 1799. [*George Washington's Mount Vernon*, (Mount Vernon Ladies Association), pp.13 & 15.]

⁴⁰ JC had been left the sum of £300 in his father's will to be paid to him after his mother's death. His brother, George, was to act as executor of the will. Their Father, William, had died at Carlisle on the 3rd July 1744. With his mother still alive at the date of this letter (in fact, she did not die until March 1755), JC was clearly asking for more than was his right under the terms of the will, though the request is clearly for a loan from his brother pending eventual receipt of his inheritance. [William Carlyle, will (23rd March 1743), Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle, Probates 1744, fol. 201.] [Cumbria Record Office, St Cuthbert's Parish, Carlisle, Burial Register.]

Rec^d his per Pen Galley & Hudson glad all His Commissions were executed to his mind will send more Charrs⁴¹ next Season & a Cut⁴² of Carlisle if to be got – glad to find his Change of States so agreeable – Have laid out some and possibly may do more money lately otherwise should have advanc'd all his Fortune but as it is by notice before Candlemas shall have 150£ at his service and perhaps more a little after is [*sic*] this be not sufficient for his Designs but if he Draw desire him to leave what may pay Redman and the people at Carlisle that have demands on him – to know how to lay out 10 or 12 guineas most agreeably to my Sister – Thank Coll^l Fairfax for the Cristal which I propose to do myself when I have opportunity but been pretty much hurried of late otherwise I should have paid my Compl^s to my Sister also by this opportunity Publick news at a Stand Since Signing the Preliminaries to which all the Powers have acceded the true Prelim^{ys} not certainly known but Peace said likely to be a good one Cape Breton likely to be given up⁴³ but hope the Americans will not repine at this favourite Acquisition being so for the Pleasure of seeing us again restor'd to all the Valuable Blessings of Peace instead of the Expensive Desolations of War – whether the news as the Papers or Magazines will be most acceptable I have one and Can procure the other and Shall send either he Chooses. Compliments to Spouse & Famely.

July 21, 1748

⁴¹ The charr, or char, is a small variety of trout found in some of the Scottish lochs and also in the lakes in north west England. It will have been readily available to Dr. George Carlyle in Kendal, which is only twelve miles or so from Lake Windermere where there is still a good stock of charr to be found. To preserve it for the voyage across the Atlantic he will have had it smoked.

⁴² Engraving.

⁴³ The fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, was indeed returned to France as part of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; an unpopular development with the American Colonies following their capture of the fort after a 46 day siege in 1745. The resentment that ensued did lasting damage to relations between the Colonies and the British Government.

Virginia July 6th 1748

D^r Sir,

I writ you by the Hudson Cap^t Gilpin To Which I desire To be Referr^d & Since have Received none from you this Comes per the Olive Who I Wish Safe tho Am So Afraid We haveing had Seven Ships Taken In our Bay Within this Month Past, our Trade is very Il Protected –

The Enemys Privaters have Come Into Potomack River & been on Shore & Plunder'd for Provisions but have Now got Two men of Warr Who am In hopes Will Protect us–

An old Phisician In our Place Who Desiris his Name to be conceeled Til I Receive y^r Answer (& Who I think Turned In his head) tho A Good Schoolar has for Sum time Pressed Me to Inclose you this Maniscript for y^r opinion As I do not Know but it May Aford you Sumthing New, I Complied with his Request & If you think proper may Write him y^r Opinion & I Will hand it To him If not may Mention it To me –

As this is the Ship I Load myself I Cannot have Time to Write fully to you haveing Al the Ships Papers To get Ready –

My Wife (Who's yet What I Could Wish her) Joyns With me In our Tender Wishes for you & am Your most Affectionet Brother, & Hum^l Ser^t.

John Carlyle

[George Carlyle's notes:]

Delayed writing in hopes of hearing from him what to do in calling in the money 150£ shall be ready when he draws or shall borrow more if requir'd – pay'd Mr Redman 9£. / not able yet to get a cut of Carlisle and Dissapointed of Chars for my Sister thro' the Stormy wet weather – news at Carlisle Mr Coulthards Death

his Eldest Son aldeⁿ 2^d Son Council man⁴⁴. M^r Tate dead at W^haven – Miss Harrison married and two or three good Famelies come into Kendal – D^r M's absence not as was suppos'd to remove but get Licens'd of the College I intending to procure Same Favour thro M^r W. – Publick affairs gone well since my Last all the Powers at War coming in to the Peace which is by the thinking Part generally approv'd The Terms a Restitution of all Places &c. taken during the war on all Sides in the Condition they were in when the articles were Sign'd. Excuse my writing to Coll^l F[airfax] from Hurry and not having got L^d Anson's Voyage⁴⁵ which design'd for his acceptance – Excuse to my Sister but if Charrs to be Got and the Hudson don't Sail so soon as expected may yet probably write to know how 10 or 12 G[*uineas*]⁴⁶ might be most acceptably laid out for her use and if any thing particular in this Country be agreable to her beg the Favour to know it. Oblig'd to the Gentlⁿ to whom the Papers belong shall send my thoughts next opp^{ty} – not got settled with Mr J. Graham but other affairs at Carlisle discharg'd. Comp^{ts} of the Season

Dec. 25. 1748

⁴⁴ Richard Coulthard was mayor of Carlisle in 1739. Thomas, Richard, and Morris Coulthard were later mayors of the City between 1757 and 1779. [Samuel Jefferson, *History and Antiquities of Carlisle* (1838), p. 448.]

⁴⁵ Captain George Anson (1697-1762), of Shugborough, Staffordshire, England, had sailed round the world from 1740 to 1744 and, in the following year, was promoted to Rear Admiral. In 1747 he was created Lord Anson, 1st Baron Anson. His Chaplain, Richard Walter, published an account of the journey entitled *A Voyage Round the World* in 1748. In 1751, Anson was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. ii, pp. 260-266.]

⁴⁶ A guinea was worth £1.1s.

To my dear Sister⁴⁷

Dr Madam

The particular share I must always take in whatever concerns my D^r Bro^{r's} Intrest and Happiness makes me look upon the nigh Relation in which you now stand to him and the Title you have thereby given me of calling you Sister as an additional Felicity to myself and I take this opportunity to assure you that as no ~~Relation~~ Friend you have can set a greater value on your merit so none more truly wishes you all the Satisfaction a married state will admit of or will take more pleasure in hearing of ~~your~~ ~~increasing~~ the Increase of it in your Famely and I am very glad to have so good ~~reason~~ Grounds to Expect I shall always have that Pleasure from the many agreeable accounts I recieve [*sic*] of your worth and goodness and the knowledge I have of your Spouses affectionate and Friendly Heart which I hope He yet does and ever will retain my only Concern is our great Distance by which I am debarr'd being sometimes a witness to and Partaker in your Joys which would compleat my wishes But as this is a Circumstance which must be submitted to I must beg the Favour of you to lessen it as much as possible by letting me hear often from you and when you do so using me with the Freedom of a Sister in commanding anything wherein I can assist you in this Part of the World I am ~~glad~~ pleas'd I had the good fortune to meet with the two Potts of Charrs I send with this in Time for the Hudson's Sailing The Fish were very good and done in the best manner I could get them and I hope if they arrive safe will prove worth your acceptance if it suited Coll^l Fairfax's Convenience I could be glad He were a partaker with you in the eating of them you'll be so good as make my Compliments to him when you see him I am

Jan^{ry} 11th 1748/9

With great esteem D^r Sister
your very affectionate humble Servt
GC

⁴⁷ This letter in George Carlyle's handwriting is the draft of a letter addressed to JC's new wife, Sarah Fairfax.

We know from two letters of William Fairfax, one dated York the 1st August 1750 addressed to Dr George Carlyle, and the other from London on the 12th October 1750 to Lawrence Washington in Virginia, that JC was accompanying him on a visit to England at the time. The following two letters from JC to his brother show that he remained in England until the early spring of 1751.

To –
Doct^r Carlyle
Physician at
Kendall

Whitehaven Decr 4th 1750

My D^r Brother

I received yours by the Carrier, I think myself its A Great dispute whether the Charrs &c. will Carrey Safe or not, however as the Ship will Sail In Three Weeks & may Arrive In Barbados In the cool weather it may Possibly doe & My Intention is more than the thing it self. -

they must be Sent to me here. -

I am Sorrey Mr. Singleton Shou'd Seem not Pleased At my dropping the Scheam of Carrying the Two horses. I am told its more then Two to one Against us that they get Safe, however Cap^t Dickinson who Carred the Two, Last Year, will be home In A few days, (We Expect) his ships In Ireland, I will take his Advise, & then Let Mr. Singleton know farther If they donot go by the Hudson they may Come In by Sum other Ship In the Summer I donot Intend to go back from my Agreement only I think it unsafe At this time of the Year, -

I only rec^d your Letter Late Last night & have not Seen D^r Brownrigg⁴⁸ Since Shall acquaint him With Wh^t you desire, -

I wrote you Two days ago by A Young man that Came over from Virginia, Acquainting you of my Loss. &c there, it's A Subject not Very Agreeable So Shall Say No More About it.⁴⁹

the Young Ladys here M^r. & M^{rs}. Hicks Joyn In their Comp^{ts} To you & am

D^r Sir Y^{rs} Most Affectionetly

John Carlyle

⁴⁸ Dr William Brownrigg MD FRS (1711-1800) was apprenticed as a young man to John Atkinson a surgeon apothecary in Carlisle. After studying medicine in London for two years, he went to Leiden University in Holland, under Hermann Boerhaave, and was awarded a Doctorate of Medicine in 1736. Until this point, there is clearly a close parallel between the lives of Brownrigg and Dr George Carlyle who also graduated from Leiden in 1736, and which explains there acquaintance. [Jim Bartlinski, "New Research Provides Additional Insight into the Life of Doctor George Carlyle," *Carlyle House Docent Dispatch* (March 2008).] On returning to England, he settled in Whitehaven, Cumberland, where he lived for the next thirty years. Brownrigg had an enquiring, scientific, mind and conducted chemical experiments into gases, initially to help the local mining industry in minimising the danger from methane gas explosions. He wrote on methods of manufacturing purer salt to aid in food preservation. He was also one of the first to understand the unique properties of platinum, which was an almost unknown metal at the time. In 1741-2 four papers of his on explosions, fires, and bad air in coal mines were read to the prestigious Royal Society in London, earning him a fellowship in 1742. Though quiet and unprepossessing about the results of his researches, his work came to the attention of Benjamin Franklin, who visited him in 1772 and stayed for some time, during which he demonstrated how oil could be used to calm choppy waters, a subject he later returned to in some detail in a letter to the doctor dated, London, 7th November 1773. Brownrigg, in turn, accompanied Franklin down a coal mine near Whitehaven.

Contemporaries described him as kind, amiable, polite, modest and benevolent. In 1741 he married the vivacious Mary Spedding (1721-1794). Her paternal grandmother had been Sarah Carlyle a very distant relative of JC. Brownrigg died at his ancient family home, Ormathwaite Hall, near Keswick, Cumberland, to which he had retired in 1770. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. viii, pp. 274-5.]

⁴⁹ This is probably a reference to the death of his first child, Rachel, who had died, according to an entry in the family Bible, on the 19th August at only just over two months old. Her name is not actually recorded in the Bible, but we learn it from the grave inscription of his wife after she died. [Rev. Timothy Alder, *Collection of American Epitaphs and Inscriptions* (New York, 1814), p. 85.]

In Chesapick Bay Virginia May 1st 1751

My D^r Brother

Sir -

I write this Letter Expecting to meet With An Opp^y to Send it When Parhaps I may not have time to Write A Letter to Acquaint you of my Safe Arrival here Yesterday After A Long & the Hardest Passage I Ever Saw, Neither cou'd I thought A Ship Cou'd Indured So much As our's has done, She Proved Very Leakey & We Was In Want of Water, These things Need not be Mentioned As Mr Hicks may not be Willing that it was known the Ship Was So bad, but If I had known her Condition I Wou'd not Crossed the Seas In her for her for all her Cargo^s -

I hope to be at home Now In A few days Where I Shall Rest Satisfy'd for A few Years, but our Parting gave me So much Concern this Last time, that If It Please god to bless My Endeavours So farr as that I get A Compitancey you may depend I will Come home & Settle - I Write this In A hurrey So Shall not Add more than My Duty to my Mother When You Write to her & Ashure her I'll Write to her by the first good Opportunity I have & am D^r Brother

Y^r Most Affectionet &c -

John Carlyle

P.S. When you direct To me now Must be To Maj^r Jn^o Carlyle Merch^t at Alexandria on Hunting Creek South Potomuck - Virginia-

P.S. The Ship that Sailed With Us parted Company the Next day but we Met Yesterday at the Capes of Virginia & Never had Seen Each Other the Whole Passage She had Extream hard weather Also -

Virginia May 23^d 1752

Dear Brother –

I wrote to you by Several opportunitys last fall & have Since not Received one Letter from you nor from any of My Friends In Wthhaven this Spring, We have not had one Ship Arrived from thence this three months past, I must own I am a little uneasy to heare from my friends & am Afraid the Ships has had As Long Passages as Last Year, however must wait with patience.

I have no material News to Acquaint you with only my own Loss In another Daughter My D^r Sally brought me the 24th February,⁵⁰ We Called it Ann After my Wifes mother & M^{rs} Washington⁵¹, it Lived & My Wife gave it Suck from one breast til The 1st of April when it Pleased god to take it, the Cause of its death I am told was the Thrush, & a purging & Gripeing, My wife has been In a Very Low State ever Since her being brought to bed, & Likely to go into A Consumption but of late Seems to Recrute by Rideing out every day & takeing Sum Powders given her by A Phisician that I Consulted on her Case.

My Loss is Very great on the above Occation As I am so Very fond of Other Peoples Childrun & much more of my own, & the Loss hangs Very heavey On My Wife & makes her Illness much worse –

As to my Self my building & my Other Business Takes up my thoughts & Time So much I have time for little Else & the Expense is Much greater then I Expected I am Afraid I must do What I Never Wished to doe that is draw upon M^r Hicks for more then I may have due to Me Which Will Lay Me Under Obligations to him & hope You'l be So good as to Take up Two hundred Pounds upon Interest for me & Lodge it

⁵⁰ This was his second child, Ann, [Carlyle Family Bible, Carlyle House, Alexandria, VA.]

⁵¹ "Mrs Washington" was John Carlyle's sister-in-law, Anne Fairfax, who had married Lawrence Washington in 1743. JC's reference to his wife's mother also being called Ann is a mistake. In fact, she was Sarah Walker who married William Fairfax of Belvoir in 1723, but had died in 1731, the year after JC's future wife, Sally, was born. Clearly, it was Sarah Fairfax Carlyle was named after her, not Anne Fairfax Washington. John Carlyle may have assumed that Anne, as the elder daughter, had been named after her mother as would have been the case according to Scottish tradition. [Gerry Webb, *Fairfax of York* (York 2001), p. 112.]

In his hands would pay the Interest for a Year or Two as In that Time I Cou'd be Able to Discharge it My Negros & Tennents Now gives me Above one hundred & fifty pounds A Year & are dayly Encreasing My Comissions last Year Amounted to above two hundred pounds more, Which I am no Ways Afraid Will decrease but Increase If I cou'd get my house finished (Which At preasent distressies me) & furnished I Cou'd Soon make A Return of the Sum Above, I Last Year purchased A large & fine Tract of Land & Three Slaves, & M^r W^m & Thomas Gilpins Share of Sum Lots & houses In this Town & Also of A Sloop & Brigantine Of theirs, the Amount of the Whole is A Large Sum not less then Seven hundred pounds All Which purchases I make no doubt Will Answer In A little time to my Advantage tho' At Preasent I am put to Straits on the Acc^t of it, and As We have no people here that can Spare money on Interest, I am obliged to depend on my Freinds [*sic*] In England, I make no doubt but Mr Hicks will pay the money for Me, but then you know his Tempor, & he Wou'd think me never out of his Debt If he was to Advance Me Such a Sum, I am not Sure yet but I may make good my payments without This but wou'd be obliged to you to make M^r Hicks Easy If Such A thing Should happen, I hope you Need not fear any Risque in this Request for if it Shou'd Please god to Call Me, I can Ashure You I owe Not More then Two hundred pounds In the worald, & My Estate In Lands & Negros &c Exclusive of my money In Trade I Cou'd Sell at Near Two Thousand pound & my Stock In Trade Cost Me largely odd of One Thousand pound more, & probably I may never want So much Assistance Again You See My D^r Brother with what freedom I Aske A favour of you If You Think I am Too free Your former kindness is the Occation of it – I hope long ere this You are made happy in A Partner, to both of you I Wish Every blessing That this Worald Afords & Wish I Cou'd hope Ever to See You, Ever is a Long Date but My Prospect of Seeing England Seems At So great a Distance that I hardly dare think of it, M^{rs} Carlyle Tells me I Never must with out her Company, w^{ch} Wou'd quit break up my famely & be Attended With Such Expense that I must not think of it, Without I Shou'd be So Luckey as to get money faster than I have any Right to Expect, My wife desires her Love to you both & Intends my Sister Sumtime In the summer A Box of Mirtel Wax Candles⁵², & If she Cou'd think of anything else to be got here that Woud be Acceptable woud Readily Send it, I have

⁵² Myrtle wax, or bayberry wax, is taken from the surface of the bayberry fruit. The fruit is boiled in water and the green wax rises to the surface where it can be skimmed off. The product can then be used to manufacture aromatic candles.

Not forgot tho' have not been Able to Comply with My Promise of Sum Shells for Miss Appelby's - one of my Captains now In the W^t Indies has promised his Care of this Commission –

My Couzen & Namesake John Carlyle⁵³ I have Seen Very Lately he Seems A plain good sort of A Man, & is Com'enced Virginian & lately Marred, A Very handsome Woman of Little or no fortune I donot know her but he has Promised to bring her Up & pay his Couzen A Visit In September when can give You my opinion of her –

I intended this Letter but A Copy but when I Look back at its Length I think I may as well Send it as it is, not doubting but You'l Make all Reasonable Allowances & I Ashure you When I begin I donot know when to give over writing to you –

I never have been So happy In my health In my Life as I have been this Last Year, Not haveing been once Sick Since I came home, which I am Very Thankful for as it gives me A True Relish to My Business & everything Else, M^r Dalton is Very Sickly & Tinder this Six months past That you May have the Above Blessing & Every other In this Worald is the Sincere Wishes of Y^r Truly Affectionet Brother & H Ser^t

John Carlyle

⁵³ See page 14, note 35, re George Carlyle's note of 11th April 1748 written on JC's letter of the 3rd December 1747, regarding the identity and background of this cousin and his wife.

Virginia Aug^t 4th 1752

My Dr Brother

I wrote you fully per the Bramty Cap^t Foster Relating my Affairs here In w^{ch} I desired you if M^r Hicks Shou^d Refuse to pay my bills on him, if I drew upon him this Year more then he has In his hands of mine that You woud be So good as to Assist me by taking Up Two Hundred pound upon Interest for me –

Now Sir what I mention the Above for Again, is I woud not have You to put one penny of money In M^r Hicks hands for Me, for I have not Yet drawn Upon him for more then his Indebted to me nor do I know that I Shall If our three Vessels Arrive As We have Good Reason to think they may this Month from the Maderas & the West Indies I Shall have no Occation & If any Accident Shoud happen too any or all of them I have them All Insured but as Insurance cannot be Recovrd Imediately In that Case I may be In Want, As Credit is the Support of A Man In Trade I wou^d only Secure Against any Accidents that may happen, & If I doe Draw upon M^r Hicks for any money more then is due me I Shall Write You of it, & If he Askes You for Any need Take No Notice of it Without You Receive A line from Me At the Same time –

I am now to Acknowledge the Receipt of Your Two kind favours by the Hudson & by A Ship on Cap^t Dawson Sent forward by W^m Todd for both I am Much obliged (Turn over -)

I dare say by my frequent Expressions before I Left England I need not Say any thing, to Convince you how happy I Expect you Now Are, with My D^r Sister, who I know has every Quality necessary to make a man as happy as its possible to be In this Worald,⁵⁴ & your being So (next to the pleasure of Seeing it) my hearing of it gives

⁵⁴ George Carlyle married Dorothy Dacre Appleby at Kirklington, Cumberland, on the 3rd September 1751. She was the daughter of Joseph Dacre Appleby of Kirklington Hall, and Susannah Maria Gilpin. Kirklington is about nine miles north of Carlisle. [Nicholas Carlisle, *Collections for a History of the Ancient Family of Carlisle* (London 1822), p. 128.] Susannah Gilpin was a daughter of William Gilpin of Scaleby Castle, Cumberland. She was also related to Captain William Gilpin who is frequently mentioned in this correspondence. The evidence for this is a letter to Dr. George Carlyle from Captain Gilpin, then at Whitehaven, dated 31st January 1752, in which he concludes by writing, “Your affect Cousin and most obligd huml Servt, W^m Gilpin. My Mother joins with me in Compliments to Yourself

me the Greatest Pleasure, & that it may please god to Lengthen out your Day together for along Searious of Years is my hearty Wishes & prayers I hope long ere This She may be in the way to encrease Your Famely, my bad fortune In loosing mine, & M^{rs} Carlyle's bad State of health, makes me think our Famely Will never have any great Encrease from us, but hope You'll have better fortune, I Expect I can now think I See how happy you live to what you did while Single, & hope everything I Said to you on that head you find true, I must own I have often thought a little hard that you Shou'd just Engage & be So happy as You I dare Say are, So Soon After I Left You, Twice & I not have the pleasure to be With You, however My own Pleasure or Interest I Never brought Into any Compotition with Your happyness & theirfor excuse all - am much obliged for The Accompts you Always give me of the Alterations & Accidents Round You I am heartily Sorry for M^r R^d G-n M^r W^m & Tho^s G—n's Misfortunes tho' its no more then has been Expected Sum time I often Think their has been the Oddest Revolution In the G---n Famely in the Shortest time Ever known⁵⁵ - I am heartily Sorry for M^r R Rutlidges Loss In Miss –

I am Obliged to you for the Trouble you had About Teba Wilsons⁵⁶ Wife & Very glad She did not Come In tho' must Say hes As good A White Servant as I Ever Saw In the Country & has been of Great Service to me in Carting Materials for My building, & I know nothing but that hes honest however I have A Sharp Eye over him –

the boy that I had of M^r Hugh Holmes is Very Well & tells me he Wrote to his mother by the Hudson Last Year but Suppose as Several of the boys Chests was Lost over board His Letter might be lost In one of them he Writes per this Ship, he Takes So great A Likeing to the Sea that I cou'd not Engage him to Live on Shore his now In Barbados In our Brigantine Success –

You Generally Appologise for the Lenth of Your Lett^s but Considering the number of Letters I have to Write & the Accompts I have to Settle on A Ship, Leaving This, (I

& Cousins.” [Virginia Historical Society MSS ref. 1C1995 a 5-8.] His spelling of ‘world’ as ‘worald’ is an indication of his Scottish accent. See page 13, note 33.

⁵⁵ The Gilpin Family.

⁵⁶ This is probably the same person referred to as Tobey Wilson in John Carlyle's letter of the 10th August 1757. See below, page 50.

write 22 Letters by this Ship & All on business Except yours & my Mothers) I think I fully pay you In Length –

I now Shall Conclude with Compliments to M^r Shepherd D^r Rotheram & all other Friends & with My Sincere Love to my Sister, I beg leave to Ashure you that I am-

Y^r Affectionet Brother & Hble Serv^t

John Carlyle

P.S. our Couzen John Carlyle was Married last Christmas To a Young Lady of None or Small fortune tho they Say She's A Beauty I have not Seen her I have him Twice he has Promised to bring her up to See Us this fall I think him an Agreeable Man⁵⁷
Ut Supra JC

A Young Docter in this place has Promised Me his Assistance & you May Expect this Fall to have Sum Specimans &c from hence tho' do Ashure you I have not time to Make any great Colection My Self –

Please Tell my Sister, I have Taken M^r Hicks's hints & have Sent him A present of Sweat Meats, Bacon, & Sum other Things Speaked for When She Lived at Wthaven I may perhaps be as Much in favour now as M^r R^d Jackson

⁵⁷ See page 14, note 35, re George Carlyle's note of 11th April 1748 written on JC's letter of the 3rd December 1747, regarding the identity and background of this cousin and his wife.

Alexandria Nov^r 12th 1752

My Dear Brother –

I Wrote you per the Hudson As did My Wife to My Sister, which I make no doubt is come safe to hand long ere this & as I have not had the pleasure of Receiving A Letter from you Since have less to Say, The Bearer Cap^t Wilson has A Small box on board Directed to the Care of M^r Hicks for you it Contains A Small Quantity of Mirtle Wax Candles which my Wife Desires her Sisters Acceptance of - I have Sent my mother A few Also - They Are A Neat pleasant Candle & what We Make & Use in our famelys, They are but A Small matter Dearer then Tallow Candles -

As Nothing has happen'd Since my former Letter I cannot Think of anything from hence that will be Intertaining to you or my Sister, I have had a Very Troublesome Year of this Last, & expect not much better the Next As I am now out of hopes of getting Into my house This Winter, the Violent Rains we have had this Fall, has hurt the Stone Walls that We Was obliged to Take down A part After it Was nigh its Height, which has been A Loss & great disapointment To me, however Time & patience Will over come all (I am In hopes) its A Pleasure to build in England but here Where We are Obliged To Doe Everything With one's own Servants & thise Negros makes it Require Constant Attendance & Care - & so much Trouble that If I had Suspected it woud been What I have meet with, I believe I Shoud made Shift With A Very Small house –

I Wrote you in both My former Letters that I had made A purchase of Sum Lands, & Negro's & my building Woud Straiten me & that I Shoud be Obliged to Draw on M^r Hicks for Sum thing more then he might Owe me, I have not Yet done it, but doubt I Shall be Obliged to Exce'd A little, tho may depend the Utmost Necessity Will oblige me to doe it, What I Wou'd beg of You is To keep him Quite for A few months & If he Shou'd Insist on Security I hope You'l Not think You Run any Risque in offerring Your Self for me for Any Small Matter I may Exceed which may be one hundred pounds - I Owe no money & My Estate here & Negro's Exclusive of my Trade Woud Sell for Two Thousand Sterling –

You See I Aske freely favours Of You & Shall Say No more Then I Wish I had it In my power to Return before I Receive –

My Wife is In A pretty good State Of Health at preasent, She Coll. Fairfax, & the Rest of the Famely joyns me In our Comp^s To my Sister & am-

With the greatest Truth Y^r Affectionet Brother &

Hble Ser^t

John Carlyle

P.S.

About A Month Ago I Agreed With a Young Doctor from Scotland, for All your Materials & Medicins he has not Yet Taken them Away nor Examin'd them, Thoroughly, You have great Loss in the large Bottles Which I Suppose Was Occasioned by our Long passage & Tossing in the Ship, I will As Soon As he Takes them Away make you An Acc^t of them –⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Cf. page 40, letter of the 3rd July 1754 below.



Left: Tangier House, now the Waverley Hotel, Whitehaven, which was bought by John Carlyle's employer, William Hicks, in July 1745 and where he lived until his death in 1758.

Below: Carlyle House, Alexandria, Virginia, built by John Carlyle in 1753.



Virginia Aug^t 11th 1753

D^r Sir

I am Debt^r To your Two favours per the Hudson & Hicks the Latter of which was Delivered me This Week by Cap^t Gilpin In both Which am glad to be Informed of the Continuance of y^r happyness & My Sister & Little Neace⁵⁹ Continuing Well, Nothing but being An Eye Witness Wou'd Give Me Greater Pleasure I made No doubt you Woud be So from our first Speaking of y^r Marriage With My D^r Sister Or Shoud Not pressed you as I did –

Cap^t Gilpin tells me, & my Mother Informs my Wife In A Letter to her, how happy She is In my Sister & Child Company Which gives us Great Pleasure –

As I am Settled heare Alone I must Endeavour to make my Settlement As Agreeable as I can & it adds much to it to be Informed of their happy State Who we Love & Are So nigh Related too, tho' Sum times I Cannot help Repineing We are at So great a distance, No doubt but In my Way & Stock In Trade here We With Common Fortune may Advance Our Selves As fast again & More then We Can in Europe in Any Trade I am Acquainted With, But the being Settled from our Famely & Friends Imbitters All our prospects. I have great Reason to be Thankful for the many Blessings I have had, I am Settled In an Honourable Family & have Got an Agreeable Partner & Cannot Say but I have Got as Easey A fortune as I Could Expect In the time, These & the Good State of health I have generally Injoy'd is More then I Cou'd Expect, but In this Country A Man has so many Advantageous Prospects & Ways of Laying out money that I Cannot Say but I am more Anctious after money & Sum times Repine at the Want of it Then I Shoud doe, however My buildings Are Near finished & I have paid In that Artickle & In the purchase of Lands & Negros Above 1500 Since I Left You w^{ch} has Virtu. Straitend me Much & has made me press A little Too much Upon M^r Hicks tho' I dare Say 500£ is as much As he is or Ever was In Advance for me, & he has before now had 300£ of my money in his hands for Years together –

⁵⁹ George's first child, Susannah Maria, had been born on the 29th September 1752. [Memorial Tablet, St Cuthbert's Church, Carlisle, Cumberland, (Now Cumbria), England.]

My Virginia Estate Yearly is Above 150£ per anno: at this Time, & our land Increases Near double in Seven Years In Value, & my Comissions from him & Others has Not been Less then 250£ More for this Two Years past & Like to Encrease & Not decrease My outlyings Near over, I am In hopes to be Able to Let as much Money be in his hands & Lay double the time In A Year or Two Which he may depend Upon I only Mention this That if M^r Hicks Shoud Say anything to You About Paying any money for me you may Sooth him & Ashure him I will Repay With Interest & own the Obligation I Could get The money In London but think I had better be Under Obligation To him Who I Can make a Return too Then Another This Much for My Business Affairs –

I am Next to Inform you that The first of this Instant my Sally brought Me A fine Boy Into the Worald, She and it is in A Very hopeful way, She did not Attempt to Nurse it her Self, on acco^t of her Breasts but We have Got it to A Very healthy one & am In hopes it may Live We intend it To be Christened on Tuesday Next & to Call it William⁶⁰ - I had that Very day Moved into my New home & She Was brought to bed by one in the Morning it's A fine beginning –

Cap^t Wilson has A Small Box With A few Com'on Shells that one of our Masters of A Sloop brought Me from S^t Kitts, they are all Small & Very ordinary I Promised When Last in England I Woud get sum for my Sister & Miss S. Appelby⁶¹ but Intended better Then these, however the Master has promised to get better this Voyage, & I only Send these to Shew you I did not forgit –

Col: Fairfax is Going Out Next Week to Another Treaty With the Chiefs of the six Nation Indians Next Week on Acc^t of Sum Attempts the French are Makeing to gett them from the English Interest I shall Accompany him & if anything Worth While I Shall Inform you –

My Wife & Col Fairfax both joyn me in our Warmest Wishes for Y^r & My Sister & Nieces health & Wishing you every Woraldly good Conclude Me Y^r Affectionet

⁶⁰ The family Bible confirms William's date of birth as the 1st August 1753, but sadly, also records his death on the 8th November 1755.

⁶¹ Susanna Appleby was born about May 1719, a younger sister of George Carlyle's wife, Dorothy. [Old Parish Records, England, County of Cumberland, Parish of Kirklington. LDS Batch no. C057992.]

Brother & Hble Servant -

John Carlyle

Alexandria April 18 1754

My Dr Brother,

I am Much favour'd with yours by the Bearer Cap^t Court, & As I Wrote you by Cap^t Gilpin Which You had not Received I Shall Say little As to my famely Affairs only that my Son William is A fine healthy Child, & We Expect to have him home in A Months time or as Soon As his Mother & I Return from a journey to Williamsburg –

Your kind Concern About us & the probability of our being Attacked on our frontears is Not Without foundation & it has been Thought of Such Consequence that Lord Holderness⁶² order'd our Govern^s to Send an Express to the French Comandant in the Ohio a Branch of the Missisupa to Demand by What Authority the French built forts Interrupted our Trade &c to the Westward of our Settlements & to Warn them to Withdraw if they Refused to Repel them by Force, Mr Washington⁶³, A Brother of My Late Brother In Laws⁶⁴, Went out, A daring attempt In December & January thro our Mountains 400 Miles West from Us, Throw Snow So Deep that horses cou'd not travel. & was Obliged to take to his feet & Walk, but as his journal Is printed I'l Send it to you When he Del^d his Letters &c to the French Com^r his Answer Was he was Their by order of the Com^r of the French at Quebeck & Should Stay til he Recalled him & woud Repel force With force, Upon This our Parlements In every Col^y on this Continent Was Several Conveaned, & our Assembly has Raised Ten Thousand pound to Support A Regiment & to build A fort on the River Ohio; & the Gover^r by the Recommendation of Col Fairfax has Appointed Me Commissary of Stores and

⁶² Robert Darcy, 4th Lord Holderness, (1718-1778) diplomat and politician, was British Secretary of State with responsibility for the American Colonies among other states and territories, from March 1754 to March 1761. His contemporaries considered him a “very incapable” man who was largely content to follow the orders of his superiors. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xv, pp. 132-4.]

⁶³ George Washington was just twenty two years old at the time when this task was given him.

⁶⁴ JC's “late brother-in-law” was George Washington's elder half brother, Lawrence, who died in July 1752. Lawrence was married to Sally Fairfax Carlyle's sister, Anne Fairfax. JC was one of his executors along with the Hon. William Fairfax who was Lawrence's father-in-law, George Fairfax his brother-in-law, his brothers Augustine and George, and his friend Nathaniel Chapman. Nathaniel Chapman was also one of the executors of his father, Augustine Washington. [Gerry Webb, *Fairfax of York* (York 2001), p. 112. Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters, *The New England Historical & Genealogical Register*, vol. xlv (1891), p. 215.]

Provisions & paymaster to the Regiment⁶⁵ My pay for w^{ch} [*turn over*] My pay Will be Very Considerable I rank as Captain⁶⁶ & have 8/ per Day & Comisⁿ for What I purchase & pay the Army I am In hopes it may turn out £500 per Ann. & am Allowed Three Deputys of my own Choosing The Post is attended with great Trouble & fatigue & Care, tho Little Risque & the Profit Makes up for the fatigue –

I Coud not omitt doeing my Self the Pleasure of Acquainting You With this As I know you'd Rejoyce With Me on any prefarement⁶⁷ the Gove^r is my hearty Friend & you may be Ashured I'l take Care my Behaviour Shall be Such as Shall not be Blamed–

Please Acquaint My Mother I have not time to Write her but hope She'l Excuse it As I Wrote her by Cap^t Gilpin –

I Shall Write by the first Oppertunity I have & Inclose you Coll Washingtons Journal & What Else I can pick up Worth Notice here

Pray Make my Comp^{ts} Acceptable to My Sister In Which my Sally heartily joyns also to You & my Little Niece⁶⁸ - & our Duty to my Mother When You Write her & believe me to be at All times.

Y^r Most Affectionet Brother & Hble Ser

John Carlyle

To

⁶⁵ Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia formally appointed JC as Commissary of Stores on the 27th January 1754. (Dinwiddie Papers, vol. i, p. 53.)

⁶⁶ In fact he continued to hold the rank of Major (see post script to his letter to his brother dated 1st May 1751, p. 23, above). It is difficult to understand how he mistook his rank since by the time he wrote this letter he had received correspondence which clearly addressed him as Major. The earliest public record in which JC is addressed as Colonel is an entry in George Washington's Diary of the 29th April 1756.

⁶⁷ This spelling is another indication of JC's Scottish accent. It is an almost exact phonetic representation of the way a Scotsman pronounces the word preferment.

⁶⁸ Susanna Maria was born to George and Dorothy Carlyle on the 29th September 1752 and lived until January 1833. [Memorial Stone, St. Cuthbert's Church, Carlisle, Cumberland, England.] John Carlyle was clearly unaware when he wrote this that a nephew, William, had been born two months earlier, on the 17th February, but had died less than a month old on the 13th March, a month before the date of the letter. [Nicholas Carlisle, *Collections for a History of the Ancient Family of Carlisle*, (1822), p. 128.]

Doctor George Carlyle
Physician in
Kendall
Per Hand of Capt Wilson

Alexandria July 3^d 1754

My Dear Brother

My Last to you was by Cap^t Court w^{ch} hope you have Rec^d & to Which I desire to be Refirrd, this now Waits on you by Cap^t Wilson who Says he'l deliver it With his own hands With Sum papers Relating our Expedition Which I Expect to Send With him –

Your favour of the 28 Feb^{ry} gave me the Agreeable Acc^t of my Sisters being Safely deliverd of a Son⁶⁹ & May She & he & My Little Neice Continue In health to be y^r Comfort Is my hearty Prayer, my Young man⁷⁰ has been About A Month Returnd from Nurse She Proving with Child made us take him hom at 10 m^s but he Thrives Grows & is Very good & Attempts To Walk & Talk Very Well, his Mother is Not In so Good a State of health As I Coud Wish I am Afraid [*'for her' - inserted*] & is not at Preasent In away to Increase our Famely –

I have by this Oppertunity Wrote my Mother & hope She'l Excuse me Sumtimes When I omitt it for I Ashure you Since I took the Commission upon Me I hardly have time to Write to anybody –

I Suppose now as We are likely to have the Sean of Action With Us, you Will be Desirous to have As Particular acc^{ts} as We Can give you of Every thing which Shall doe as much as My time Will Admit – In Leweis[?] ⁷¹ the 14th June Mr Colbart⁷² Laid

⁶⁹ See note 68 above re the birth of this son, William. The sad news of his death on the 13th March still cannot have reached Alexandria, even though more than three months had passed when John Carlyle wrote this.

⁷⁰ John's son, William, was born on the 1st August in the previous year. See above in the letter dated 11th August 1753, p. 32.

⁷¹ JC's writing is indistinct at this point and this name difficult to decipher. He may be referring to the small city of Lévis which lies on the southern shore of the St. Lawrence River, opposite Quebec.

a Scheam to joyn the French Settlements on Canida, With the Settlements on the Massacepa [*Mississippi*], belonging to the French & hemeing us In, by the Alpean⁷³ Mountains & this junction Woud oblige All the Indians to be Dependants on The French Crown, & upon any Warr they might send down their Indians & Cut of our People & Drive of their Stocks of Cattle &c & be Very Troublesome & dangerous Neighbours, In Consequence of that Scheam for this Ten Years past their Mishoners have been Sent ~~down~~ up the River Canida⁷⁴ & Into the Lakes then down the River Ohio, A Branch of the Missiscepie to Orlians, & they have Sett up Crosses & bured Plates of Copper, Lead, &c With Inscriptions Noteing their Taking possession,⁷⁵ A Copy of one of them Cap^t Wilson Will Let you have by Which Week pretences if We had not Stirred In it upon another Treatey they woud Claimed those Lands, for this 4 Years past they have Sent partys of Armed men & have built Several Small Block houses & of Late have Taken our Indian Traders & Carreyd or Sent them Prisoners To Canida, upon w'ch our & all the Govern^{ts} on the Continent Remonstrated to his Majesty, & last Winter A Man of Warr came here on purpose With orders to our Governour to Send out A Messinger to demand of the Comanding Officer of the French by What Authority they Settled on Lands to the Westward of the English Settlement as We Claim all the Lands to the pacefick Ocean, Maj^r Washington was pitched upon for that Embassy & Cap^t Wilson has a Copy of his Journal to Show Mr Hicks & then bring to you, Which Will Answer for it Self,⁷⁶ on his Return & Report our Assembly Mett & Agreed to Raise a Regiment of Soldiers of 300 men & Leveyd £10,000 for their maintainance & pay, & Expected all the Colonys to do the Same, N^o: Carolina Assembly Voted £12000 & three hundred Men Also, the other Colonys Yett have done Nothing his Majesty order Three Independent Companys from New York & Charles Town, to Aid our New Leveys Who Are All Arriv'd With us, the Virginia Regiment is got out To The Ohio, & the 28 May had an Ingagement (a party

⁷² Was this James Logan Colbert (b. *ca.* 1721) the Chickasaw Indian leader?

⁷³ JC is referring to the Appalachian and Allegheny Mountains which are certainly impressive enough to be given the description Alpine or Alpean.

⁷⁴ The River Canada, or 'Rivière du Canada', was the original name for the St. Lawrence River. The name first appeared on maps in the mid sixteenth century as given by the explorer Jacques Cartier.

⁷⁵ The Allegheny River rises about 20 miles south of Lake Erie and flows south west into the Ohio River, which itself flows into the Mississippi and on to New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico. These three rivers, therefore, form a natural barrier stretching almost the entire distance from north to south of the United States. If the French had been able to lay claim to all the land lying to the west of these rivers, they would have acquired approximately two thirds of the present area of the United States of America. JC's observation above that the Colonies would have been hemmed in behind the Appalachian and Allegheny Mountains was perfectly accurate.

⁷⁶ Cf. Letter dated 18th April 1754, page 35, above.

of ours of 40 Men & Comd^d by Col Washington Met A party of French of 35 Comanded by Mon^r DeJummunvil & We had So much the Advantage that with the Loss of one man only We kil^d 14 & Took 21 prisoners Among^t the first was the Comander & Among^t the Last Was 2 Officers & 2 Cadets one of the Officers Named Laforce is A man of Great Consequence, he is My Brother Comissary of Stores for the French Army & Speaks 14 Indian lang^s - (as he told me himself) M^r Wilson Will Let You have the Instructions & Copy of A Summons found In the Comanders Pocket When Dead You See they Artfully pretend they was Comeing on an Embassy but for many Reasons I Coud prove they was [new page] they came as Spys & As Soon as they was Reinforced from the fort, [inserted: 'they wou'd have Attack^d our Camp'] or why did Not they deliver the Summons When they had been 5 days Within Sight of our Camp, We fully Expect these Disturbances Will bring on A French Warr again, I have Several papers Relateing the Transactions Which if I can get In Shall Send you, tho' Sum People are So fond Of News from the Camp that I can hardly keep my Letters ⁷⁷

⁷⁷ JC was quite right in anticipating a future conflict with the French. This fifteen minute battle, which took place on the 28th May 1754, was the spark that ignited the French Indian War. The British claimed sovereignty over the entire continent west of the Colonies. In particular the Ohio Company of Virginia had claimed 200,000 acres, granted by royal charter, west of the Allegheny Mountains. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia commissioned the young George Washington to lead an expedition to build roads and forts to protect the Company's interests. A series of forts was planned, starting with Fort Cumberland at Wills Creek, which flows into the Potomac River at one of its most northerly points, at what is today the town of Cumberland, Maryland. The French, however, saw this as a direct threat to their interests. They had ambitions to link their territories in Canada with the Mississippi to the south via the Ohio Valley. They too had been developing a chain of forts linking Quebec, New York, through Illinois and ending at New Orleans. As JC describes it in this letter, this was the "Scheam to joyn the French Settlement on Canida, with the Settlements on the Massacepie, belonging to the French & hemeing us In..." However, the Ohio wilderness was the weak point in this scheme.

It was during Washington's expedition that he and his force met with the French in the minor skirmish which JC describes at what has become known as Jumonville Glen in Pennsylvania, about 50 miles SW of Pittsburgh. Controversy began almost immediately afterwards. The French prisoner Drouillon, who was second in command to de Jumonville, claimed that the party had been on a diplomatic mission to warn the English to leave the Ohio valley. Washington himself argued that everything about the behaviour of the French indicated that they were on a mission to spy on the British road building project. The uncertainty remains to this day, though JC was clearly convinced of the spy theory. Washington himself argues his case in his diary, which may indicate concern that he would need to give an account of his action in due course. This was, after all, his first military battle. Immediately after this event Washington fell back to Great Meadows where he built Fort Necessity.

Washington's diary records the death of de Jumonville and nine others, not the 14 that JC states. Other reports differ as to the exact number of French deaths. Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville was a French Canadian, born in New France, now part of Quebec, in 1718.

Michel Pépin *dit* La Force was, as JC discovered, a noted linguist in English and native American languages as well as being Commissary for the French stores. He met JC on his way to prison at Williamsburg, though the exact circumstances are unknown. [Melanie & Norman La Force, "Michel Pepin dit La Force & John Carlyle: A Link to the Seven Years' War," *Carlyle House Docent Dispatch*, Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority (April 2007).]

I Wrote you In my Last of my Appointment as Comisary of Stores & paymaster A post of honour & Great Profit if properly manadged At preasent it is the most Troublesome one I Ever had I have Six Deputys & am Seldom at home a Day my Self I am tomorrow goeing out Into the Back Countrys with 3 hundred men that are Marcheing to the Camp & on my Return If any News Shall Acquaint You With it, at preasent the French are Very Quiet & fortyfying them Selves but As Soon as all our men joyn & our Cannon getts out We Expect to give a Good Acco^t of them –

You mention In Your former Letter to know What I had done Ab^t Your things I brought to Virginia I believe I Wrote you In a long passage & bad Weather Tossing In the Ship A Good many of the Bottles was Broke & that a Young Scotch Gentleman had Offer'd to purchase the Whole, I had agreed with him but as he was A Strainger proposed Giving me Security for the Payment In 12 mo^s upon which Proposal he flew of & Never asked the Price More, & In Six months or Less he Ran away So that had he bought You woud Loss the Whole, Since I have Sold A Good many of the Potts Sum few Bottles the Marble Mortar & Marble Stone All Which Shall Render you An Acc^t of by Cap^t Gilpin If I have a little More Time Then Now the Medicins I Can get Nothing for – ⁷⁸

I Shall Always Take the Greatest Pleasure In Writeing to My D^r Brother & may be Ashured I Shall by Every Oppertunity Steal A little time to Unburden my Self to you & with Sallys & My Little Will's Compliments To you & my D^r Sister & Little ones I Ever am my D^r Brother –

Y^r Affectionet Brother & Hble Ser^t

John Carlyle

⁷⁸ Cf. page 31, letter of the 12th November 1752.



Above: General Edward Braddock the leader, in 1755, of the unsuccessful expedition from England to prevent the French from further threatening the American Colonies.

Below: Two of General Braddock's Aides de Camp.

Captain Roger Morris



Captain Robert Orme



Alexandria Aug^t 15th 1755

My D^r Brother

I Received your Letter by the Hudson also Your other since With the Affecting news of the Death of our D^r Mother,⁷⁹ I had heard it by one Graham A Passenger that Came In the Hudson & wonder'd at it, As your Letter made No Mention of it, but had it Confirmed Too Soon, We have a Loss in the want of so good A parrent but dare say she dye'd As All good Christians Shou'd doe –

I am Very uneasy that you had not Received My Letters by the Hicks, but hope you Received them Soon after. In them was Inclosed A letter from Col Fairfax, desiring you to Take care of his Youngest Son Mr William,⁸⁰ I am very desirous of hearing from you to know how you Approve of his Scheam for him & whether you have Carred it Into Execution -

I must Next Take Notice of your Concern for Us in this Troublesome time's [*sic*], We Rely never knew what Taxes was, nor the Great Inconvenience Attending Warr before, we are under Strong Apprehensions of the French & Their Indians Vissiting our back Inhabitants, & killing & Driveing them of from Their Plantations, We are all obliged to be Soldiars, & Defend our Propertys, our Militia Tittles is not Now Nominate, but Actuall - & If you was to See Me Now In my Milatary, I doubt Not but you'd Think we Make but A poor figure Sum Armed, and Sum not, I Will Endeavour to give you As particular An Acc^t As I can of Every thing passed This Season In which we have Lost So much honour &c –

Last fall when Cap^t Gilpin left Us we Was Raising Men, & Money, to fill our Virginia Regiment, & waited for Directions from England Which Came In March Last, with

⁷⁹ Rachel Carlyle was buried at St. Cuthbert's Parish, Carlisle, Cumberland on the 4th March 1755. [Burial Register, St Cuthbert's Parish, Carlisle.]

⁸⁰ William Henry Fairfax was born in 1739, the son of Col. William Fairfax of Belvoir and his wife Deborah Clarke, and therefore half-brother of JC's wife, Sarah. [Gerry Webb, *Fairfax of York* (York 2001), p. 112.] A family memorial at Fairfax County Cemetery, near the ruins of the Belvoir Mansion, Virginia, reads, "In memory of the youngest son of William Fairfax, Esq. William Henry Fairfax 1739-1759. Subaltern in Bragg's (28th) Regiment. Died of wounds rec'd with Wolfe before Quebec."

Gen^l Braddock⁸¹ & the forces under his Com'and, the Troops & Men of Warr all Arrived Safe as did Braddock, they Was ordered Up here, (the highest Landing upon the Continent) & were Landed In high Spirits about 1600 men, besides A fine Train of Artillery 100 matrosses⁸² &c & Seemed to be Afraid of nothing but that the French & Indians Woud not Give them A Meeting, & try their Courage, we that knew the Numbers &c of the French, Indivour'd to Set them Right, but to no Purpose, they dissmised us & Them & by Sum means or another came In So Prejudiced against us, our Country, &c that they Used Us Like an Enemy Country & Took everything they wanted & paid Nothing, or Very little for it, & When Complaints was made to the Com^{dg} Officers, they Curst the Country, & Inhabitants, Calling Us the Spawn of Convicts, the Sweep^{gs} of the Goals [*sic*] &c, which made their Company very disagreeable – The General & his Aid de Camps⁸³ Secretary⁸⁴ & Servants⁸⁵ Lodged

⁸¹ General Edward Braddock (1695-1755). Born in London of a military family, he joined the Coldstream Guards as an ensign in 1710 and was a Major General by 1754. He was ordered to take command of the forces against the enemy at the start of the French Indian war and arrived in Virginia on the 10th February 1755. His task was to siege Fort Duquesne on the forks of the Ohio River, then sweep the French back into Canada and eventually siege Quebec and Montreal. Braddock was given just two regiments and commented, "We are sent like sacrifices to the altar." [Lee McCardell, *Ill Starred General, Braddock of the Coldstream Guards*, (Pittsburgh 1958), p. 134. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. vii, pp. 171-3. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, (London 1784), vol. liv, p. 207.]

⁸² An artillery soldier next in rank below a gunner.

⁸³ Captain Robert Orme (1732-1790). He was wounded in the leg during the Battle of Monongahela River, the attack in which General Braddock was killed. With the General dead, he returned to England where he quit the army. In 1756, Sir Joshua Reynolds was commissioned to paint his portrait wearing his military uniform. The painting now hangs in the National Gallery in London. He married the Hon. Audrey Townshend, the daughter of the 3rd Viscount Townshend, in 1766. It was Viscount Townshend's son, Charles Townshend (1725-67), who engineered the Stamp Act by which a three pence per pound duty was levied on glass, paper and, most famously, tea. [R. H. Spencer, *Carlyle Family and the Carlyle House and its Associations*, (1910), p. 42n.]

Captain Roger Morris (1727-1794) was appointed second aide-de-camp on Braddock's first day at Carlyle House. He was wounded during Braddock's defeat. He purchased a major's commission on the 16th February 1758 and took part in the siege of Louisbourg, Cape Breton Island, Canada. In 1759 he served with Wolfe at Quebec. He retired from the army in 1764 and settled in New York City with his American wife, Mary Philipse, daughter of the wealthy landowner Frederick Philipse, whom he had married in 1758. He remained a loyalist during the American Revolution and his considerable estate was confiscated in October 1777. As a result he returned to England where he died at York. His wife lived on until 1825, when she died at the age of 96. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* vol. xxxix, pp. 312-3.]

⁸⁴ William Shirley Jr. (1721-1755), son of the Governor of Massachusetts. He was killed in the Battle of Monongahela River. [Lee McCardell, *Ill Starred General, Braddock of the Coldstream Guards*, (Pittsburgh 1958) p. 137, citing Sargent Winthrop, *History of an Expedition to Fort Dusquene* (Philadelphia, 1856); *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. xxii, p. 499; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11th March 1755.]

⁸⁵ Thomas Bishop, an old Coldstream Guardsman who had been with General Braddock for many years, and Francis Deboux his cook. [Lee McCardell, *Ill Starred General, Braddock of the Coldstream Guards*, (Pittsburgh 1958), p. 137, citing Sargent, Winthrop, *History of an Expedition to Fort Duquesne* (Philadelphia 1856); *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. xxii, p. 499; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11th March 1755.]

with Me,⁸⁶ he took everything he wanted abused my house, & furniture, & made me little or No Satisfaction, tho' Expressed A Great deal of Friendship for me & Gave me A Commission as Keeper of the Kings Stores here, which he Assured Me Shou'd be Worth £100 Per Anno to Me & paid me £50 for the Use of my house for a Month, but to our Great joy they Marched from hence Ab^t the 20th of April & With the Greatest Parade & Negligence Got Up Safe to Fort Cumberland (A fort built last Year after Mr Washingtons Defeat At A Place called Shawne[e] Indian Fields Depicted In the Smal Map that you have of Lord Fairfaxs Northern Neck) and Near the head of Potowmack & About 100 Miles from hence, then they proceeded With about 400 wagons & 1000 baggage Horses over the Alegana Mountains with Great fatigue to Monengahela A Branch of the Ohio, [*inserted* '110 miles farther'] a Branch of the Massiscepa Where they were met With About 300 Indians & Sum few French who gave then the most Remarkable Drubing that We have In history, for Particulars of the Engagement the Killed & Wounded I Referr You to the Inclosed Newspaper & Dare say you may depend on the Truth of it as I know the Author & have had the Facts Related by many Officers present; their was the Grandest Congress held at My home ever known on this Continent,⁸⁷ Gov^{rs} Shirley,⁸⁸ of New England, Morris⁸⁹ of pensilvana, Delancey⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Braddock arrived in Alexandria on the 26th March 1755 and was issuing his first orders from Carlyle House the next day, which was Maundy Thursday that year. [Journal of Captain Robert Orme - *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. v. p. 291. According to local tradition, Braddock's room was upstairs at the rear of the house, overlooking the Potomac River. A guard was mounted for the General consisting of one lieutenant and thirty private soldiers. [W.H. Lowdermilk, *Major General Edward Braddock Orderly Books from February 26 to June 17, 1755. from the Originals, in the Congressional Library* (Cumberland, Maryland 1878), p. vii.]

⁸⁷ Four northern Governors arrived on Sunday the 13th April for the start of the conference the next day. Braddock wrote his report of the Congress to London on the 15th and Governor Sharpe and three of the governors left for Annapolis. "The first proposition put forward by the General [Braddock], after laying his letter of instructions before the group, was a proposal to establish a common fund to bear the expenses of the war. Unanimously the governors voted this down. Their own experiences with their assemblies during the past few months had convinced them that such a fund could never be set up in the colonies without the aid of Parliament. But they approved all three of Braddock's other proposals: (1) the appointment of Col. Johnson as an envoy to treat with the Indians and try to persuade the Six Nations to fight as English allies against the French, (2) simultaneous attacks upon the French forts in Nova Scotia, at Crown Point, Niagara ("the most important of our actions," Braddock said), and the Forks of the Ohio, and (3) the construction of two 60-ton war vessels on Lake Ontario. Some of the northern governors thought Braddock's projected march across the mountains an unnecessary hazard and expense, considering that the enemy was more accessible from New York. Privately they suspected some misrepresentation on the part of Virginia was responsible for this, but there was no argument, no protest on this point for the record. Braddock's orders from London were positive. Braddock was surprised at the importance which the governors attached to winning over the Six Nations. Of all the subjects brought up on the carpet this seemed to be regarded as one of greatest consequence. So far he had had no direct dealings with Indians and had not troubled himself too much about them. None had volunteered to join his expedition, but Dinwiddie thought they would come in. The General asked Morris to do what he could to prevail upon friendly Indians of Pennsylvania to join the army at Fort Cumberland, Wills Creek, Maryland, but to leave their women and children behind. 'They will be very

of New York, Sharp⁹¹ of Maryland, Dinwiddie⁹² of Virginia, General Braddock Comadore Kepple⁹³ & many other Gentlemen was Here Several days & concerted the

troublesome in camp,' he said. At Braddock's dictation his secretary, young Shirley, drew up a formal commission appointing Col. Johnson to superintend and manage the affairs of the Six Nations and their allies. Two speeches to the Indians were prepared. The Colonel was to take presents to the Indians (for which the General would advance £2,000) and deliver the two speeches in the General's name." [Lee McCardell, *Ill Starred General, Braddock of the Coldstream Guards* (Pittsburgh 1958), pp. 166-7. Cf. *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. v, Journal of Captain Orme, p. 300. For the Minutes of the Conference see the British National Archives ref. WO 34/73, pp. 33-34.]

Having failed to persuade the Governors attending the Congress that a fund be set up to bear the cost of the war, Braddock wrote to Sir Thomas Robinson, Secretary of State in London, on the 15th April. "You will be sufficiently informed, Sir, by the minutes of the Council, of the Impossibility of obtaining from the Several Colonies an Establishment of a General Fund agreeable to my Instructions, from His Majesty, and the Circular Letter sent by you to the Respective Governors - Very little has been rais'd in any of 'em since my last account to you I can't help taking the Liberty of mentioning the Necessity there appears to me to be of some Tax being Laid throughout His Majesty's Dominions in North America (agreeable to the opinions of the Council) for repaying the Large Sums which must be advanc'd for His Service and the Int'rest of His Colonies at this important Crisis." [British National Archives, ref. WO 34/73] This letter, written from Carlyle's house, is the second recorded suggestion of a principle which would eventually lead to the American Revolution and, ultimately, the Declaration of Independence. The first written record of the idea comes from Governor Sharpe (see note 91 below) and it is possible that it was Sharpe who suggested the thought to Braddock. The idea was not taken up by the British Parliament, until the Stamp Act was passed in 1765.

⁸⁸ William Shirley (1694-1771) was born in Preston, Sussex, England. He studied law and practised in London for eleven years until a personal financial crisis prompted his emigration to Boston, Massachusetts, in 1731, where he became Colonial Governor from 1741 to 1756. It was Shirley who initiated the attack on Louisbourg in 1745, having seen the threat that the French War (which had broken out the previous year) posed to trade and fisheries. He was appointed Commander of the British Forces after Braddock's death. Note: JC is incorrect in saying that he came from New England. [*Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. xvii, pp. 120-2.]

⁸⁹ Robert Hunter Morris (c. 1700-1764) born in Morrisania, New York, he was the second son of Lewis Morris, Governor of New Jersey. He was chief Justice of New Jersey from 1738 until his death. He was also Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania from 1754-1756. [*Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. xiii, pp. 225-6.]

⁹⁰ James Delancey (1703-1760) was born in New York City, the son of a Huguenot emigrant from Caen in France. His father sent him to England for his university education at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Later he read law at the Inner Temple in London and, while there, made many acquaintances which would later become important in his career. Returning to New York in 1725, he was admitted to the bar and became Chief Justice in 1733. He was Lieutenant Governor of New York from 1753-1755. [*Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. v, pp. 212-3.]

⁹¹ Horatio Sharpe (1718-1790) was born near Hull in England. He took up a military career as an officer in the British army. He held the office of Proprietary Governor of Maryland from 1753 to 1768. Some historians claim that he was the first to suggest what later became the Stamp Act. In 1754 he wrote, in a letter to Lord Baltimore, the Proprietor of Maryland, a concise outline that is certainly a prototype of the Act itself. [Archives, post, vi, 99.] Baltimore took no interest in politics personally, preferring to live a life of leisure in England and Italy, and so will have done nothing about the suggestion. The idea was, however, taken up by General Braddock who passed it on to Sir Thomas Robinson in London (see note 87 above). On being forced out of office in 1769 Sharpe retired to 'Whitehall' his estate near Annapolis. [*Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. xvii, pp. 25-6.]

⁹² Robert Dinwiddie (1693-1770) was born in Scotland, near Glasgow. For a period around 1727 he was Collector of Customs for Bermuda. In 1738 he was appointed Surveyor General for the southern part of America including Virginia where he decided to live. His position gave him membership in the councils of the southern colonies and he took his seat at the Council of Virginia in October 1741. He was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Virginia from 1751-1758. A man of great energy, his lengthy instructions to subordinates show a close attention to detail. However, worn out by his efforts during the French Indian War, he was given permission to return to Britain in 1758 where he died at Clifton near Bristol. [*Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. v, pp. 316-7.]

Plan for this preasent Campain, in Which was Determined, Braddock & his Troups was to Attack Fort Duquesne, in Which he Unhappily failed - Governour Shirley with his & Kepperales Regiments Was to Attack the French fort At the falls of Niagaria & then proceed to Meet Braddock, Col Johnston⁹⁴ A Nephew of the Late Ad^l Warrens,⁹⁵ & lives Above Albany, & is A Great Indian Trader & has great Intent [Interest?] amongst the Six Nations of Indians, was to Collect A body of 2000 Indians & With Sum Troops from East & West Jersey New York Road [sic] Isleand Was to Attack Crown point, these Two last We yet have not heard of their Success, ⁹⁶ Gov^r Lawrence⁹⁷ Was to Attack the forts & Settlements Near Nova Scotia Which he has

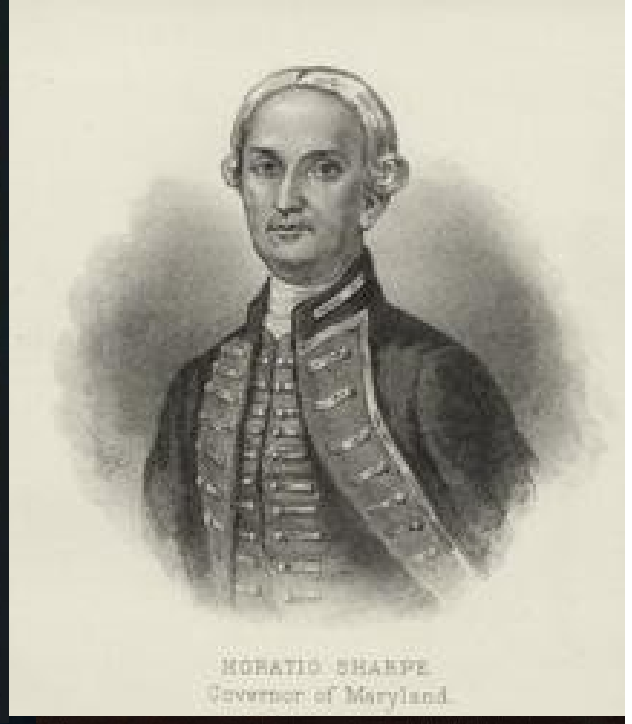
⁹³ Commodore Augustus Keppel (1725-1786) was second son of the Earl of Albemarle who had been Governor-in-Chief of Virginia until his death in December 1754, though he had never set foot there. The younger Keppel accompanied Braddock to America in February 1755. July of the same year saw the arrival of Vice Admiral Boscawen (q.v. page 46, note 98) who superseded him, enabling him to return to Britain with the news of Braddock's death. By the end of the American War of Independence and the fall of Lord North as Prime Minister in London, Keppel became First Lord of the Admiralty in 1782 and was created first Viscount Keppel. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxi, pp. 361-6.] JC may have known of him by reputation before he arrived in Virginia, since he travelled with Lord Anson on his voyage round the world in 1740 and we know that George Carlyle was trying to obtain a copy of the account of that voyage to send to Lord Fairfax in 1748. (See note by George Carlyle written on the letter to him by JC dated July 1748, page 19, above.) A number of portraits of Augustus Keppel exist, including two by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

⁹⁴ Col. Sir William Johnson, bart. (c.1715-1774) was born in Smittstown, Co. Meath, Ireland. His mother, Anne Warren, was a sister of Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Warren (q.v. note 95). Johnson arrived in America some time around 1738 at the urging of his uncle. He settled near the Mohawk River in New York province and was quickly able to cut into Albany's trade with the Indians. The relationships which he developed with the Mohawk Indians deepened and he was appointed "Colonel of the Warriors of the Six Nations" to enlist them in the struggles against the French during the War of Austrian Succession. It was this close connection that made him the ideal choice by General Braddock to act as his agent to the Six Nations. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxx, pp. 329-31.]

⁹⁵ Admiral Sir Peter Warren KB (1703-1752) was an Irishman from County Meath who rose quickly through the ranks of the British Navy. In 1745 he commanded the naval force during the successful attack on Louisbourg, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. (Cf. Letter from JC to his brother dated 1st December 1746, page 9, above.) He married Susannah Delancey, sister of Governor James Delancey of New York present at Braddock's congress (see page 44, note 90, above). Thus Col. Johnson (q.v. note 94) was distantly related to James Delancey. Warren died in Dublin during a return visit to Ireland. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. lvii, pp. 495-7.]

⁹⁶ Johnson's 1755 campaign against Fort St. Frédéric, Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, Vermont, was, in fact, considered so successful that he was created baronet and granted a £5,000 reward, though he himself was wounded. During the remainder of the French Indian War he obtained a grant of 60,000 acres of land north of the Mohawk River. He died possessed of 60 slaves and 170,000 acres of land, making him the second largest land owner in the American Colonies. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxx, pp. 329-31.]

⁹⁷ Lt. Governor Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia (1709-1760) is notorious for having signed the order expelling the French Acadians from their homes and farms in Nova Scotia in 1755. The Acadians had tried to remain neutral during the struggles between the French and British, but Lawrence insisted that they swear an oath of allegiance to the British Crown. When they refused, he obtained the backing of his Colonial Council, on the 28th July, to expel and disperse them among the colonies. It is thought that as many as half of them died as a result of the hardships they endured. [*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 3, pp. 361-6.]



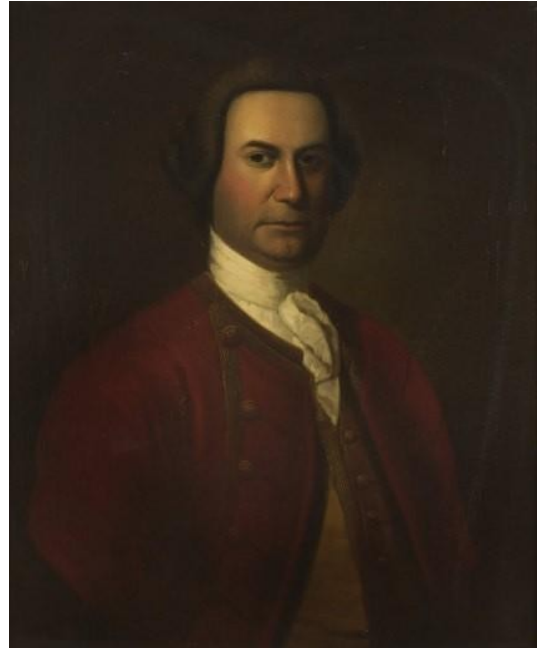
Four of the five Colonial Governors who attended the Congress at Carlyle House in 1755.

Top Left: Governor Robert Morris of Pennsylvania from 1754-1756. He was later one of the signatories to the Declaration of Independence.

Top Right: Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland from 1753 to 1768.

Bottom Left: Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts from 1741 to 1749 and from 1753 to 1756.

Bottom Right: Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia from 1751 to 1758.



*Above: Two of the delegation accompanying General Braddock from England, both mentioned in Col. Carlyle's correspondence.
Left: Augustus Keppel. Right: Sir William Johnson.*



Above: The earliest portrait of George Washington, painted in 1772 by Charles Wilson Peale. This is Washington as John Carlyle will have known him, wearing his uniform as Colonel of the Virginia Regiment.

Effectuated & With Adm¹ Boscawen's⁹⁸ Takeing the Two Men of Warr & A Transport may In Sum Measure Ballance to England the Unhappy defeat of Braddock here, but to Us Virginians Nothing Less than Shirleys Takeing Niagaria, can do Us any good,⁹⁹ which woud Stop the Frenchs Communication from Canida, to Fort Duquesne, which is At preasent Open, as is Also the Road from thence to our Frontears, Where Their Barbor^s Indians are makeing Inroads & Scalping & Carrying of dayly famelys Either to be Murder'd or Slaves for life, we are dayly Expecting to be Called out to joyn in Bodys of Millitia, to Cover the Frontears from Those Cruel Brutes Incurtions – I Cannot Pass over Braddocks Character Without Sum Notice, As he Was Intrusted With a Comission With greater Power than ever The Duke of Cumberland,¹⁰⁰ or the Late Duke of Malbrough¹⁰¹ ever had, he Cou'd Com'and All the Governours on the Continent, & cou'd, When he Pleased Constitute, a New Regiment, Put them on the British Establishm^t & Give Away the Comissions, A Power Always before only In the hand of the King, but On This Expedition Put Into the hands of General Braddock, A Man (If I am a judge) of Week understanding, Positive, & Very Indolent, Slave to his Passions, Women & Wine, As Great an Epicure as could be in his Eateing, Tho' A brave Man, See into what hands So great an Affair As the Settling the Boundarys in N^o America Was put, We are In hopes they Are In better hands Now (In Shirleys A

⁹⁸ Admiral Edward Boscawen (1711-1761) was the third son of Viscount Falmouth. His hard fighting tactics won him the nickname "Old Dreadnaught". JC's mention of his taking two men of war is a reference to an event which occurred on the 9th June 1755 when Boscawen captured two French ships of a squadron bound for North America, the *Alcide* and the *Lys*, both 64 gunners. He returned to the English naval base at Spithead with 1,500 prisoners. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. vi, pp. 699-703.]

⁹⁹ Governor Shirley of Massachusetts suffered the jealousy of New York politicians and other rivals, who interfered with his supplies of equipment, men and allies among the Indians. He failed to take Fort Niagara. [Alfred A. Cave, *The French Indian War* (Westport, CT 2004), p. 113; *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. xvii, pp. 121-2.]

¹⁰⁰ Prince William, Duke of Cumberland, (1721-1765) was the younger son of King George II. He was loathed by the Scots who considered his nickname "Butcher" Cumberland most appropriate after his forces massacred the Highlanders at the Battle of Culloden in 1746, following the failed attempt by Bonnie Prince Charlie to take the throne of England. He had ordered his troops to give no quarter to any highlander who had survived the battle itself. The English, however, who had been given a terrible fright by the Scottish attempt to overthrow the royal House of Hanover, hailed him as a great deliverer. A Thanksgiving Service was held at St. Paul's Cathedral in London, during which Handel's *See the Conquering Hero Comes* was first performed in his honour. Across the Atlantic he was looked on as a 'friend of America' because it was he who presided over the appointment of Lord Rockingham's ministry which repealed the notorious Stamp Act. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. lix, pp. 105-13.]

¹⁰¹ John Churchill, the 1st Duke of Marlborough, (1650-1722) was presented with Blenheim Palace in Oxfordshire by a grateful Queen Anne, after his victory against the French at the Battle of Blenheim in 1704. The palace was only completed in the year he died, but has been lived in by the Dukes of Marlborough ever since. Sir Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister during World War II, was a descendant and was born at Blenheim Palace. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xi, pp. 607-33.]

Good & brave man, & knows the English Fettle & bounds here as well as any man – We here Are by farr the Greatest Sufferers As We had Raised A large Sum of money before, & A Number of Men, which In the Late Action Suffered More than any Others, & When the Red Coats Ran, they Stud & brought the General, & al the Wounded out of the Field, & to Fort Cumberland In Which many Dye'd, & the British Soldiars was Seased with Such A Panick At the Indians Method of fighteing, that they are determined to Go in to Winter Quarters In July, (brave English Men) & have Left Our fort, the Provis^s, Amonition thats Left, to the Remains of our Blew's Provincial Troops who are decreased So much that our Upper & Lower house of Parliament are Called together, on this Very Extraordinary time of Danger, & we understand have Order'd 40,000 more to be Raised, & our Troops to be filled up to 1200 Men and Put under the Com'and of my Friend Col Washington, to defend our frontears We have Men Sufficient, but the money is Wanting, & Without our Legislative Authority, Thinks proper to Issue A Paper Curruncy for the preasent & So order Such Duties, as Will Sink or pay of that money in 50 Years, We Shall All be Ruind, My Taskes [*i.e.* Taxes] This Year past Was above £20 Sterling & Next Year Will be Near Double A thing Never known before here & makes it harder to be Indured – I dare say I have Almost Tyerd you With My Long Detail of our Misfortunes only Expect your Regard for my Safety Will plead my Excuse for me also the Rarety of the Affair makes me fuller Then I woud Other wise been, Ab^t 1500 Regular Troops, & those British under the Com'and of A Liet. General, & Ab^t 80 Brave Officers, A fine Train of Artillery, With Mortars &c, 500 matrosses, to be beat by 300 French & Indians, A perfect Banditty, to Kill Ab^t 300, wound 1300, & Take the Whole of the Artillery, Bagage, Nay, every thing that was on the Field It will Not be believed In history & What we here upon the Spot can hardly think true, -

I cannot yet finish without Acquainting you With A Little of my Domestic Affairs that My D^r Sally the 27th Alt: brought Me a fine boy Which I have had Christen'd & Called George Fairfax Carlyle After You & My Wife's oldest Brother,¹⁰² the Child Seems to Promise Very Wel & am In hopes Sally will be Able to Nurse it from one breast, She was but indiferent the Whole of the Nine months but am In hopes her Nurseing may be of Service to her, My Little boy is William is As fine A Child as you

¹⁰² George Fairfax Carlyle was born on the 27th July and died on the 22nd November. [Carlyle Family Bible, Carlyle House, Alexandria, VA.]

Cou'd wish him¹⁰³ – As to myself With my great fatigues the Last year In my Commission of Comissary I got Colds & Was unwell In the Winter & Spring but In the first of may I Went down to our General Court to Settle my last Accounts & being determined to Give up the Comission I was Taken With a Nervous fever Which Very Near Carred Me of, but the Strength of My Constitution & the Assistance of the best Phisiciain In this Country, I Recovered, My Memory is Much Impaired, My heareing Not So Good as formerly, but am In hopes With Care to be Reinstated In the Whole, I was Confined 21 Days, 13 days before my Disorder had a Turn & it Cost me Near Sixty pounds – I am now Very Careful of my Self & hope to be perfectly Recovered Soon Cap^t Wilson has Promised Me to Assist in Procureing A Good farmer If Possable, with your Assistance Shoud be much obliged If Such a one cou'd be got -

Please Excuse the Incorectness of this Letter I have not time to Copy it over again & you have it as it Occurred to Me My Wife joyns In Love to You & My D^r Sister In Wishing you every Earthly good & am D^r Sir Y^r Affectionet Brother & Humble Servant

John Carlyle

Turn over

The Inclosed Letter is for M^r W^m Fairfax Supposeing him to be at Kendal if Not his at Wakefield at Heath School –¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ In fact, the Family Bible records that William died on the 8th November 1755.

¹⁰⁴ See page 41, note 80.



Above: Jumonville Glen where, on the 28th May 1755, a force under George Washington ambushed a force of about 50 Frenchmen under the command of Joseph Coulon de Jumonville. Since Britain and France were not then at war, the event had international repercussions, and was a contributing factor in the start of the Seven Years War the following year.

Below: Braddock's Grave. General Braddock was mortally wounded at the Battle of Monongahela River on the 9th July 1755 and died four days later.



Alexandria Aug^t 10th 1757

My Dear Brother

I wrote you in March Last by the Hudson Which Ship I am Informed is Safe Arrived, Since I Received your Agreeable favour of the 3^d March by Cap^t Gilpin & Observe the Sictuation of your famely, I hope by this Time My Sister has Got over her Nurseing & that her Little Son is Reinstated In a Good State of health.¹⁰⁵ Cap^t Gilpin tells Me Y^r Little Daughter is A Very Agreeable Child – My Losses is in Sum Measure made Up In A Little Girel too Who is Very healthy, We Luckily got A Very healthy Young Nurse & Am In hopes She may be Spared to Us¹⁰⁶ –

M^r W^m Fairfax¹⁰⁷ is Come In With Letters from the Duke¹⁰⁸, S^r Ed^d Hawke¹⁰⁹ & Several others to Lord Loudoun¹¹⁰ & is In hopes of Immediate Preferment –

Your Reasons for Not Sending the Pictures I Desired, I am Satisfyed With, but Wish you had Sent them as it has Turned out, Now I think it prudent to Wait to See Whether We May hope for Peace before they are Sent –

¹⁰⁵ On the 30th October in the previous year a second son, George, had been born to George and Dorothy Carlyle. However, John's concern for his health in this letter is justified, because, in fact, he would die on the 18th November 1757. [Nicholas Carlisle, *Collections for a History of the Ancient Family of Carlisle*, (1822), p. 128.] Note JC's Scottish accent in his spelling of the word 'girl'.

¹⁰⁶ George Carlyle's daughter mentioned here is Susannah, born in 1752. By this date, JC and his wife had lost four children, Rachel, Ann, William, and George, none more than three years old. However, this letter notifies his brother that Sarah Fairfax Carlyle had been born in Alexandria on the 4th January. [Carlyle Family Bible, Carlyle House, Alexandria, VA.] She was the only child of John and Sarah who would survive to full adulthood, dying in 1827. [James Munson, *Col^o John Carlyle, Gent.* (NVPA 1986), p. 134.]

¹⁰⁷ William Henry Fairfax. See page 41, note 80.

¹⁰⁸ Probably the Duke of Cumberland (see page 46, note 100 above) who had fought alongside Lord Loudoun against the Jacobite uprising in Scotland, in 1746.

¹⁰⁹ Sir Edward Hawke (1705-1781), a distant relative of the Fairfaxes of Belvoir on his mother's side, joined the Royal Navy in 1720 and was a Rear Admiral by his early forties. His greatest success occurred in 1759 when he prevented France from invading Britain by a lengthy blockade of the French fleet at Brest ending with the Battle of Quiberon Bay on the 30th November. In doing so he established superiority over the French navy until the war ended in 1763. He became First Lord of the Admiralty in 1766, a post which he held until 1771, and was made 1st Baron Hawke in 1776. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xv, pp. 886-92.]

¹¹⁰ John Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun (1705-1782) was born at Loudoun Castle, Ayrshire, Scotland. He followed a military career. In January 1756 he accepted the post of Commander in Chief of the forces in North America and, at the same time, was appointed Governor General of Virginia and Colonel in Chief of the 60th Foot, or Royal American Regiment, then being raised in the Colonies. Loudoun County, Virginia, is named in his honour. See also page 51, note 114. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. ix, pp. 820-21.]

I am surprised My Servant Tebay Wilsons Friends had been Informed Such things of him, the last Year of his Time,¹¹¹ I hired My Wagon & horses & him to the Suttlers that attended Gen^l Braddocks Camp, & he Went With them Within three days of the Unlucky Ingagement, but Luckely for him As Well as Me he was Ordered back for Another load of Wine, Which Saved him his Scalp, & Me My Wagon & horses, he Served me til May 1755 I then Set him free & Gave him Two Years of his time, Upon the Whole he Was A Good Servant, I bought him a Cart & Two horses With Which he Tryed his hand. I do not think he has made any thing of it for which Reason I have Advised him & he has Quitted it & hired himself to Drive Col^o Washingtons Teame & Wagon at £20 Virgⁿ Currancy or £16 Sterling per Year which I think will doe better for him as I think he makes a better Servant then a freeman, he gave me Sum Trouble With A White Woman Servant I had, I believe they Ware to great but I have Sent her out of the Country & have Advised him to behave better, his A Very Surly Ill Tempor & does Not Like Advice -

As our Continent is Still Expected to be the Sean of Action I doubt Not You Expect a details of Actions of Consequence, but the Late Arrival of the Fleat here has Stoped the Procedure of the Campain, Lord Lowdoun (Who We believe takes Every Step that A Prudent Cautious General shoud) Shou'd been Inabled to Taken the Field In May at the furthest & We believe he Was not At the Place of Action before the 20th July, tho its All Guess Work for Nothing Transpires his Name is Not Allowed to be Mentioned In the Public Papers We Expect he's now Attacking Cape Brittoon¹¹² –

Our Townsman Col Stanwix¹¹³ is Incamped Near Carlisle In Cumber^d County In Pensilvania, His Character herein A Very Vigalant Good Officer, this Colony has Not

¹¹¹ For the first reference to Tobey Wilson in this correspondence see letter above dated 4th August 1752, page 28.

¹¹² Lord Loudoun drew up plans to invade Louisbourg in 1757, but failed in his attempt because of an inability to establish naval superiority. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. ix, pp. 820-21.]

¹¹³ Colonel John Stanwix (c.1693-1766) was born in England and joined the army in 1706. He represented the City of Carlisle in Parliament in 1746 and was appointed Equerry to the Prince of Wales in 1749. He became deputy quartermaster-general of the forces in 1755. On the 1st January 1756, was made colonel-commandant of the 60th Foot, or Royal American Regiment, and sailed for America. In 1757, his headquarters were at Carlisle in Pennsylvania, as JC observes, and he was appointed Brigadier-General there on the 27th December of that year. On returning to England in 1758 he was appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight and re-entered Parliament as member for Appleby,

Sufferd much this Year from the Inroads of the Barbarous Enemy, We have had Three or four hundred Cherokee & Cutaba Indians, that have Gone out In partys & have Scalped Sum of the French & Indians On the Ohio, which deterrs them from Leaveing their homes & has kept us Quiet how long we May Continue In God only knows –

Tho' I am told you have the News Papers pretty Constantly & in them the News from America I have however Sent You the Pensilvania, Maryland & Virginia Gazetts they May Perhaps Aford Sum little Amusement –

Sep^r 1 – As Cap^t Gilpin has waited for Convoy & As that Making Up I have Not Closed my letter til now, tho' Nothing Material but the Loss of Fort W^m Henry has happened Since which is As Little As We cou'd Expect from the Late Arrivals of the Troops, our first Accounts Was Very Alarming but, Since We find the Place Was Well defended & Deliverd up on honourable Terms¹¹⁴ –

My Wife Joyns in Comp^{ts} To You & My Sister & Little ones & am My Dear Brother

Your's most Affectionatly

John Carlyle

[To JC's brother-in-law, George William Fairfax]

Alex July 24, 1761

Westmorland. He became mayor of Carlisle in 1763. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. lii, p. 268.]

¹¹⁴ Fort William Henry had been built at the southern tip of Lake George by Sir William Johnson (q.v. page 45, note 94, re letter dated 15th August 1755 above) as part of the defensive line of forts along the inland waterway from New York to Quebec. In August 1757 the French took advantage of the absence of the British Commander in Chief, Lord Loudoun, while he was engaged in planning his attack on Louisbourg (see page 50, note 112, above). An army of 8,000 men, including Indian allies, under the command of General Marquis de Montcalm besieged the fort, manned by 2,200 Americans and British. A relief army was unable to break through from the south and the French forced a surrender, though on generous terms, as JC remarks. However, these lenient terms angered the Indians, who had been expecting to be rewarded with scalps and prisoners. They, therefore, proceeded to attack the British as they left the fort resulting in what is now called the Massacre of Fort William Henry.

Lord Loudoun was recalled to Britain after the fall of Fort William Henry and was replaced as Commander in Chief by the incompetent General James Abercrombie who had been with him at Louisbourg. [Alfred A. Cave, *The French and Indian War* (Westport, CT 2004), p. 100.]

James Fenimore Cooper's novel *The Last of the Mohicans* centres on the story of the capitulation at Fort William Henry.

Dr Sir

I wrote you fully by Mr. Dalton In the Hudson & a copy by Capt. Clemt Nicholson Via London both of which I am in hopes is come to hand & to which I refer you as to what happened at that time, a few days Ago I recd your favour by Capt. J. Johnston which shall answer as fully as I Can, as its the only letter I have recd from Except that by Pettit, Coolidge tells me he had one but he put it with others Into the port masters hand (one Barret) at Hampton, if in any of you former letters You have wrote me anything of moment you must mention it In Yr Next.

I'm glad to find by Yours that You & Mrs Fairfax have got pretty well again and do not doubt your doing everything in order to settle your affairs & hope you'l bring them to a Speedy determination to your Satisfaction & that we may Soon have You for a Neighbour again those we have not liked, & Col M has at last got his Lordship to Consent That Ten Wagons are to be down & Move them all Up, In October, his Lordship continues Very kind to me Stays with me every court & Complains of Col. M Odd Temper, but Still is much influenced by him, Miss Dent is all in all with M & its thought by Sum he will marrey her however She has him wholly to her self he never Vissits anywhere & when we go their is constantly in her room – You have known long That his Lordship did listen to Tales & that Mr. M was doing you Ill offices I approve of your asserting Yr Rights & shall doe anything In my power to forward Them, his Lordship rec'd Your Letter by J. J. But he Said Nothing to me about It nor I to him, I waited for him to mention it, Coll Mayson has said nothing to me or anybody but Coll M who I dare say woud be glad it was true his Lordship & he has many disputes abt Mason & the affair I cannot believe he thinks anything abt it – As I found I shoud Afront If I did anything with The Furniture (as indeed I am told I have by Not Selling it) & Col. M Always was Abuseing the place and Determined not to get my Lord back at any Rate, I thought It best not to doe anything in it till they were gone which will now be this fall & the Sooner they go the better for they do not care to have any workmen abt the house while they are their & the house Rely Runs out of repair.

The Accot with Mr. Beeler & Stephinon Shall be Copyd & Sent you they were Continued on from the Settlement made by Mr. Piper & Dalton & dare say you'l find them Right. I shall send them Also the small accot of my receipts of Yr rents, I was up at Loudn Court last & expected they woud meet me Not above three or four did, I have therefor orderd Suits & Distress to be made without Respect on al.

As to Your Crops Inclosed is A list of them made on Shann [*Shennandoah*] Quarter & Arcadia, by Mistake I have Taken Two belonging to his Lordship & shipd for You as You'l see the list I have repaid Two hhd [*hogshead*¹¹⁵], which I shall charge you In Cash for also yr Publick dues, overseer Shares, etc as I have not Tobacco to pay then yr crops at home Mr. Dent (to whom I left that place) has not got one hhd To pay the balance in & the Overseer now tells me has determined to lett it stay till the next Inspection it's a very bad way but I can not now help the Quantity so much, hardly Two hhd – what Corn & Wheat was made at the Gt house his Lordship has gott, I have rec'd nothing for it Mr. Dent tells me the Composition you had recd exceeds the fees due You & called Upon me for money to make it up Also for his wages till you went Away, telling me Coll M sayd his Lordship had settled it with You till that time I directed him to receive the money for the corn wheat etc. & Apply it to that use & We woud Settle at the Years End which we have not Yett done, At Arcadia I have been Obliged to buy large Quantities of All Sorts, & at Shannandoar they had none to Spare but Sum little to the Bloomery wch acct shall send you home¹¹⁶ When I was up last week your Plantations were In a fair way for a Crop but Arcadia best, I have workmen their building Two Tobacco houses & have built an overseer house Two Corn houses & a Kitchen with which I have had a good deal of Trouble & you'l think a good deal of Expense you can not conseave the Scarcity of Workmen, I am sorry to inform you that Viva is dead & Hudson I am afraid can not Live he's farr gone in the Raws, I have employed a Doctor & be ashured he has proper care of hime, Your Negro fellow Billey with Mr Adams is Also Very Unwell & says he was poison'd sum time Ago but I think Rather he's consumptive, I have sent Out to my meadow to

¹¹⁵ A unit of volume amounting to about 50 gallons in Britain and 63 gallons or more in the U.S.

¹¹⁶ JC and George William Fairfax both owned a part share in this bloomery along with Alexandria merchants John Dalton, and William Ramsay. The smelting process of a bloomery was easier and cheaper than running a blast furnace. [James Munson, *Col^o John Carlyle, Gent.* (NPPA 1986), p. 83.]

live on Milk by Dr. Lauries directions¹¹⁷. Yr other Negros are all well Miller behaves well but I can not say so for Mirtilen, Poplin, & Easter whatever Sum may be my proportion of the Personal estate of your late Unkle¹¹⁸ I shall lett it Remain in Your hands, Bills of Exchange are at 50 pct now & you may make use of my money & I can doe the like here which is better than remitting at so high an Exchange. The Bloomery is gott to work & makes better & more Iron than ever was made their, I have put of buying Negros till lately Expecting youd gett us a Ship, I lately purchased two one a black Smith for the Company the Other A Good Axman & have hired Two so that we doe the work Chiefly with Negros, the Works are much out of repair & must be Rebuilt next Year, but hope to make as much money first as will pay for the Negros & repair them – I will Settle with Emmett on the best Terms I can, tho' I can not find the state[ment] You Mention In the Trunk but will have another Search for it – I wish you had Assured me on what Terms the Bloomery Land & the Lands Near stood In the Office – I am afraid of Sum advantage will be attempted to be taken against us.

Your brother is gone with his Lady to Hampton¹¹⁹ & will not Return till she is brought to bed, they were pretty well when they left this tho' I had not the pleasure of Seeing them.

¹¹⁷ Dr. James Laurie of Alexandria was known to George Washington's household. He was one of the three sponsors, of the so called "Bread and Butter Ball" which was held in Alexandria in 1760 and which Washington found so amusing for the quality of its refreshments. "Feb 15th Went to a Ball at Alexandria--where Musick and Dancing was the chief Entertainment. However in a convenient Room detachd for the purpose abounded great plenty of Bread and Butter, some Biscuets with Tea, & Coffee which the Drinkers of coud not Distinguish from Hot water sweetned. Be it remembered that pocket handkerchiefs servd the purposes of Table Cloths & Napkins and that no Apologies were made for either. I shall therefore distinguish this Ball by the Stile & title of the Bread & Butter Ball. The Proprietors of this Ball were Messrs. Carlyle Laurie & Robt. Wilson, but the Doctr. not getting it conducted agreeable to his own taste woud claim no share of the merit of it. We lodgd at Colo. Carlyles." [Washington Diaries. See also entries in his diary for the 4th Jan 1760 when Dr Laurie attended Martha Washington who was ill, and also the 22nd March 1760 when he seems to have paid a social call.]

¹¹⁸ Henry Fairfax of Toulston, a rather eccentric elder brother of George Fairfax's father, died unmarried in York, England, on the 22nd November 1759. [Clements R Markham, *Life of Robert Fairfax of Steeton* (London 1885), p.163.]

¹¹⁹ Hampton, Virginia, lies on the coast at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay. The brother mentioned here is probably George Fairfax's half brother Bryan, later 8th Lord Fairfax. His wife, Elizabeth Cary of Ceelys VA, gave birth to Thomas Fairfax in 1762. He became 9th Lord Fairfax of Vaucluse, though he never used his title. His third wife, whom he married in 1800, was Margaret Herbert, the daughter of William Herbert and JC's daughter Sarah Carlyle. [Gerry Webb, *Fairfax of York* (York 2001), p. 112.]

As I did send for a Charriot I wish it had Comed in Johnston but for no other reason than his being safe arrived however it will I hope come safe or be Insured it will be in full time.

I am Sorrey to think you any occation for a Chancery Suit I woud wish you to Avoid it all in Yr power as it will detain You In England, My Two Little Girls are both well Sally often speaks of You & Yrs & will be happy If it Please god they are spar'd till their good Ants arrival At praesent they have None, however be Ashured I doe what's in my power for them – the Elections are the only thing here worth mentioning, In this County Capt. Johnston & Colo West, in Pr William Jn Baylis & H Lee & Loudon the Old ones Frederick, Coll Washington & Mercer, which has occasioned Ill blood between his Lordship & Col. Martin, & Col. Washington that wanted Col. Stephens & Washington oppose them.¹²⁰

I have forwarded Mr. Woods letter to New York as I understand his Son is at Albany – I think I have spun out my Letter to a pretty Good Length, but I hardly know now how to leave Off but with my Love to the Lady & to Ashure you that you have my hearty wishes & prayers for Your & Their Healths & Safe return In due time & that I can affectionately dear Sir remain

Yr obed. Serv.

John Carlyle

PS I recd the Goods by J Johnston but we shall want Sum Rugs, Nails, Hoes, & felt hatts but these I Expect You have ordered from Bristoll – I mention my Sending You a Copy of Yr Crops Inclosed & when I gott down to the office I find I have it not with

¹²⁰ This election to the Virginia House of Burgesses had taken place on the 18th May 1761. It was the second by which Washington was elected after his first successful venture into politics, when he was similarly elected for Frederick County in July 1758 along with Col. Thomas Martin, a nephew of Lord Fairfax. On that first occasion JC actively canvassed for Washington as shown in a letter he wrote to Washington dated the 14th July and a second letter of congratulations the day after the election on the 25th July. In 1761 Washington and George Mercer were elected leaving the third candidate, Col. Adam Stephen, a loser. Mercer and Stephen both served with Washington in the French Indian War. Martin did not stand for election this second time. [R. T. Barton, "The First Election of Washington to the House of Burgesses," *Collections of the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society* (1891), vol. 95, pp. 115-125.] Col. John West (c. 1714-1776) was a great uncle of Sybil West who married JC on the 22nd October 1761. He represented Fairfax County in the House of Burgesses from 1755 to 1774. [Jim Bish, "Hugh West and the West Family's Momentous Role in Founding and Developing Alexandria," *The Alexandria Chronicle* (Spring 2010), p. 16.]

Me & therefor hope You'l Excuse it & shall Send it my next

J.C.

To
Doct^r George Carlyle
Physician in
Carlisle
To the Care of Cap^t William Gilpin
Merch^t In
Whitehaven
Per Cap^t Robinson
QDC

Alexandria Aug^t 1 1766

My D^r Brother

I Wrote to you ab^t the midle of Nov^r Last by p[oo]^r R Dalton¹²¹ whose misfortune Every body here Laments with great Sincerity, My Wife & Sally wrote Y^r M^{rs} Carlyle & Couzen & Sent as M^r R D was coming directly to Carlisle to make his Residence Sum few things w^{ch} now must take the will for the deed for – I had sent you Several things in the metalick way, Our papers &c. Which he & I had Picked Up & he proposed himself great Pleasure in Y^r Comp^y & Conversation – but now that and All his Earthly prospects are Over, I wrote M^r Carruthers ab^t Limekills¹²² Affairs by him also If you See Either of these Gentⁿ you may Acquaint them I was at Annapolis¹²³ last week attending the judges of the Land Office to hinder the Issuing an Excheat patent for A Tract of Land Called Hopewel the Land where my Unckle Lived and

¹²¹ Robert Dalton was a brother of John Dalton with whom JC was frequently a business partner. Little is known of him, other than that in the autumn of 1765 he sold up and sailed for England, and his home town of Carlisle, in the November. Some catastrophe must have struck the ship, because he was never heard from again. [James Munson, *Col^o John Carlyle, Gent.* (NVPA 1986), p. 98, citing Fairfax County Court Minute Book 1765:65.]

¹²² This is probably John Carruthers of Holmains, Dumfriesshire, the father-in-law of Adam Carlyle of Limekilns, the family home in Scotland. Adam (1724-1776) was a first cousin of John Carlyle in Alexandria, and the heir to JC's family home in Dumfriesshire, Scotland. (See page 58, note 124 below.)

¹²³ Annapolis is the Capital City of Maryland and lies about forty miles from Alexandria, on the coast of Chesapeake Bay at the mouth of the Severn River. For a brief period after the Revolutionary War it acted as the Capital of the new United States of America after the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783. Congress met there from November until the following June.

dyed I got it Stopped but my Couzen may be thankful I had his powers.¹²⁴ Just In time I had both money & Interest, M^r Nutter has Advertised for sale Two Small Tracts of Land he has got Possession of next month but As they are loaded with Q[ui]¹²⁵ rents & he and I have been at Sum Considerable Expence I am doubtful Little money may be Expected by Limekills from their N^t proceeds the great Scarcity of money is Also a Reason Why they will Sel Low as We Shall Sel at As Short a Credit as we can – My D^r Brother I have now told you What I Recolect as to Others I Shall on the Other side [*of this paper*] Say Some thing as to myself &c –

When I wrote you Last had you Received it you woud have had my Sentiments as to the Gloomey Prospects we as Colonyests had from the Loads our Mother Country had and Were going to Lay Upon Us, this now is all dispelled & nothing Appears but that our Mother Country intends well for Us w^{ch} we are Obliged to her for (but by the buy) we think her own Interest not our good was the Chief Consideration therefor our Obligation is not very great –

had my Letter come to hand in my Domestick Affairs you woud have found me Truly happy & poor R Dalton woud have Run out In the praise of My D^r Little Jackey (his God Son) to my great Greaf he was taken from me in February,¹²⁶ to say what he was I cannot but that he was above Every Child of his Age I Ever saw too good too

¹²⁴ This letter introduces the reader to JC's wider family. His father, William, had had two elder brothers: John and Alexander. John inherited the family home of Limekilns in Scotland, but his only son predeceased him. Alexander emigrated to America where he settled in Maryland buying land, which he named Hopewell, in Somerset County. He had two sons, Adam and another John. John Carlyle of Limekilns persuaded his nephew, Adam, to return to Scotland where, eventually, he inherited Limekilns. Meanwhile, Adam's father died in Maryland some time before 1727 and his widowed mother, Margaret, married one John Nutter. Margaret died in 1734 whereupon John Nutter laid claim to Hopewell and was now selling parts of it off. However, under the law of primogeniture, Adam of Limekilns, from his home across the Atlantic in Scotland, was also claiming Hopewell as his own and had asked his cousin, John of Alexandria, to attend to the claim on his behalf, giving him Power of Attorney to do so. JC had to move swiftly to stop an escheat being issued in favour of John Nutter. In English law Escheat was the process by which land reverted to the Crown (or in mediaeval times a feudal lord) in the event that there were no heirs to it. JC in this letter is reporting his success in preventing an escheat being issued in favour of John Nutter, but, as with so many arguments that go to law, it looked like being a Pyrrhic victory for Limekilns.

¹²⁵ Quit rents were common in America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They were a form of tax imposed on land, usually by a higher landowning authority such as a freeholder over a leaseholder. The government was often the recipient of quit rents, but the amounts could be quite small.

¹²⁶ JC's first wife, Sarah Fairfax, had died on the 22nd January 1761. On the 22nd October of the same year John married Sybil West, the daughter of Hugh West and Sybil Harrison. (Hugh West was another prominent member of local society and a trustee of Alexandria along with JC Their first child, John, was born on the 11th September 1763, but the sad pattern of young deaths in the family continued and little John died on the 25th February 1766. [Carlyle Family Bible, Carlyle House, Alexandria, VA.]

senseable for me & only fitt for what he is an Angel, I Never felt Such A Loss I had Laid my plan had he been Spared me & I had Lived till he was Eight years of Age I fully determined to have Seen You With him & Lodged him under Y^r Eye for his Education – these hopes are gone, he's happy & I am as Contented as I Can be but am Afraid I have Repined too much; I have falen Away In my flesh & am Rely an Old man. – Since my Loss God has blessed me With another Son who I have Called George William Who appears A healthy Child¹²⁷ my Mrs Carlyle & my Two Little Girels who are Rely fine Childrun Joyn me in Affectionet Comp^{ts} to You My D Sister & Little Couzens & be Ashured While I Live I am - My D^r Brothers Affectionate & Very Hble

Servant

John Carlyle

P.S. I Expect from the W^t Indies A box of fine Shels W^{ch} I hope to have time to Send my Sister Next Oppertunity I hope for A Letter from You by M^r Ramsay¹²⁸ who is Dayly Expected Y^{rs} J.C

[Notes by George Carlyle¹²⁹]

Three Lett^{rs} rec^d one not inclosing Papers of Routledges murder¹³⁰ – Heard of his Loss by M^r Dalton to his Bro^r in Terms shewing by the terms he spoke of him his opinion sensibly affected by it but hope as He has other very promising Branches he will be comforted for the loss – His Gain – rejoyced if his Health restored should be sorry to purchase Pleasure of seeing him at the Expence of so long a voyage on acc^t of Health but if so would meet a tender & affect nurse to second

¹²⁷ George William was born on the 27th May 1766. He would survive his father, dying in the Battle of Eutaw Springs on the 8th September 1781. John fails to mention in this letter the birth of yet another son, named William, on the 26th June 1765 but who died four days later. [Carlyle Family Bible, Carlyle House, Alexandria, VA.]

¹²⁸ William Ramsay, a Scotsman, along with JC and others, was another one of the founding trustees of the town of Alexandria. At the time when the first parcels of land were being bought, Ramsay purchased the two lots immediately adjacent to John Carlyle. The wooden house which stands on this site today is a reconstruction of Ramsay's original and is now the local tourist office. Ramsay was a merchant, trading with Britain, and will have entered into temporary partnerships with JC to conduct some particular joint venture. Such temporary arrangements were quite common among businessmen in those days. [James Munson, *Col^o John Carlyle, Gent.* (NVP 1986), p. 58.]

¹²⁹ The notes which George Carlyle added to this letter are dated the 14th February 1767 and form the outline of his reply to both JC's letters of the 1st August 1766 and that written on the 16th October 1766 (see pages 61 and 64 below).

¹³⁰ See JC's letter of the 16th October 1766, page 64.

the Care of a Physⁿ whose anxiety for his welfare He will not doubt – Hope D^r H's¹³¹ good assistance & his own Care will make it unnecessary as at his Time of Life He might have a Prospect of many happy years & have a more agreeable Inducem^t with M^{rs} C to revisit his native Land W^m Beck extreamly ill Remains of Cholick, Recovery doubtfull so much reduced – message to Lymkills gratefull he much reformed should be glad American affairs enabled him to go on in his useful schemes for a lovely large famely Sewels¹³² Mo^r disappointed not receiv^g Lett^{rs} obliged for his Kindness heard he had broke his Leg – No News Political Entertainm^t engrossed by in's & out's & Squabbles among ministry grasping Powers Countrys Good neglected uncertain how the Contest will end Gloomy Prospect Country Loaden with immense Debts & no steps taken to remove it during peace neighb^{rs} & rivals straining every nerve to recover their Losses to cope upon equal Terms in a future Struggle – Happy in my Famely all well Mally [*Susanna Maria, now aged 14*] at Cast.¹³³ Jo: [*Joseph Dacre, aged 9*]¹³⁴ throug with schools Dolly [*Dorothy, aged 5*] follow^g with spirit self good Health not altered much since He saw me should be glad to see Cous. Sally at Spinnet¹³⁵ agreeable accomplishm^t none of Mine that taste the Sister art to drawing not appearing in Jo tho' well disposed making a Proficiency in the Drawing great applicatⁿ hope may be a usefull man his Sisters all I could wish – Jo Intended sending Specimen of his Performance preventd the Bearer going sooner Duty &c. Feb. 14. 1767

¹³¹ See JC's letter of the 16th October 1766, which reveals this to be Dr. Hamilton.

¹³² Cf. John Carlyle's second letter of the 1st Aug 1766 below, mentioning a William Sewil, on page 62.

¹³³ This may be a reference to Casterton, a village about ten miles south east of Kendal. Mally may have been at school there, given George's reference to school with regard to her brother Joseph, though she will not have been at the present Casterton School for girls, which was not founded until 1823.

¹³⁴ Joseph Dacre Carlyle (1758-1804) would become an eminent man. At seventeen years of age he went up to Christ's College, Cambridge University, and later to Queens College, where he obtained a bachelor's degree in Divinity in 1779, and subsequently became a fellow of Queens College with his doctorate in 1793. He became an expert in Arabic literature and, in 1795, was appointed Professor of Arabic at the University. He was also Chancellor of the Diocese of Carlisle. After spending some years in Asia Minor as chaplain to Lord Elgin's mission to Constantinople (the same Lord Elgin who transported the Parthenon Marbles from Athens to England), he returned to England and was given a living at Newcastle-upon-Tyne where he died in 1804. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. x, p. 149.]

¹³⁵ See JC's letter of the 16th October 1766, page 64.

To
Doct^r George Carlyle
Physician In Carlisle
To the Care of M^r W^m Gilpin
Merch^t In
Whitehaven
Per the Nancy
Cap^t Robinson
QDC

[*Notes in George's hand*]

Aug^t 1st 1766

& Oct^r 16 - 1766

Answ^{ed} Feb. 14. 1767

Alex^a Aug^t 1 1766

My D^r Brother

I had wrote the Inclosed¹³⁶ this morning & Rode out to my Plantation ab^t three Miles of on my Return this Evening was Agreeably Surprised with the Arrival of M^r Ramsay & the Receipt of y^r Letter also my Sisters to My M^{rs} Carlyle which gave me great Pleasure to find you & yours Were well, I do not expect to have another Oppertunity Soon to write you & the bearer not Sailed I sit down at this late hour to Acknowledge the Receipt of your favour – I was Afraid as M^r Gibsons Vessel meet with an Accident the Picture might also, but as it has got to hand & the painter Approved off I am Satisfyed, as to the Likeness I never thought it very like when it was first finished I believe you woud have liked it better, but I thought he had flatterd me & made him make it Seven Years Older at least,¹³⁷ Eversince I had that long Illness In 1755 I have never Recoverd what you Remember Of the Spritliness at the Eyes &c You cannot have more pleasure in Y^r Picture then I have in mine & hope

¹³⁶ This refers to JC's previous letter, also dated the 1st August 1766. See page 57 above.

¹³⁷ This portrait of John Carlyle hangs in the Scottish home of one of the descendants of George Carlyle's son, Joseph Dacre Carlyle. A copy of it hangs in Carlyle House, Alexandria.

you'l Live long & Continue to have y^r health & Look Like what y^r picture now does.
 – In my former Letter of this morning I mentiond Poor Robin Dalton his fate is very Certain his Brother bears his Misfortune as a good Christian shoud doe his Death was a great Loss to us he had very material Affairs to transact for us but we must submit, Your Kind Concern for my health I am obliged for, & will doe all in my power to take care of it, but am Afraid all will not doe, My Life has been A Life of Bussel & Exercise these two or three years past I have not had Bussiness that has kept me so Agreeable Employ'd as formerly & farming tho' I Like it I have wholly to Learn w^{ch} makes it not so Agreeable,¹³⁸ an Idle Life is of Al Lives the most disagreeable to me & the greater burthen –

I Ride a good deal & shal more this fal - W^m Lyttle¹³⁹ had wrote his Friends by R Dalton, I mentiond him also In my Letter very fuly by that Oppertunity he is Settled at an Iron work I am concerned in Upon Shannandoar River Seventy miles from this¹⁴⁰ where we have A Store & 100 workmen under him he is fuly Employ'd & on pretty good Wages w^{ch} is better then Living with me where I had not near Employ for him, I dare say had his Letter got home he woud given a very Satisfactory Acco^t to his Friend of his Settlement –

I have Rec'd Limekills Letter & Shall answer it Soon by way of Glasgow it came in good time & the Inclosed paper Necessary – W^m Sewil¹⁴¹ is a Very honest Ignorant fellow & rely knows nothing of his Own Affairs I will lett him know what you say I have done all in my power for him & lately got him the place of Inspector of flower

¹³⁸ JC's friendship with George Washington will have been of help to him in learning the most up to date farming methods of the day. Washington was a very keen farmer and was adventurous in experimentation with different types of crop, as well as inventing new methods of running his farm.

¹³⁹ William Little was a cousin of JC's. His mother, Rachel, had a sister named Christian who married one Andrew Little of Annan in Dumfriesshire, Scotland. Their two sons, Charles and William followed JC out to Alexandria. Charles' future from then on is not known, though he is mentioned in another letter from JC dated 12th December 1769 and seems to have been in JC's employ at that time, but clearly JC was able to provide profitable employment for William also. The impression may be given that William Little was in charge of the works as manager, but see JC's letter dated 12th December 1769 (page 75, below), which names the manager as one Joseph Watkins. [James Munson, *Col^o John Carlyle, Gent.* (NVRPA 1986), p. 97.]

¹⁴⁰ JC was in partnership with John Dalton, William Ramsay and George William Fairfax, in owning an iron smelting works in the Shenandoah Valley during the 1760's. Around it were hundreds of acres of hardwood trees available as fuel for the furnaces. [James Munson, *Col^o John Carlyle, Gent.* (NVRPA 1986), pp. 82-3.] See also JC's letter dated 12th December 1769 (page 75, below) for further background.

¹⁴¹ Cf. George Carlyle's note written on JC's other letter of the 1st Aug. (See page 57, above.)

w'ch now is Worth sumthing but In A few Years will be worth £30 per Ann – M^r Minors Relations are much Obliged to you for your Assistance to M^r Dixon, he was first Couzen to the late M^r Dalton, I was At Annapolis last week on Limekills Affairs & was told M^r Desatous[?] Recovery woud be very Trifling but made no Enquirey Into Particulars – I am much pleased My Nephew has a Taiste for Drawing I have Always Observed Musick went along with it & hope my two Nieces will also have a Taiste for it My Sally is just beginning her Spinnet She Sings prettyly, but you know I am no judge, If you had as great a Taiste of building as I have had you woud think nothing of your Smal jobb. If I coud Either Sell my house Or as the Saylorr Term is be Along Side of You I Shoud think wel of it but this is too much to hope before I Lost my D^r John I had Such hopes but they are al gone now –

Your Observations on the Stamp Act¹⁴² I Observe if you had Received my former Letter you woud have found We did not Differ In Opinion but find the Vessel this goes by is got underway So Shal not Add but That I Ever am

Y^r Affect Brother & Very Hble Ser^t

John Carlyle

PS Excuse this as I Wrote it past Ten at Night

¹⁴² The notorious Stamp Act was passed by Parliament in London on the 22nd March 1765. It imposed a tax on various items of printed matter, such as newspapers, magazines, legal documents etc., in order to pay towards the costs of maintaining an army in the territories gained in North America during the Seven Years' War. It was the first implementation of the recommendation made in 1755 by General Braddock before the start of the war. However, its unpopularity in America caused such a furore, on the grounds that the tax was being imposed without the consent of the colonists who had no representation in Parliament, that it was repealed on the 18th March 1766.

Ship To
Doct^r George Carlyle
Physician in
Carlisle

Per fav^r of
Mr W^m Beck
QDC

Alexandria Oct^r 16 1766

My D^r Brother

I have wrote you by two Different Opportunitys this su[']mer past, which hope will come Safe to hand & to which I Referr you as I have none of your favours unanswered I therefor Shall have the Less to Say, but as the bearer W^m Beck is going to Carlisle I woud not Let him pass without A few Lines to You Least you Shoud think I neglected Any Opportunity I had of Writeing, In my last I Acquainted you with my State of health & think it continues Rather to grow worse then better I Loose my flesh & am near thirty pounds Lighter then formerly I propose Soon to take the Advice of D^r Hamilton a great man in his Way As any in America & will follow his Directions this Winter If he does not Recover me I think you will See me In the Spring I am in hopes A Sea Voyage my Native Air & y^r Assistance will be of great use – this I hope may not be the Case, but If Necessary to Leave my famely, it will take of in A great measure the uneasiness On that Acco^t the Pleasure I hope to have in Y^r Famelys Company A few months next Summer The bearer will Inform you that I Am Not what you Remember me, tho' I have been better this few Weeks Past then In the Spring & Sum[']er, you must not believe al W. Beck Says his noted for telling Strainge Stores & has not behaved So Well as I coud Wish but this to y^r Self –

In my last I Sent you Two Papers wherein you have an Acc^t of the murder of one R Routlidge by a Gentleman his Trial we have not Yett heard the Issue its this Week at Williamsburg, its an Affair that makes much Noise & almost a Civil War in the

Neighbourhood where M^r Routledge Lived he had a Very good Character – I Shall Inform you in my next how it Ends¹⁴³

My famely are All well, Sally [*nine years old*] is Learning the Spinnet She Meets the Master at Col Washintons ab^t 8 miles of¹⁴⁴ where he Attends the Col^s Two Childrun & he is So kind as to Let Sally Stay Two days the master will not attend for One Scholar, you See we are Obliged to take a good deal of Trouble to get our Children Educated She & M^{rs} Carlyle are gone their or woud write by this Oppertunity, My little Ann [*four years old*] & my Son George W^m [*four months old*] Are both fine Childrun & at preasant healthy

¹⁴³ The Routledge murder caused an infamous legal scandal. Col. John Chiswell, a leading member of Virginia society, was accused of murdering Robert Routledge on the 3rd June 1766. He was said to have run Routledge through with his sword and was immediately sent to the Cumberland County Jail. An application for bail was refused and Chiswell was committed to the General Court at Williamsburg to await trial there. However, Chiswell was very well connected and knew the local judges as friends. Bail was then granted despite the fact that it had never been given in Virginia for a murder case before. There was outrage at this blatant example of favouritism and furious letters from outraged citizens appeared in the Williamsburg Gazette. One correspondent wrote that the “middle and lower ranks of men are extremely alarmed” and would “never permit the assassin, and his abettors, to pass with impunity.” It was, presumably, copies of these newspapers that George Carlyle refers to in his answer to his brother’s correspondence. On the 15th October Chiswell was found dead at his home. The Gazette reported, “The cause of his death by the judgment of the physician, upon oath, were nervous fits, owing to a constant uneasiness of mind.” He may have committed suicide. Suspicions remained that he was, in fact, not dead, but had escaped, possibly to England. A mob gathered at his funeral and insisted on the coffin being opened so that the body could be seen. The remains were examined and it was found that they were indeed Chiswell’s, and so the funeral could proceed. Chiswell lies in an unmarked grave to this day. [Alan Pell Crawford, “The Upstart, the Speaker, the Scandals, and Scotchtown,” *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Winter 2001-2), vol. XXIII, no. 4. See also <http://www.history.org/Foundation/journal/Winter01-02/henry.cfm>]

¹⁴⁴ George Washington’s diary has no entry for this specific date. However, at other times there are frequent references in his diary to occasions when Sally, sometimes accompanied by Miss Betty Dalton, a daughter of JC’s business partner John Dalton, visited Mount Vernon and sometimes stayed for two or three days. In general all the Carlyles became quite frequent visitors to Mount Vernon. Washington records visits of JC, sometimes alone, sometimes, with his wife, sometimes with his whole family, but it was the children who visited most often. Conversely, Washington was known to visit the Carlyle family in Alexandria and stay for lunch. He records only one occasion when he and his wife stayed at the Carlyles’ house overnight and that was after a ball in Alexandria on the 15th February 1760, just over a year after they were married. (See page 54, note 117, above.) The last occasion on which his diary records a visit to JC’s house was on the 3rd October 1787 when he and his wife called on Sally and her husband William Herbert for dinner on their way to Abingdon. That was some eighteen months or so before he became President. Washington’s diary also records that JC’s daughter, Nancy, stayed several days at Mount Vernon in early February 1774. Washington had gone to the wedding of his step-son John (Jacky) Parke Custis and Eleanor (Nelly) Calvert at the Calvert home, Mount Airy, Maryland, and was away for three days. Martha had felt unable to go the wedding as she was still grieving after the sudden death of her daughter Martha (Patsy) Parke Custis in June the previous year. Nancy Carlyle stayed with Mrs Washington throughout her husband’s absence. Sally also remained friendly with the Washington’s for many years. The last visit she made that is recorded in George Washington’s diary was overnight on the 1st and 2nd October 1799, only two and half months before his sudden death.

I beg my Comp^{ts} To My Dr Sister & y^r Little family & Conclude me D^r Sir –

Y^r Affectionet Brother & Hble Ser^t

John Carlyle



Sir Robert Eden, Governor of Maryland from 1769 to 1776.
Col. Carlyle hoped that contact with Sir Robert might be helpful in his efforts to resolve the problems he was experiencing in selling his cousin's estate in Maryland. See letter of the 26th August 1769.

Alex^a Aug^t 21st 1769

My Dear Brother

I was favored with my D^r Sisters & Y^r Letters per M^r Heslop (also for my famely) In my preasant State they gave me pleasure, before this I Expect you may have Received my last In which you woud be fuly Informed Of my great Loss which will not bear mentioning at preasant¹⁴⁵ Every day I am more & more Senseable of it & truly say Y^r Brother wants much to be near you to Assist him to bear Up under the Dispensations of Providence that ~~is Laid~~ he Lays upon me If I cou'd Sell my House &c in this Place which has cost me Two Thousand pounds I woud not be long from you but am Afraid its not in my power without Loosing more then I Can think of doeing, my Other Estate in Lands & Slaves I believe I coud sel by giving Credits to near their Vallue, I am farr from thinking but my preasent Residence much better for my Growing famely then any Place I coud fix on In Great Britain but When I Consider my Litle Girels now In a time of Life the most Dangerous to be without A proper Directeris, my bussiness Calling me from hom Perhaps for Weeks nay in deed for A month together & they Left to themselves Or Servants who In my Absence may Rather Corrupt then Improve their Morrels it gives me great Concern –

I thank God my Childrun Seem healthy & Senseable indeed Sally grows A Woman to fast¹⁴⁶, which in this Country is Dangerous but have no Reason at Preasant to have cause of Complaint Against her, She talks of Writeing to her Couz^{ns} this afternoon but am Afraid the Ship will Leave us before She will get it finished, Mr Dixon has A Ship that is Repairing who will be Ready In Six Weeks when Nancey¹⁴⁷ also proposes to Answer her Couz^{ns} Letter, My D^r Nephew¹⁴⁸ must Excuse me At this Time but by the above Ship shal answer his Agreeable Letter & will hereafter be A punctual Correspondent With him –

¹⁴⁵ His second wife, Sybil West, had died on the 7th March 1769. [Carlyle Family Bible, Carlyle House, Alexandria, VA.]

¹⁴⁶ Sally was, in fact, twelve years old at the date of this letter.

¹⁴⁷ JC's daughter, Ann Fairfax Carlyle, who was by now eight year old.

¹⁴⁸ Joseph Dacre Carlyle, by now aged eleven.

As to the Young man that my Sister mentions I at Preasant don't know of A Place for him, nor doe I know his Expectancy but if 20 or £25 Per Ann woud Satisfy him I believe that Sum might be got In Several good famelys here Such a man woud be Very Useful to many – Perhaps his first Year Wages woud be Expected Lower till he was Acquainted with the Country W^m Sewill¹⁴⁹ Still Lives in this Place has A Wife & Two Sons he has Labour'd under A Long Illness this five Years past but now Seems geting better, I have got him to be Inspector of flower & Sum other Little things that may bring him In thirty Pounds Per Ann, besides his Trades he has been Expencive & I am Afraid Imprudent, he promises to doe better tho Very poor I pressed him to Write to his Mother which he promised to doe If he does it will be Inclosed in this Letter –

I am much Perplexed with Limkills Affairs, I have done more then I woud have done If they had been my own, it has Cost me Thirty Pounds my own Trouble, & many Sollisatations to the Great One's here Equal to German Princes in their own Eye I have got What I hope to Sel for Two Hundred pounds, but the best peices of Land & What is Vallu'd at four hundred I am Stil In Contest About¹⁵⁰, As A New Gov^r for Maryland is Appointed ~~for Maryland~~ I am Afraid I have My whole work to go over again, he is a Northumberland man A Brother of Sr John Eden's¹⁵¹ If A Letter of Recommendation or Introduction Could be Procured from any of his Acquaintances for me, might forward the matter as it now Lays with the Board of Revenue (in which

¹⁴⁹ See earlier letters both dated 1st August 1766, pp. 57 and 61.

¹⁵⁰ See page 58, note 124, attached to JC's first letter of the 1st August 1766 which gives details of this matter. See also Appendix, p. 82, letter from Adam Carlyle to John Carruthers of Holmains, dated 31st October 1768.

¹⁵¹ Sir Robert Eden (1741-1784) was successor to Governor Horatio Sharpe (q.v. letter of the 15th August 1755, page 44, note 91) and the last Colonial Governor of Maryland. JC is not strictly correct in describing him as a "Northumberland man." In fact, his family came from the adjacent County Durham. However, both Northumberland and County Durham on the east coast of England are adjacent to JC's home county of Cumberland to the west and he will have seen this as an opportunity to strike up a personal friendship with Eden in the hope of furthering his case.

Sir Robert married the Hon. Caroline Calvert in 1765. She was the sister of Frederick Calvert, 6th Lord Baltimore (1732-1771). Within three years Eden was Governor of Maryland, the Proprietary Colony ruled by the Calverts. As the political climate became ever more tense in the 1770's, Eden's hold on his authority became more difficult. In 1774 he was, to all intents and purposes, ousted from power by the Annapolis Convention. This was an assembly of the [Counties](#) of [Maryland](#) which functioned, in effect, as the Colony's [revolutionary](#) government from 1774 to 1776. He left for England on the 26th June 1776 and was created baronet in October that year. He returned to Maryland in 1783. Sir Robert died of dropsy in 1784 and was buried in St. Margaret's Parish Church, Anne Arundel County, but was re-interred in St. Anne's Churchyard in Annapolis in 1926.

Sir Robert was an ancestor Sir Anthony Eden who was British Prime Minister from 1955 to 1957. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xvii, pp. 664, 687-8.]

he Presides) to determine You may be Ashured If I Sell the Land, that I may recover, the N^t Proceeds Shall be Transmitted throw you, I am at too farr a Distance to doe much in his Brothers¹⁵² Affair however I perhaps may do something this fall –

I make no doubt but you have Seen the Spirited Resolves of Our Assembly.¹⁵³ Also our Associations & the Several one's In Every Colony & Province on the Continent, We make no doubt the Revenue Acts Will be Repealed¹⁵⁴, & then we shal be in our former State of Dutiful & Loyal Subjects, better is not in England then this Colony is in General, You need be under no Concern for us We Act In such A manner that We cannot be Reflected upon

Mr Dalton with his Daughter is gone to the Springs She has sumthing Like the Kings Evil¹⁵⁵ which the Springs are Said to be very good for –

You blame me for not going to the Springs again, I might own I wish my bussiness woud Allow me but cannot Leave my Little famely So long At this Time –

My D^r Sister mentions M^{rs} Bowes¹⁵⁶ gives her Compliments to Me If the Atlantick was not between us, I woud Return it In Person but as it is I beg my thanks to that Lady for Remembering me – You mention with Concern the Loss of the Two Good Old Sisters, I Rejoyce they have got A Release from this Worald of Trouble, one of

¹⁵² The Brother of Adam Carlyle of Limekilns was John Carlyle (b. 1725) who remained in Maryland after Adam returned to Scotland and whom JC reports having met on at least one occasion. See letter of the 23rd May 1752, page 26, above.

¹⁵³ On the 16th May 1769 the Virginia House of Burgesses passed resolves condemning the recent siege in Massachusetts and upholding their exclusive right to levy taxes, to redress grievances, and to concur with other colonies. In addition, they drafted a formal letter of complaint to the King. The following day Lord Botetourt, the newly appointed Governor, dissolved the House of Burgesses for these formal resolutions against the British taxes which had been imposed under the Townshend Acts, passed in 1767, but the suspended members reconvened at the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg. On the 18th May, George Washington presented to the Burgesses resolutions of non-importation of British goods which had been prepared by George Mason. These resolutions, adopted by the Burgesses as the Virginia Association, declared that colonial citizens vowed to boycott British goods until their grievances were redressed. [*Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. ii, p. 468]

¹⁵⁴ As JC hoped, the Townshend Acts were indeed repealed in April 1770, with the sole exception of the tax on tea.

¹⁵⁵ 'The King's Evil' was scrofula which, it was said, could be cured by the King simply touching the sick person. George I ended the practice in England on the grounds that he considered it "too Catholic," though it continued in France up until the nineteenth century.

¹⁵⁶ This may be a reference to Sarah Bowes, otherwise described as "Sister Bowes", in George Carlyle's notes attached to this letter and attached to JC's letter of the 12th December 1769. (See page 78, note 173.)

them at least After seeing her famely Settled She with justice coud Reflect that She had done as much good in her time here, as any person I am Acquainted with –

Please forward the Inclosed & with my Affectionet Comp^{ts} to You My Sister & three Young folks in which My little ones heartily Joyns, – I am with Truth My Dearest Brother Affectionet Hbl Servant

John Carlyle

[*George Carlyle's notes*]

Hope Time his own Reflect^{ns} and Dependances where it ought to be placed will relieve and bring back wanted composure and spirits to attend to his Business & little Flock wish could have been on this side but impracticable in this distracted State of mo[the]^r Country & Colonies (our Sallys Books twice wrong sent and now not Time must pardon involuntary neglect till another opportunity – Mally interrupt^d by Sist^r Bowes's bad Health for months the Rest all well Jos. assiduous now collecting Birds &c & preserving them goes on with his studies assisted by Tom who goes to Antegua this summer This answ^r deliv^d by Cous. Geo. Carlyle Limekills son¹⁵⁷ who will be happy in his Countenance in Virginia bound to Cap^t Kendal of the Hudson this way of Life chosen and I with M^r Gilpin assited hope may be happy & usefull man tho' in an Inferior Sphere to his first Expectations. S^r J Edens Letter will be procured but not yet arriv^d M^r Little well at Rockhall Tells of Ann[ouncemen]t of Amisfield's Death Jan 31¹⁵⁸ a Long Life but little comfort from

¹⁵⁷ George Carlyle (b. April 1754) was the fifth of nine children born to Adam Carlyle of Limekilns and his wife Philadelphia Carruthers. We know from correspondence that he was still alive in 1773 when his father reported that his ship was expected back at London, but after that nothing more is known of his fate. [Letters from Adam Carlyle to his father-in-law, John Carruthers of Holmains, dated 17th March 1770 and 14th December 1773, Scottish Nat. Archives, ref. GD 207/147/58 & 118.]

¹⁵⁸ Amisfield, Dumfriesshire, Scotland, lies five miles north east of Dumfries. The tower dates from 1600. The family of Charteris of Amisfield dates back to Sir Thomas Charteris who was killed in battle in 1346. However, no-one by the name of Charteris is recorded as having died in January 1770. Rockhall is situated about eight miles south east of Amisfield. It too is an ancient tower house which dates back in parts to the sixteenth century. Today it is run as a small hotel. For centuries it has been the house of the Grierson family who were certainly resident in the eighteenth century. We must assume, therefore, that Mr Little lived nearby, perhaps at Rockhall Mains or Rockhallhead. One possibility is that the Mr Little mentioned has reported the death of a member of his own family who lived in the village of Amisfield nearby the old tower.

Imprudencies of two surviving Chilⁿ M^{rs} Sewell¹⁵⁹ hurt by her Son's neglect not likely to continue long

Mar 17th 1770

¹⁵⁹ See mention of William Sewil in JC's second letter of 1st August 1766, page 62, above.

[From JC's daughter, Sarah Carlyle, to her uncle, Dr. George Carlyle]

To

Doct^r Carlyle

August 25th 1769

Dr Sir

In a letter to my Papa I see you have desired me to write to you for any musick that I want. I am greatly obliged for the Liberty of doing so, as it offers me an Opportunity of writing to you which gives me great plesure as it does also to write to my Dr. Couzins and shoud by this Opportunity but am told the ship will sail this Evening and am afraid I cannot answer my Dr Couzin^s Letter as I shoud doe in time, I still have a Master to attend me and have entered into Thro' Bass but find it very deficult. My papa only intends to keep me with the Master this season & I am in want Of some agreeable Tunes that I can Learn myself I see in a list of Musick by one Brimner in London a book of reals and Country Dances, A Bass for the harpicord vol the 1st price five shillings which I woud be glad to have, its called the Caledonian Pocket Companion¹⁶⁰ – I suppose my papa before this has acquaint'd you with our great loss in my Late Mamma it is a great Loss to my sister & me she was a tender Mother and wish she had lived a few years Longer that I might been Intrusted to have taken the care of papa^s house upon my own hand^s which is too much for me as yet. I shall write my Cousin fully by a ship that is now here, & Desire she will excuse me now. I beg my most affect. Compliments to my Dear Aunt & my Couzins & believe me to be

Dr Sir Yr most Dutifull Neice

Sarah Carlyle

¹⁶⁰ Clearly Sarah was being encouraged to remember her Scottish roots and culture, but she was also obviously in touch with music coming out of London, presumably through her teacher. Robert Bremner (c. 1715-1789) started business as a music publisher in Edinburgh in 1754. Between 1757 and 1761, he published his *Collection of Scots Reels and Country Dances*. By 1762 he had opened a shop opposite Somerset House in the Strand, London. His most famous publication today is a version of the tune now sung to the words of Robert Burns' *Auld Lang Syne*, which came out in 1765. However the twelve books of the *Caledonian Pocket Companion* were produced in London in two volumes, not by Bremner, as Sarah Carlyle thought, but by another eighteenth century music publisher James Oswald (1710-1769). He rose from humble beginnings in the small east coast Scottish fishing village of Crail, in Fife, to become Chamber Composer to King George III by 1761. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxii, p. 87, & vol. vii, p. 442.]

To
Co^l John Carlyle
at
Alexandria

Annapolis 9th Dec^r 1769

Dear Sir

I did myself the pleasure of Writing you immediatly after the last Provincial Court – informing You, that Mr Jennings had informed me That the Board of Revennue, had given their Opinion to the Judges of the Land Office That Pa[ten]^t should not be issued on Polks Cer^t – But as I never have heard from you, I am apprehensive You have not received it. –

I am now to inform You, That this day I had a Meeting of the Judges of the Land Office here: - who have come to the Resolution of not granting a 2^d Patent to Mr Polk and they directed their Clk to issue to Mr Polk Notice to Attend at next Provincial Court (when I Shall be in Annapolis) to hear their Judgement pronounced. _ Thus Sir have you and Mr Carlyle gained your point (in part) at last tho' after a long time and much Trouble. –

If Mr Polk will still keep possession – the question now is, how is he to be removed:- It was proposed by M^r Dulaney¹⁶¹ (of w^h I wrote you) That a Pa^t of Confirmation

¹⁶¹ Daniel Dulany Jr. (1722-1797) was married in 1749 to Rebecca Tasker (1724-1822), a sister of Benjamin Tasker Jr. (Tasker was also an acquaintance with John Carlyle probably through his interest in horses. We know that Carlyle imported and bred horses and Tasker similarly imported thoroughbreds for racing.) Dulany was born in Annapolis, Maryland, but educated in England at Eton and Clare College Cambridge, studied law and was subsequently called to the English bar in 1742, but returned to Maryland shortly afterwards and was admitted to the bar there in 1747. He was subsequently described by Charles Carroll as “indisputably the best lawyer on this continent.” In 1765 he published a pamphlet entitled *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies, For the Purpose of Raising a Revenue by Act of Parliament* urging that taxation without representation was a violation of the Common Law of England. His strong pro-British feelings forced him to remain neutral during the Revolutionary War and he retired to his estate, Hunting Ridge, near Baltimore. In 1781 the property was confiscated, as were those of other loyalists, and Dulany moved into Baltimore where he lived out the rest of his life. [*Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. v, p. 499.]

Should be obtained in the Name of A Carlyle - & then bring an Eject: - But the Judges have informed me That unless You have a Power of Att^y for that Specifick purpose Such measure can't be pursued - You have no such Power, as the Judges Require.

The ag^r Way of getting Possession is – by Ejectment – Perhaps it might be prudent (tho' an Ejectm^t might be bro^t immediatly) to let the matter lye over till the next Provincial, when we may have an Opportunity of Speaking to M^r Polk. -

As I am now in the Fee way – perhaps Lymekills is indebted to me a hansome Fee for my Management of this tedeous affair so far.

My Baggage is Sent off to Saint Marys – & tomorrow I Sett off for Mr Wests myself, where I shall be for Some time¹⁶², - My Compl^{ts} to Acquaintances - & I am to the most particular respect

D^r Sir – Your most [*paper torn*] and obd^t Geo: Chalmers¹⁶³

¹⁶² The Rev. William West (1737-1792) was Rector of St. Andrew's Parish in St. Mary's County Maryland from 1767 to 1772. He was a brother of JC's second wife, Sybil West, who had died a few months earlier on the 7th March 1769. In 1778 he returned to Alexandria to serve as rector of Fairfax Parish serving Christ Church, but returned the following year to Maryland to be nearer the family of his wife Susan Walker West. [Jim Bish, "Hugh West and the West Family's Momentous Role in Founding and Developing Alexandria," *The Alexandria Chronicle* (Spring 2010), p. 14.]

¹⁶³ Adam Carlyle of Limekilns granted a Power of Attorney to Charles Little and "George Chalmers Esquire Attorney at law in Maryland" to enable the sale of Hopewell to proceed. [Archives of Maryland Online, Provincial Court Land Records, 1765-1770, vol. 726, pp. 307-308.]

Chalmers (1742-1825) was born in the north of Scotland, at Fochabers on the River Spey, near Elgin, in Morayshire. After studying law at Edinburgh University, he visited Maryland where one of his uncles was involved in a dispute over land ownership in 1763. For several years he practised as a solicitor in Baltimore. JC clearly heard of this fellow countryman who was skilful in legal land issues and so employed him with his own land problems in handling the affairs of Adam Carlyle of Limekilns.

Siding vocally with the loyalists in the lead up to American independence, Chalmers felt his life under threat and always carried a pistol wherever he went. He was obliged to return to Britain in 1775, where, in 1786, he got a post as Chief Clerk to the Committee of the Privy Council for trade and foreign plantations at a salary of £500 per annum. He kept this position the rest of his life, which, not being onerous, allowed him enough spare time to involve himself in his favourite occupation as an antiquarian, both in Scotland and England. His written works include his three volume history of Scotland entitled *Caledonia*, published between 1807 and 1824, which he regarded as his most important work. He also wrote a *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, in 1818, which is full of his fervent Jacobitism and political prejudice. [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. x, pp. 870-71.]

Alexandria Dec^r 12th 1769

My D^r Brother

I was favour'd with yours of the 25th of Aug^t for which I am much Obliged, Your kind Condolence & Advice I Receive with Thanks, - I Live a disagreeable Life & keep little Company I am Afraid of Leaveing my Little ones which keeps me Constantly at home, they as farr as They Can Endeavour to keep up my spiritts, which is very Low Sumtimes & to Increase my dejection death has been very Com'on in my house Since M^{rs} Carlyle was taken from me, I have lost Ten slaves Young & Old & have had a Very Sickly famely I thank God my self & my Little folks have been as Well as I coud Expect, for which I am thankfull, for Six months together to have Six or Eight at a Time In fluxes, the hoopin Cough &c is very disagreeable & I had one Vallueable Slave drowned all this I hope is for my good, it brings Me to Reflect that al woraldly Enjoyments are nothing I have Stil Sufficient Left tho' such hopes are Considerable. I have had very good fortune for several Years, & perhaps was not so thankful for the Blessings I Rec^d as I Shou'd been, however it be I am In hopes God will give me Patience & Resignation Let what will be Order'd for me – The Several Deaths you mention were Round you but thank God Y^r own famely is Safe & Long may they live to be A Blessing to you –

I am obliged to you for Y^r Care of Fosters Letter his Wife & he are Useful to me tho' they are a great charge & She Seems to be breading again –

Mr Holme will have a Copy of the Acc^t he wants I am Extream Sorrey that it does not Suit him to Lett his money Lay till we coud Raise money from our Works If I had not been so Afflicted as I have been, and had time to have gone After my debts he shoud have had his money Remitted by this time, the Scarcity of money & the Differances with England has Occationed Almost an Intire Stop to payments I have had Suits on Bonds Near three Years in Court by the Delay of Bussiness but we hope for A Reconsiliation Soon when we shal get Into our former state¹⁶⁴ – The Query Relating to Ironworks from Y^r Friend I will take al due care of – Mrs Washington's 1/12 part,

¹⁶⁴ The embargo on importing British goods which had been imposed in May, and to which JC alluded in his previous letter, was clearly having an adverse effect on the local economy.

once belonged to Maj^r Law^r Washington who marry^d my first wifes Sister & Left me his Acting Executor & Guardian to his only Daughter, who dyed also¹⁶⁵ & then the Estate fell to M^r Aug^t Washington whose Widow now has it & I am told wants to Sell¹⁶⁶ – When I had the management Of this Share I did al in my power to draw the Company to A settlement & Appointed Mr Math^w Gale by power of Attorney to Cal upon them for A Settlement which they by many Put Offs Evaded - they Seemed very Averse to Let any body know their Profits, which at that time I was Pretty Wel Ashured was very Considerable I had it from their Agent here M^r Chapman who dyed Ab^t Eight years Agoe & Since I have been Informed they have been Very Il managed & have got Little by them, I understood lately that M^{rs} Washington has Received so little that she was determined to Sel & gave the Company the Offer they order the Preasant Maniger (One of the Owners sons) to make her an Offer but it was So Inconsiderable that She Dispised it & the Offerer I never expected to be further Concerned with the Works after the Death of my ward Miss Washington & as the most Vallueable Works lay Seventy miles from me I do not know So much as I cou’d wish for Y^r Friends Satisfaction I therefore Let Col: George Washington See the Querrys & took his Advice in the Affair¹⁶⁷ he told me his Sister in Law had done as Above & that the works he knew were not Profitable from their bad Management & She was determined to Sel If M^r Joseph Watkins who had been A Manager before could not be Prevailed upon to go back again & that She had Desired Mr Watkins to give her his Opinion of the Value Of the Whole¹⁶⁸ he Also Recommended him to Me, I am well Acquainted with M^r Watkins & Wrote him about a month Agoe but have not had his Answer If its Satisfactory You Shal have it Soon – the Works must be

¹⁶⁵ George Washington’s elder half brother Lawrence (1718-1752) married Anne Fairfax (1728-1761), known as Nancy, in 1743. She was an older sister of JC’s first wife Sarah (or Sally) Fairfax. She gave birth to four children. The first three died within a year of their births, but the fourth, also named Sarah, survived her father’s death in 1752 and became JC’s ward. As her father’s heir she would have inherited Mount Vernon and the house built by her father, but she died some time around 1754, aged about four years. [Paul Wiltach & Henry H. Saylor, *Mount Vernon; Washington’s Home and the Nation’s Shrine*, (1930), p. 285. Gerry Webb, *Fairfax of York* (York 2001), p. 112.]

¹⁶⁶ Col. Augustine Washington (1720-1762) was Lawrence’s immediate younger brother. He married Ann Aylett (c.1726-1774) in 1743. With Lawrence having no further heir after his daughter’s death, Augustine would inherit Mount Vernon under the terms of his father’s will, but he had no wish to live there and so it was passed to his next younger half brother, George Washington, on the death of Lawrence’s widow in 1761. [Mount Vernon Ladies Association, *Mount Vernon Official Guidebook*, pp. 13 & 143.]

¹⁶⁷ There is no knowing for certain how and where JC discussed this issue with George Washington. However, there is a note in Washington’s diary that JC visited Mount Vernon on the 2nd October 1769 and stayed to dinner; his only recorded visit to Mount Vernon since the previous January.

¹⁶⁸ See JC’s second letter dated 1st August 1766, page 61, referring to this same ironworks.

worth A Very great Sum they have great stocks of Vallueable Slaves, And large Tracts of Lands, & Were Reckon'd the most Vallueable works & under the best Management on this Continent while M^r Chapman Lived, M^r Law^r Washington used to Vallue his 1/12 at three hundred p^{ds} Sterlig Per Ann, & many purchases of Lands & Slaves & the Lancashire works was purchased After his death this much I can say of my own knowledge, but If Y^r Friend wants A further Acco^t If M^r Watkins will not Speak without it perhaps A fee of Ten pounds might Open his Mouth, Or If he or You desires it I Will in the Spring take a Ride amongst the Whole Works & Return the best Information I can gett which is All I can doe at Preasent, Porr W^m Sewill departed this Life a few Weeks agoe he has not been able to Sitt at his work for more then Twelve months past, I believe he first brought it on by hard drink^g & that privately, he has left Two Sons & A Very honest Industrious Widow he has given his Sons good Education As farr as they are come, they both Read & Write & the Oldest is Learning Acco^{ts} I Expect him to go to Sea, If the Grandmother woud take the Young one & have him put to A Trade I think it woud doe well W^m Sewill dyed Very poor haveing Spent A great of what he had with Doctors, We were obliged to Assist in burying him – the boys are Smal the Oldest William is 12 Y^{rs} & Gabriel 10 Y^{rs} of Age, If I can I will gett the Oldest to write to his Grandmother –

I think I have answered all Y^r Letter, & therefor shall not Add but that my two Girills are Writeing to their Cousins, Charles Little¹⁶⁹ & his brother both Proposed to Write by this Oppertunety, William is not yet come down from the Iron Works but dayly Expected, they are both well & Seem to Turn out as well as can be Expected, Charles is Very Useful to me – I think I Shou'd have wrote to my D^r Sister as she was so good as Write to me, but hope she will Excuse me under my preasant State of mind, I Shou'd have wrote her nothing but what woud have made her Tender Sensable heart pale for the Afflictions of An Affectionet Brother, May God bless & keep You & her & Y^r D^r Little ones long together So prays Y^r Affectionet & Brother & Hble Servt

John Carlyle

¹⁶⁹ A cousin of JC's. See second letter dated 1st August 1766 above, page 62.

P.S. Excuse me to my D^r Nephew tell him by the time his next Letter (which I must Insist upon) comes I Will write him fully If he Enters Into the Mercantal way of Life & Shou'd come here I need not Say what Pleasure it wou'd give me to See him –

[George Carlyle's notes:]

M^r Graham to forward by London

M^r Graham for whom the Enquiry made much obliged begs his further assistance full and minute Information by himself going up or with assistants to be satisfied for his Trouble Time & Expenses with as much Dispatch as is consistont with doing it well wich [sic] is in both their in^{ts} he sh^d undertake it may be of use to his Health & Spirits – Mr Carlyle¹⁷⁰ & Friends much obliged for his Care sh^d be so glad if anything could be got as the Reversions here likely to be small and her Death¹⁷¹ allowing him to dispose of what was settled upon her He imprudent had Epileptic Fitts lately may possibly be shortlived – Mrs Sewell not able to do anything with Boys if any Remittances will take Care as it possibly may at her Death but Dang^{rs} numerous famely suffic^t for the whole – Enquiries at Londⁿ Edⁿ N.C. [Newcastle] not able to procure d^r Neices Commissⁿ She must be mistaken in the Title¹⁷² Brimners Reels &c vilanous stuff strum strum octave Bass wait more compleat order which shall have great Pleasure in observing punctually - Sist^r Bowes¹⁷³ Death Sally with us valuable woman &c. Jo. to write from Wthⁿ [Whitehaven] July 7th 1770

¹⁷⁰ Adam Carlyle of Limekilns.

¹⁷¹ Philadelphia Carruthers, the wife of Adam Carlyle of Limekilns, died in June 1769. [Parish Register, St. Mungo's Parish, Dumfriesshire, Scotland.]

¹⁷² See page 72, note 160, re Sarah Carlyle's letter of the 25th August 1769 above, detailing her original request. George will not have found the music she wanted because she had given him, not the wrong title, but the wrong publisher's name.

¹⁷³ Sarah Bowes died on the 1st July 1770 aged 51. She was a relative of George Carlyle's wife, married to Ralph Lodge, who died aged 67 in 1801. [Margaret J. Ferguson (ed.), *The Monumental Inscriptions in the Church & Churchyard of S. Cuthbert, Carlisle* (Carlisle 1889), p. 5.] [Alexander Young of Harburn, *Memoir of the Carlyles of Lymekills*, (1822), Manuscript held in the Library of Edinburgh University, ref. La.II.113.] See mention of her also in letter above dated 21st August 1769, page, 69.

To
Doct^r George Carlyle
Physician
Carlisle
Cumberland

[In another hand:]

To the Care of
Mr John Dixon
Merch^t In
Whitehaven Cumberland

[In a third hand:]

Cork 5 April 1770 Received &
Forwarded by Thy assured
Geo: Newson

Alexandria Jan^y 28th 1770

D^r Brother

I wrote you a month Agoe by the Hero Cap^t Smith, but I understand she has been Detained in the Ice that I am in hopes this will get on board her not that I have much to Add only to Inclose Two Letters One from the Gentleman that I made Inquirey about the Ironworks – the other from the Gentleman Sollicitor¹⁷⁴ that I Employ for Limekills by which you will find We have had a great deal of Trouble & Expence it has Cost me £25 Sterl^s besides Two or three journeys to Annapolis & M^r Chalmers will Expect £25 more, however at the Next Provincial Court I am In hopes to gett things Settled, & Advirtise the Lands for Sale¹⁷⁵, tho' it's A bad time as money is So Scarce, however I will doe my best, - I am Sorrey for his Ladys Death¹⁷⁶ –

¹⁷⁴ George Chalmers, lawyer, of Maryland. See his letter of the 9th December 1769 addressed to JC, page 73, above.

¹⁷⁵ The Hopewell Estate, Maryland, which had been inherited by Adam Carlyle of Limekilns. See page 58, note 124, attached to JC's first letter of the 1st August 1766 which gives details of this matter. The

My little ones are wel & Joyn in Comp^{ts} to you & Yours & am in haste D^r Sir

Y^{rs} Affectiontly

John Carlyle

affair of the Hopewell sale dragged on for many more years. See Appendix, pp. 81-85, for correspondence of Adam Carlyle regarding Hopewell.

¹⁷⁶ Philadelphia Carruthers, the wife of Adam Carlyle of Limekilns, died in June 1769. [Parish Register, St Mungo's Parish, Dumfriesshire, Scotland.]

APPENDIX

Correspondence of Adam Carlyle of Limekilns in which are references to his
Maryland Estate of Hopewell which his cousin,
Col. John Carlyle, handled on his behalf.
National Archives of Scotland reference GD207/147 fols. 15, 80, 140 & 141

fol. 15

To

John Carruthers Esq^r of Holmains¹⁷⁷

at Kirkwood

To the care of the Post Master at Annan

Dear Sir

As I wanted to see Dr Carlyle¹⁷⁸ and Mr Farish I went to Carlisle on the Saturday after you left this, from whence I wrote you all here were well and expected to hear from you in course of post, and that I had sold my Galloway¹⁷⁹ for £5=5. We are all surprised we have not heard from you yet, and beg you will not fail to write by first opportunity as it will relieve our anxiety, and give us great pleasure to hear you are all well; Phily¹⁸⁰ did not provide any meal last week expecting you would have sent her some before this. We have had several things to buy and notwithstanding the price I got for the Galloway We would have been quite bare of money if Lady Holmains had not supplied us, So must beg you will take the first opportunity to send us some meal (for we cannot make bread, and but very bad porridge of the meal that is to be had here) and the things you took a note of. And I beg you will not fail to remit me some money at the same time for I do not incline to apply to anybody here, unless I had directions on whom to draw or for what sum, and unless I hear from you soon, I will

¹⁷⁷ Adam Carlyle's father-in-law.

¹⁷⁸ Dr. George Carlyle, JC's brother.

¹⁷⁹ The Galloway is a breed of horse.

¹⁸⁰ Philadelphia Carruthers, Adam Carlyle's wife.

be obliged to come over to Scotland, and get affairs fix'd in some way or other before I will apply to Mr Kirkwall (or anybody) who I believe would not refuse to supply me with a little money as I needed it. You must be sensible we are among strangers and are at a loss what to do; our getting settled here must be expensive at first, but if that was over, I cannot see but we may live very cheap here if we please, and that we must, and will do; I wish Mr Hay would write or speake to Dr Hunter with regard to Jamie; Dr Carlyle is to endeavour to get Geordie settled with some discreet captain at Whitehaven;¹⁸¹ he had a letter, which he showed me when I was in Carlisle, from his brother John in which he says he was to write me the next opportunity, which would be in about a week, the collonel says he had recovered two tracts of land value £200. and that he expected soon to be in possession of another called Hopewell which would sell for between £400 and £500 but there were some quit rents due.¹⁸² I expect a letter every day, and will let you know as soon as I get it, the Doctor was here the last week; as soon as I hear from you will write you particularly about everything that occurs. Let us know what is become of Peggy and Mary;¹⁸³ Your Mother offers her blessing to you your wife and bairns; Phily offers her compliments and Rachie¹⁸⁴ her duty to you all, and if Miss Laurie is with you all here beg you will offer their compliments to her I am

Dear Sir

your aff^{ct.} humble servant

Adam Carlyle

Brampton 31st Oct^r 1768

Remember the franks from Captⁿ Douglas to yourself, mother, and me, and to Mr Hay

¹⁸¹ Cf. page 70, note by George Carlyle which refers to this. Geordie was Adam Carlyle's son, born 1754.

¹⁸² Cf. page 58 above, letter of JC to his brother dated 1st August 1766, though this does not appear to be the letter which Adam refers to as having been shown to him by George Carlyle. See also page 68, letter of JC dated 21st August 1769 which confirms his estimate of value.

¹⁸³ This may be a reference to Adam's daughters, Margaret, born 1756, and Mary, born 1757.

¹⁸⁴ Adam Carlyle's daughter Rachel, born 1752.

fol. 80

To John Carruthers Esq^r
of Holmains at Kirkwood
near Dumfries

Dear Sir

I have wrote you several times and never had the favour of an answer, which makes me very uneasy sometimes, at other times when I think of your silence I hope my letters have been miscarried, or lost, I have waited a good while hoping to have the happiness of seeing you here, but as the season is running fast on I have ventured to send you the inclosed letters from my cousin in Virginia inclosing the opinion of Mr Dulany¹⁸⁵ which I imagine will convince you of the necessity of my doing something, but I will not till I see you, I would have been over at Kirkwood before now to consult with you but could not think of leaving my bairns behind me here, if you cannot come here write me if I should come to you with my bairns and I will endeavour to make the best shift I can to come to you, for what I do in that affair must be done soon, I am with my compliments to Mrs Carruthers Dear Sir

yours affectionately

Adam Carlyle

Brampton

26th March 1771

¹⁸⁵ Cf. page 73 above, letter from George Chalmers to JC, dated 9th December 1769.

Adam Carlyle Esq^r

Holmains

Dumfries

D^r Sir,

I have yours of the 6th this day, an answer to which you possibly, or cousin Mary may have received, by a letter wrote by my daughter this day sennight; to say, that a young woman was to go from hence in the next Thursdays Fly, who was a very dearest girl, and who had lived long in this place; and desiring cousin Mary to be here 'till they set off. It is rare one can hear of passengers any time before the Fly goes off, so as to convey an acc^t to you. The passage from this to Leeds is £1-10-0, from Leeds to London £1-11-6, where three places are reserved, in the old Leeds coach, for such as arrive in the Diligence, which is the carriage used from hence, and only carries three. Seven pounds of luggage only is allowed; for all above, they pay four pence a pound – the Diligence goes off every Tuesday, and Thursday Forenoon, at twelve; there is also a coach goes out every Tuesday, and Thursday night, upon the same terms. – I am now to acknowledge the receipt of yours by M^r Cuthb^t Atkinson: I own I was very much surprised to hear nothing from you, for so long a time, after I had wrote to tell you of my expectation of the money; but at last to be shown a letter from M^r Carruthers to M^r Borrodale, desiring me to pay it to him, for his and M^r Atkinson's use, without any order from you, or taking the least notice of the application I had recommended to be made of it this I did not think treating one civilly. And I am sure, M^r Farish, and the Bishop, for whom he acts, have been used very uncivilly; not only by never having received one farthing towards payment of what is due for the house, after the promises made by you of it; but not the least notice taken of the many letters Mr Farish has wrote, both to M^r Carruthers and you, upon the subject; which he surely was intitled to as a gentleman. I should not have mentioned this so often, had I not looked upon myself as accessory to this non payment; as I know the indulgence of allowing the sale, and removal of the remainder of the goods from Brampton, was chiefly out of regard to me: but that I find has no weight with you. As this is the case, you must allow me to mention the settling my own account, before I part with the money in my hands; as, in the present state of affairs, it is very uncertain whether you

may receive any more from America: since the receipt of the microscope from Ed^r, for which I gave you credit, I reckon my attendances, at Brampton and Waverton, at ten guineas: if you are satisfied with this, I shall pay the remainder of the bill to your order, for the use of Mr Atkinson and Borrodale; I own they are justly intitled to their money, but the Bishops debt is of an older date: perhaps he can better bear the loss: yet you must not be surprised, if your entire silence should have disagreeable consequences. I am,

S^r

Your affect. Humble serv^t

George Carlyle

Carlisle Decr 8th 1775

Dear Sir

I am not a little surprized that I have heard nothing from you in answer to my last letter; & still more surprized at what D^r. Carlyle tells me today – that he has received a remittance from Virginia on your behalf, & that your brother has ordered it to be paid to Mr Borrowdale, without taking any notice of the debt due to the Bishop of Rochester. As the D^r. was so much concerned in procuring you the house at first, this is certainly using him very ill, as well as myself & his Lordship. Mr Carruthers promised me upon the word of a Gentleman that all the arrears of rent should be immediately paid; you have repeatedly given me the same assurances yourself; - what then am I to think of this way of proceeding? – Nothing would have been easier for me, than to have seized the goods in the house to discharge this debt: I declined taking this method out of pure regard for you, & an unwillingness to expose you to the disgrace w^h such a step must have been attended with – I leave you to judge whther this is making any suitable return to my regard. – I have desired the D^r. to keep the money in his hands, till I hear from you, w^h. I expect to do very soon, & am

Sir Your humble serv^t.

J Farish

Carlisle

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