

**THE  
JOHN CARLYLE HOUSE  
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA**

**RESTORATION REPORT  
FOR THE  
NORTHERN VIRGINIA REGIONAL PARK AUTHORITY**

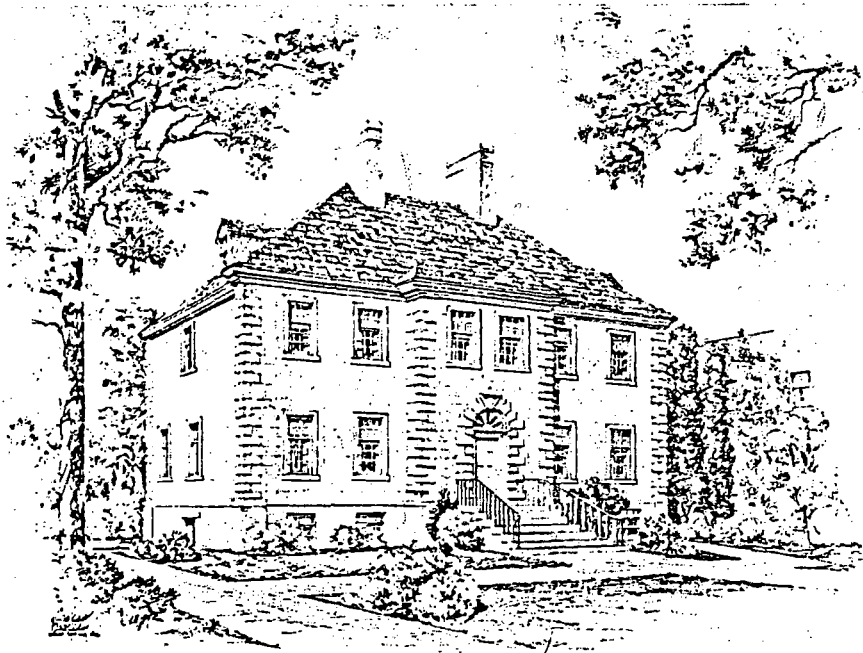
**Commission 804**

**July 1980**

**FAUBER GARBEE, INC., ARCHITECTS  
FOREST VILLAGE SQUARE BOX 162  
FOREST, VIRGINIA 24551**

RESTORATION  
OF THE  
JOHN CARLYLE HOUSE  
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

Owned and Restored  
by the  
Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority



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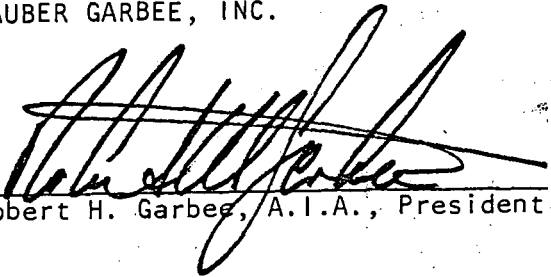


## PREFACE

In order to provide continuity for the architectural practice created by J. Everette Fauber, Jr., F.A.I.A., over a period of more than thirty-five years, the firm of Fauber Garbee, Inc., Architects, was incorporated in July, 1978.

This report on the Restoration of the Carlyle House was personally prepared by J. Everette Fauber, Jr., F.A.I.A., of the firm of Fauber Garbee, Inc., Architects, in the spring of 1980.

FAUBER GARBEE, INC.



Robert H. Garbee, A.I.A., President

No restoration of a fine and important structure of established historic significance and architectural merit is complete without some form of final documentation.

Succeeding generations need to know what the research program entailed, what was found or exposed, how the evidence was interpreted, what policies were set for honoring its architectural integrity - yet putting and keeping the structure to work with an appropriate adaptive use and purpose.

This bound report pretends to do just this and, hopefully, may find its place in libraries and archives or some other secure repository for the enlightenment and benefit of those who follow.

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### Acknowledgments

It would be impossible to adequately acknowledge the contributions of the many individuals who participated in and assisted with the restoration of the Carlyle House. We place great value on the fine and cooperative efforts and the technical skills of our consulting engineers, paint and hardware consultants, archaeologists and the entire construction force. Suffice it to say that to each must go our sincere appreciation for each effort no matter how large or small. All of this was essential to the success of this rewarding project.

Two individuals must be mentioned and credited for their unmatched contribution in terms of the conception, nurturing and shepherding of the project to its completion. To them must go our special thanks and appreciation for their firm support and unyielding encouragement from start to finish. They are Mr. William M. Lightsey, Retired Executive Director of the NVRPA and his Executive Assistant, also retired, Mrs. Beth R. Sundquist. To them, again, and to the Board that they served, our thanks for the opportunity to have participated in this important work.

Without the cooperation and understanding of the Alexandria City Administration and their Building Regulation and Inspection Departments, the resultant careful and authentic restoration of the Carlyle House would not have been possible.

Members of the staff of J. Everette Fauber, Jr., F.A.I.A., who was assigned as Restoration Architect for the restoration of the John Carlyle House, include the following:

J. Everette Fauber, Jr., F.A.I.A.	- Principal
Robert H. Garbee, A.I.A.	- Administrative Director
Nathaniel P. Neblett, A.I.A.	- Project Manager
E. Jean Thomas	- Administrative Coordinator
Robert C. Giebner	- Alexandria Field Office Manager, 11/72 to 6/73
C. Richard Bierce, A.I.A.	- Alexandria Field Office Manager, 6/73 to 4/76
Sharon C. Park, A.I.A.	- Staff Architect, 3/74 to 1/76
Baird M. Smith	- Staff Architect, 10/73 to 1/76
C. Alan Kemper	- Historian, 9/73 to 11/75
James Howard Rhodes	- Historian, 6/73 to 3/74
Catherine C. Schultz	- Draftswoman, 6/73 to 9/73
Elizabeth H. Kaul	- Draftswoman, 12/73 to 3/74
Samuel E. Johnson	- Draftsman, 1/73 to 6/73
Martavius R. Tyler	- Draftsman, 1/73 to 6/73
D. Forrest deButts	- Researcher, 11/72 to 3/74

The final documentation of this important restoration project would be incomplete and totally inadequate without paying particular tribute to Mr. S. Parker Oliphant, President and Managing Officer of the Wm. P. Lipscomb Company, Inc., the building contractor for this restoration, and also to Mr. Presley Allen, his able, dedicated and gifted foreman. Their enthusiasm for and sympathy with this painstaking piece of work was exemplary and a distinct contribution to its successful culmination.

I

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE  
CARLYLE HOUSE HISTORIC PROJECT

The Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority, NVRPA, a governing body dedicated to serving the public's need for open space and outdoor recreation, embarked on a unique, open-space development project, in 1969, for the City of Alexandria. The historic John Carlyle House was singled out for restoration and to become the feature of its surrounding three-quarter acre site which was destined to be treated as a landscaped, public park to introduce more open space and greenery in the midst of congested downtown Alexandria.

The restored home of the Carlyle family, now open daily and shown to the public as a house museum, recalls an interesting segment of the early history of Alexandria, the architecture and cultural materials of the mid-eighteenth century and the life and tastes of its Scottish, merchant owner. Years of neglect in an almost isolated surrounding had almost destroyed this historically and architecturally significant structure.

The site, sandwiched between the massive Second Empire City Hall and the still more overpowering World War I Torpedo Factory complex, came to the Park Authority as a composite of derelict buildings - degrading and completely hiding the John Carlyle mansion from public view. While the house was originally set back approximately seventy-five feet from Fairfax Street, giving

it a grandeur, distinct from other later townhouses, it was completely hidden from public view front side by the construction in 1855 of a large, multi-story hotel. In addition, the site also housed, as one section of the hotel, the converted early 1807 Federal style Bank of Alexandria, the first building designed to be used exclusively for banking to be constructed in Virginia. What began as the restoration of one building soon involved three separate structures, spanning over one hundred years of construction - The Carlyle House, the Bank of Alexandria and the mid-nineteenth century hotel.

Faced with the presence of these various buildings, all of some historic significance, the Park Authority undertook, on its own, planning and feasibility studies of several alternative restoration approaches. The oldest and most historically significant Carlyle House, however, remained and became the major objective in terms of physical restoration and preservation.

While serious efforts were made to find an adaptive use for the hotel, including an effort to locate an independent owner or agency, there was no apparent easy resolution. The hotel was demolished in 1973. The north section of the hotel, comprising the altered original Bank of Alexandria, was, however, not demolished and is currently being restored and remodeled on a long-term lease arrangement with a private developer. The removal

of the old hotel addition brought the Carlyle House back into public view without sacrificing the historically significant Bank of Alexandria, founded and operated by Carlyle's son-in-law, William Herbert.

The funding for The Carlyle House Historic Park came primarily from the Park Authority's annual capital budget, with a limited amount of additional funds from the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Over six years, the project costs totaled 2.5 million dollars. This figure represents the costs of acquisition, demolition of the hotel, landscaping the gardens, the research and architectural fees, as well as actual restoration cost. The physical restoration of the Carlyle House cost just over one million dollars.

The restoration, directed and designed by the architectural office of J. Everette Fauber, Jr., F.A.I.A., and reconstructed by the Wm. P. Lipscomb Company, Inc., was completed in January 1976. The house was officially dedicated on January 18 as the first major event of Virginia's Bicentennial Year, returning to the city its finest mansion of the earliest years of this seaport community.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE EXTANT HOUSE

The Carlyle House, completed in 1753 in Alexandria, Virginia, is an excellent example of the mid-Georgian style of architecture, popular in England and Scotland, but charmingly adapted to its new colonial setting. This unique stone mansion in the heart of Alexandria's seaport community is architecturally significant for its Virginia Palladian design, vernacular detailing, construction methodology and sophisticated and extensive use of indigenous local stone.

While reflecting the eighteenth century's highly articulated and symmetrical plan with its flanking dependencies, the Carlyle House brought the majesty of a country estate to a small, but prospering, town. The scale of the house is such, however, that it expresses deferences to the urban environment. This is still evident today. As one of the first houses constructed in Alexandria, it commanded a prominent site, high on a bluff, overlooking the Potomac River. Today it is a green oasis in a fully developed city which includes, across from the property, an interesting, late-nineteenth century, Second Empire City Hall.

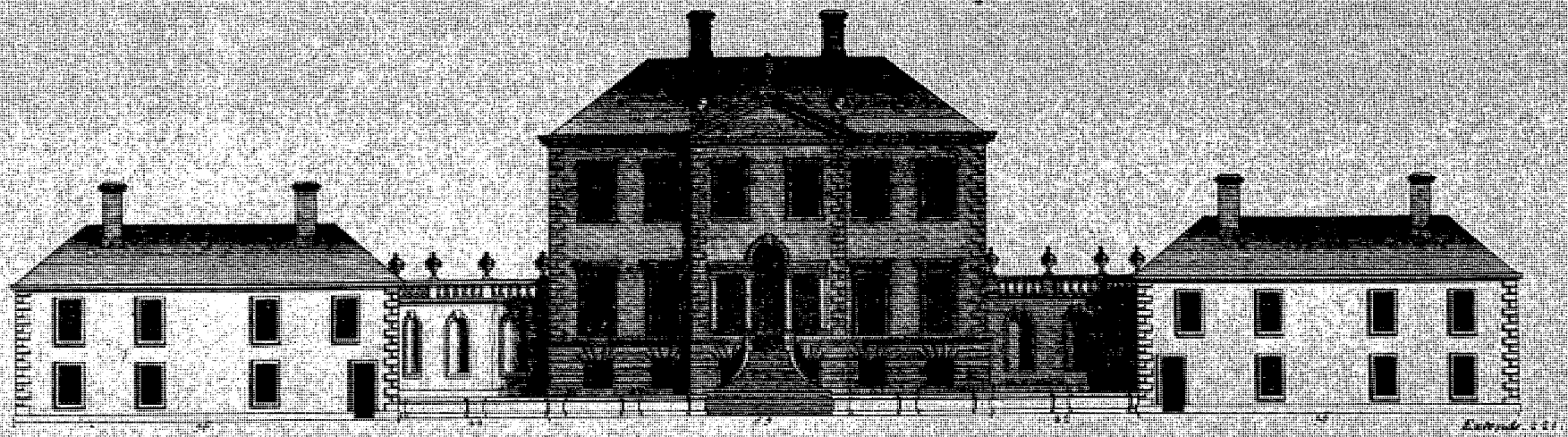
Located on original Town Lots No. 41 and No. 42, the Carlyle House sits seventy-five feet back from Fairfax Street. The main house is approximately 52'-3" by 34'-10", composed of two stories and

an attic over a raised service basement. Unfortunately, the two, original, freestanding, flanking dependencies, an office and kitchen, were both demolished by 1855 to make room for other larger structures, and the ground under and around was so disturbed as to make archaeological investigation absolutely futile.

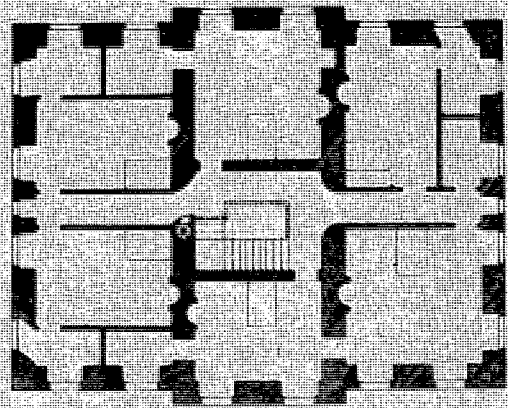
Constructed of load-bearing masonry, the house is an early and rare example of a stone mansion in Alexandria. While most of the early houses of the seaport community were of frame or locally produced brick, Carlyle House is constructed of sandstone, which was taken from the neighboring Aquia Creek quarry. Not only are the walls of sandstone but the house carries excellent examples of carved stone trim, including the only extant, mid-eighteenth century, stone cornice in the Virginia Colony.

The exterior of the house is accented by the heavily articulated west, or entrance, facade. This six-bay wide elevation follows the popular designs of the Adam brothers and is not unlike Craigiehall in West Lothian, Scotland. (See Illustration No. 1 and No. 2)

Although smaller in scale, the Carlyle House also employs a projecting central pavilion which, like the four corners, is embellished with heavy quoins. A prominent molded water table separates the house proper from a raised, rusticated, foundation wall. High and lofty chimney masses straddle and spring from a



*The General Front of Craigiehall House towards the East the Seat of The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Charles Hope in the County of West Lothian*



*Plan of the 1<sup>st</sup> Floor*

*Wm Adam delin*

*Wm Adam sculp*

**Illustration No. 1: Craigiehall Plate (from William Adam's Design Book).**

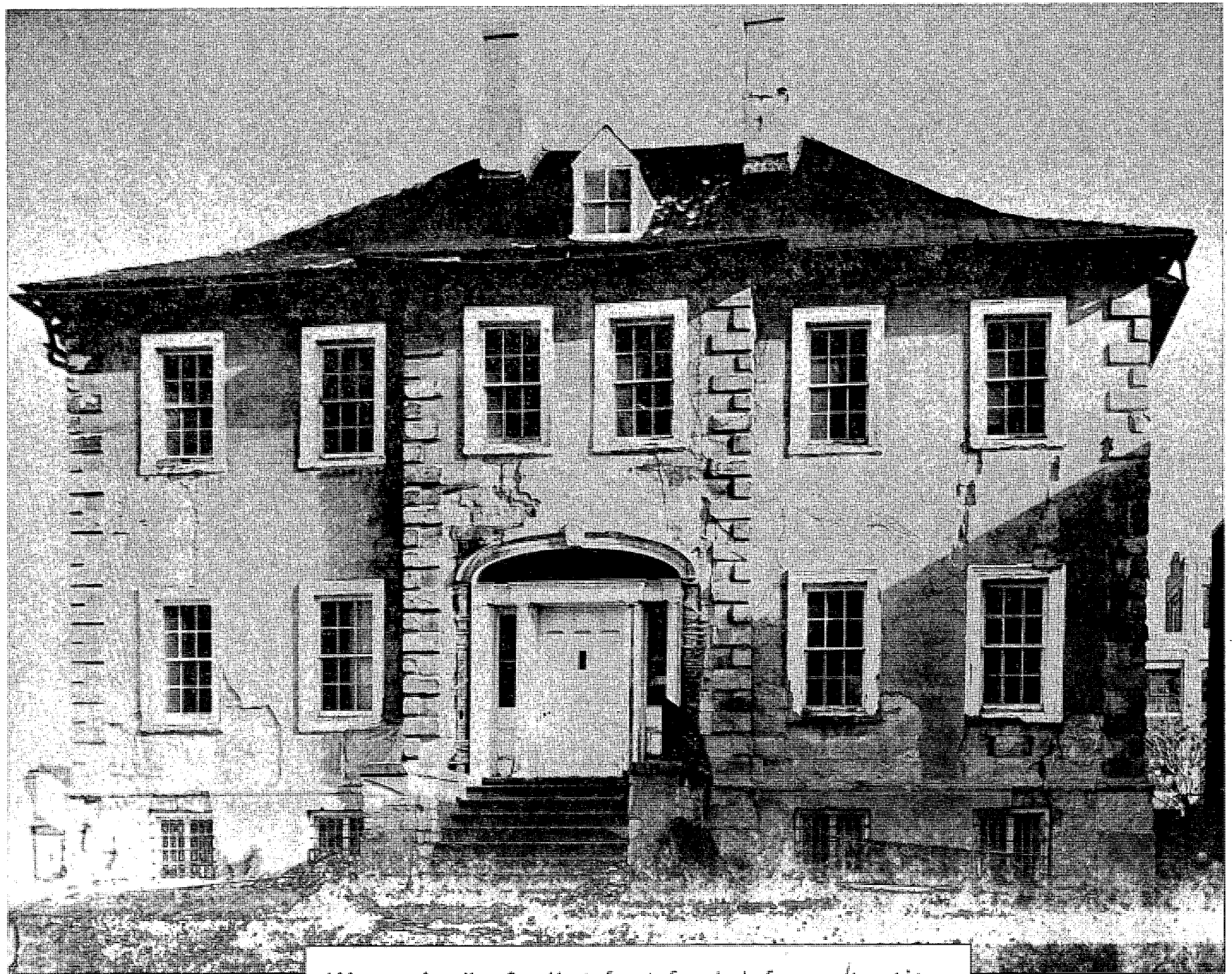


Illustration No. 2: West front facade before restoration.

typically Georgian, hipped roof with an unusual flair at the eaves. One area where the two houses differ is in the execution. While the west facade of Carlyle House is fully finished with dressed ashlar in a random pattern, the three remaining facades were treated in an almost unfinished manner with sandstone still exhibiting the rough, quarry, tool marks. While freestanding on the lot, the house addressed itself prominently to its most public facade, that facing Fairfax Street. The stone cornice carries across this one facade, yet changes to a simpler wooden cornice even dropped to a lower level around the other three sides.

The interior of the house as originally built also followed the formal, symmetrical plan, so popular in the mid-Georgian period. Divided into three separate sections two window bays wide, the house has a typical "center hall" layout with two rooms on either side of a long hallway running the full depth of the house. In order to obtain a variety of room sizes on the first floor, the division of rooms to the north of the hallway produced one large room, known later as the Council Chamber, and a smaller adjacent room on the west side, the small Parlor. (See Illustrations No. 4 and No. 5)

These two rooms were crucial to the restoration, for they were the only spaces retaining their original architectural treatment after two major remodelings.

The original ornamentation of the Council Chamber included a number of classically inspired details. (See Illustration No. 3.) The soffits of heavily modillioned cornice were embellished with carved rosettes and pineapples. These motifs were picked up in a larger scale on the broken serpentine pediments over the doorways with a pineapple on a pedestal between flanking segments of scrolls which were, in turn, embossed with a carved rose. (See Illustration No. 4.) The classical detailing was further enhanced by the Doric pilasters of the overmantel, the rich, hand-carved, egg-and-dart backband of the marble fireplace surround and the Greek key fretwork on the fascia of the pedestal chair rail. The chair rail could possibly have been detailed from Gibbs' Rules for Drawing, a popular manual of the time.

To complete the design of the room, the total window assembly was paneled. In the deep splayed reveal of the windows was a paneled window seat and sophisticated, operable, folding shutters. These interior shutters were also paneled and designed in such a fashion that, when folded, they nestled into a recess and formed a fully-paneled, splayed, jamb reveal. This window detail was also found in the small Parlor and became the prototype for the restoration of the other altered first floor windows.

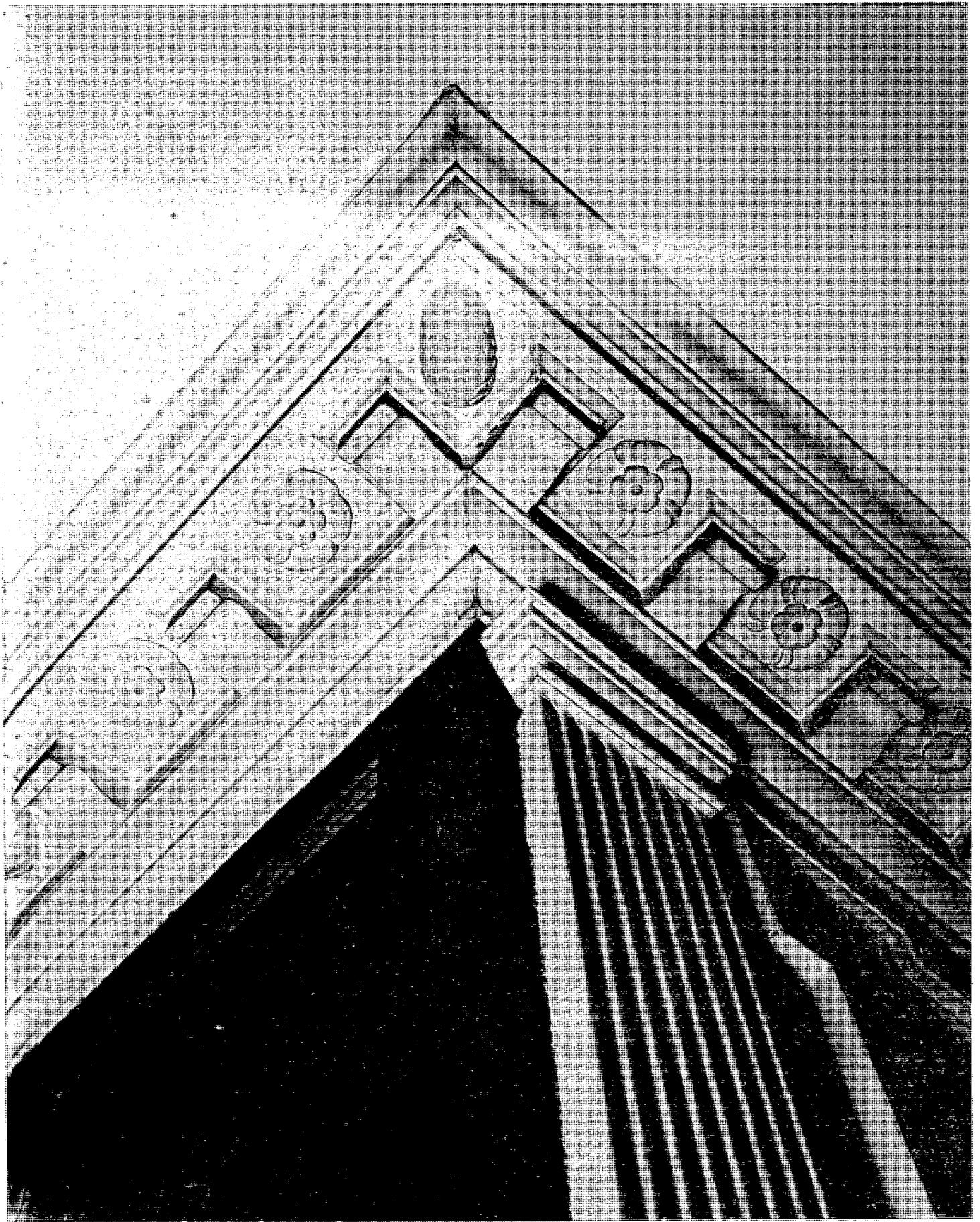


Illustration No. 3: Council Chamber cornice and pilaster details.

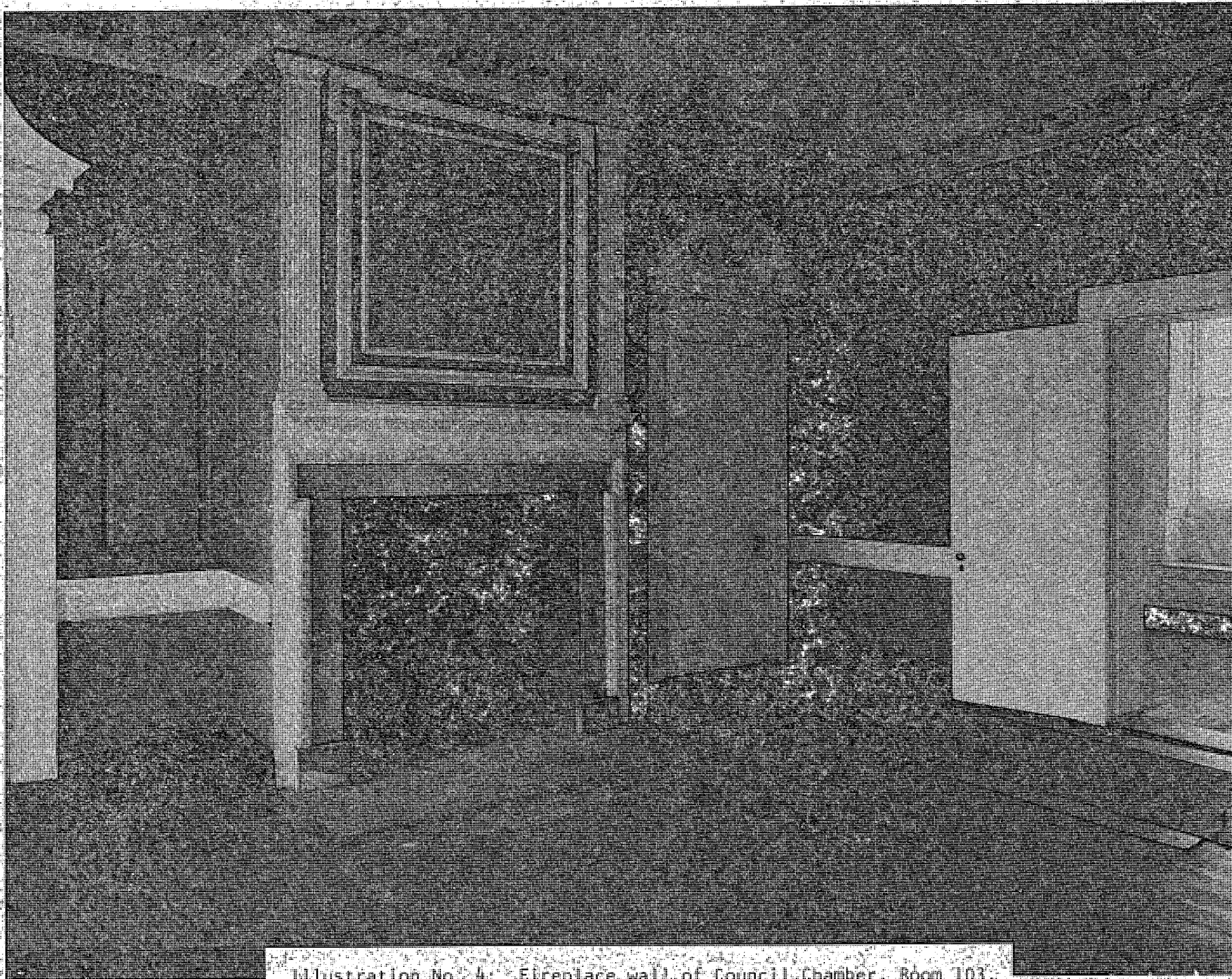


Illustration No. 4: Fireplace wall of Council Chamber, Room 103.

It is important that these two rooms survived intact and not just the elaborate Council Chamber, for in the small Parlor we have examples of a more restrained treatment. (See Illustration No. 5.) There is no paneling; other than the window assembly; the fireplace has a simple carved backband; the chair rail is a simple pedestal type; and the cornice is embellished only with a dentiled element. While the room contains all the appropriate appointments of a formal space, the simplicity of treatment revealed that Carlyle had an established hierarchy of embellishment relating to the importance and public character of each space. The two approaches to the architectural treatment of these rooms was not only important for providing a variety of design prototypes but, more importantly, it also assisted the architect in developing a restoration philosophy and tone for conjectural architectural treatment of other altered spaces.

#### Design Influences

The restoration of the Carlyle House could not rest solely on the architectural treatment of the two remaining original rooms. As the research effort turned up no plans of the house or contemporary descriptions from journals or diaries of the mid-eighteenth century, the architect sought other sources to study possible

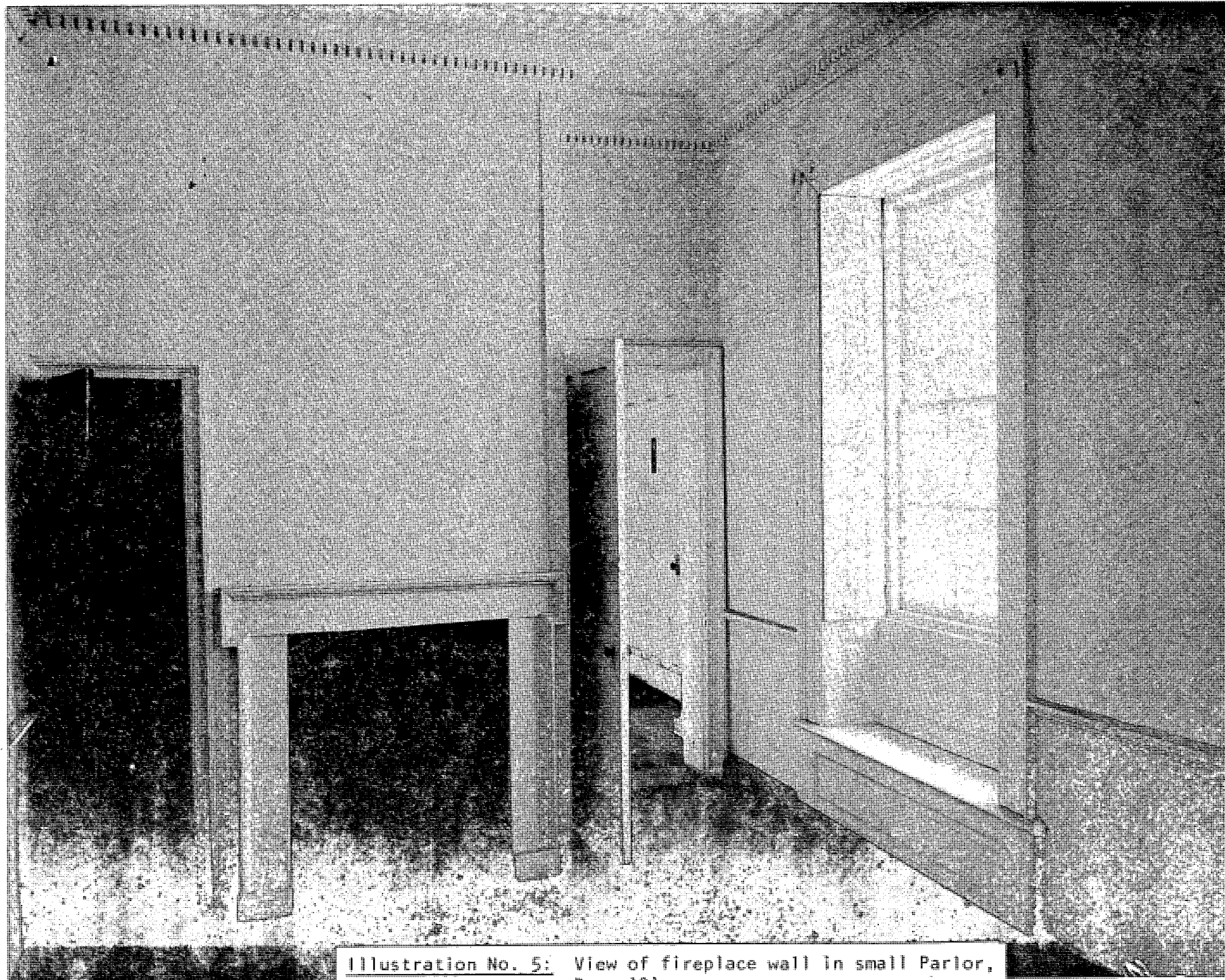


Illustration No. 5: View of fireplace wall in small Parlor, Room 101.

design influences on the house. It was important to seek for possible designers of the house, designs of similar mid-Georgian houses in the northern neck of Virginia, likely workmen associated with the house and their access to the popular architectural builder's guides and design manuals.

Although research will continue on the Carlyle House, it is not likely that many more family papers of the American Carlyles or Herberts will surface, as they were, reportedly, burned during the Civil War. What has remained of post-Civil War descriptions of the house has been of little benefit for this restoration. The house was, as mentioned earlier, seriously and extensively altered during James Green's (circa 1855) remodeling.

With all reasonable research sources on the house itself exhausted, the natural starting point was with its owner, John Carlyle. From letters John wrote to his brother, George, on August 4, 1752, and November 12, 1752, it is evident that he was thoroughly and deeply involved with the construction of his house. In fact, he bemoaned the difficulties associated with work delays and unexpected expenses and indicated he was in "constant attendance" of supervising his own servants working on the construction. With Carlyle's management experience as a merchant and his access to shipped materials, it is possible that Carlyle acted as his own builder.

Had Carlyle acted as his own builder, the design of the house would probably exhibit numerous construction idiosyncrasies. An experienced builder would be able to efficiently lay out a building, coordinate all the trades of workers and, hopefully, supervise the job to avoid delays and additional expenses. Although it is evident from the quality of the carved stonework and the Council Chamber paneling that some experienced and talented craftsmen worked on the house, the level of uniformity as to the quality of other work throughout the house is missing. As a builder usually was a master craftsman in addition to general supervisor, one would expect a reasonably high quality of workmanship throughout.

From evidence discovered during the restoration, there were numerous idiosyncrasies in the house. In fact, part of the charm and naivete of the house results from discrepancies in details. Although described in more detail elsewhere, some such discrepancies are the lack of a frieze over the pilasters in the Council Chamber, the positioning of the stone cornice higher than the adjacent wood cornices, the use of an odd butterfly hinge on the shutters when the others were H hinges, and the laying of some stone hearths slightly off center from fireplace openings.

These deviations from standard details were unique and illustrate that Carlyle accepted them as part of the finished product. As

the restoration attempted to recreate the house Carlyle knew, it was important to not correct identifiable original discrepancies and to allow certain discrepancies which later surfaced to remain.

While it is already indicated that Carlyle acted as his own supervisor, it is also likely that he may have been the actual designer of the house. Unfortunately, there is no firm documentation, to date, identifying the designer. With Carlyle's Scottish background and his familiarity with stone, manor-house designs, it is possible that he worked with the assistance of itinerant craftsmen and contemporary published builder's guides.

John Carlyle surely would have been familiar with basic design and prototypes from his childhood in Scotland. In John Dunbar's recent book, The Historic Architecture of Scotland, he identifies numerous small manor houses of Scottish lairds of the early eighteenth century which dotted the countryside near Carlyle's childhood region. As mid-century houses were built, the simple rectangular form of the earlier houses was embellished with classical detailing such as quoining, belt courses, water tables, cornices, carved architraves and dressed ashlar facings. Several of Dunbar's mid-century houses are strikingly similar to the Carlyle House. Those illustrated include Glendoick (Perthshire), Airds House (Argyll) and Front Street House (Argyll).

John left Scotland when he was twenty years old and, should the memory of his own architectural heritage have been dimmed during his decade in the Colonies, he had an opportunity to refresh it in 1751. In that year he traveled to England and Scotland with his father-in-law, William Fairfax, returning to Alexandria April 30, 1751. This was recorded in a letter to George.

As John had two years from the 1749 purchase date of the lots to begin construction, it is possible that he waited until his return from abroad to begin. Although we have no starting date for construction, the house was well under way by his account to his brother on May 23, 1752. The house was completed enough to move into by August 1, 1753, indicating an estimated construction time of slightly over two years.

In investigating other possible influences on the design of the Carlyle House, the architect pursued the hypothesis developed by the Architectural Historian, Thomas T. Waterman. His analysis of the house is included in his 1945 The Mansions of Virginia and a great deal of credit should be given to him in bringing the house to the attention of concerned citizens of Alexandria and other preservationists. Had he not recognized the architectural significance of this remarkable stone mansion in Alexandria, it may have fallen to the wrecking ball years ago.

Waterman's theory was that John Ariss, an undertaker and stone mason, was responsible for the design of the Carlyle House which was based on Craighall. Waterman bases his theory on the fact that Ariss was in the area, was capable of producing the stonework, and that he advertised his knowledge of the latest British styles. His May 22, 1751, advertisement in the Maryland Gazette stated that he could provide designs from either the "Ancient or Modern Order of Gibbs," referring to James Gibbs' Book of Architecture. Gibbs' book, along with Adam's Vitruvius Scoticus, was readily available and extremely popular in the Colonies.

Waterman believed that the Carlyle House was the first of Ariss' projects. While there is no specific documentation, one could hypothesize that the number of idiosyncracies in construction was due to Ariss' inexperience. He was, apparently, more than capable of creating the carved stonework which is remarkably similar in profile to that at Mt. Airy (1758), another mansion believed by Waterman to have been worked on by Ariss. Although historians are beginning to take a greater interest in John Ariss, he still remains an elusive figure in American architecture. Until further evidence comes to light, it will be impossible to conclusively tie Ariss to Carlyle House. Until then, the closest scrutiny of available information points to John Carlyle as the primary force behind the design and supervision of construction.

In conclusion, then, the sources influencing the design appear to be threefold. First, the Scottish heritage of Carlyle played a primary and thoroughly appropriate role in his desire to transplant a part of his beloved Scotland, a sentimental attachment to his family and his birthplace that showed itself again and again in his correspondence, to a town he helped found. Secondly, design books illustrating popular mid-Georgian designs were available not only to gentlemen-builders such as Carlyle but, also, to professionals such as John Ariss. These books contained classical details to assist in designing houses with prototypes such as Craighall. Thirdly, there were itinerant craftsmen who traveled from job to job bringing with them a personal interpretation of construction and influencing, to great degree, the resultant structures of the period. While, to date, these craftsmen remain anonymous, they may have brought with them the skills to translate John Carlyle's dreams and aspirations into a reality.

## A DOCUMENTED HISTORY OF THE CARLYLE HOUSE AND PROPERTY

The Carlyle House was not, however, to be maintained over the years with the care and concern of its first owner. While experiencing major remodeling in 1855 and 1914, the years in between were to take a heavy toll. Following is a documented history of the house, its owners, its uses and its various conditions from 1749 to 1973.

John Carlyle purchased two lots, numbered 41 and 42, in the incipient township of Alexandria in July 1749 at a public sale. The lots were in the center of town on the riverfront. He bid 30 pistoles for lot 41 and 16 pistoles for lot 42.<sup>1</sup> It is not known why bids were received in Spanish pistoles, for when the deeds were drawn up in September, the prices were converted to pounds, £ 32, 5s for lot 41, and £ 17, 4s for lot 42.<sup>2</sup> It has already been noted that a bargain was struck among certain of the purchasers to enable them to get the best riverfront lots.

The deed conveying the lots from the Trustees to Carlyle specified that he had a two-year time limit to begin construction on a building, so it must have been begun before 1751; and it was probably completed during 1753. There is almost no documentary evidence of the appearance of the house during Carlyle's

lifetime, but there are scattered hints. For instance, there was a reference to "Mr. Carlyle's gate" in 1760, implying that there must have been some sort of fence or wall with a gate.<sup>3</sup> The gate on Fairfax Street, across from the market place and courthouse would have marked the center of town, and seems to have been used as a landmark.

When Carlyle died in the fall of 1780, his property was split into several portions, a rectangular strip at the corner of Fairfax and Cameron Streets left to his daughter, Sarah Herbert, a square parcel at the corner of Water (Lee) Street and Cameron Street was left to his grandson, Carlyle Fairfax Whiting, and the remainder descending to his son, George William Carlyle.<sup>4</sup> When his son was killed the next year, the property was conveyed to Sarah Herbert's son, John Carlyle Herbert, and the Herbert family occupied the house.

There was a dry goods house on the northwest corner of the property, on the tract left to Sarah Herbert, which William Herbert apparently leased out as a store to a series of retail merchants in the 1780's.<sup>5</sup> Along Cameron Street there was apparently some sort of garden, though the term garden and yard seem to have been used interchangeably in the eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

In July 1785 the Alexandria newspaper reported a brief news item which tells us something of the structure:

Last Monday Afternoon there were frequent heavy gusts of Thunder here, accompanied with Hail and much Rain, during which the Lightning struck the Conductor affixed to the House of William Herbert, Esq.; which it followed, without any further Damage than breaking some of the windows, although the Shock was so great as to throw the Conductor down.-- The great Quantity of Rain which fell, did considerable Damage to several new Buildings, particularly a new Brick Building which it entirely destroyed.<sup>7</sup>

It may be possible that this storm was partially responsible for some of the cracking and settling in the walls of the Carlyle House, although it is known that some damage occurred during construction, as confirmed by John's letter to his brother on November 12, 1752.

The first firm documentary evidence of the appearance of the building and lot appeared in 1796, when William Herbert insured the lot with the Mutual Assurance Society.<sup>8</sup> The descriptions of the lots in the insurance company's appraisals show that there were three one-story wooden structures, listed as dwelling houses at the corner of Fairfax and Cameron Streets, facing on Fairfax Street, extending 80 feet along that street. There was a wooden stable on Cameron Street and several wooden structures whose functions were not indicated. The mansion house itself was described as "Dwelling house, 51 feet in front, 35 feet deep or broad, 2 stories high, the Walls built of Stone and covered with Wood." It was appraised at 12,000 dollars. To the southwest of the house, facing

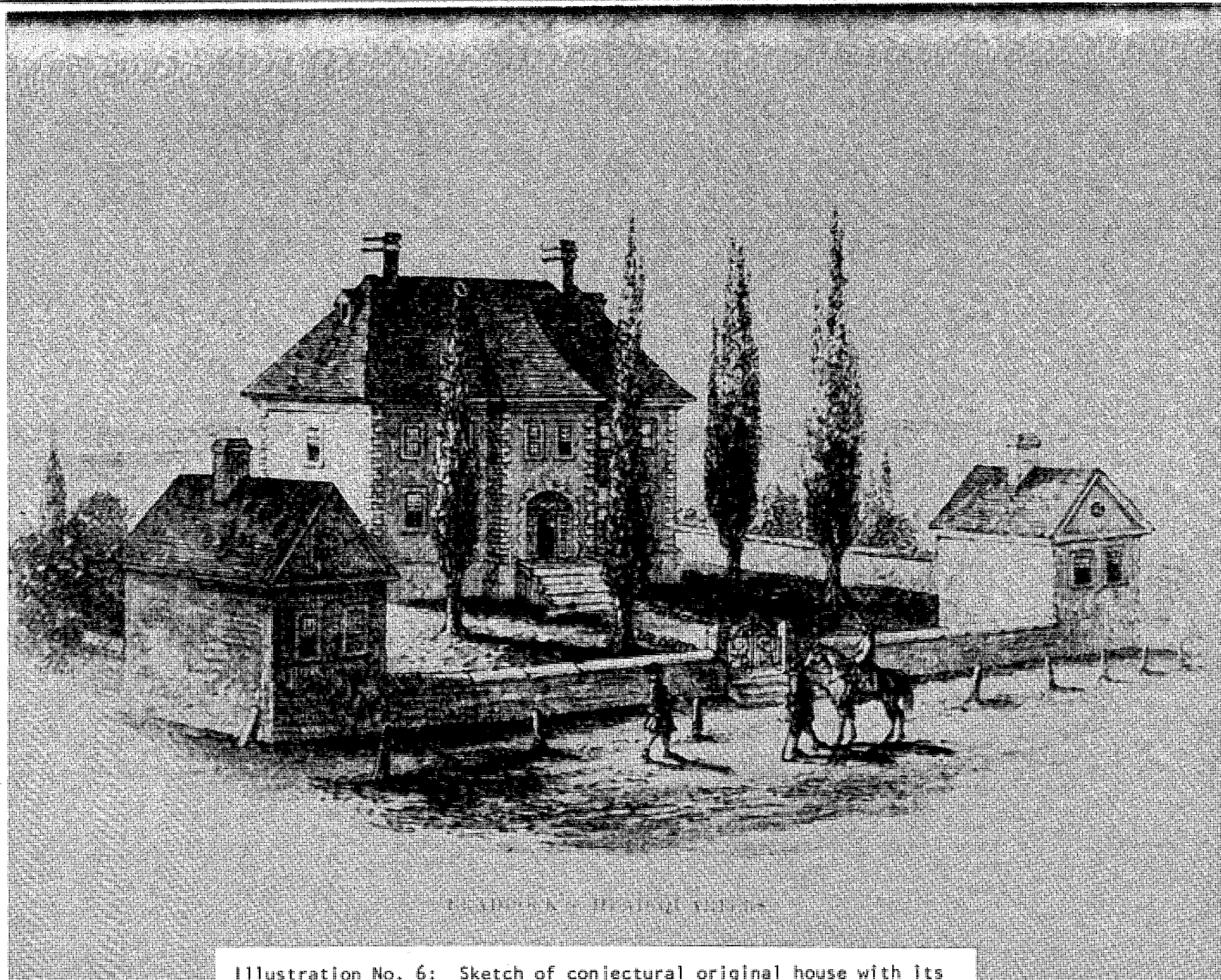


Illustration No. 6: Sketch of conjectural original house with its dependencies, appearing in February 1880 edition of "Harper's Monthly."

on Fairfax, was a kitchen, one story high, built and covered with wood, 26 by 18 feet. The plots also show that the property was being extended out into the river beyond Water Street, probably taking the dirt from the back yard of the Carlyle House.

In 1802 the Alexandria tax assessments appraised the house and lot at \$14,000, but in 1806 the value had decreased to \$12,600.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the construction of the large brick banking house for the Bank of Alexandria, which was completed by the end of 1806 on the corner of Fairfax and Cameron Streets, was thought to detract from the value of the house. The lot for the bank was conveyed to them in 1803 by John Carlyle Herbert, William and Sarah's son. William Herbert was, at that time, the president of the Bank of Alexandria and continued to occupy the house until his death in 1820.

There are a series of letters written by Sarah Herbert, presumably from the Carlyle House, in the period 1802 - 1807, to her daughter, Margaret, who had married Thomas, Lord Fairfax, and moved with him to his estate in western Virginia.<sup>10</sup> There are delightful morsels of local gossip of marriages, balls, sicknesses, etc., in the town, and bits of motherly advice warning her to look after her teeth and hair. Unhappily, they tell us almost nothing about the house itself.

After the death of William Herbert in 1819, it is not known what was done with the Carlyle House; but it remained in the ownership

of the Herbert family until it was sold to a group of businessmen in 1827. John Carlyle Herbert had removed to Maryland, but some of the Herberts may have continued to occupy the house until 1827, the year in which Sarah Carlyle Herbert died. The lot and house were conveyed to John Ladd, John Lloyd, and George and John Hoffman on 24 September 1827 to settle the debts owed them from the estate of William Herbert's brother, Thomas; each of them to hold a share proportional to his part of the debt.<sup>11</sup> Apparently, none of them particularly wanted the house, for it was offered for sale in 1830; but there were no buyers.<sup>12</sup> The property was shifted back and forth among the group of them until John Lloyd emerged as sole owner in 1834.<sup>13</sup>

Lloyd, apparently, didn't want the house either, for he repeatedly tried to sell it or rent it out. In 1834, for instance, he advertised the house for rent or sale:

FOR RENT,

...The commodious STONE DWELLING HOUSE on Fairfax Street, near the Bank of Alexandria, formerly the residence of William Herbert, Esq.

The House last mentioned, with the large and valuable Lot, will be sold on reasonable terms.<sup>14</sup>

When Lloyd learned that there were plans to build a new courthouse in Alexandria in 1838, he offered the house and lot as a suitable location for a new courthouse for 3,300 dollars. After a public meeting, the offer was rejected, along with a similar offer from

the trustees of the defunct Bank of Alexandria of their building on the corner.<sup>15</sup> Lloyd, apparently, did not occupy the house himself, and it is unknown to what use the building was put until 1841.

A British traveler, J. S. Buckingham, visited Alexandria in 1841 and described the town. He saw the Carlyle House and reported:

A large and handsome mansion, built as a family residence, by an English gentleman named Carlisle, is now occupied by a number of poor families, two or three living in each of the separate floors; and the whole building exterior and interior, is going gradually to ruin, for want of occasional repairs.<sup>16</sup>

This is the only description of the building between the death of William Herbert and the acquisition of the property by James Green in 1848; but it may be surmised that the building went through gradual deterioration through the whole period 1820 - 1848, none of the owners having any interest in living in the house themselves or in engaging in any major alterations.

In the spring of 1848, James Green, a furniture manufacturer who had prospered in trade, began to purchase lots in the Carlyle House block. In April he acquired the Carlyle House itself with its property for 3,000 dollars.<sup>17</sup> He had already bought the lots at the northwest corner, including the old Bank of Alexandria building, and, by the end of the year, he owned the whole original

Carlyle property, except for a small tract at the corner of Cameron and Water Streets and a 27-foot strip to the south of the house.<sup>18</sup>

Green converted the Bank of Alexandria building into a hotel, calling it The Mansion House, recognizing the importance of the mansion house next door, and probably moved into the house with his family. But, first, some renovation would have been necessary, for the building must have been severely deteriorated by that time. The exact extent of Green's renovation is not revealed by the documentary evidence, but archaeological exploratory work on the superstructure revealed that Green's renovations and remodelings were extensive. It appears that he not only wanted to upgrade the style of the house to a more contemporary appearance but he also wanted to expand the number of rooms. While leaving the Council Chamber and small Parlor intact, Green eliminated both original stairs, the first floor south corridor and the passage to the kitchen pavilion (the pavilion having been previously demolished for construction of, perhaps, the Law Building). See Sheet 17 and Sheet 18.

In replacing features, Green incorporated the simple, yet flowing lines of the mid-nineteenth century. All cornices and chair rails were removed, except in the two north rooms, giving the rooms a more restrained character. To further accentuate the simpler lines of the rooms, window seats were removed. The two rooms on the first floor south were joined as one, with the removal of the

corridor and the substitution of enormous sliding doors that retracted into a pocketed wall. The openness of the house and the flowing of spaces were further enhanced by the once elegant circular central stair. To compliment the stair, circular niches were placed in the east corners of the hall as the stair rose to the second floor. A large elliptical fanlight over the new front door with sidelights completed the transformation.

In order to increase the bedroom space, a second floor room was added and the attic was remodeled and activated. The second floor bedroom was added by partitioning off the west end of the large second floor center hall, creating a fifth bedroom. The attic provided six more small dormered bedrooms, perhaps for the use of overflow guests or servants. Unfortunately, in remodeling the attic, numerous structural timbers were removed from the trusses, seriously threatening the structural stability of the roof.

Although, originally, there were only two dormers on the north and the south hips, Green added three dormers each to the east and west to light and ventilate the newly activated bedrooms.

Green also made a number of major exterior changes in connection with the 1855 hotel construction. In order to provide basement space for the hotel, the front yard was totally eliminated, along with the office pavilion. A large stone retaining wall, terrace

and new entrance steps were constructed, thereby eliminating all traces of original landscape features, etc. A Doric portico was also added over the front door. (See Illustration No. 8).

The rear of the house also suffered the loss of eighteenth century archaeological evidence by the further cutting down of the grade and the construction of the stone terrace over two barrel-vaulted storage rooms. The vaults could be reached by an exterior approach tunnel whose stone frame reused the keystone from the original front door frame of the house. To further increase the use of the terrace, a long porch was added to the rear of the house, providing shelter to the terrace as well as a roof terrace for the second floor. The exterior of the rear of the house lost its integrity as terraces, porticos, dormers, French doors, etc., were added. To further detract from the stately elegance of the Carlyle House, it was, eventually, connected on the north end to a back wing of The Mansion House Hotel, which, eventually, formed a "U" shape, including in it, also, the once handsome freestanding Bank of Alexandria.

Green's Mansion House Hotel rapidly became one of the most prominent hotels in the area, a "...spacious and newly furnished Establishment ...commanding an extensive view of the river and surrounding country ...The spacious basement rooms are fitted up as a RESTAURANT, and supplied with the most select wines and liquors, oysters and other delicacies...Also a billiard table for the amusement of his guests." 19

In 1855 business was so booming that Green commenced construction on a large four-story addition which ran along the entire open space on Fairfax Street.<sup>20</sup> Thus the west facade of the Carlyle House was totally hidden from the street, and hemmed in on three sides, leaving only the east elevation open. The west front opened onto an unbelievable small courtyard, completely surrounded by the brick walls of the hotel and the adjacent Law Building.

During the Civil War the hotel, and, perhaps, the house as well, was occupied by the occupation forces of the Union army. The hotel was, probably, used as a hospital and the house may have quartered Union officers. The Green family, apparently, remained in the house during the war, perhaps, sharing part of it with the officers. An Alexandria patriot described the occupation in his diary:

One of the greatest sufferers by the present occupation of Alexandria by the Hessians is Mr. James Green, one of our most esteemed & enterprising citizens -- for they seem to have an enmity against him unparalleled in the history of a civilized people. Just after the Battle of Bull Run they occupied his Hotel (the largest & finest in the city) & after abusing it most shamefully left the premises in such disorder, as to require great repairs & months of cleansing, and he had scarcely reopened it when they demanded its evacuation, to which he was compelled to accede, & voluntarily offered him a large rent, but was told, upon the first month's rent coming due, that his rent money was ready whenever he would take the oath of allegiance to the U. S. Of course the rent remains unpaid.<sup>21</sup>

Immediately after the war, Green refurnished and reopened the hotel, and was back in operation by August 1865.<sup>22</sup>

During the occupation, the house had been pointed out to Olmstead as the "Braddock House." But there is not any documentary evidence as to the physical status of the structure until the 1870's, when the centennial began a revival of interest in the historical connections of the old mansion. From this period, also, date the earliest extant photographs of the house, showing the stucco beginning to crumble, balconies sagging, but still looking lived-in. James Green died in 1880, and the building went silently and slowly to ruin for the next few decades; but it appears that it was already somewhat neglected, for a pair of visitors to Alexandria recorded their impressions of the Carlyle House in 1881.

After talking for some time longer about the early days of the town, we went back to our room, and as we sat by the open window we looked out across the court-yard at an old mansion which forms one wing of the hotel. With the broad Potomac back of it, and the rich Maryland hills, covered by forests and fertile fields beyond, it stands silent and gray. Huge, heavy-shouldered chimneys, with scaling yellow-white stucco, lift themselves above the moss-grown roof, from which queer dormer-windows jut out. Through the half-open sash of many little panes a glimpse is caught of the attic to which they give light. A warped and rotting balustrade of fat stanchions runs along two sides of the roof. On the side next the river a double row of porches, covered with wisteria vines now in bloom, break the line of the old wall. The morning sun makes the chimneys blink, and, falling upon the balustrade, sends long lines of ungainly shadow striding up the hipped roof. Standing here, so age-worn, it is a gray old monument to an episode of its youth. <sup>23</sup>

After Green's death, the hotel and the Carlyle House along with it, changed hands frequently; and the name of the hotel was changed as well to the "Braddock House Hotel." It was not until 1906, when the buildings were bought by Earnest Wagar that a major restoration of the house as an historic site was commenced. There were several visitors who described the building in the decade of the 1880's. A visitor in 1887 was not too flattering:

The Braddock headquarters, as the Carlyle house came to be called, is now incorporated into the hotel once familiarly known as the Mansion House, but rechristened of late years the Braddock House. It stands, doors wide open, upon the grassy courtyard of the hotel, a deserted, dismantled, dilapidated house, the plaster loosened from the ceilings, and the rats its only inhabitants. Some of the rooms are locked, but the most interesting, from its associations, stands open. This is the paneled room where the British Council met... <sup>24</sup>

Two years later the house was visited by Constance Cary Harrison, a direct descendant of John Carlyle through the Herbert family. She was a romantic novelist who wrote several tales of colonial Alexandria and the Carlyle House, reconstructing with a lively imagination the life that must have been lived there by her ancestors.<sup>25</sup> She recorded her visit in her diary:

Took boat to Alex. reaching there about three thirty -- went first with Archie & Edgar Mason to visit the old Carlyle or "Braddock" House. ...In grandmamma Carlyle & Herbert's time, the family used to stroll down to the riv water on

their own lawn, & watch their own ships go by to England. Now, ware houses, city-lots, and dark foul-smelling, fishy buildings cut it off from the river...

In the parlour, where grandmamma Fairfax stood as a little girl...there is no furniture. The walls are in good repair, panels painted blue, & an egg and pine apple decoration running around the cornices and over the mantle pieces. The top of the dado is a Grecian key border, part of which has been chipped off by tourists' penknives during the late centennial agitation... The town has so crowded & jostled & gagged the house so that it has hardly breathing space -- and the famous fish markets opposite would make the place untenable... 26

A photograph of the house from the east, which was published in 1894, confirms the dismal picture. It shows the balconies which had been added in the mid-nineteenth century sagging with age, panes missing from the windows, and the stucco crumbling.<sup>27</sup>

The slow ruin of the Carlyle House was probably topped off by the hurricane which swept through Alexandria in 1896. A photograph shows the ruins around the west elevation, the balconies having been blown down, the windows broken, and the ends of the basement vaults torn away, exposing them to the outside.

A decade later the building finally found a sympathetic owner again, in the person of Earnest Wagar, who undertook to restore the house as an historic site.<sup>28</sup> With the help of Mittie Herbert, a descendant of the original owners, he gave the place a general

face-lifting, along with a sincere attempt to refurnish the house with appropriate objects. It was opened as a house museum, which one could visit by crossing through the lobby of the hotel building (converted into apartments). The wing of the old hotel which had abutted the north elevation of the house was removed and the house restored to its basic dimensions. The work was completed probably by 1914, and photographs published in 1917 show the house in the same basic condition it was found in the 1960's and 1970's.

The documentary evidence of the eighteenth and nineteenth century allows little more than a peek at the original structure of the Carlyle House, but it may reflect the changing attitudes of several generations toward the aging mansion and its historical significance. The building went through three basic periods of renovation, each followed by a period of decay. During the occupation by the Carlyle and Herbert families, the house, undoubtedly, was maintained as a splendid dwelling house. There followed the period of decline through the 1820's and 1830's, which was halted by its acquisition by Green in 1848; and after the heyday of Green's Mansion House, there followed the slow ruin of the 1870's, 1880's and 1890's. Wagar's restoration was succeeded by another period of decline, which, in 1974, was halted again, as a major effort to preserve and restore the Carlyle House was initiated by the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority.

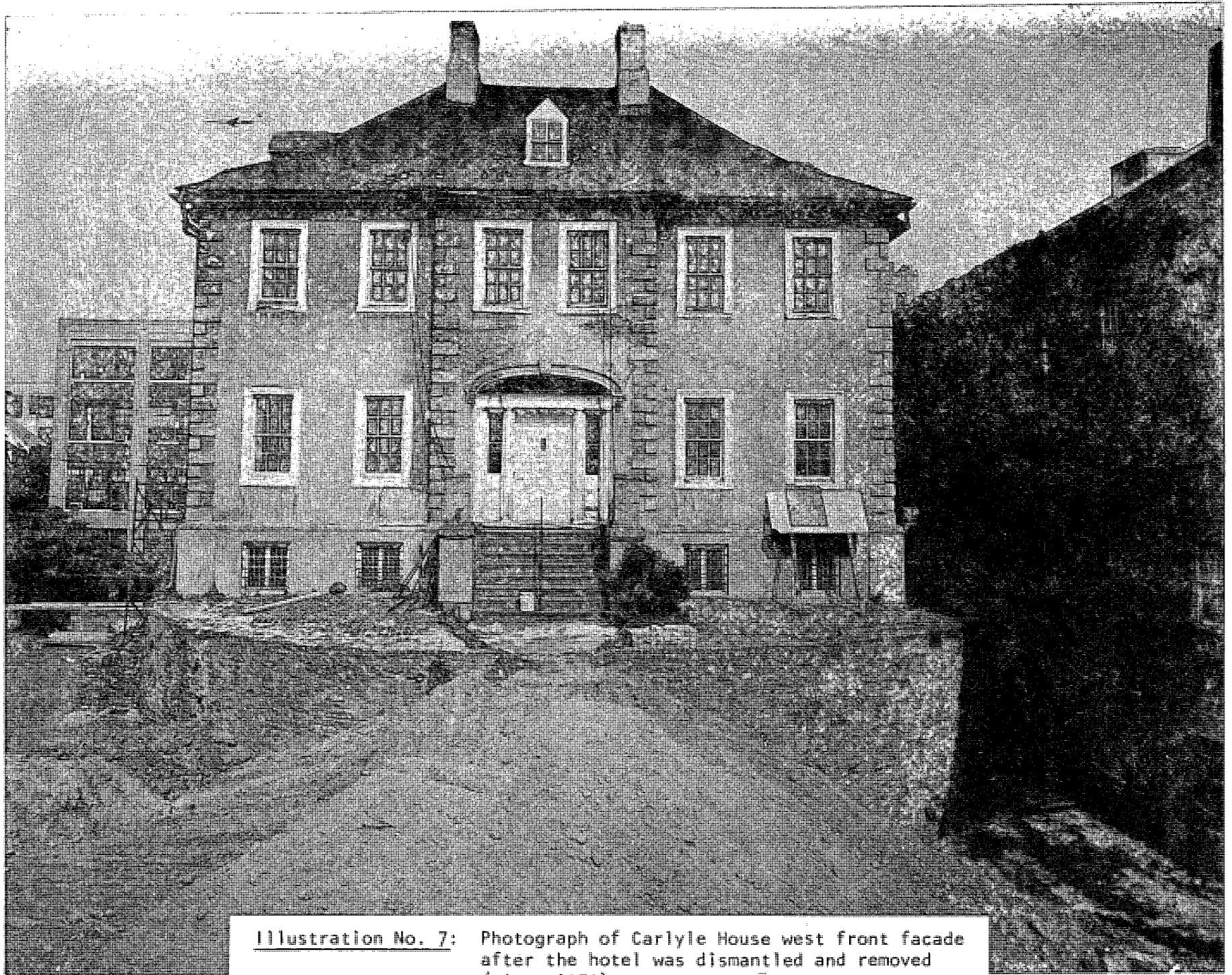


Illustration No. 7: Photograph of Carlyle House west front facade after the hotel was dismantled and removed (circa 1972).

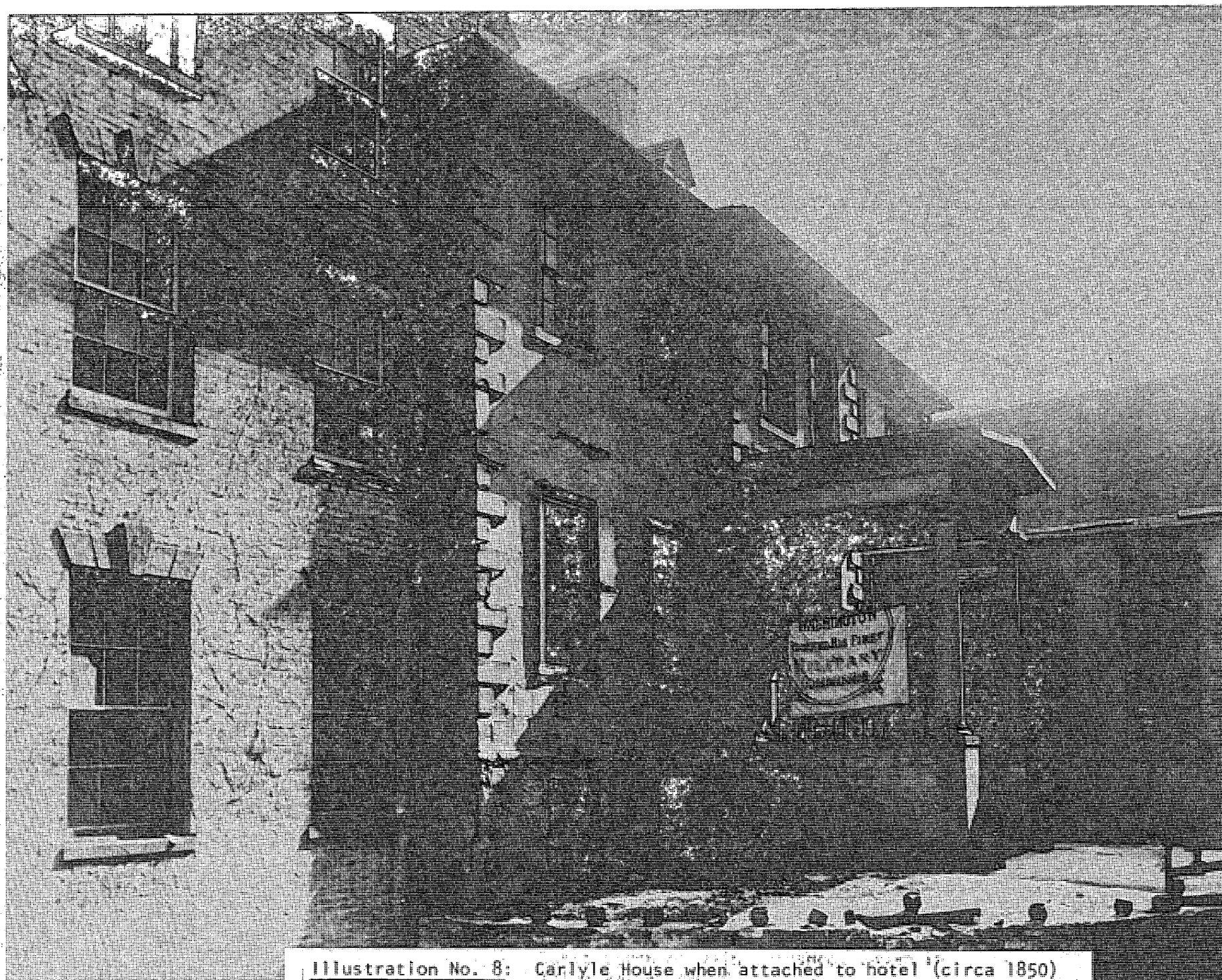


Illustration No. 8: Carlyle House when attached to hotel (circa 1850) with later Doric Porch (at west main entrance).

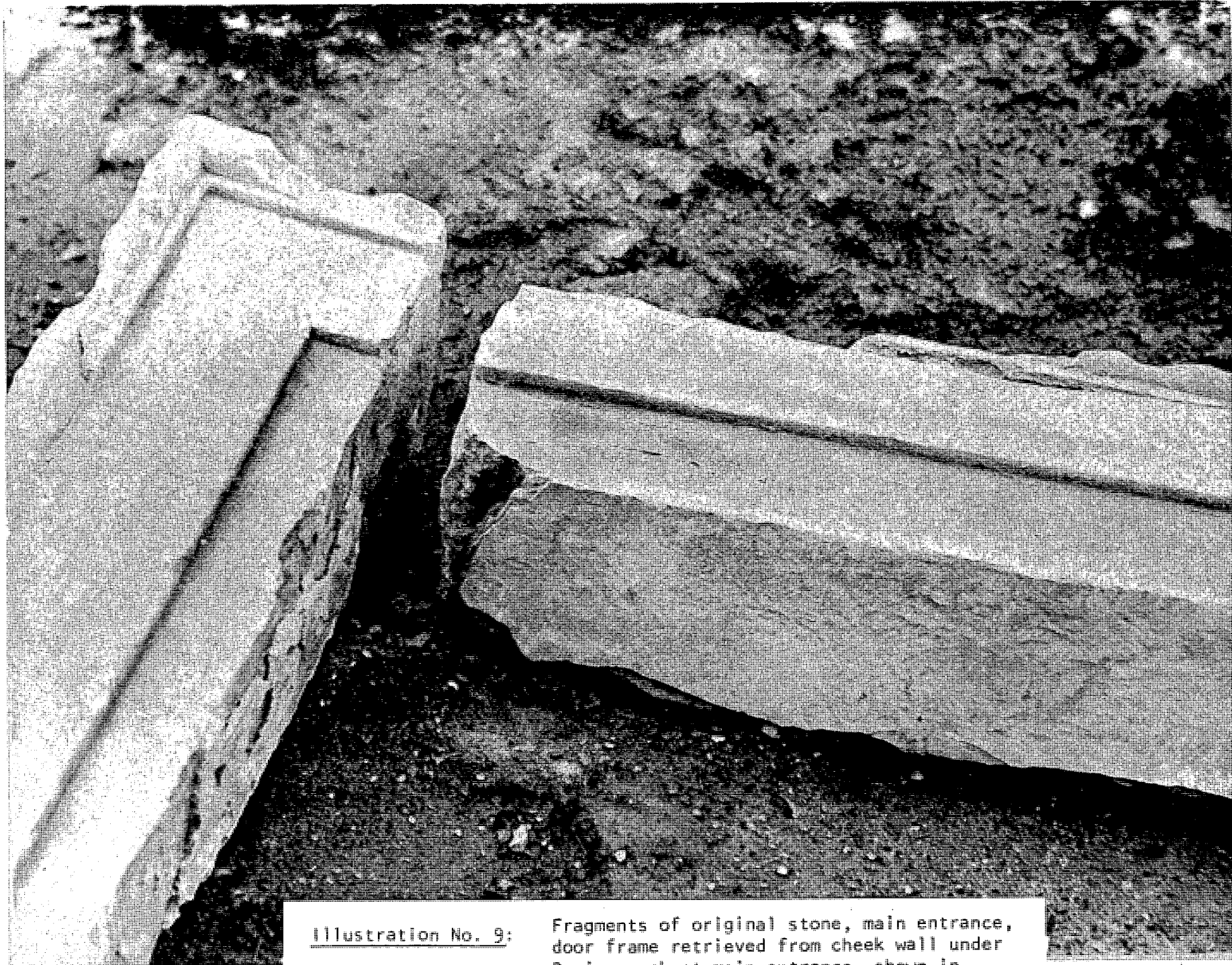


Illustration No. 9:

Fragments of original stone, main entrance, door frame retrieved from cheek wall under Doric porch at main entrance, shown in Illustration No. 8.



Illustration No. 10: Fragments of former stone steps with volute of bottom step; retrieved from cheek wall under old Doric porch at main west entrance.

### Footnotes

1. Proceedings of Trustees, 1.
2. Ibid. 3. Fairfax County Deed Book B, No. 1, 501.
3. Proceedings of Trustees, 33.
4. Fairfax County Will Book D, 203.
5. Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser, 7 October 1784, 19 May 1785, 14 July 1785, 10 November 1785, 13 April 1786.
6. Fairfax County Will Book D, 203.
7. Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser, 14 July 1785.
8. Declarations for Assurance, Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia, University of Virginia Library Manuscripts Division.
9. Alexandria Tax Assessments, Vol. IV (1802), and Vol. XXI (1806), Microfilm in Alexandria Public Library Reference Office.
10. Manuscripts in possession of Mrs. Henry Whiting, Winchester, Virginia.
11. Alexandria Deed Book Q, 207, 211, 214; Alexandria Court House.
12. Alexandria Phenix Gazette, 8 July 1830.
13. Alexandria Deed Book S, 538, 627, 640, 644; Book V, 76.
14. Alexandria Gazette, 22 February 1834.
15. Commissioner of Public Buildings in the District of Columbia, Letters Received, Vol. 29; Record Group 42, National Archives; Microfilm M-371, Reel 22.
16. J. S. Buckingham, America, (London: 1841), 1, 377.
17. Alexandria Deed Book I, No. 3, 460.

18. Alexandria Deed Book I, No. 3: 5, 17, 447, 448, 453; Book K, No. 3: 6, 136; Book M, No. 3: 108.
19. Alexandria Gazette, 24 May 1849.
20. Ibid. 11 August 1855.
21. Diary of Henry Whittington, 27 January 1862; unpublished manuscript on microfilm at Alexandria Public Library Reference Office.
22. Alexandria Gazette, 29 August 1865.
23. F. H. Lungren and R. Blum, "An Old Virginia Town," Scribner's Monthly, XXI (February 1881), 493-494.
24. Sophie Bledsoe Herrich "Mount Vernon As It Is," Century Magazine XIII (November 1887), 22.
25. Constance Cary Harrison, Belhaven Tales (New York: 1892), and Recollections Grave and Gay (New York: 1916).
26. Diaries of Constance Cary Harrison, II, 23 April 1889; Burton N. Harrison Family Papers, Box 9: Library of Congress Manuscripts Division.
27. W. H. Snowden, Some Old Historic Landmarks of Virginia and Maryland (Philadelphia: 1894), 1st edition, 10.
28. Alexandria Deed Book 55, p. 96.

#### IV

#### CONTINUING DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESTORATION PROGRAM

In 1972 the architectural office of J. Everette Fauber, Jr., F.A.I.A., was retained by the Park Authority to commence research on the house and its owner, John Carlyle, as a preliminary phase of a proposed restoration of the house. The findings of the research effort resulted in a subsequent development of a program for restoration. The research indicated that the greatest significance of the history and architecture of the house centered around Carlyle's own lifetime in the house, 1753 - 1780, and it was determined by the Authority, with the support of the architect, that this should be the focus period for the restoration.

The years of neglect could not hide the majestic Georgian character and Scot flavor of this sophisticated house, one of the first built in Alexandria. By returning the house to its original configuration, not only would a house of distinctive architectural design be returned to the Alexandria scene but all of the historical associations of the house could be developed into a meaningful interpretive program. For example, the Council of Governors meeting held at the house in 1755 was thought by many historians to have been the earliest of the taxation policies that led to the Stamp Act and, hence, to the American Revolution. Still another example would be the close association of George Washington and other political leaders with Carlyle. His house was open to many prominent persons. What is evident from the

history of the man himself, John Carlyle's career paralleled the early growth and development of the city itself and his home served as a perfect backdrop.

Architecturally, the house retained into the 1970's not only the grandeur and proportion of its exterior with its decorative stone elements but, also, two original rooms remained almost intact. Extensive remodeling of the house in the mid-nineteenth century and its "restoration" in the early twentieth century, each followed by extended periods of neglect, left the house with a minimum of significant original architectural features that would justify restoring the house as a chronology of architectural evolution. Except for the handsome front hall circular stair, ca. 1855, and a few Federal mantelpieces, the earliest Georgian character of the interior was preserved in only two rooms, the Council Chamber and the adjacent small Parlor.

The Park Authority determined that the best use of the house should be as a house museum, interpreting the life and times of John Carlyle. The interpretive program would feature educational exhibits, using the restored house as a backdrop for its future collection of furnishings and cultural material. The restored rooms could also be used for revolving exhibits on

the social, political and economic development of Alexandria.

The period of restoration, then, centered around John Carlyle's life within the house.

In order to insure the security of the house and its future valuable collection, it was determined at an early stage that the most sophisticated systems for climate control and fire and burglar protection be installed. In keeping with the generally authentic character of the restoration, it was essential that such modern systems be nearly invisible to the visiting public. As such, innovative design of these systems, along with a new, totally concealed, structural frame for the house, was programmed during the earliest planning stages.

One unusual element of the program, as developed by the Architect and the Park Authority, was the inclusion of an "Interpretive Room." This one room would be left, more or less, unfinished and would show original eighteenth century construction features, obvious attempts at modification over a two hundred year period and, finally, the behind the scenes efforts of this restoration not evident in the restored finished rooms. Not only would the modern steel framing,

electrical wiring and insulation be visible but it could be readily compared with the exposed hand-adzed oak joists, hand split lathing strips and cavity wall construction techniques of the eighteenth century. By leaving exposed the efforts of restoration, the public would be apprised of the many problems of both past and present builders.

## THE RESEARCH PROGRAM

After agreement between the owner and the architect on basic restoration philosophy, policies and directives for the project and needs and objectives of the overall program, the architect established three phases and/or levels of research.

A. Extensive documentary research was commenced, which led staff researchers from the architect's office to sources such as libraries, archives, photos, Clerks' records, insurance records, family Bibles, wills and deeds, "The Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, Town of Alexandria," newspapers and private letters and journals. An important phase of this research was a concentrated investigation of John Carlyle, the man. Contained in the appendix of this report are the comprehensive findings of that study. Perhaps one of the most exciting and rewarding discoveries among documents was the packet of letters that John Carlyle wrote to his brother in Scotland from 1744 to 1770. Sir Fitzroy Maclean, a Scot descendant of the Carlyles, also owned portraits of John and George. These portraits were commissioned by the brothers as exchange gifts for one another. John's was painted in 1765 in the Annapolis

studio of the eminent portrait painter, John Hesselius. The discovery of these documents in Scotland in late 1974 by a staff researcher from the architect's office provided not only such important specific documentation available on the construction of the house but also the most accurate image of this prominent Alexandrian.

- B. A well organized program of exploratory investigation on the remaining superstructure of the house itself followed the completion of measured drawings of the structure as it existed in 1972. These drawings, along with a full and complete set of photographs of existing conditions, would provide a record for posterity as to the features in and configuration of the house prior to the forthcoming restoration.

It soon became evident during this early phase of research that extensive changes had been made, mostly in James Green's 1855 remodeling.

From cursory surface observations it appeared that the Council Chamber and the adjacent small room on the west side appeared to be original, with Georgian moldings and details. Very suspect was the circular stair in the

Central Hall and several Federal period mantels and other minor details throughout the rest of the house.

Perhaps the most exciting, interesting and conclusive pieces of evidence uncovered during these explorations were in the Council Chamber while removing several pieces of trim and decorative sections for closer examination and confirmation. Found under the broken serpentine pediments over the doors were two distinctive chalk outlines on the raw wood. Not only were the pediments original but also revealed was the fact that the original doorways had been later raised approximately nine inches and shifted off center of the paneling above, presumably when the later hall stair had replaced an earlier Georgian model. The original door opening was a typical low height of 6'-2". (See accompanying illustration No. 13.)

One of the fluted pilasters forming the overmantel at the chimney breast in the Council Chamber was carefully removed to reveal that the unorthodox arrangement and concept of the chimney breast was original.



Illustration No. 11: Broken pediment over door No. D-107 in the Council Chamber prior to investigation.

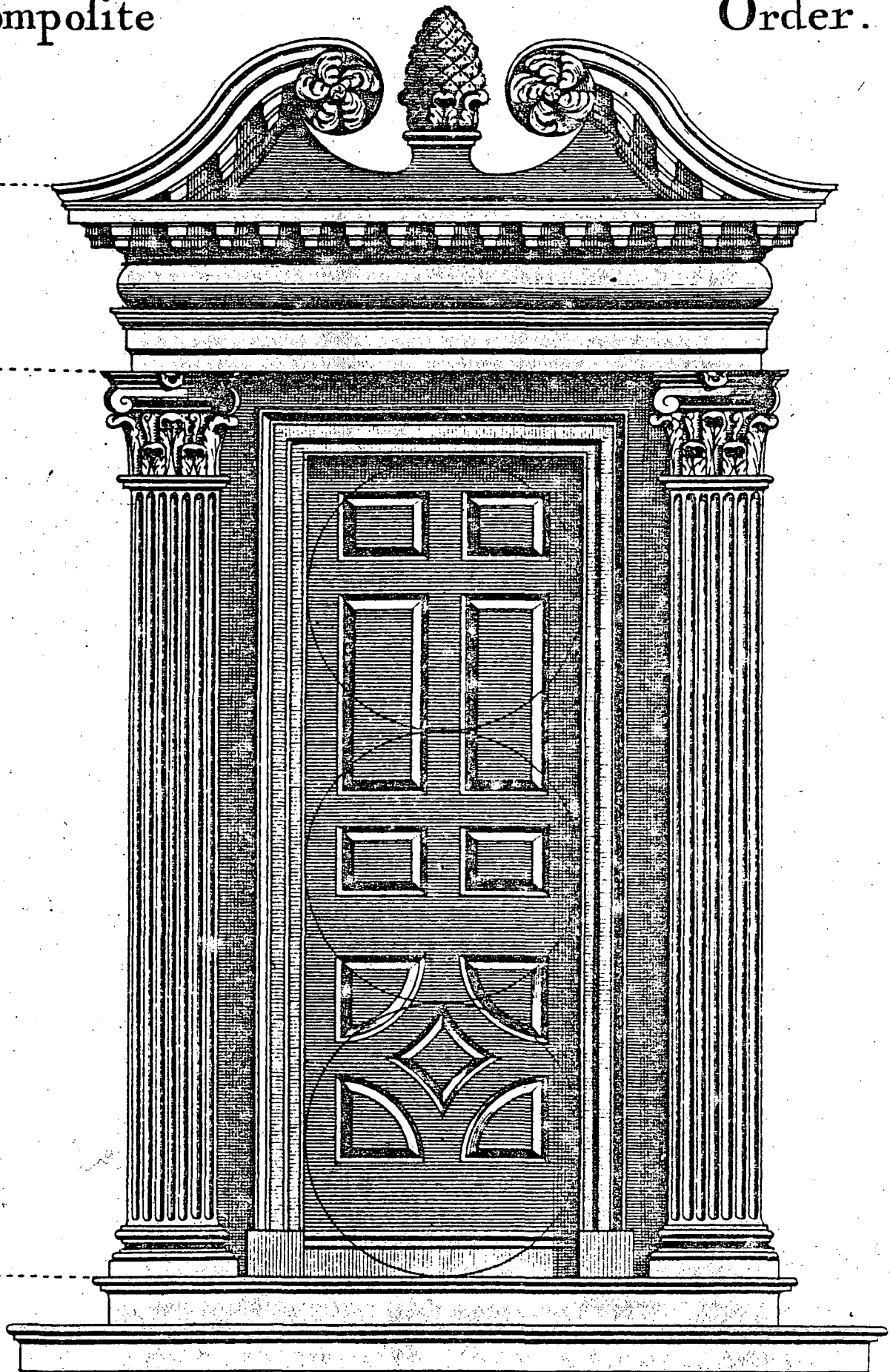
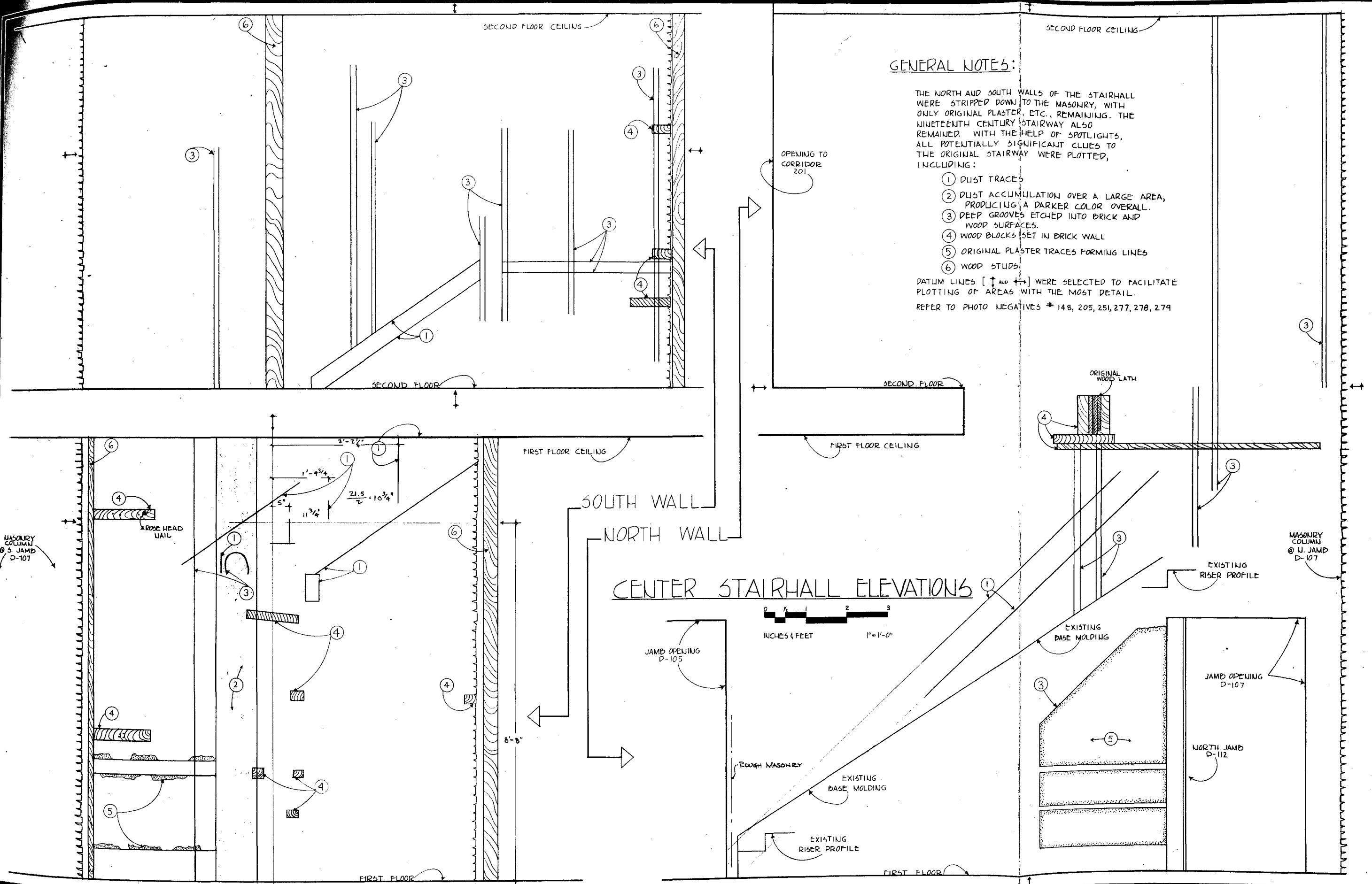


Illustration No. 12: Plate from *Palladio Londenensis* by Wm. Salman.  
Prototype for broken pediments in Council Chamber.



Illustration No. 13: Same door after the broken pediment had been removed.



**GENERAL NOTES:**

THE NORTH AND SOUTH WALLS OF THE STAIRHALL WERE STRIPPED DOWN TO THE MASONRY, WITH ONLY ORIGINAL PLASTER, ETC., REMAINING. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY STAIRWAY ALSO REMAINED. WITH THE HELP OF SPOTLIGHTS, ALL POTENTIALLY SIGNIFICANT CLUES TO THE ORIGINAL STAIRWAY WERE PLOTTED, INCLUDING:

- ① DUST TRACES
- ② DUST ACCUMULATION OVER A LARGE AREA, PRODUCING A DARKER COLOR OVERALL.
- ③ DEEP GROOVES ETCHED INTO BRICK AND WOOD SURFACES.
- ④ WOOD BLOCKS SET IN BRICK WALL
- ⑤ ORIGINAL PLASTER TRACES FORMING LINES
- ⑥ WOOD STUDS

DATUM LINES [↑ and ↔] WERE SELECTED TO FACILITATE PLOTTING OF AREAS WITH THE MOST DETAIL. REFER TO PHOTO NEGATIVES # 148, 205, 251, 277, 278, 279

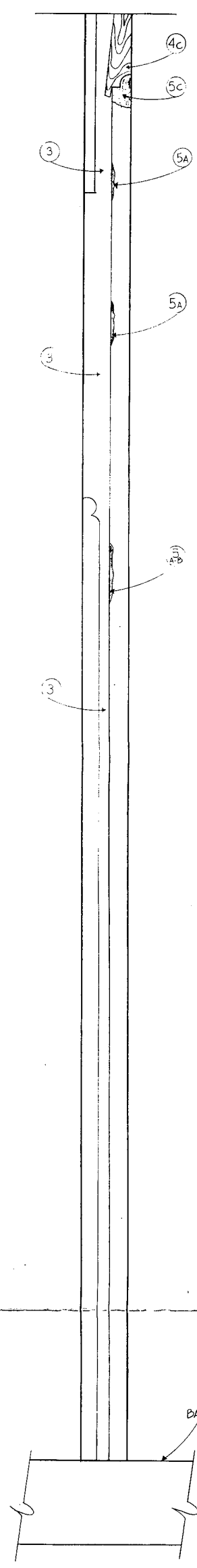
**CENTER STAIRHALL ELEVATIONS**



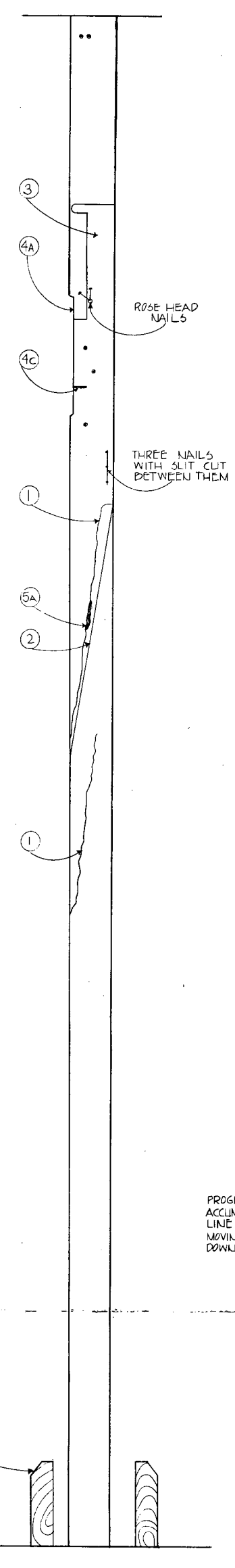
Removal of the circular stair installed by James Green in the Central Hall exposed equally exciting related evidence. The ghosts and dust lines of the original "dogleg" Georgian stair with the lower landing - confirming the original 6'-2" door opening below from the Council Chamber - remained intact on the uncovered wall. This type of careful selective dismantling was continued throughout the entire house under the watchful eyes of architects and the particularly careful and observant workmen from the Wm. P. Lipscomb Company, Inc.

As the "selective dismantling" phase was revealing such important information and as the program called for returning the house to its original configuration, the scope of removing materials and finishes was expanded. All post-nineteenth century plaster and trim were removed to reveal wall structure and interior partitions. The uncovered evidence of lost features included a small service stair, the first-floor, south corridor, original fireplace openings and original door heights. Clear evidence of original framing lumber with rosehead nails and scar marks on the ceiling joists indicated that a narrow corridor between the two rooms had been an original feature. Traces were also found, revealing the size and location of original cornices, chair rails and base moldings. In 1972 dormers occurred on all four hips of the roof. Selective removal of portions of the roof revealed

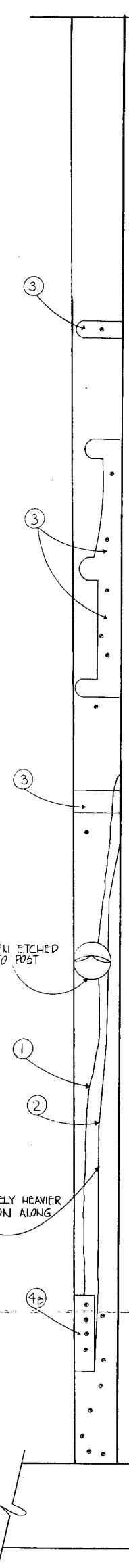
EAST ELEVATION  
3" = 1'-0"



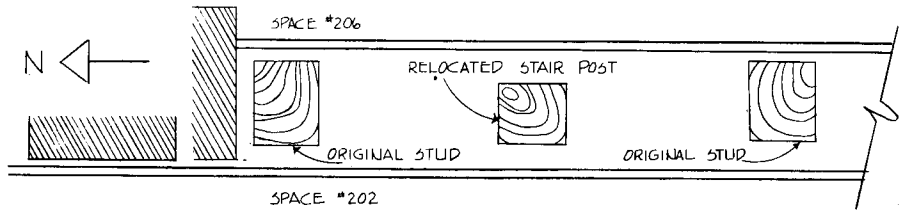
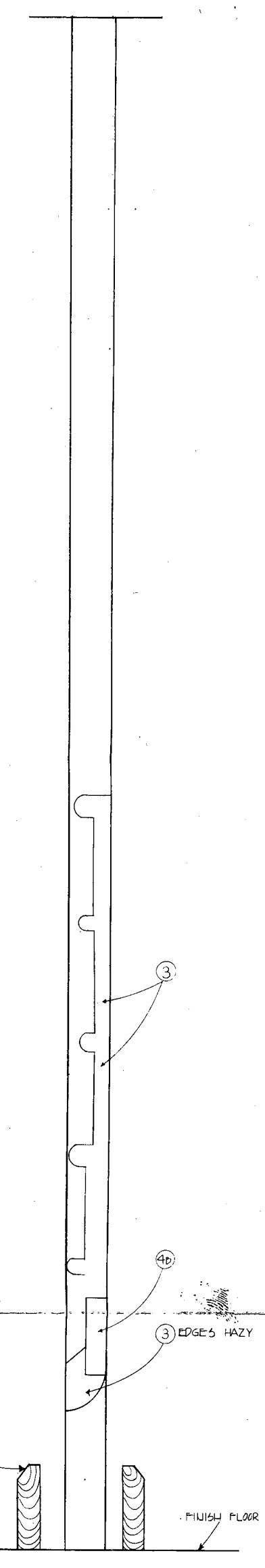
SOUTH ELEVATION  
3" = 1'-0"



WEST ELEVATION  
3" = 1'-0"



NORTH ELEVATION  
3" = 1'-0"



KEY PLAN



GENERAL NOTES: ALL POTENTIALLY SIGNIFICANT CLUES TO THE ORIGINAL BACK STAIRWAY HAVE BEEN PLOTTED, INCLUDING:

- ① IRREGULAR, WAVY WHITE LINE—PERHAPS PLASTER MARKING
  - ② STRAIGHT-EDGED, RAISED LINE, CAUSED BY ACCUMULATION (DUST?)
  - ③ MARKINGS CLEAR BECAUSE OF THEIR UNVARNISHED, LIGHT-COLORED SURFACE
  - ④ CUTS INTO THE WOOD
    - A. GASH, ROUGH AND IRREGULAR
    - B. POCKET
    - C. SLIT, CUT CLEANLY
  - ⑤ PAINT MARKINGS
    - A. BLUE-GREY
    - B. PINK
    - C. WHITE
- NAIL-HOLES WHICH MAY BE ORIGINAL

that only the south dormer was original. A twin north dormer had, doubtless, been removed when the house roof was altered to tie into the hotel wing. Yet, the symmetrical nature of mid-Georgian architecture would have called for its existence. A comparison of the measured drawings of the house in 1972 versus the restoration will show the enormous change in the character of the house as it was returned to its mid-Georgian configuration.

When the house was first measured by the architect, there was no visible suggestion of a first-floor bedroom or the adjacent service stair. Upon removal of wall plaster and some mid-nineteenth century flooring, the evidence conclusively revealed the location of a basement-to-attic service stair and a first-floor chamber suitable for a study/office or master bedroom. Not only was the service stair adjacent to bedrooms, an important service being the emptying of the commode chairs, but on the first floor it was across the corridor from the probable dining room and next to the south entry to the kitchen pavilion. This meant that food could also be efficiently handled, for, if it were not directly served from the kitchen dependency, it could be brought from the downstairs, "warming kitchen."

Important during the "selective dismantling" phase is the interpretation of the evidence. Reading the scar and shadow marks requires a familiarity and knowledge of construction technology and the use of materials and tools of the period. For example, the original interior partition construction of the house utilized pit and whip sawn framing lumber anchored by handwrought rosehead nails with flat or spade tips. The studs were covered with hand split lath attached with small, handmade, rosehead nails and covered with lime plaster containing a large amount of red animal hair as a bonding agent. The nails used to hold the chair rails were "L" headed trim nails with both flat and fine drawn tips. This construction contrasted sharply with the evidence of James Green's later remodeling, which utilized sawn studs (cut with a circular saw), machined framing, sprig, trim nails, rough sawn laths and harder lime plaster, free of animal hair.

Generally, the eighteenth century method for connecting a joist to a beam was to leave a projecting tenon in the middle of the end of the joist and insert it into a corresponding mortise in the beam. At Carlyle House, however, a system of notching the joist in a stepped manner with corresponding cuts in the beam doubled the amount of bearing

for the joists. The connections were further strengthened by dovetailing or wedging the cutouts. (See Illustration No. 14.) The dovetailing avoided the need for pinning or pegging the connection, while providing a tolerance for swelling and shrinking of the wood.

The unusual connection of the joists to the beams was further systematized by their Roman numeral markings. (See Illustration No. 14.) The markings identify a corresponding joist to its position on the beam, indicating that the entire framing system must have been prefabricated on the ground, marked and then dismantled for a later and higher installation.

Two reasons for this technique immediately come to mind. First, the stone masons might not have been ready for the carpenter, in which case he marked his framing members as they were made and, secondly, as a matter of economy. Carlyle may have hired a carpenter for this phase of the work only. As Carlyle used his slaves for much of the construction, it is possible that this system of "prefabrication" reduced the overall cost of construction.

Much of this may be seen in the "Interpretive Room," which was established precisely for the purpose of helping the



Illustration No. 14: Typical framing joint with coded Roman numerals.  
(Note: Dove-tail construction.)

visiting public understand graphically this important phase of the restoration operation and seeing with their own eyes this archaeological evidence.

Once the house was stripped of all such non-original interior features, the evidence revealed was again photographed and measured. Preliminary designs were then developed for the replacement of these elements, in light of their known physical dimensions, similar architectural prototypes elsewhere in the house and/or as typical of the period. These preliminary designs were often modified several times as new subsequent evidence came to light, either through written documentation or through the unanticipated discovery of additional physical evidence.

- C. Another source of information which revealed many aspects of the life of the Carlyle House was the archaeological excavation. While the majority of the recovered artifacts dealt with the construction of the 1855 hotel, several features related directly to the house, both before and after James Green's remodeling. For such details and for the record, please refer to the full documentation of underground archaeology in Chapter IX.

## STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS AND DESIGN EVOLUTION

The analysis of the existing prerestoration structural conditions of the Carlyle House and the design evolution of the completed project was, from the beginning, a joint effort by the architect, the consulting engineers and the building contractor. Each contributed certain solutions within the bounds of the program requirements, always in terms of the aesthetic, theoretical and practical limitations in achieving the absolute best final solution. The constant exchange of concept, criticism and creative innovation in the face of constantly changing criteria, coupled with a unified percept of the larger objectives of the restoration, was essential to the ultimate attainment of that goal.

In the early investigative stages of the restoration, the process of controlled dismantling and probing into the architectural fabric of the building had, as its principal objective, the determination of the extent and nature of change to the original design as completed in 1753. As was readily discernible, little of the original fabric remained and much of which had survived 220 years of depredation was highly suspect. Consequently, the successive removal of nineteenth and twentieth century layering in search of purely architectural evidence also revealed an extensive amount

of structural evidence as well. Although previous surface examination had intimated discouragingly negative premonitions of structural instability, this first close inspection of the actual deterioration only foreshadowed what was later found to be near total disaster.

The following discussion is organized around the principal components of the structural system. These consist, in general terms, of the foundations and sub-surface conditions, the bearing walls and the framing subsystems. Each was examined in the light of predesign conditions, analysis of the causes of deterioration and a review of the initial design concepts for overcoming the problems. Each component is then isolated again for a survey of conditions or limitations encountered during construction and reintegrated into the final design solutions as executed.

The native soil around the house was analyzed and found to be primarily a silty clay mixed with sand. The relatively high water table, attributable to the fact that the house was built at the river's edge as it existed in 1752, had no apparent effect in terms of weakening the bearing capacity of the soil. Although the tested capacity was not high, it was deemed adequate, as no discernible displacement had previously occurred due solely to soil failure.

The exterior foundation walls were constructed with no footings and carried to an average elevation of three feet below what was identified as original grade. They were of uncoursed stone, consisting of a mix of field stone, crudely cut sandstone and an occasional dressed stone. The original lime mortar was intact in locations where no lateral movement of the wall had broken it or water had not dissolved it. Extensive repointing had occurred in many exposed areas with cement mortar. The most severe movement had taken place along the entire length of the south wall, caused primarily by the failure of the exterior stone retaining wall at that location. Except as affected by that condition, most of the rest of the exterior foundation walls were in a reasonably sound state of repair.

The interior foundations under the east-to-west bearing partitions were relatively undamaged with only slight, to be expected, normal deterioration of the mortar. There was one significant exception. The fireplace foundation in Room No. B-4 had buckled severely, causing not only settling in the masonry mass but, also, a separation from its bonded connection to the east exterior wall for its full height. The initial cause of the condition may have been a combination of poor original construction combined with subsequent intrusion and erosion from the non-original east terrace. A further source of the problem could be, possibly, traceable to the

existence of the well shaft located in the middle of the room, 4 feet in diameter and its bottom nearly 13 feet below the floor elevation. The early removal of the soil in the shaft in an area subject to bearing pressures from all directions would, in all likelihood, contribute to an already weakened condition, thereby precipitating the ultimate failure in the masonry mass of the one chimney.

Some early attempts were devised to resist the buckling of the wall in Room No. B-1 and the movement of the south exterior wall in Room No. B-4. These consisted of flat platforms built of brick, two feet high and extending the full length of the wall. As may be surmised, no appreciable effect was obtained towards the objective of resisting or stabilizing the moving masonry.

As intimated above, the exterior retaining walls, which defined the terraces on the east, south and west, were a major contributor to foundation failure. Built at the time of the final lowering of the grade around the house in conjunction with the erection of the hotel in 1855, the construction of the terrace walls reflected no design or practical consideration for the bearing pressures transmitted to and acting upon them from the house above. Averaging one foot in thickness uniformly for an average height of 12 feet, these walls were of rubble and fieldstone interspersed with dressed

sandstone reused from remodeled portions of the house walls. There was no recognizable coursing system employed and the mortar, although cementitious, was not carefully applied, resulting in a fragile pile of stone, dependent mostly upon gravity and friction for its stability. Unfortunately, this proved to be insufficient as substantial movement was observable in the western and southern portions of the wall. The western section was an irregular arc approximately 50 feet in diameter. The basic shape, as well as the distance of the retaining wall from the house, which dissipated to a degree the forces acting upon it, no doubt, saved it from further collapse. Tests on sandstone samples were not favorable.

The southern part of the wall was parallel to the house and only 6 feet away due to the proximity of the adjoining property. The wall reached its maximum height of 14 feet at this location and, as seen in the section drawing, this combination of height, proximity to the house and the poor construction was highly susceptible to a most severe overturning force. Prior to the beginning of the restoration, the top of the wall had deflected laterally nearly 18 inches out of plumb and clearly on a course which could, eventually, only have resulted in total failure. Early anchoring attempts to reduce this movement through the insertion of plates and bolts embedded in concrete were of little value. The continuing deflection of the wall had racked the south

wall of the house into a curiously undulating surface, while simultaneously grinding the foundation stones to a state of complete uselessness. The movement also exerted a tensile stress on the east and west walls of the house, which, even in the best of circumstances, were ill equipped to resist this force. Unfortunately, the 1855 remodeling project had dictated the removal of much of the structural stone in the center bays of both the east and west walls, replacing it with frame and stucco panels, thereby eliminating even the potential value that this mass may have had in resisting stress.

The eastern portion of the terrace wall was least affected by the bearing forces of the house, as it is considerably further away at this location. Additionally, the east terrace walls are slightly battered and are thicker, thereby possessing a greater inherent ability to resist overturning forces. Although the terrace wall did not continue on the north side of the house, the building foundation was, nonetheless, underpinned with brick down to the lowered grade created by the construction of the hotel addition. Allowing for the fact that the hotel was adjacent to the house for a number of years, it is remarkable that, with the extensive movement which occurred elsewhere, the underpinning did not fail, notwithstanding its crude installation. The underpinning consisted of variable thickness, two or three

bricks wide, crude or nonexistent mortar joints, and no bonding with either the east or west terrace wall structure. Evidence of later attempts to provide such a bond by means of concrete poured loosely between the bricks and stones was clearly ineffective in achieving that objective and, in all likelihood, unnecessary from the beginning.

The floor framing systems were among the best preserved components of the entire structure. Despite evidence of movement induced by failure elsewhere in the building, the preservation of the floor framing may be attributed to the fact that they were well built and "designed" in the sense of being, for the most part, adequate for the tasks assigned them. The spans were relatively short, the section modulus acceptable and the mortise and tenon connections, while inherently weak, were strengthened somewhat by flaring the tenon into a distinct dovetail and by the additional measure of stepping the tenons to provide more bearing surface.

The original joists varied in size from roughly 2" x 10" to 3" x 12", spaced at varying distances from 16" to 22" and spanning anywhere from 8 to 12 feet. The joists were framed to bear, in all cases, either on the masonry walls or into the large beams whose dimensions varied from 12" x 12" to 10" x 14". The wood-to-masonry connections consisted of unshimmed pockets let into the masonry, with an

occasional instance of a wood member cut in a beveled fashion, as if to imply recognition of the need for firebreaks. All of the original wood-to-wood connections were mortise and tenon, although later modifications to the structure introduced supplementary beams in a straight bearing condition. The finish flooring was applied directly over the joists and leveled where necessary to seat properly by notching. Slight evidence of undated fire damage to the ceiling framing members in Room No. B-2 may account for the replacement of the original flooring in Rooms No. 102 and 104 above, but the structural integrity of the framing was, apparently, not affected. (See measured and archaeological drawings bound herein.)

The principal element in the original roof framing consisted of large trusses, which flanked the masonry masses of the chimneys. (See measured drawings.) The bottom chords remain in place, as do the top chords, although the latter had been dimensionally reduced in most cases. All of the intermediate members, as well as the mid-span purlins, were, evidently, removed at the time the attic was first converted to habitable space. The majority of the original 3" x 4" rafters remain intact. All framing members rest on plates on the masonry walls. Outriggers were mortised into the plates (see drawings) to carry the eaves and cornices. Principal truss connections were pinned and all other connections were mortise and tenon. The entire north bay framing was destroyed

and rebuilt in the succession of changes to the house in conjunction with the abbreviated life of the hotel addition, which abutted and was physically connected to the north side of the house. (See Illustration No. 8 in Chapter III.)

The interior brick bearing walls run east to west the full width of the house. Although it is clear that they were built in a less than perfect fashion, it is probable that they would have survived with no serious problems had not the foundations begun their perilous movement or had the entire center bays on the east and west elevations not been removed. The north wall was relatively sound for its entire length, with the exception of the easternmost end, which, undoubtedly, failed due to the removal of the exterior masonry.

The south wall reflected the problems emanating from all the sources of failure acting upon it, such as the foundations and the removal of the masonry sections; but it also exhibited an interesting variation in its failure pattern. Illustration No. 15 shows an opening into the dining room from the hall, which was clearly original construction. Also clear was the fact that the failure had occurred early in the building's history, as the material employed to close it consisted of split lath and handwrought nails.

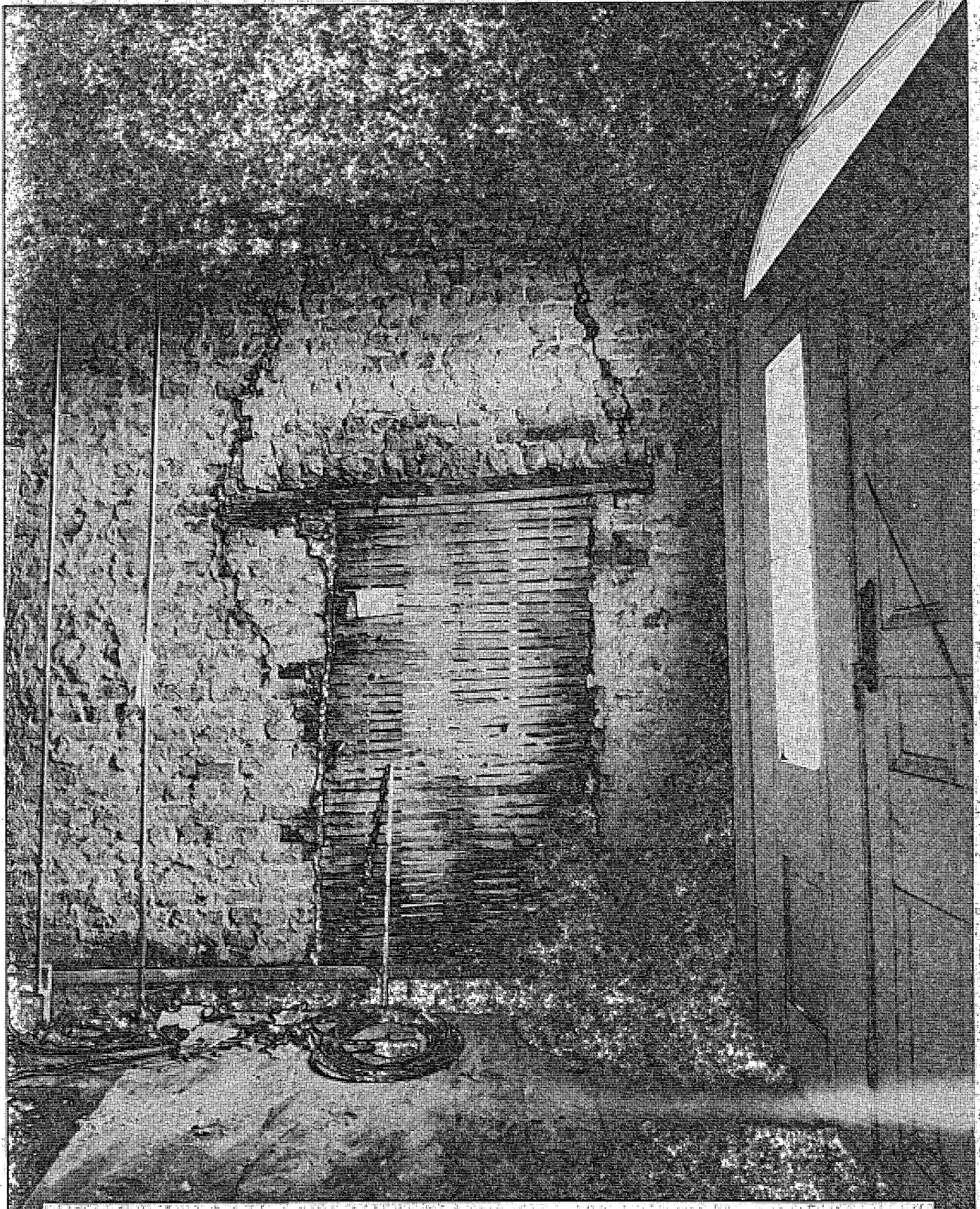


Illustration No. 15

VI-10  
Old door opening in Entrance Hall 100 which appeared to have been closed during original construction.

Additionally, although the original plaster had been replaced several times over in the house, no surface trace of the aberration was evident, thereby indicating that the corrective measures had stabilized the movement. A probable cause for the failure is revealed in a letter dated November 12, 1752, from John Carlyle to his brother, George. John stated that a severe rainstorm damaged much of the masonry work, delaying construction considerably; and it must have been at this time that the passage was sealed. Other locations in the wall show stable signs of shear failure, which began moving discernibly only during the restoration process while lateral bracing was temporarily removed.

The question of whether or not the Carlyle House was built entirely of brick or stone, seriously raised not too many years ago, was quickly resolved by the removal of the cement stucco in several remote locations. The stucco, itself up to four layers and several inches thick in many places, indicates successive applications from very early in the building's history. The earliest photographs from the 1860's show the house as stuccoed and other evidence indicates earlier origin. The disastrous conditions which were immediately revealed concisely explained the reason behind the earlier question of the building material. The house was built of sandstone but had been repaired many times and in many locations

with brick infill. Undoubtedly, some previous observers had seen this extensive brickwork through spalling stucco and concluded that the entire structure was of brick.

The exterior walls were all nominally 24" thick and thought to be solid construction. The interior surfaces were rough cut and unevenly coursed stone. The exterior on the south, east and north elevations was rough finished and laid in a crudely coursed ashlar pattern. The west facade consisted of smoothly dressed stones set in a coursed ashlar pattern. (Examination of the measured drawings of the west elevation reveals the extreme irregularity in the stone dimensions, both horizontally and vertically. The disparity in the course heights on each of the three bays led to some interesting and certainly awkward transitions at the corners. No quoin aligns with another and, in fact, each corner has a different number of quoins.)

It was evident that the walls had suffered the most serious deterioration of the structural components. Based upon laboratory tests, the Aquia Creek stone was proven to be an inherently weak material. The compressive strength was determined to be approximately 1,200 psi. The bonding agent was weak, water soluble and unevenly distributed and consisted, primarily, of aluminum and

iron oxides, with silicon oxides comprising the bulk of the remainder.<sup>1</sup> From its beginning, this combination was poorly equipped to withstand the many negative factors which were to relentlessly attack it in the years to come.

Most persistent and severe of these factors was water, which dissolved the bonding agents and left a very fragile shell of sand stabilized and held together only by the interior plaster and exterior stucco. Water attacked the walls from all directions and was aggravated by the lack of maintenance, as leaking roof sections and downspouts permitted continuously eroding cascades of rainwater. Wind damage was perhaps less a constant source of damage but equally so and certainly more spectacular. A hurricane in 1896 severely damaged the southeast corner of the house and high winds in the spring of 1975, during construction, nearly demolished the southwest corner before emergency bracing could be installed.<sup>2</sup>

The lateral shifting of the foundation walls as described above, in conjunction with the removal of the center bays on the east and west elevations, contributed most severely to the deterioration. The stone could not resist the stresses placed upon it and had failed in shear and compression at several locations. An additional

factor in the buckling of the walls resulted from the fact that there was virtually no lateral bracing of the wall or other connection to the interior framing systems. All such connections were simple bearing conditions, which had no ability to withstand the dynamics of moving masonry. Engineering analysis showed that the walls were more than adequate to resist the forces placed upon them in simple bearing or vertically imposed conditions from the floor and roof systems but, without the bracing, had but little ability to deal with the lateral stresses.

The mortar employed in the original construction was a lime mixture with small quantities of sand. Much of the original had washed out and been patched or replaced with cement mortar in varying proportions. This later work contributed to the continued deterioration of the stone, as the dissimilar materials had reacted to the weather cycles and other stresses in different ways. The cement mortar was generally stronger than the stone and, thus, hastened the process of spalling and disintegration begun by the other factors.

In summary, the sources of structural deterioration encountered in the Carlyle House are as varied and severe as ever could be expected and their cumulative effects illustrate this fact in excruciating completeness. In brief, they are:

- a. Soil conditions: While adequate in a static condition, the clay subsoils near the water table did not offer resistance to the dynamic forces acting upon it.
- b. Design inadequacies: Failure to laterally brace the walls hastened their own destruction.
- c. Induced failure through remodeling: Removal of the masonry bays, lowering of the grade elevation, dismantling of roof trusses and other careless techniques.
- d. Water: Dissolution of stone and mortar.
- e. Wind: Hurricanes.
- f. Organic attack: Fungal attack (dry rot) in some framing members, plant growth, vines, etc., on exterior masonry.
- g. Animal attack: Minor, but evident, damage from termites, powder post beetles and carpenter ants.
- h. Poor craftsmanship: Significant evidence of poor technique throughout the house in both the original and subsequent construction.

The early and consistent observation of the last of these factors, poor craftsmanship in the original work, remained a constant puzzle. The cause of the incongruity of this kind of workmanship in the context of the grand design concept of the house and juxtaposed with examples of fine execution in the decorative details in both stone and wood was not readily discernible.

Obviously, different craftsmen were responsible for different parts of the building; but why such disparity in technique? Upon the discovery of Carlyle's letters to his brother, the answer became very clear as Carlyle described the circumstances surrounding the completion of the house in 1752.

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. [Carlyle was referring to his sister-in-law.] 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 apart, after it was neigh its height, which has been a loss & great disappointment to me, however Time & patience will overcome all (I am in hopes) its a pleasure to build in England but here where we are obliged to do everything with one's own Servants & these Negros make it require constant attendance & care- & so much Trouble that if I had suspected it would have been what I have meet with, I believe I should made shift with a Very Small house.<sup>3</sup>

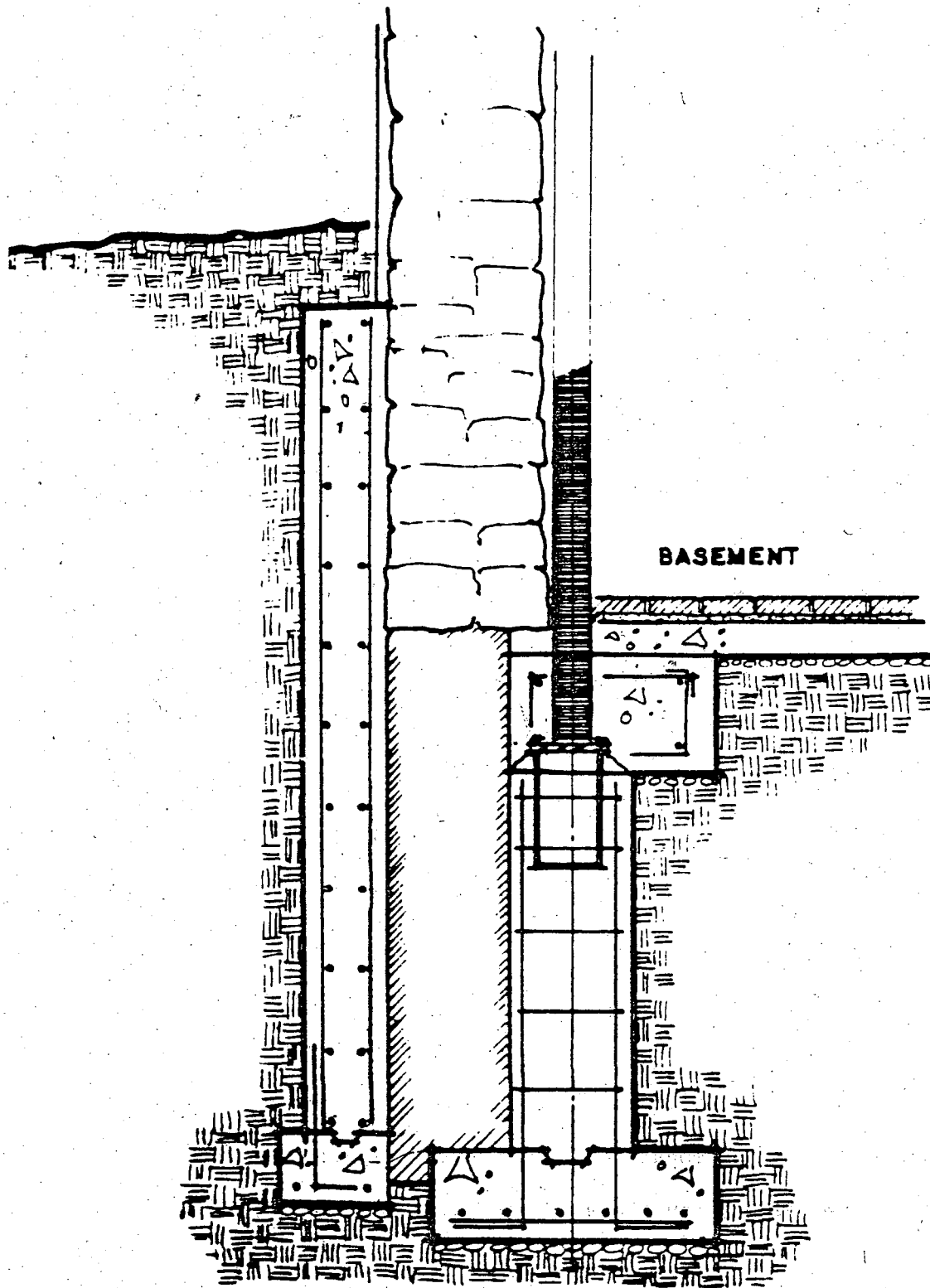
Faced with correcting both the causes and effects of errors initially committed over 220 years ago proved to be a task as complicated and more so than that of identifying the problems. The following briefly represent the basic objectives to be achieved in the structural restoration.

- a. Live load criteria: 100 psf on first floor, 50 psf on second.

- b. Strengthen roof structure.
- c. Prevent subsoil movement.
- d. Brace bearing walls to prevent buckling.

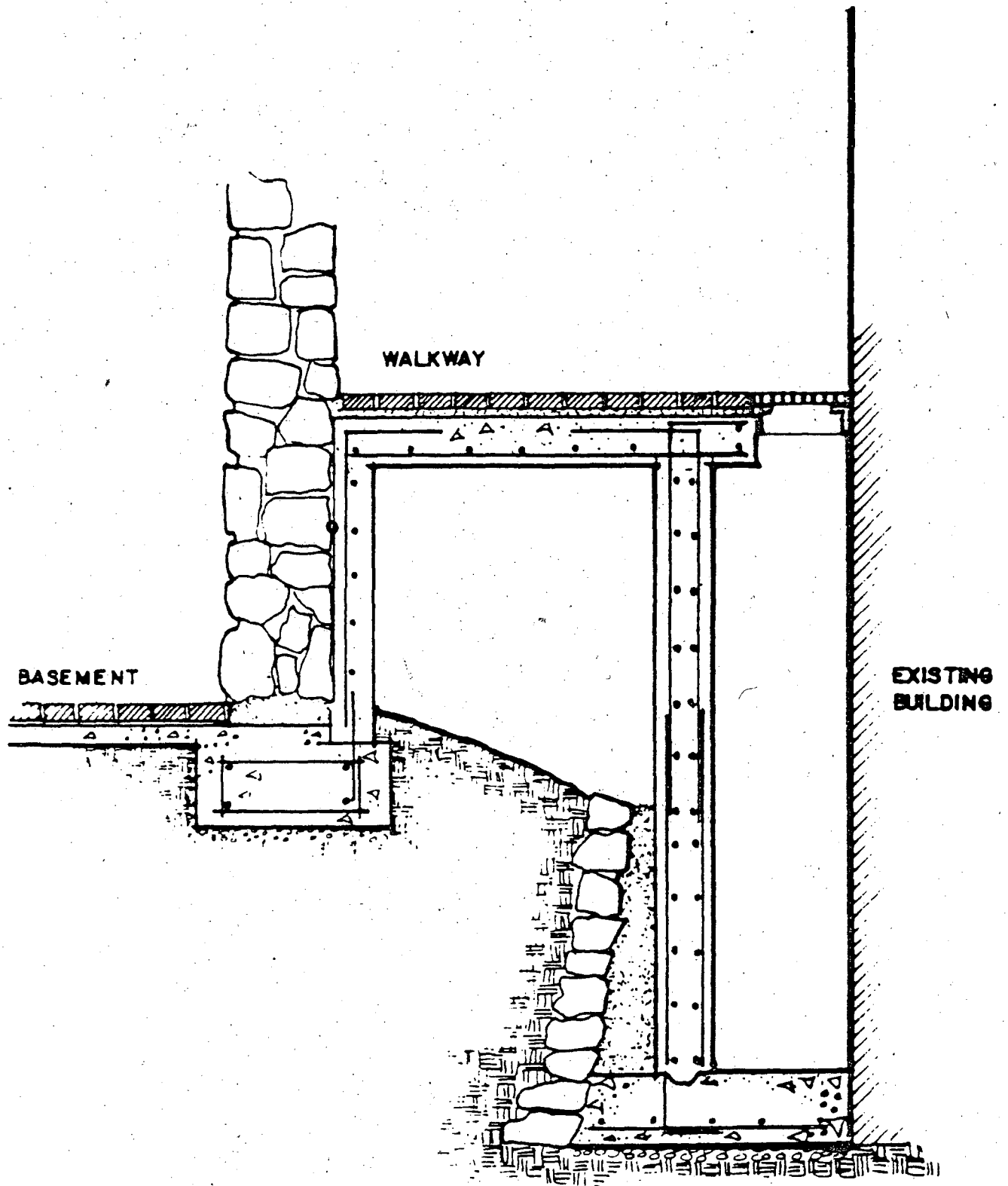
Initial design decisions which reflect these objectives were carefully considered in conjunction with the broader aims of the restoration process. These included the retention and minimal disruption of the original fabric wherever possible. Also to be considered were the aesthetic aims of the finished project, which demanded that all modern structural work be as invisible as feasibly possible when complete.

The foundation design, although critical, was relatively straightforward in concept. It was projected to place a concrete retaining wall at the north end of the house in order to protect the weakened wall from the earth pressures of the restored original grade at this location. A mass concrete buttress was planned at the existing south retaining wall to resist the overturning forces from the house above. The stone footings of the house were to be underpinned with a concrete grade beam in order to provide firm bearing and to more evenly distribute the load to the clay subsoil. The collapsed footing beneath the southeast fireplace was to be rebuilt, while the masonry above it was temporarily shored.



SECTION · NORTH RETAINING WALL  
 & STEEL SUPPORT FOUNDATION

Illustration No. 16: Study for underpinning and reinforcement of north wall.



**SECTION THRU SOUTH RETAINING WALL**

Illustration No. 17: Reinforcement and section through south retaining wall.

The framing systems were, essentially, to be left in place but strengthened, as required, to meet design load criteria. Due to space needs in the attic, it was decided not to restore the original truss and purlin system. In lieu of restoration, new 2" x 10" rafters were installed adjacent to the existing, ridge plates were added, hip rafters were rebuilt with the addition of fitch plates inserted between 2" x 10's. All the bearing connections were redone in order to relate to the steel framing described below. New plywood sheathing was installed, as required, to replace deteriorated original, thereby providing additional stiffening to the roof members.

As required on an individual basis, floor beams were to be reinforced by the addition of steel fitch plates. All original floor joists were to remain in place; but many of the beam connections were to be redone with the use of new metal joist hangers, as required to meet loads. Additionally, some areas of the first floor were to receive supplementary joists, also where required to meet new load requirements. (See Illustration No. 19.)

As the most critical component, the bearing wall system was to receive the most extensive structural solution. The basic concept consisted of the installation of an independent steel frame designed to accomplish the following principal objectives:

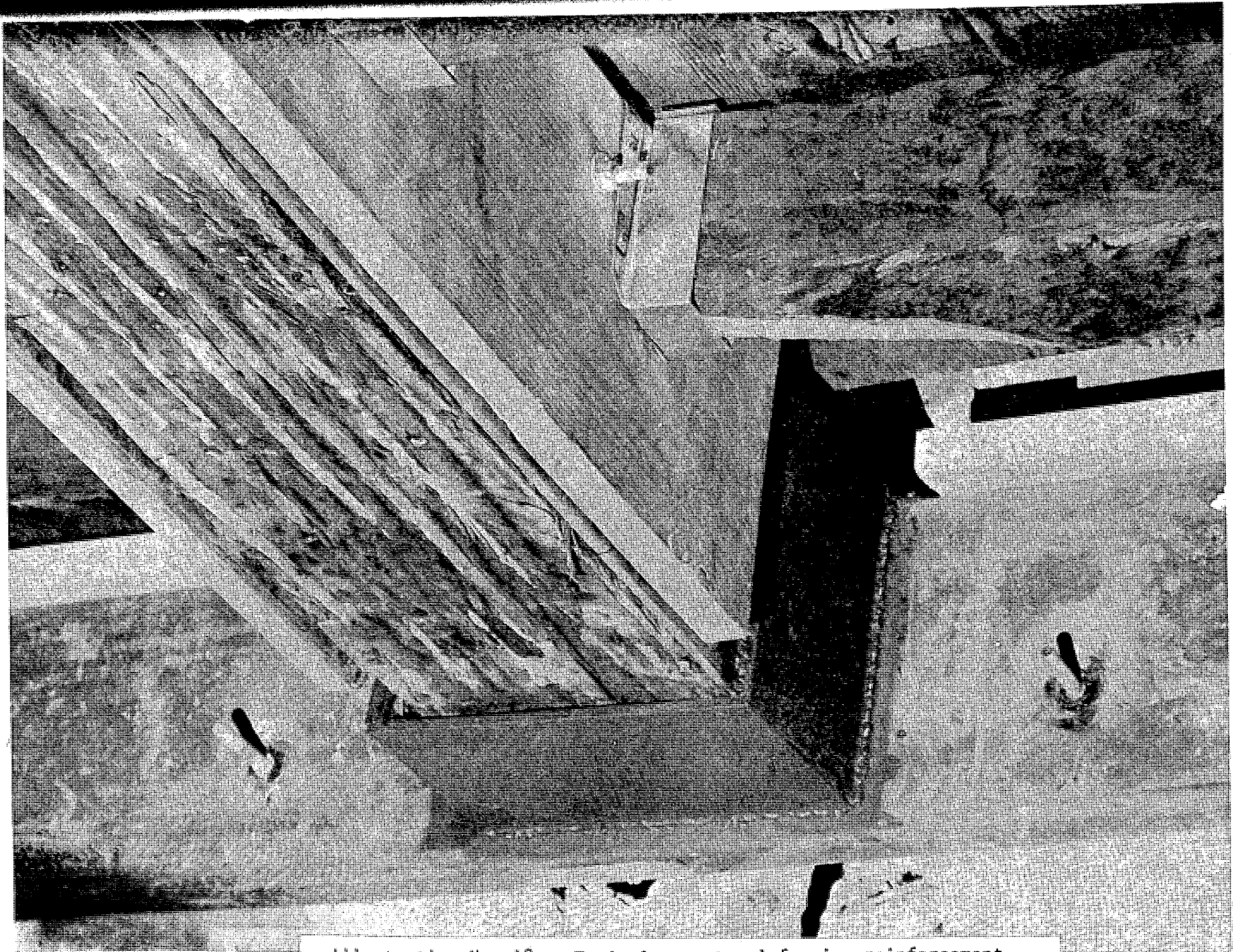


Illustration No. 18: Typical structural framing reinforcement.

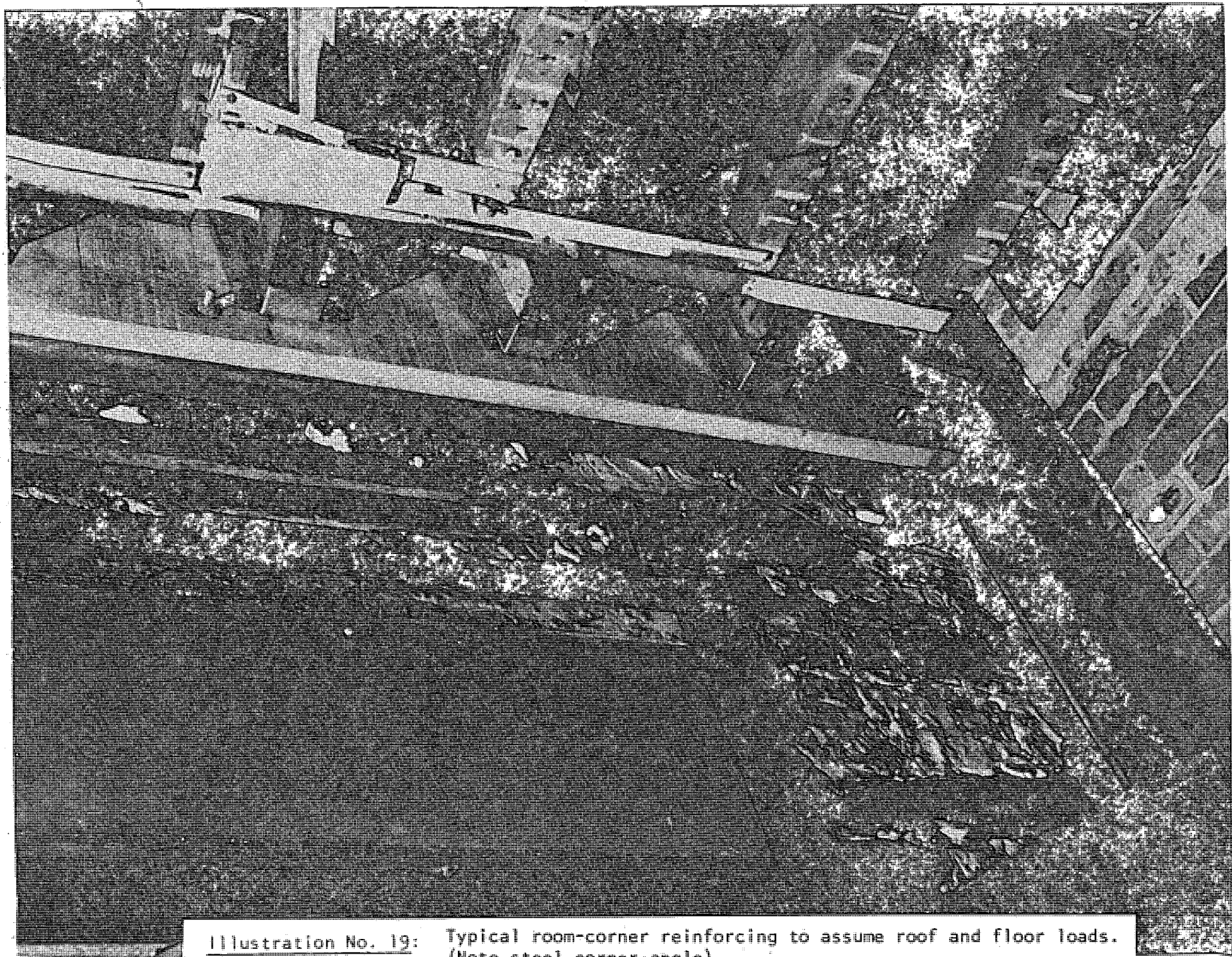


Illustration No. 19: Typical room-corner reinforcing to assume roof and floor loads.  
(Note steel corner angle)

- a. To directly receive the floor and roof framing connections, thus relieving the bearing walls of the lateral loads.
- b. To carry these loads to firm bearing through the means of independent concrete pad footings.
- c. To provide a base for anchoring of the walls for their full height.

The principal component of this system consisted of the following:

- a. Rectangular tube columns embedded and grouted into the walls at each of the window jamb openings. This concept was predicated on the fact that many window openings existed, thereby providing space for an adequate number of vertical members, which, correspondingly, would reduce their size, as well as that of the horizontal member.
- b. Channel sections to be placed at the floor line to receive all of the roof and floor wood framing.

The decisions regarding the restoration of the exterior stonework were based upon structural, as well as aesthetic, considerations. The north, east and south walls were to be covered again with new cement stucco. This would provide an impermeable membrane to resist the effects of water, as well as serve as binder to the surface of the deteriorated stone, thus preventing further erosion and movement. The west elevation, as well as the quoins and stone

architrave of the windows were to be restored through a process of chemical reconstitution of the stone, using a permanent binder on the surface with powder to achieve the original surface color, texture and profile. This process would disturb the existing fragile stone the least, thus preserving its intrinsic, as well as its weak but supposedly remaining structural integrity.

The structural restoration concepts described above had attempted to resolve and anticipate the aesthetic and theoretical problems involved in the actual process within the scope of known determinants. Upon the actual beginning of the reconstruction, two factors materialized which made it increasingly clear that the premises of earlier decisions were eroding, irrevocably. These factors included the emergence of totally new and unexpected conditions which would prohibit the execution of the concept as designed and the painful conclusion that many of the deteriorated conditions previously analyzed were, in fact, more extensive and more severe than thought possible. Theoretically, and, perhaps, it is not unrealistic to speculate that reality was only a short step in time and space from theory, the building should have ceased to exist a long time ago.

Given this new set of conditions, serious debate ensued, in which the efficacy of any system in conjunction with the existing

remains could ever prove useful. The only option not seriously considered was demolition and total reconstruction. Again the mutual cooperation of contractor, engineer and architect was required to devise some experimental solutions, each to be carefully tried and the results analyzed before proceeding with the succeeding steps.

The following description of problem areas indicates graphically the extent of the problem: Severe space limitations and excessive deterioration in both the foundation and the nineteenth century retaining wall at the south side precluded the installation of the new retaining wall as designed.

As seen in Illustration No. 17, the configuration of the new mass retaining wall was modified significantly. The fill between the house and the wall was removed in order to lower the point at which the soil pressure from the masonry wall was transmitted to the new, thus reducing the overturning movement. Additionally, a shallow retaining wall was placed next to the house footing with a continuous slab to the mass wall. This became, in sum, a form of box beam which provided additional resistance to lateral buckling.

The state of deterioration in the north wall, combined with exceptionally poor workmanship in the nineteenth century underpinning,

demanded still another revision in concept. A concrete retaining wall was placed against the house. Its primary function was to keep earth pressure from the new garden fill from buckling the wall. To serve the same effect, the columns along the north wall were dropped to new pad footings at an elevation below the shaky existing underpinning. In lieu of the segmental concrete underpinning originally conceived for this area, a continuous grade beam was cast adjacent to it on the inside in order to avoid disturbing the fragile balance of the masonry.

The stone foundation mass of the southeast chimney was considerably more deteriorated than anticipated, which meant that the original concept of temporarily supporting the wall and fireplaces above while restoring the foundation became totally impossible. The only available option was to remove the entire structure and rebuild it in its entirety.

The general condition of the wood framing systems was well documented in advance of construction; hence, no surprises came to the surface. Modification of some minor aspects of the design approach was necessary in order to accommodate the major changes precipitated by redesign of the principal steel framing system.

The single most disturbing factor discovered as construction began concerned the exterior bearing walls. The previous assumption

concerning their solidity was quickly negated, as they were discovered to have been constructed as a cavity wall consisting of two veneers approximately 6" - 8" thick of cut and rough stone, with an infill and rubble loose material and what, apparently, had started life as a rough approximation of concrete slurry. The cumulative effects of the negative forces at work on this inherently weaker structure had reduced the stone in many locations to a mere sand castle, held in place, literally, by the stucco. Upon removal of the remaining parts of the original stucco and partial disassembly of the interior framing, it was discovered that wood lintels on the inner veneer extended the full width of the bay, spanning both openings and, in fact, providing some very critical horizontal continuity in the structure. The combination of these factors clearly indicated that the concept of imbedding tube columns into the walls was not a desirable solution. Providing the vertical chase required would have further weakened what little firm stone remained and penetrated the lintels - which was not a good idea!

The first priority was to commence at once the evidently extensive task of stabilizing the deteriorated stone veneer. A mason with substantial experience in stone work was summoned to perform this almost surgically delicate task of selecting and excising the damaged stone, while retaining that which was still basically sound. The distinction in many instances was not always perfectly

clear and the mason's skill was critical to maintaining that fragile balance. The object of the exercise was threefold; to simply stabilize the remains, to provide a firm and, more or less, true surface for the new finish work and, most important, to provide firm anchorage mass for the new steel frame members.

This process consisted of packing the voids with grout, steel reinforcement, where possible, and solid brick. The basic concept of removing the vertically imposed loads and lateral thrusts upon the walls was not altered but the means of achieving this end was significantly changed. After considerable debate, the solution arrived at, with the consensus of the engineers and contractors, consisted of the following: The principal vertical members were selected to be large angle sections located flush to the wall in the corners of the principal spaces. This section required minimal destruction to the existing stone surface and eliminated the problems of installation in the window jamb reveals, as previously proposed. (The major exception to the reduced chasing into the masonry occurred where the walls were significantly out of plumb for their full height, particularly in the north bay basement and first floor.) Inasmuch as the number of vertical members was decreased, the size was correspondingly increased. The horizontal channel members were changed to deep tube sections in order to

more effectively carry the necessary loads over the greater span at the floor lines and to wide flange beams at the roof line.

The decision with regard to the final selection of exterior surface treatment had been initially based on aesthetics rather than structural considerations. The east, north and south elevations were to be recovered with cement stucco to cover the known extent of brick infill and to avoid the restoration of the undressed and irregularly coursed stone in these elevations. The final exposition of the extent and degree of the stone deterioration provided an additional function for the stucco; in addition to providing weather protection, that of a bonding membrane. The west elevation surface was initially to have been restored in place by chemical processes. Rejection of this for economic reasons was further vindicated in reviewing the structural condition of the west wall. The final choice of a new limestone veneer had the corollary benefit of providing a structurally sound and true surface, with each stone anchored individually to solid masonry behind it. The old surface was totally removed and, thus, the entire wall acquired new added strength that it probably never had.

In sum, the Carlyle House presented an extreme set of difficult structural problems, each of which was subject to theoretical,

practical and aesthetic scrutiny and, in certain cases, a new approach before it was finally adopted. The structural dynamics which had created the near disaster created, in turn, a dynamic structural dialogue which overcame them. It is safe to say that, despite the legacy of imperfection, the Carlyle House will now stand safely and comfortably to the tercentennial,

#### Footnotes

1. Froehling & Robertson, Inc. - Letter to Harris, Norman, Giles & Walker, 8 December 1972, on tests of sandstone sample.
2. Washington Star, 1896.
3. Carlyle to George, 12 November 1752.

## DEVELOPMENT OF MECHANICAL AND ELECTRICAL SYSTEMS

Required new systems consisted of year-round climate control with critical humidification instrumentation, general electrification system for adequate lighting and power operations, sensitive fire detection and suppression systems and intrusion and space motion detection and alarm systems.

A, Climate Control: After study and comparative feasibility investigations had been completed, the basic system selected and finally adopted was an electrically driven, two-pipe chilled water system with air-cooled condensers and electric resistance heating elements, distributed through ducts and providing forced air heating, cooling and ventilating. This was accomplished through a central fan and coil unit supplied with an electric power humidifier and special filters to reduce dust and air-borne contaminants. Such a system was required for a house museum - exhibiting antique furnishings, valuable portraits and other relics and decorative art objects.

The special requirements of the machinery for such an operation were beyond the handling capacity of any one area within the existing house. Even the attic under the high, hipped roof was not sufficiently large to accommodate the chiller-condenser and the necessary fans and coil units. The owner strongly felt the basement of the house could not be sacrificed for mechanical equipment.

Inasmuch as the NVRPA owned and expected to eventually restore the adjacent, larger, Bank of Alexandria building, the system was designed to separate the chiller-condenser and to locate it in a vault in the basement of that structure. Well insulated underground piping connects the chiller-condenser to fan-and-coil units within the Carlyle House, thus separating and isolating the noisy machinery from the house museum proper.

An imaginative and innovative use of chimney flues, fireplace openings and closeted and furred spaces for ductwork served to return the public viewing areas of the Carlyle House to a closer resemblance of the spaces as they existed during John Carlyle's lifetime.

The large and important Council Chamber has its very own fan-and-coil unit below the first floor level with conditioned air introduced through unobtrusive floor slots and return air routed inconspicuously through the fireplace. Few, if any, insurance carriers will permit the use of open fires in house museums due to added exposure. The fire suppressant system would discharge or have to be disconnected, hence, eliminating its effectiveness. Because current fire detection and suppression systems are so very sensitive and far beyond minimum code requirements, local

officials also permitted the use of flexible ducting in the chimney flues with dampers at the main unit. This special waiver of the code allowed the chimneys to be used without total rebuilding.

During the early design phase, the projected, interpretive program determined that visitors would not have total access to the smaller individual rooms. This gave the architect and his consulting mechanical engineer more flexibility in locating and concealing supply and return air grilles. Thermostats, so necessary in a multizoned system, are cleverly hidden behind hinged sections of chair rail, whose topside and bottom-side are slotted to permit room air to circulate around the sensors.

- B. Electrical System: Other than the service wiring for the various mechanical systems, the general electrification of the house was strictly to provide outlets for off-hours janitorial use, for emergency and safety lighting required by local building codes and for exhibit lighting and office and toilet use in the basement area.

Again, the philosophy of concealment was followed by placing recessed emergency lighting in the exhibit hallways and with outlets and switches hidden behind hinged sections of chair rails and baseboards.

The basement was to be adaptively used for reception areas, rest rooms and office work rooms. Hence, electrical outlets, receptacles and fixtures were not hidden from view.

Another waiver granted by the City because of the special use of this house was the mandatory requirement for the use of illuminated exit lights in the exhibit areas. Due to the relatively small scale of this public building and because of its relatively open and conventional plan, discreet, painted, exit signs were substituted.

C. Fire Detection and Suppression Systems:

1. Perhaps one of the most sophisticated systems placed in the Carlyle House is the fire protection system. NVRPA demanded the best system to not only shield the restored building but, also, to protect its irreplaceable collection of antiques, relics and documents shown within. A system of Halon 1301 gas was installed. This intricate system of gas was determined to be far superior to water or chemical suppressants. It would, when activated, neither harm the building and its collection nor would it be toxic to human beings. Halon cylinders are stored in the attic and piped under pressure to the individual rooms below. Conduits were concealed behind floor joists, cornices and within the walls. Each room is

supplied with a supply nozzle, hidden behind a hinged section of cornice. There are two detectors or sensors, an inconspicuous rate-of-rise over the doorway architrave and an ionization detector within the return air duct. The house is divided into eight zones, two on each of four floors. Each zone is immediately sealed by the automatic closing of doors and dampers within the mechanical system and Halon gas is discharged under pressure within ten seconds. Successfully used for many years in computer storage banks, Halon is beginning to find a greater application in museums. Its rapid response and clean operation make it ideal for valuable restored buildings and antiques and collections housed within.

- D. Intrusion Alarms: Suffice it to say that highly sophisticated motion detection and magnetic contact systems have been installed and provide a high degree of security and are reasonably free of constant maintenance and chances of accidental activation. Further choices for the protection of individual objects have been left to the discretion of the Curator.

The climate control, fire suppression and other security systems all include select features for the house and its collections.

They provide for constant levels of humidity, dust filters, non-toxic fire suppressant agents and a high degree of perimeter and interior security.

VIII

EXPLORATORY WORK ON SUPERSTRUCTURE

Above Ground Archaeology and Ex-  
ploratory Work on the Superstructure

The following is a room by  
room tabulation identifying  
all interpreted original  
features, physical evidence  
of subsequent changes,  
gathered evidence with  
bearing on restoration and  
restoration action indicated  
by this evidence and  
itemized restorative action  
consummated during this  
exercise.

CARLYLE HOUSE	<u>ROOM NO.</u> B-1	<u>FLOOR</u> Basement	<u>SIZE</u> 11' x 32'	<u>USE/NAME</u> Hall
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Original Features

North wall.  
Ceiling joists.  
Beams.

Evidence of Change

East and west walls removed or altered; one to provide access under nineteenth century terrace and the other to open up under front entry steps.  
Nineteenth century construction on service stair.  
Floor of rough concrete.

Evidence for Restoration

Archaeological probing indicated floor had been lowered about one foot at one time.  
Ceiling joists had been cut to provide opening for ca. 1855 service stair under main stair location.

Restoration Action

Service stair removed.  
West wall under front entry replaced.  
Southeast chimney mass rebuilt, using original stones. West wall had severe structural defect due to buckling.  
Floor lowered and brick flooring replaced, using running pattern.

CARLYLE HOUSE

ROOM NO.

B-2

FLOOR

Basement

SIZE

16' x 14'

USE/NAME

Kitchen

Original Features

Walls and ceiling joists.

Fireplace.

Evidence of Change

Original fireplace reworked with nineteenth century hardware and details.

Windows enlarged.

Evidence for Restoration

Original plaster fragments, again, outlined missing service stair.

Windows had been cut down and made larger.

Evidence that floor had been lowered and then paved with bricks.

Joists showed positive evidence of having been burned in a fire.

Restoration Action

Doorway bricked in.

Old service stair replaced.

Floor lowered and bricks set.

Joists reinforced as needed.

CARLYLE HOUSE

ROOM NO.

B-3

FLOOR

Basement

SIZE

16' x 31'

USE/NAME

Original Features

Walls, ceiling joists and beams.

Stone door frame.

Original large handwrought hook in beam - possibly for hanging meat.

Well shaft B-3.

Evidence of Change

Enlarged windows.

Evidence for Restoration

Well shaft B-3 - 3'-1" at opening, tapering to 2'-9" at bottom. 11'-2" deep well originally brick lined was filled with oyster shells.

Cut stone jambs of windows clearly revealed sills had been lowered.

Floor lowered and then paved with brick.

Restoration Action

Well B-3 evacuated, filled with sand and bricked over with distinct pattern to preserve location in brick floor.

Structure reinforced.

Floor lowered and paved.

Wide service door replaced with beaded board door with historic hardware.

CARLYLE HOUSE

ROOM NO.

B-4

FLOOR

Basement

SIZE

17' x 22'

USE/NAME

Original Features

Walls, ceiling joists and beams.

Well shaft B-4.

Mummified cat found in masonry of southeast chimney mass.

Original outline of service stair.

Evidence of Change

Enlarged windows.

Evidence for Restoration

Well B-4 was 3'-6" x 13' deep with dry-laid brick stretchers. There was a brick lined drainage trough which led into well from exterior of south wall, indicating that well may have been a cistern at one time.

Restoration Action

Well shaft excavated and filled in with sand.

Area of B-4 used for public and staff toilets and service closets. All new construction was held away from original walls so entire new facility can be removed at any time.

Service stair replaced.

<u>ROOM NO.</u>	<u>FLOOR</u>	<u>SIZE</u>	<u>USE/NAME</u>
CARLYLE HOUSE B-5, B-6 and B-7	Basement		Tunnel and Vaults

Original Features

These features are all from the mid-nineteenth century.

Well shaft B-7 constructed between 1750 - 1850.

Evidence of Change

Evidence for Restoration

Well shaft B-7 predated the ca. 1850 construction of the vaults and was bisected by the foundation wall for the tunnel.

Restoration Action

Well shaft B-7 left for exhibit viewing by visiting public.

CARLYLE HOUSE

ROOM NO.

100

FLOOR

First

SIZE

12' x  
33'-6"

USE/NAME

Center Hall

Original Features

Triangular bead and bevel paneling stair closure skirt.

Wide plank, heart pine, tongue-and-groove flooring.

Original sealed opening to dining room.

Second floor head of stair beam still in place.

Evidence of Change

Ca. 1855 spiral stair.

Later service stair under spiral stair.

Raised doorways No. D-103; D-105 and D-107.

Nineteenth century door No. D-104 to bedchamber.

Nineteenth century exterior doors No. D-100 and D-101.

Evidence for Restoration

Dust marks on walls and recessed pockets in walls showing rake and run of original dogleg stair and actual landing location.

Eighteenth century plaster fragments under stair outlined closet.

Cut floor joists under stair reveal service stair to basement was not original.

Carved stone fragments in cheek walls outside Door No. D-100 believed original to house.

Paint research done on stair panel was clear evidence at foot of walls for base trim.

Restoration Action

Dogleg stair replaced, embellished with typical trim from Council Chamber.

All plaster and trim replaced.

Closet replaced under stair.

Flooring patched with old wood floor from demolished Mansion House Hotel.

Door No. D-100 conjectural design from stone fragments. (Not unlike door at Mt. Pleasant.)

Woodwork painted Robin's Egg Blue to match original color on stair skirt.

Doors lowered to original 6'-2" height, using six-panel doors.

Hallway received raised, bead and bevel, dado paneling similar to original stair skirt.

CARLYLE HOUSE	<u>ROOM NO.</u> 101	<u>FLOOR</u> First	<u>SIZE</u> 9'-9" x 16'-10"	<u>USE/NAME</u> Small Parlor
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Original Features

The room is almost totally original, including flooring, ceiling plaster, window jamb and seat assembly, fireplace opening and trim and all wood trim, including dentiled cornice and pedestal chair rail. Also, fireplace closet door, only original door in place in house. Original iron jamb spike intact.

Shutter hardware original - closure bars missing.

Evidence of Change

Raised doorways.  
Replaced window sash.  
Replaced closet hardware.

Evidence for Restoration

Sash weight and portion of sash chord found in window assembly No. W-101.

Paint research done on all surfaces.

Restoration Action

Doors lowered to original 6'-2", with six-panel doors and authentic hardware

Window sash replaced with 6/9.

Typical reproduction closure bars fabricated for shutters.

Paint colors, as represented by original color scheme.

CARLYLE HOUSE

ROOM NO.

102

FLOOR

First

SIZE

12' x 15'

USE/NAME

Dining Room

Original Features

This room was totally remodeled in 1855, when it was joined with Room No. 104 to form a large double room.

Evidence of Change

Narrow tongue-and-groove flooring:

Windows were totally reworked with nineteenth century millwork, eliminating window seat.

Fireplace opening made smaller.

Evidence for Restoration

Scar marks on ceiling joists and lath indicate location of original corridor partition wall on east end of room.

Charred floor joists and closet adjacent to fireplace indicated a fire from kitchen below.

Original jack arch for fireplace opening in situ.

Restoration Action

East wall was rebuilt.

Fireplace opened up to original size and bead and bevel paneled end wall, typical of the period, designed as conjectural restoration.

Windows and shutters replaced, based on prototype in small Parlor.

All wood trim and plaster replaced.

Floor, which was in good condition, was cleaned and refinished.

	<u>ROOM NO.</u>	<u>FLOOR</u>	<u>SIZE</u>	<u>USE/NAME</u>
CARLYLE HOUSE	103	First	17' x 19'-10"	Council Chamber

Original Features

This fully paneled room is almost entirely original. The only modifications being to the north wall where later passage connection to the hotel was made. Decorative elements include heavy modillioned cornice with rosettes, Greek key fretwork on the chair rail and heavily molded base. The large fireplace opening is faced with gray marble with a painted egg-and-dart backband trim with "dog ears." The overmantel panel is framed by fluted Doric pilasters. The two principal doors have broken serpentine pediments with a central pineapple motif. Original flooring and ceiling remain.

Evidence of Change

Doorways were raised and returned to original configuration.

Small cupboard on north wall, not original.

Evidence for Restoration

Removal of nineteenth century door frames indicated scroll pediments were original, as chalk mark outline was on bare wood. Door No. D-107 had been moved 21-1/2" to the east and all lintels had been raised with sawn wood filler blocks.

Small cupboard on north apparently part of the 1914 restoration of the house, when passage door of 1855 was sealed. Panel surround of cupboard was executed in plaster and not wood.

Two original panels removed for authentication revealed sequential numbers on the back, possibly to pair mortises and panels in original installation.

Paint research undertaken on all original surfaces.

Restoration Action

Doorways to central hall returned to original location and 6'-2" height.

Small cupboard was removed and new stone window frame installed.

New section of wood panel fabricated for north wall to match others in the room.

Complete window and jamb assembly for lost window fabricated to match others.

CARLYLE HOUSE

ROOM NO.

104

FLOOR

First

SIZE

13' x 15'

USE/NAME

Bedroom or  
Study/Office

Original Features

No original features except a bit of plaster survived. One interesting feature was graffiti scratched into the closet wall near the fireplace by soldiers convalescing in the house when it was used in the 1860's as a hospital for Federal troops. These marks were photographed prior to the restoration. One closet contained the very best example of original plaster surface and texture.

Evidence of Change

Narrow, tongue-and-groove flooring.  
Removal of all decorative trim for cornice and chair rail.  
Nineteenth century woodworking for remodeled windows.  
West wall was obviously nineteenth century, with large double sliding doors which retracted into pockets.

Evidence for Restoration

Floor framing and plaster fragments on south wall identified original service stair location. A notched, old center post for winder stair had been reused in framing later divider wall.

Fragments of original plaster near fireplace provided scar evidence for cornice depth.

Jagged stone surround to window frame No. 104 revealed it was a relocated original window. Its slightly smaller size indicated it came from the second floor east.

West wall was of nineteenth century (circular saw) construction and was thicker than original partition wall.

Restoration Action

New trim was installed with a conjectural cornice, based on size of scar mark on old plaster.

The 4'-6" x 6'-0" service stair was replaced and faced with flush, tongue-and-groove, beaded board paneling similar to old typical pieces found in basement below.

Reset window No. W-104 was removed and closed.

New window jamb assembly was installed to match small Parlor prototype.

The west partition wall was rebuilt.

North wall had to be totally rebuilt due to serious structural failure below.

The north wall was detailed as beaded board to complement the wall of the service stair. Delft tiles, popular in England and the tide-water area of Virginia, were used around the fireplace as typical of the period.

CARLYLE HOUSE	<u>ROOM NO.</u> 106	<u>FLOOR</u> First	<u>SIZE</u> 4'-6" x 17'	<u>USE/NAME</u> South Corridor
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Original Features

This corridor, providing access to the documented kitchen pavilion, was removed in 1855 and incorporated into the resulting large, double room.

Evidence of Change

Observed brick and frame infill of original exterior opening on south wall.

Evidence for Restoration

Most of the original stone frame remained in situ when the doorway was filled in, presumably, when the room layout was altered.

Evidence on ceiling joists and lathing indicated location of both original partitions.

Restoration Action

The original exterior door with transom light was restored.

The two restored partition walls were rebuilt.

idor

CARLYLE HOUSE

ROOM NO.

200 & 207

FLOOR

Second

SIZE

12' x 32'

USE/NAME

Central Hall

Original Features

Floor framing and flooring.

Some extant, original, ceiling plaster and hand split lathing.

Evidence of Change

Ca. 1855 spiral stair.

Later north-south partition dividing hallway.

Curved corners at intersection of corridors and hallway.

Modified east windows and exterior roof terrace.

Evidence for Restoration

The evidence for the dogleg stair is discussed for Room No. 100 and reconfirmed by framing pattern of second floor construction.

The partition across the hallway was of nineteenth century construction, with extant, original fragments of plaster above partition framing.

Total rear east wall had been rebuilt in brick with large nineteenth century French doors leading to a roof terrace over added porch below.

Restoration Action

Stair was replaced, using a conjectural, large, Palladian window at the landing. The window, while typical of the period, was embellished with trim elements inspired by the Council Chamber.

The hallway partition was eliminated and a wooden, bead and bevel panel dado was installed to complement the stair and to tie in with the first floor hall design and the dado continuing up the restored stair.

The Robin's Egg Blue of the woodwork is from the original stair paneling.

New wood trim was installed, matching old prototypes from below.

CARLYLE HOUSE	<u>ROOM NO.</u> 204	<u>FLOOR</u> Second	<u>SIZE</u>	<u>USE/NAME</u> Bedchamber Interpretive Room
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Original Features

Flooring and hearth.  
Exposed floor framing.  
Fragments of plaster and lath.

Evidence of Change

Raised doorways.  
Remodeled windows.  
All original trim removed.  
Remodeled fireplace.

Evidence for Restoration

This room was stripped of much of its finish material to expose original construction features and subsequent remodelings.

Restoration Action

All modern systems, such as structural reinforcement, piping for Halon gas and wiring, were left exposed as an interpretive exhibit of restoration details.

CARLYLE HOUSE

ROOM NO.

206

FLOOR

Second

SIZE

13'-4" x  
15'-4"

USE/NAME

Bedchamber S.E.

Original Features

Most flooring and hearth.

Evidence of Change

Raised doorways.

Windows remodeled to French doors.

All original trim removed.

Remodeled fireplace.

Evidence for Restoration

Plaster fragments on south wall  
outlining original service stair.

Patched floor over service stair  
well framing.

Portion of original, reused, 3" x 3"  
center post for service stair found  
in stud wall adjacent to corridor.

Restoration Action

Service stair replaced.

New window frames with paneled jambs  
and 6/9 sash installed.

New plaster and trim.

New fireplace surround to match  
the original in small Parlor.

CARLYLE HOUSE

ROOM NO.  
203 & 205

FLOOR  
Second

SIZE

USE/NAME  
Bedchambers

Original Features

Flooring.

Hearths.

Evidence of Change

Evidence for Restoration

Restoration Action

These two rooms were completely done over for the restoration.

CARLYLE HOUSE

ROOM NO.

FLOOR

SIZE

USE/NAME

Attic

Attic

Original Features

South dormer original.

Large framing chord of roof truss.

Sheathing boards for roof.

Enough old and original parts in most of roof apparently in situ, except at north end where connection was made to hotel in nineteenth century.

Evidence of Change

Nineteenth century trim, plaster and partitions were used to finish attic space into bedrooms, presumably, to increase number of hotel rooms.

Nineteenth century dormers added, east and west.

Nineteenth century service stair under south dormer.

Evidence for Restoration

Purlins were removed from original trusses, thereby weakening them.

Shed roof over entrance pavilion established as very early change.

Original shingles found scattered under flooring. One round butt shingle with traces of Spanish red paint still had rosehead nail intact.

Only two dormers (those on north and south ends) were original. South was extant and intact except for sash, which had to be renewed when connection to hotel was made, even at this level.

Restoration Action

Roof trusses strengthened.

East and west dormers removed.

North dormer restored to match original south dormer.

Service stair restored to original location.

Remainder of attic was treated as mechanical equipment space, with heavy air-handling unit supported on special steel beams. Springs were used to reduce vibrations to the house below.

Round butt shingles used to replace twentieth century tin roof.

## UNDERGROUND ARCHAEOLOGY

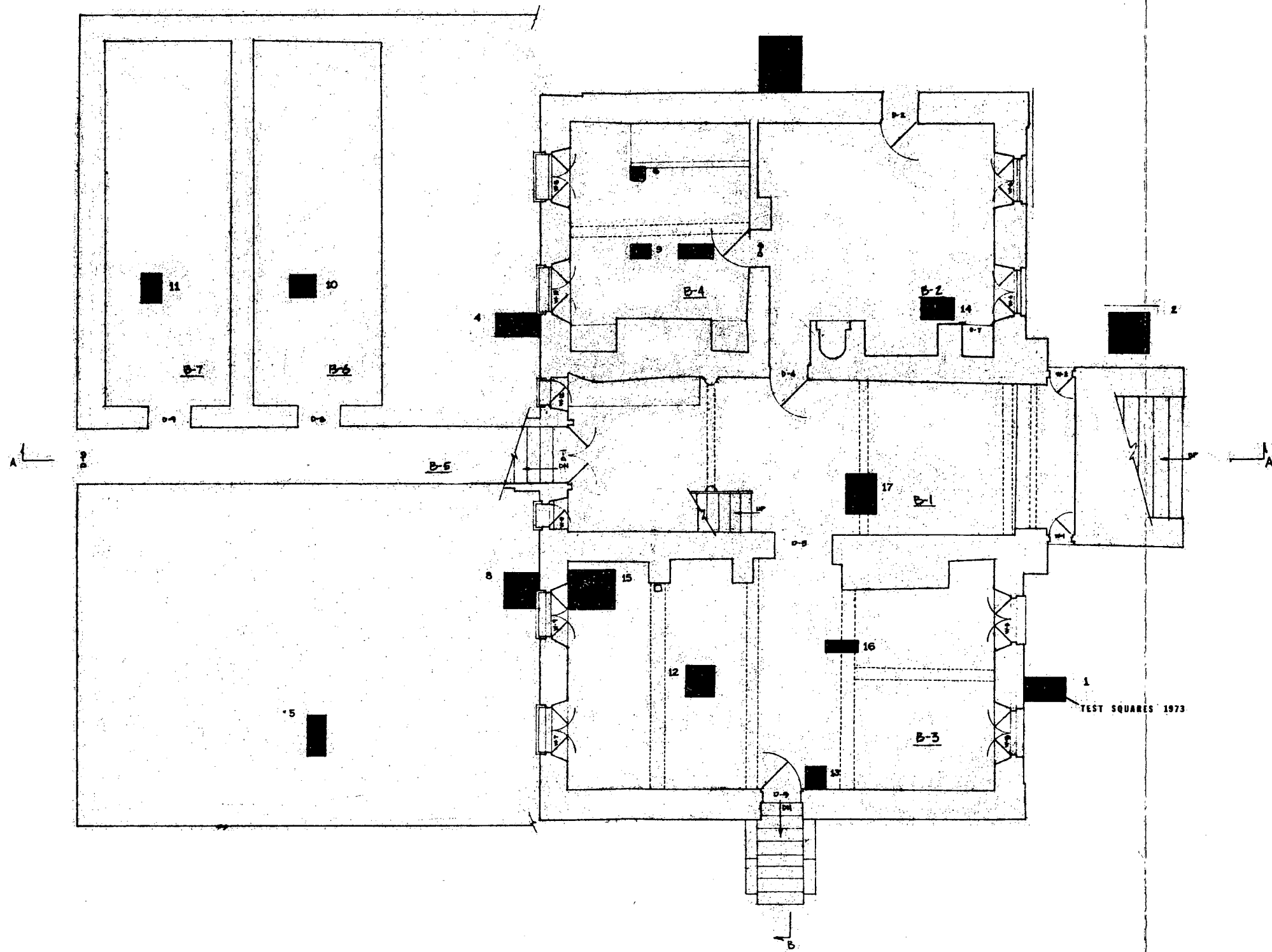
Introduction: The underground archaeological investigations carried out on the Carlyle House property between 1973 and 1975 in conjunction with the restoration project were both a source of frustration and of reward. Although little of significance in the form of specific architectural data directly relevant to the period of the current restoration was recovered, much new information was retrieved which answered some and asked more questions about the various occupants of the house and site and how they lived.

- A. Corner at Cameron and Lee Streets.
  - B. Kelso examination.
  - C. Well Shaft B-7.
  - D. Well Shaft B-3.
  - E. Well Shaft B-4.
  - F. Garden well.
  - G. The Bank well.
  - H. Architectural remains on Lee Street.
  - I. The Bank privy.
  - J. Miscellaneous recovery.
- A. In May of 1973, Mr. Richard Muzzrole, Rescue Archaeologist for the City of Alexandria, conducted a brief examination of the property at the corner of Cameron and Lee Streets. In a

test pit, which measured 2'-0" x 3'-6", located 10'-0" from Cameron Street and 12'-6" from Lee Street, six distinct strata were identified as follows:

- "A - 8" of coal ashes
- B - 4" of late nineteenth century concrete rubble
- C - 3" to 4" of dirty yard clean-up, mixed with ashes
- D - 11" of dirty clay, mixed with brick bats and ashes
- E - 13" of dark brown sand, mixed with building rubble, mixed ca. eighteenth century, possibly dependency house
- Rubble rests on surface of undisturbed soil."

It is not known by what means the material from Stratum E was determined to have been eighteenth century in origin. Inasmuch as this area lies within the portion of the property which Carlyle willed to his grandson, Carlyle Fairfax Whiting, it is conceivable that this rubble may be from a structure erected by Carlyle. This seems more likely when the dimensions of that piece of property are considered. They are 50' along Cameron Street and 30' along Lee Street. With the exception of the northwest corner of the original property which he willed to his surviving daughter, Sarah, and the corner in question, Carlyle left the entire site to his son. There is, of course, the possibility that they



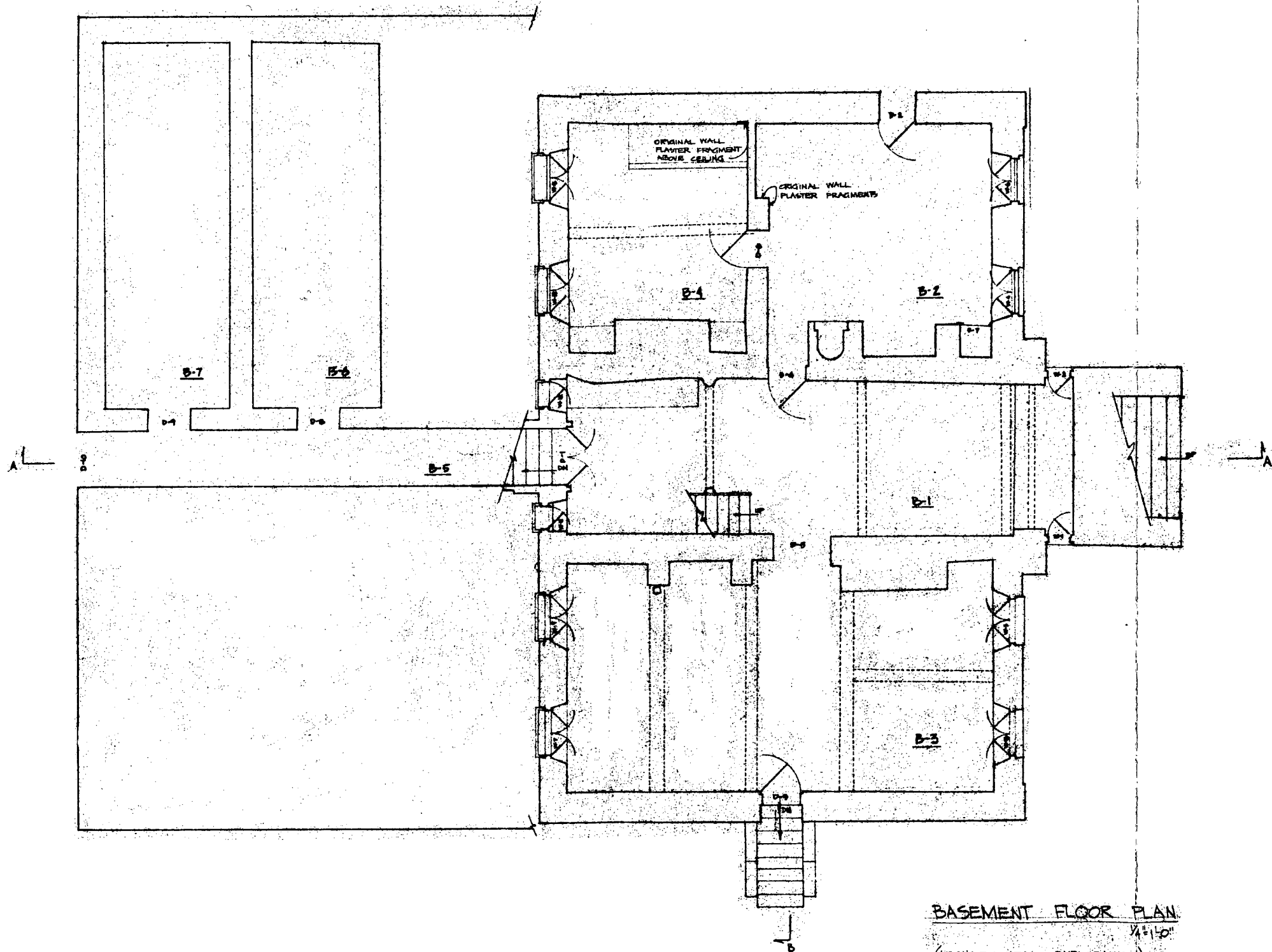
TEST SQUARES 1973



J. EVERETTE FAUBER, JR., F.A.I.A.  
 ARCHITECT  
 LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

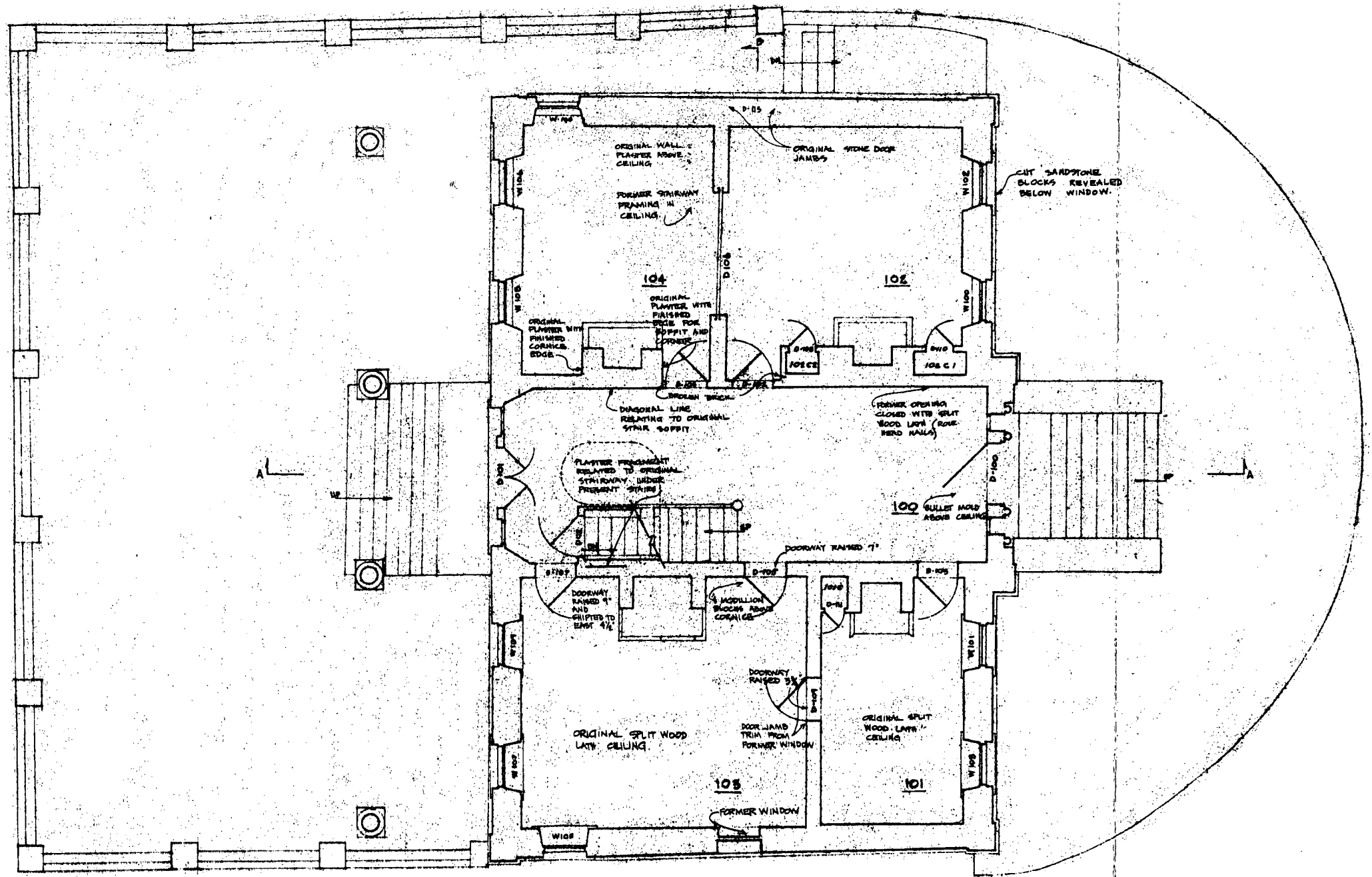
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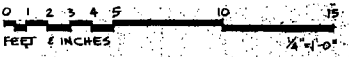


BASEMENT FLOOR PLAN  
 1/4" = 1'-0"  
 (ARCHITECTURAL EXPLORATION)





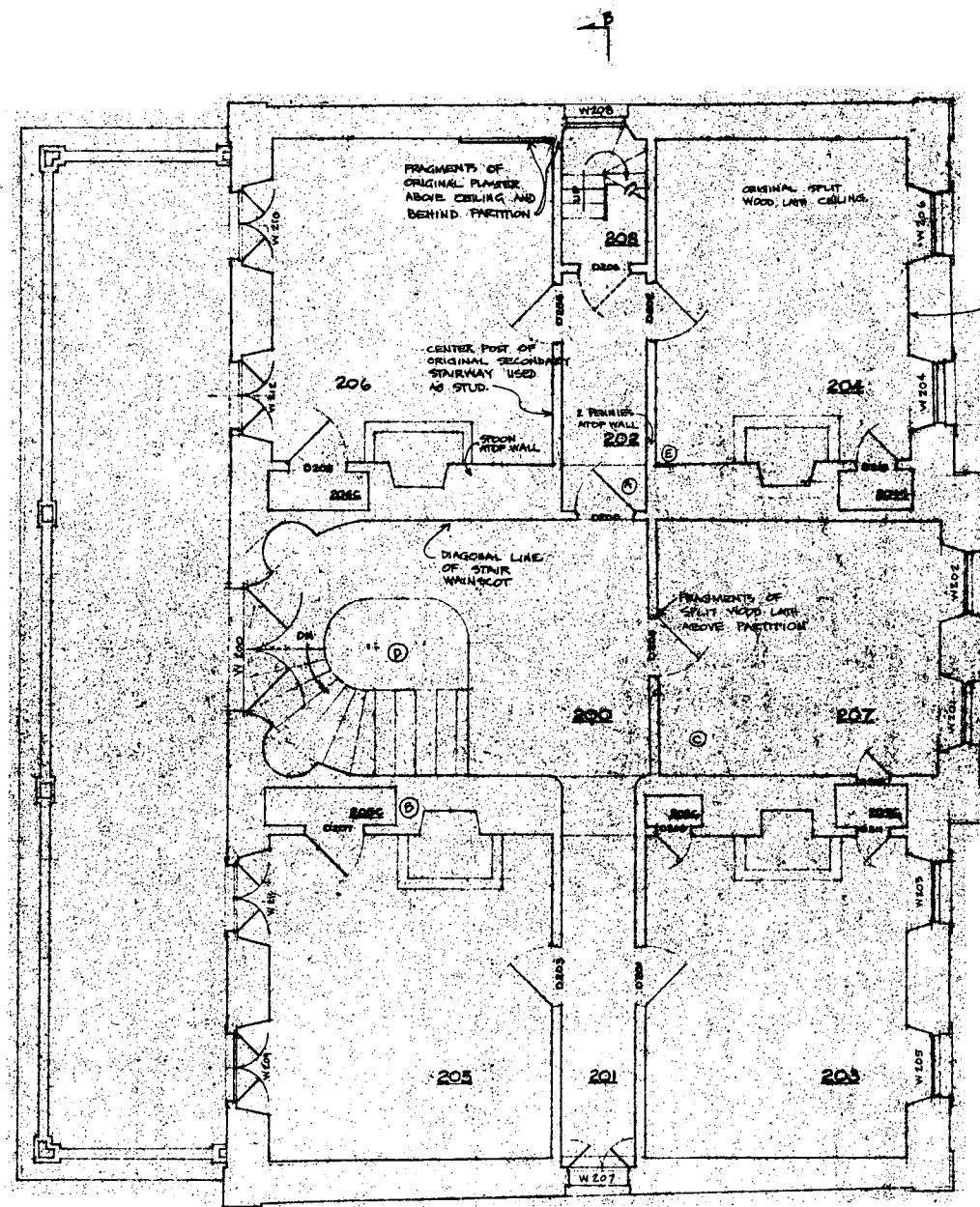
FIRST FLOOR PLAN  
 1/4" = 1'-0"  
 (ARCHITECTURAL EXPLORATION)



THE JOHN CARLYLE HOUSE  
 ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

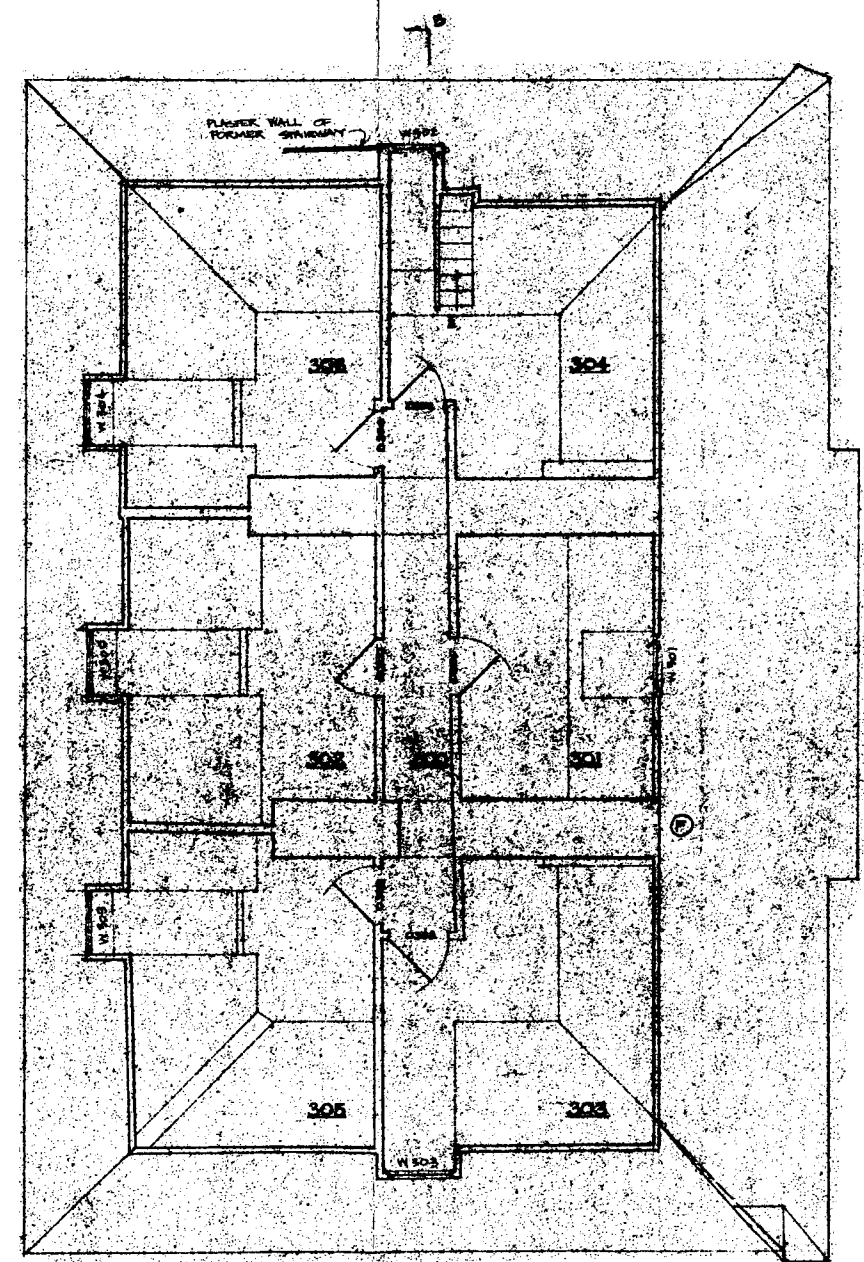
J. EVERETTE FAUBER, JR., F.A.I.A.  
 ARCHITECT

17



SECOND FLOOR PLAN  
 1/4"=1'-0"  
 (ARCHITECTURAL EXPLORATION)

EDGES OF ORIGINAL PLASTER OF INTERIOR SURFACE. FINISHED PLASTER EDGES INDICATE LOCATION AND SIZE OF WOOD CORNICE AND CHAIR RAIL.



THIRD FLOOR PLAN  
 1/4"=1'-0"  
 (ARCHITECTURAL EXPLORATION)

- ARTIFACTS
- ↑ ① OTHER: SPONGE, MISC. GLASS, CLOTH, BRASSWARE
  - ↑ ② FURNITURE KEY, FRAGMENT OF WOOD CORNICE, BROKEN GLASS
  - ↑ ③ BOTTLES, 3 WOOD CYLINDRICAL PILL BOXES, PIPE FRAGMENT, SCISSORS, DOOR KEY
  - ↑ ④ SCISSORS, WOOD LATCH, FURNITURE KEY, SHOE SOLE
  - ↑ ⑤ 3 SHOES
  - ↑ ⑥ FURNITURE KEY, SHOE FRAGMENTS

SPLIT WOOD LATH ON CEILING OF 204, 204C, 206C, 203C, 205C.



contained some of Carlyle's warehouses. If this were the case, it indicates that the existing grade elevation is within two feet of what existed in 1780. Based on the conclusion that Carlyle had initiated the process of cutting down the level of his property at the river's edge, the evidence herein presented, although not conclusive, supports that concept.

No further probing was done in this area. The construction of the existing transformer pad and enclosure was not done in a controlled manner, thereby obliterating any further evidence, if any, in fact, existed.

- B. Kelso Examination: Dr. William Kelso of the Virginia State Landmarks Commission was commissioned in May of 1973 to conduct a series of controlled test excavations in and around the Carlyle House. The objective of this process was to determine the feasibility and/or advisability of more extensive excavation which might locate and identify architectural features and data relevant to the restoration process. The plan drawing on Sheet 1 shows the location of the 17 test squares, which, in all cases, were excavated to undisturbed native soil.

Although a partial section of a builder's trench was identified along the east wall of the house at the terrace

level, it was concluded that construction of the terrace itself had destroyed any possible evidence of earlier architectural features. This same conclusion applied as well to the south and west terraces, accentuated by the extent and proximity of the excavation around the terraces' walls. According to Mr. Kelso, "The nine test holes in the basement were equally discouraging. No 18th century layers of fill or features were encountered below the modern brick paving."<sup>2</sup>

Herewith are summaries of the data on the test pits extracted from Mr. Kelso's field notes dated 24 May 1973:

- CrH-1 2' x 3'
  - 1A- Modern sand bed under terrace paving
  - 1B- Gray loam, yellow sand, ca. 1840-60
  - 1C- Disturbed area with ironstone pottery ca. 1840-60
  - 1D- Yellow sand, 1840-60
  - 1E- Brown clay with handmade nail
  - 1F- Dark brown loam fill, gaudy Dutch shard ca. 1790-1810
  
- CrH-2 3' x 3'
  - 2A- Black loam, yellow sand below slab, slate shingle, iron nail, not dated
  - 2B- Sandy fill with mixed building rubble
  
- CrH-3 20" x 38"
  - 3A- Late 19th C. fill below slab
  - 3B- 19th C. squared deposit in builder's trench with brick, oyster shell mortar
  - 3C- Yellow clay fill with mortar flecks, filled builder's trench, bottle fragment ca. 1770-90

- CrH-4 2' x 3'  
4A- Modern rubble below slab  
4B- Black cinder fill  
4C- Black loam with brick bats, late 19th C.  
4D- Fragment of scratch blue, ca. 1750-70  
natural grade at -3'
- CrH-5 16" x 36"  
5A- loam and sand under slab  
5B- Brown loam with mortar and concrete, 1840-60
- CrH-6 1'-0" x 1'-6"  
6A- 2" sand bed for brick pavers, fragment of  
colonial glass  
6B- 1/2" layer of black fill on natural grade
- CrH-7 Unidentified pit
- CrH-8 2-1/2' x 2-1/2'  
8A- Yellow sand fill on natural and builder's  
trench, 19th C.  
8B- Mixed brown fill with shell mortar, presence of  
ironstone tureen base, 1842-67  
8C- Fill in builder's trench, drain feature cut into  
natural grade, no date  
8D- Fill in trench, no artifacts
- CrH-9 1' x 1-1/2'  
9A- Yellow sand below brick pavers, 3-1/2",  
1840-60  
9B- Gray loam fill, 9" thick, then sand. Probe  
indicated minimum depth of 3-1/2 feet, suggesting  
backfilled root cellar.
- CrH-10 2' x 2'  
10A-Layer of mixed clay and lime, no date
- CrH-11 2' x 2'  
11A Mixed brown clay fill under brick paving, iron  
nail and ironstone pottery, post 1850
- CrH-12 2' x 2'  
12A-Mixed brown soil, 4" thick below slab  
12B-pocket of powdered mortar, no date
- CrH-13 20" x 20"  
13A-Mixed brown fill below brick rubble under  
slab, no date

- CrH-14 16" x 34"
  - 14A- 2" sand below brick pavers
  - 14B- Sandy loam with bricks and mortar, ca. 1840-60
  - 14C- Red sand on natural grade
  
- CrH-15 30" x 36"
  - 15A- Brown sandy fill on natural grade
  
- CrH-16 1' x 2'
  - 16A Brown sandy loam beneath brick rubble ca. 1850
  
- CrH-17 54" x 26"
  - 17A Brown sandy loam with brick bats and mortar, below sandstone

The drain feature identified in CrH-8 was found later during construction to have passed under the foundation wall into Space No. B-3. It was brick lined and terminated in the projecting stone leader still visible on the east terrace wall. No conclusive hypothesis was developed as to why such a drain may have been required in that space. The speculated date of ca. 1842-67 for the fill level above it corresponds to the probable construction date of the terrace wall, ca. 1850-55.

The hypothesized root cellar in pit CrH-9 in fact turned out to be a well shaft (B-4), which is discussed in greater detail below. The sandstone slabs found in CrH-17 were probably placed during the period that the house was significantly altered, again during the 1850's. Reused sandstone blocks were found in several locations in the terrace wall.

It was clear that the eighteenth century grade around the house had been lowered, as had the basement floors. No architectural feature, except as noted, was discovered. The small quantity of artifacts recovered is in the possession of the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission in Richmond.

- C. Well Shaft B-7: Based on oral tradition concerning the alleged existence of an underground tunnel to the river from Space B-7, portions of which were reported to have been visible in the 1920's, incidental probing was carried out in the floor of the room in January of 1974. A circular brick lined shaft was discovered a few inches below the surface. It was clear that the outer diameter of the shaft extended beyond the south wall of the space. Inasmuch as the date of this wall was known to be ca. 1850, the shaft evidently predated the wall. (See drawing of the shaft.) Because this shaft represented the first discovery on the site of any feature earlier than mid-nineteenth century in origin, it was decided to proceed with systematic excavation.

The Wm. P. Lipscomb Company was contracted to place a concrete beam beneath the wall to support and stabilize it and to provide labor and logistic support for the archaeologist.

Mr. Richard Muzzrole was contracted to conduct the excavation and to interpret whatever cultural artifacts might be recovered. Herewith are extracts from Mr. Muzzrole's notes which were submitted to accompany the drawing.

#### GENERAL NOTES

- Excavation of Shaft B-7 began Jan. 22, 1974....
- Assistant to archaeologist, Col. David C. Schwulst.
- Though scattered remnants of worked stone were used in the construction of the vaults and passage way, they were not used in the construction of the exterior side of the terrace walls.
- It is my belief that the primary (sic) purpose for constructing the vaults and passage way was to provide storage space for large quantities of food stuffs for the Hotel, which was removed as need through the passageway and Mansion basement and through the Hotel wing abutting the north side of the Mansion.
- The interpretation of Strata (1) was largely made on the basis of a verbal description given by the person who had disturbed it.
- The examination and interpretation of Strata (A) was made in the Shaft after it was disturbed through Strata (1) and after its removal at the waster pile.

#### BREAKDOWN OF STRATIGRAPHY

1. Approx. 6 to 8" of dirty top and clay soil mixed with a few late 19th cen. porcelain and ironstone sherds. Bits of brick, electric light socket, general debris usually found in a yard clean-up. One dumping, ca. 1900-1910.
- A. Consisted largely of clean sandy brown clay - mixed with a few brick bats - bits of field stone - bits of mortar - wide range of misc. earthenware 19th cen. sherds. Strata slopes north to south.
- B-1. Consisted largely of dirty clay - a few bricks - brick bats (with and without mortar) a few oyster shells - 2 field stones (one with traces of mortar) Scattering fragments of pane glass - Few meat bones (butchered and unbutchered) one cobble stone - large copper penny (no date) Brown

and gray globs of clay (brown dominating gray)  
A few glazier's glass trimmings - 2 broken dressed  
sandstones (one brown the other light gray) A  
fair quantity of pearlware and ironstone sherds -  
The uppermost part of a stoneware jug with  
impressed mark on shoulder -  
B. C. Milburn.

- C-1. Some dirty clay mixed with globs of brown clay -  
A few glazier's glass trimmings - Brick-Brick bats  
with mortar-Good quantity of earthenware and glass  
sherds - Strong on Gaudy Dutch pearlware - 2 large  
globes of unused mortar or plaster - Increasing  
amounts of plaster fragments have impression of  
hand split laths on one side-portion of large  
brick, possibly hearth stone - Broken worked  
sandstone.
- C-2. C-2 is an arbitrary one foot level established  
through C-1. It is at this level a heavy concen-  
tration of brick bats begin to appear mixed with  
a good quantity of earthenware sherds. Fragments  
of at least 3 or 4 flower pots - one with inscribed  
letter S on the bottom. (Possibly John Swann of  
Alex. before 1841) The same plaster as above is  
found in increasing amounts down to the brown  
sandy clay bottom of the shaft. Lying on the  
bottom-a stoneware milkpan rim sherd attributed  
to B. C. Milburn (after 1841) Also a few scattered  
rotted boards were faintly revealed resting on the  
bottom. Two bricks revealed chimney soot on  
stretcher sides. One broken dressed sandstone,  
and one copper boat spike.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND THE PRECEDING BREAKDOWN  
APPEARS TO SUPPORT THE FOLLOWING CONCLUSIONS

1. Strata 1 is the result of a yard clean up,  
possibly dumped in from the outside after 1896  
hurricane repair.
2. Strata A appears to have been the result of an  
after construction clean up.
3. Strata B-1 and C-1 and 2 are clearly two  
distinct strata. The architectural debris is  
from the same alteration and clean up and it is  
apparent that two separate dumpings were made  
within a short period of time.
4. The finding of a stoneware jug sherd marked  
B. C. Milburn in B-1 and a B. C. Milburn stone-  
ware milkpan rim sherd in C-2 on the bottom  
dates all fill after 1841.

5. The architectural debris found in B-1 through C-2 could be attributed to alterations made when the Hotel wing and terrace wall were constructed 1848-1855
6. The dark brown sandy lime mortar used in the original remaining 8" of footing laid through the shaft and keyed to the side walls is identical to the mortar used in the original vault construction.
7. The base of the shaft rests several feet above water level.
8. No artifactual evidence imbedded or resting on the bottom of the shaft was found to date the shaft's construction earlier than the second quarter of the 19th cen.
9. Since the shaft is several feet above water level and was not used as a well or privy, in all probability it was constructed and used as a cooling shaft for some perishable food stuffs and beverages.
10. If, as it is believed, that the shaft was standing before grade level was cut down for the construction of the terraces walls, (1848-1855) it is only logical to conclude that the dumpings were made before the grade cut during early alterations of the Mansion's east and north walls.
11. Until further exploratory work is done within the east vault, and particularly the southeast corner of the terrace wall, many questions must remain unanswered concerning the location of the shaft and possibly the original depth of the vaults. 3

The conclusion rendered as to the possible use of the vault spaces is unsubstantiated; but, inasmuch as no knowledge exists as to their precise function, it is probably valid as a general hypothesis if not in its specifics. The attribution of the origin of the architectural debris to the ca. 1850 remodeling is well taken. To assume that the probable date of construction of the shaft is no earlier than the second

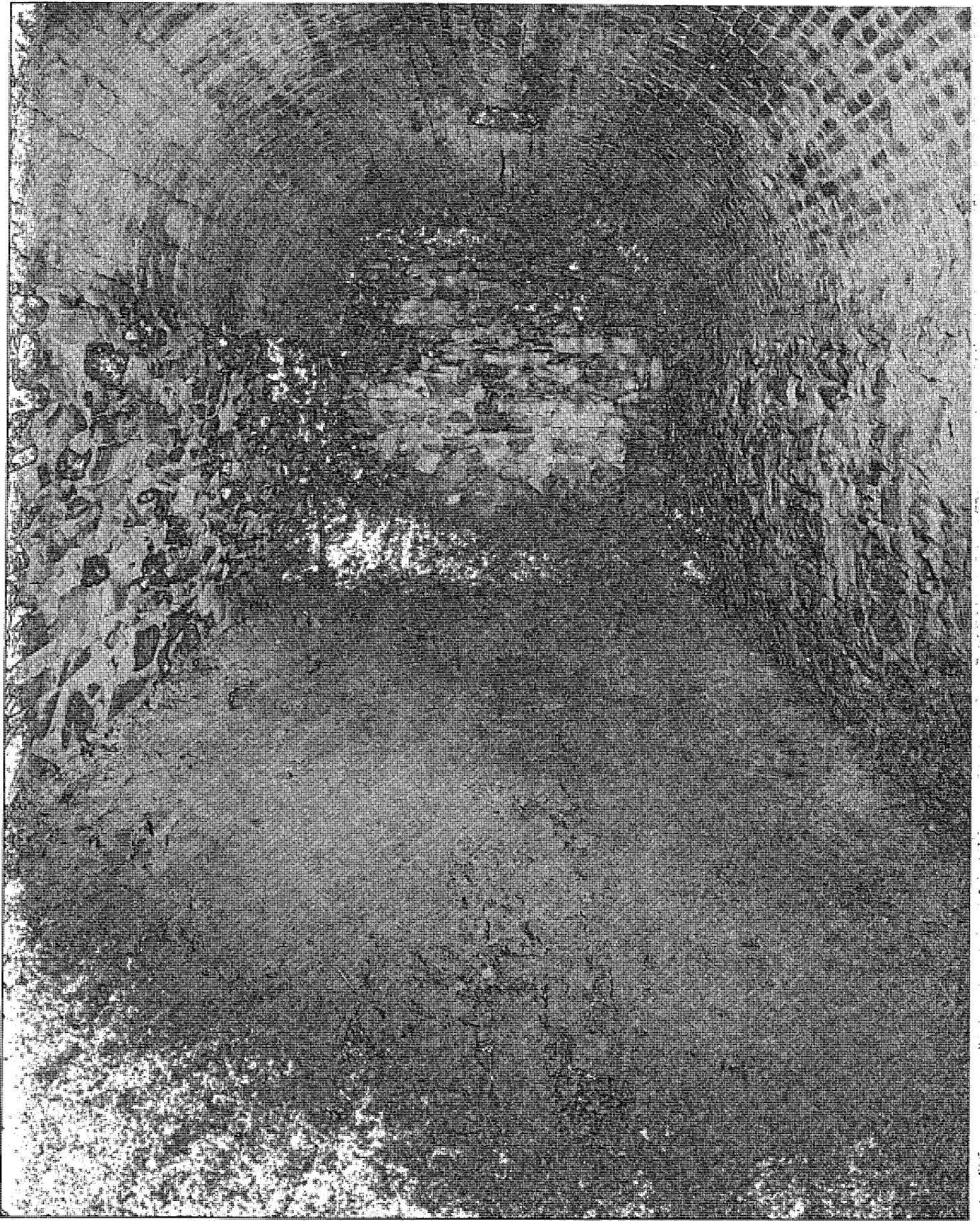
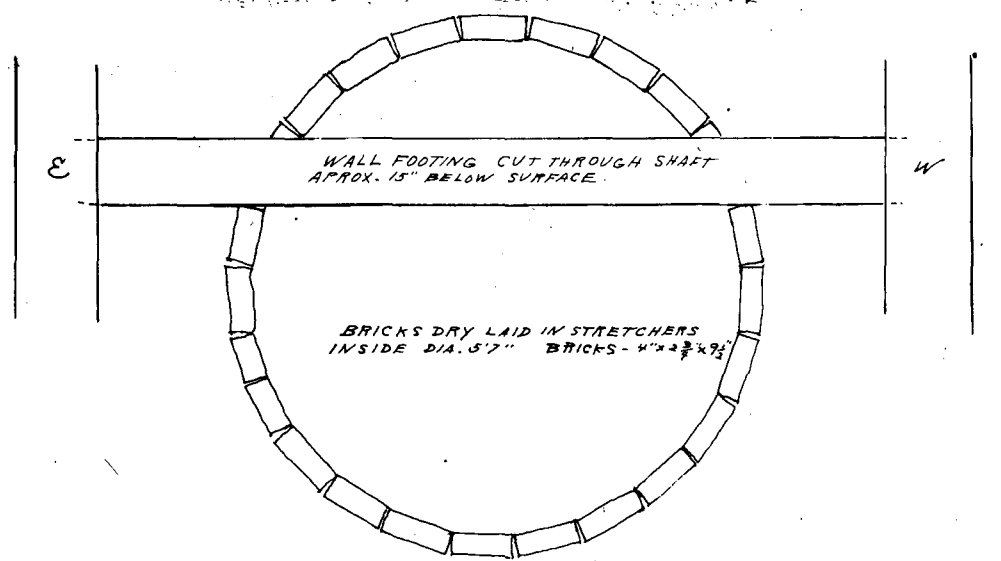
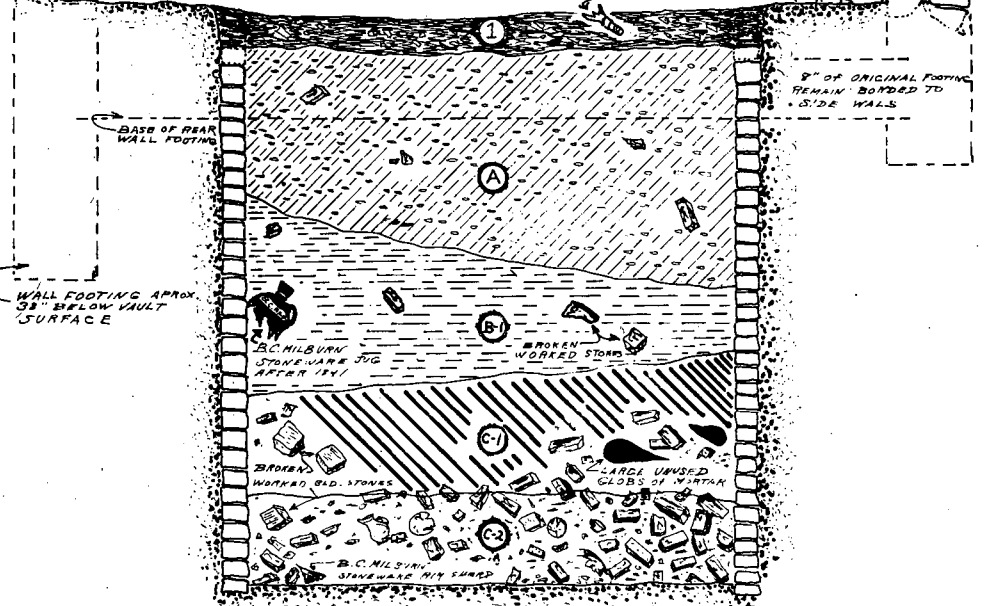
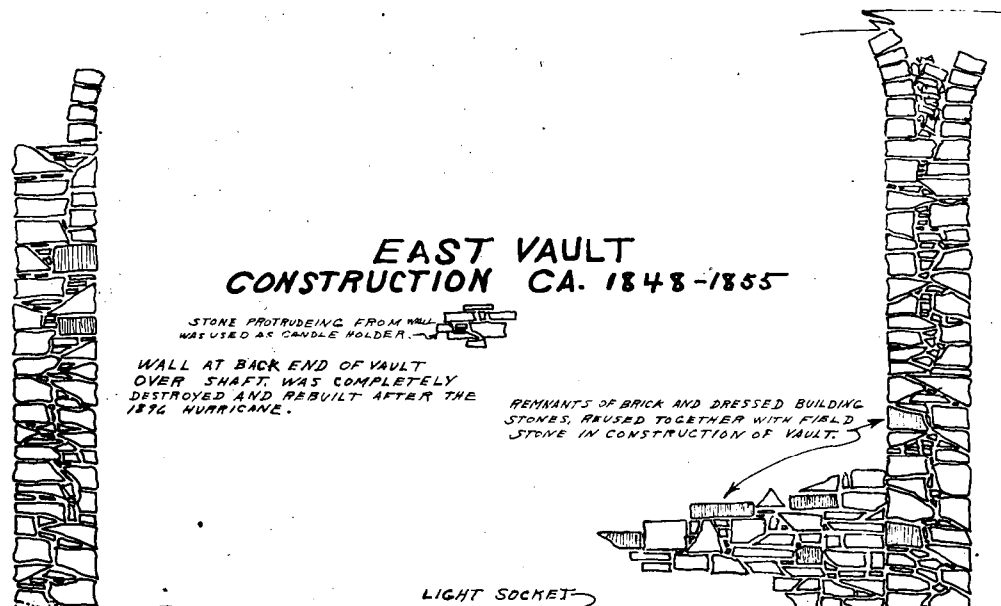


Illustration No. 20: Vault B-7 (looking south).

# ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION OF SHAFT-B-7 LOCATED AT SOUTH END OF EAST VAULT CARLYLE HOUSE ALEXANDRIA VIRGINIA SCALE 1"=1'



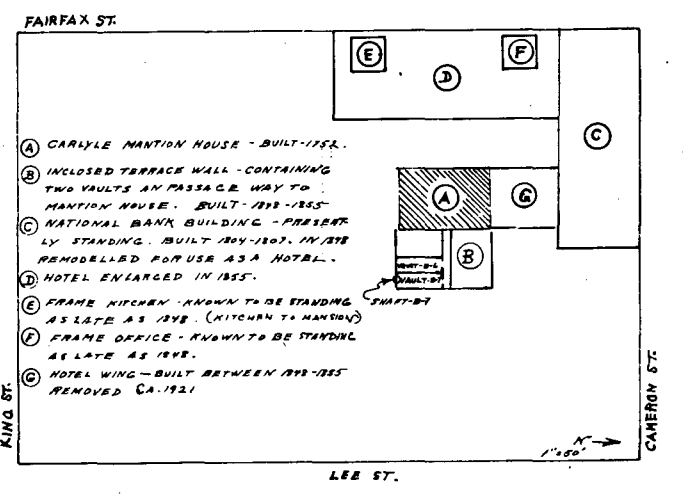
## RECOMENDATIONS

- 1 A PRELIMINARY PROFESSIONAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY HAS BEEN MADE OF THE CARLYLE HOUSE AND GROUNDS (MAY 1973) AND RECOMENDATION WAS MADE THAT FURTHER EXPLORATION WOULD BE OF LITTLE HELP IN THE RESTORATION OF THE MANSION. HOWEVER, IT IS, MY OPINION, THAT, AS TIME DID NOT PERMIT FURTHER EXPLORATION EAST OF THE TERRACE WALL, PLUS MY DISCOVERY OF THREE PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN SHAFTS IN THAT AREA, IN ADDITION TO THE FACT THAT THIS COULD VERY WELL BE THE LAST OPPORTUNITY TO RECORD AND RECOVER 18<sup>TH</sup> AND 19<sup>TH</sup> CEN. ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES AND ARTIFACTUAL MATERIAL ASSOCIATED WITH THE CARLYLE HOUSE, IT WOULD THEREFORE BE A GREAT LOSS TO POSTERITY IF THIS AREA IS DISTURBED BEFORE FURTHER EXPLORATORY WORK IS DONE IN THIS AREA.
- 2 THE STONE TERRACE WALL FOOTING, LOCATED IN THE S.E. CORNER OF THE TERRACE WALL AND PROTRUDING SOUTH UNDER A CONCRETE SURFACE, SHOULD BE OPENED AND EXAMINED.
- 3 THE TEST PIT LOCATED IN THE N.E. CORNER OF THE MANSION HOUSE, AND ADJUTS THE NORTH TERRACE WALL, SHOULD BE ENLARGED, PHOTOGRAPHED AND STUDIED CAREFULLY.

## BREAKDOWN OF STRATIGRAPHY

- 1 APPROX. 6 TO 8" OF DIRTY TOP AND CLAY SOIL MIXED WITH A FEW LATE 18<sup>TH</sup> PORCELAIN AND IRONSTONE SHARDS, BITS OF BRICK - ELECTRICAL LIGHT SOCKET - GENERAL DEBRIS USUALLY FOUND IN A YARD CLEAN UP. ONE DUMPING CA. 1800-1850.
- A CONSISTED LARGELY OF CLEAN SANDY BROWN CLAY MIXED WITH A FEW BRICK BATS - BITS OF FIELD STONE - BITS OF MORTAR - WIDE RANGE OF MISC. EARTHENWARE 18<sup>TH</sup> CEN. SHARDS. STRATA SLOPS NORTH TO SOUTH.
- B-1 CONSISTED LARGELY OF DIRTY CLAY - A FEW BRICKS - BRICK BATS (WITH AND WITHOUT MORTAR) - A FEW OYSTER SHELLS - 2 FIELD STONES (ONE WITH TRACES OF MORTAR) - SCATTERING FRAGMENT OF PALE GLASS. FEW MEET BONES (BUTCHERED AND UNBUTCHERED) - ONE COBBLE STONE - LARGE COPPER PENNY (NO DATE) - BROWN AND GRAY GLOBES OF CLAY (BROWN DOMINATING GRAY). A FEW GLAZIERS GLASS TRIMMINGS - 2 BROKEN DRESSED SAND STONES. (ONE BROWN THE OTHER LIGHT GRAY). A FAIR QUANTITY OF PEARLWARE AND IRONSTONE SHARDS. THE UPPER MOST PART OF A STONE WARE JUG WITH IMPRESSED MARK ON SHOULDER - B.C. MILBURN.
- C-1 SOME DIRTY CLAY MIXED WITH GLOBES OF BROWN CLAY - A FEW GLAZIERS GLASS TRIMMINGS - BRICKS - BRICK BATS WITH MORTAR COULD QUANTITY OF EARTHENWARE - IRONSTONE SHARDS - STRIPS OF GAUZY DUTCH PEARLWARE - 2 LARGE GLOBES OF UNUSED MORTAR OR PLASTER - INCREASING AMOUNTS OF PLASTER FRAG. PLASTER FRAGMENTS SAME AS IN B-1. ALL PLASTER FRAGMENTS HAVE IMPRESSION OF HAND SPILT LATHS ON ONE SIDE. PORTION OF LARGE BRICK - POSSIBLY HEARTH STONE - BROKEN WOODEN SAND STONE.
- C-2 C-2 IS AN ARBITRARILY ONE FOOT LEVEL ESTABLISHED THROUGH C-1. IT IS AT THIS LEVEL A HEAVY CONCENTRATION OF BRICK BATS BEING TO APPEAR MIXED WITH A GOOD QUANTITY OF EARTHENWARE - IRONSTONE SHARDS - STRIPS OF GAUZY DUTCH PEARLWARE - 2 LARGE GLOBES OF UNUSED MORTAR OR PLASTER - INCREASING AMOUNTS OF PLASTER FRAG. PLASTER FRAGMENTS SAME AS IN B-1. ALL PLASTER FRAGMENTS HAVE IMPRESSION OF HAND SPILT LATHS ON ONE SIDE. PORTION OF LARGE BRICK - POSSIBLY HEARTH STONE - BROKEN WOODEN SAND STONE.

DRAWING CORRECTION  
WIDTH OF VAULT WALLS, SHOULD BE APPROX. 24"



## GENERAL NOTES

- 1 EXCAVATION OF SHAFT B-7 BEGAN JAN. 22, 1974 AND WAS COMPLETED JAN. 23, 1974.
- 2 EXCAVATION WAS SPONSORED BY J. EVERETTE FAUBER, JR. F.A.I.A. ARCHITECT LYNCHBURG, VA.
- 3 SAFETY PREPARATORY WORK AND ONE LABORER WAS PROVIDED BY PARKER OLIPHANT WM. F. LIPS COMB CONST. CO.
- 4 ASSISTANT TO ARCHAEOLIST COL. DAVID C. SCHULST.
- 5 RESPONSIBILITY OF PROCESSING AND CARE OF ALL ARTIFACTUAL MATERIALS (MARKED AND CATALOGUED IN BAGS AND BOXES) BEFORE BEING REMOVED FROM VAULT B-7, WAS ASSUMED BY ARCHITECT RICHARD BIERCE IN CHARGE OF ALEXANDRIA FIELD OFFICE.
- 6 THOUGH SCATTERED REMNANTS OF WORKED STONE WERE USED IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE VAULTS AND PASSAGE WAY THEY WERE NOT USED IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE EXTERIOR SIDE OF THE TERRACE WALLS.
- 7 IT IS MY BELIEF THAT THE PRIMARY PURPOSE FOR CONSTRUCTING THE VAULTS AND PASSAGE WAY, WAS TO PROVIDE STORAGE SPACE FOR LARGE QUANTITIES OF FOOD STUFFS FOR THE HOTEL WHICH WAS REMOVED AS NEEDED THROUGH THE PASSAGE WAY AND HANDED BY THE HOTEL WING. THE HOTEL WING ABUTTING THE NORTH SIDE OF THE MANSION.
- 8 THE INTERPRETATION OF STRATA (A) WAS LARGELY MADE ON THE BASIS OF A VERBAL DISCUSSION GIVEN BY THE PERSON WHO DISTURBED IT.
- 9 THE EXAMINATION AND INTERPRETATION OF STRATA (A) WAS MADE IN THE SHAFT AFTER IT WAS DISTURBED THROUGH STRATA (A) AND AFTER ITS REMOVAL AT THE WASTEBY PILE.
- 10 ALL HISTORICAL DATES WERE PROVIDED BY ARCHITECT RICHARD BIERCE.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND THE PRECEDING BREAKDOWN APPEARS TO SUPPORT THE FOLLOWING CONCLUSIONS.

- 1 STRATA -1 IS THE RESULT OF A YARD CLEAN UP - POSSIBLY DUMPED IN FROM THE CUT LINE, AFTER 1876 HURRICANE REPAIR.
- 2 STRATA-A APPEARS TO BE BORN THE RESULT OF AN AFTER CONSTRUCTION CLEAN UP OF STRATA-B-1 AND C-1 AND ARE CLEARLY TWO DISTINCT STRATA. THE ARCHITECTURAL DEBRIS ARE FROM THE SAME PERIODATION AND CLEAN UP, AND IT IS APPARENT THAT TWO SEPARATE DUMPINGS WERE MADE WITHIN A SHORT SPAN OF TIME.
- 3 THE FINDING OF A STONE WARE JUG (SHARD) MARKED B.C. MILBURN IN B-1 AND A B.C. MILBURN STONE WARE MILK PAN (SHARD) IN C-2, ON THE NORTH - DATE'S ALL FALL AFTER 1871.
- 4 THE ARCHITECTURAL DEBRIS FOUND IN B-1 THROUGH C-2, COULD BE ATTRIBUTED TO ALTERATIONS MADE WHEN THE HOTEL WING AND TERRACE WALL WERE CONSTRUCTED - 1872-1875.
- 5 THE DARK BROWN SANDY LIME MORTAR USED IN THE ORIGINAL REMAINING 3" OF FOOTING LAID THROUGH THE SHAFT AND THE SIDE WALLS, IS IDENTICAL TO THE MORTAR USED IN THE ORIGINAL VAULT CONSTRUCTION.
- 6 THE BASE OF SHAFT REST SEVERAL FEET ABOVE WATER LEVEL.
- 7 NO ARTIFACTUAL EVIDENCE IMBEDDED OR RESTING ON BOTTOM OF SHAFT WAS FOUND TO DATE THE SHAFT'S CONSTRUCTION AND PURPOSE EARLIER THAN THE SECOND QUARTER OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CEN.
- 8 SINCE THE SHAFT IS SEVERAL FEET ABOVE WATER LEVEL, AND WAS NOT USED AS A WELL OR PUMP, IN ALL PROBABILITY, IT WAS CONSTRUCTED AND USED AS A COOKING SHAFT FOR SOME PERISHABLE FOOD STUFFS AND BEVERAGE.
- 9 IF, AS IT IS BELIEVED, THAT THE SHAFT WAS STANDING BEFORE GRADE LEVEL WAS CUT DOWN FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TERRACE WALLS AND VAULTS (1872-1875), IT IS ONLY LOGICAL TO CONCLUDE THAT THE DUMPINGS WERE MADE BEFORE THE GRADE CUT DURING EARLY ALTERATIONS OF THE MANSION'S EAST AND NORTH WALLS.
- 10 UNTIL FURTHER EXPLORATORY WORK IS DONE WITHIN THE EAST VAULT, AND PARTICULARLY THE SOUTH EAST CORNER OF THE TERRACE WALL, MANY QUESTIONS MUST REMAIN UNANSWERED CONCERNING THE LOCATION OF THE SHAFT AND POSSIBLY THE ORIGINAL DEPTH OF THE VAULTS.

<b>ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORT</b>	
OF THE <b>CARLYLE HOUSE</b>	
SHAFT B-7 ALEXANDRIA - VIRGINIA	
FOR J. EVERETTE FAUBER, JR. FAIA LYNCHBURG - VA	
DRAWN BY REVISOR	DRAWING NO. B-7
DATE 22 APRIL 74	RICHARD J. MUZZROLE RESCUE ARCHAEOLOGIST ALEXANDRIA VA

quarter of the nineteenth century belies the observation that the shaft was used for the cooling of perishables. If so, it undoubtedly would have been kept relatively clean throughout its functional life. Given this and the fact that the bricks in the walls are more characteristic of eighteenth than nineteenth century models, the only possible assumption is that the shaft could have been built at any time between 1750 and 1850.

The shaft was partially restored and left open to become part of the interpretive program for the house. All recovered artifacts were cleaned and numbered and are now in the possession of the curator.

- D. Well Shaft B-3: The shaft in Space B-3 located just inside the exterior door was discovered and excavated by Mr. Muzzrole. He did not complete a formal report on the shaft but he did transmit verbally the information which follows.

The shaft measures 11'-2" deep from the floor of B-3 and tapers in diameter from 3'-1" at the opening to 2'-9" at the bottom. Impressions in the clay wall reveal that the shaft had been lined with dry laid brick stretchers which were removed prior to its filling. Based upon analysis of the few sherds recovered, Mr. Muzzrole speculates that the shaft was filled ca. 1780-85.

Given the narrow diameter of the shaft and its location near the basement entry, its most likely function was that of cooling perishables rather than as a well as such. Reasons for its abandonment cannot be determined from available evidence but it obviously would have been a hazard located as it was. It was apparent that the filling was done at one time, as no stratigraphic evidence exists to suggest an accretive process. The fill consisted of tightly compacted oyster shells intermixed with butchered and unbutchered animal bones, bits of brick clay and pebbles, as well as a few sherds of earthenware, glass and pottery. It is probable that the shells were kept outside for use as a component in mortar and brought inside for the filling, thus accounting for the random assortment of other materials.

The shaft was excavated in arbitrary one-foot levels, numbered C-1 through C-10. Stratum A consisted of the modern brick floor and base (5") and Stratum B was composed of 14" of mixed debris on top of the shell layers. The following list of cultural artifacts were described by Mr. Muzzrole and are listed in accordance with the context of their finding.

- |           |    |   |
|-----------|----|---|
| Stratum B | 1. | "Delft pitcher handle, possibly French"                                 |
|           | 2. | "Hand wrought iron object possibly attributed to kitchen"               |
|           | 3. | "Oyster shells with traces of tar"                                      |
|           | 4. | "2 Acquia quarry worked stones - possibly associated with kitchen oven" |

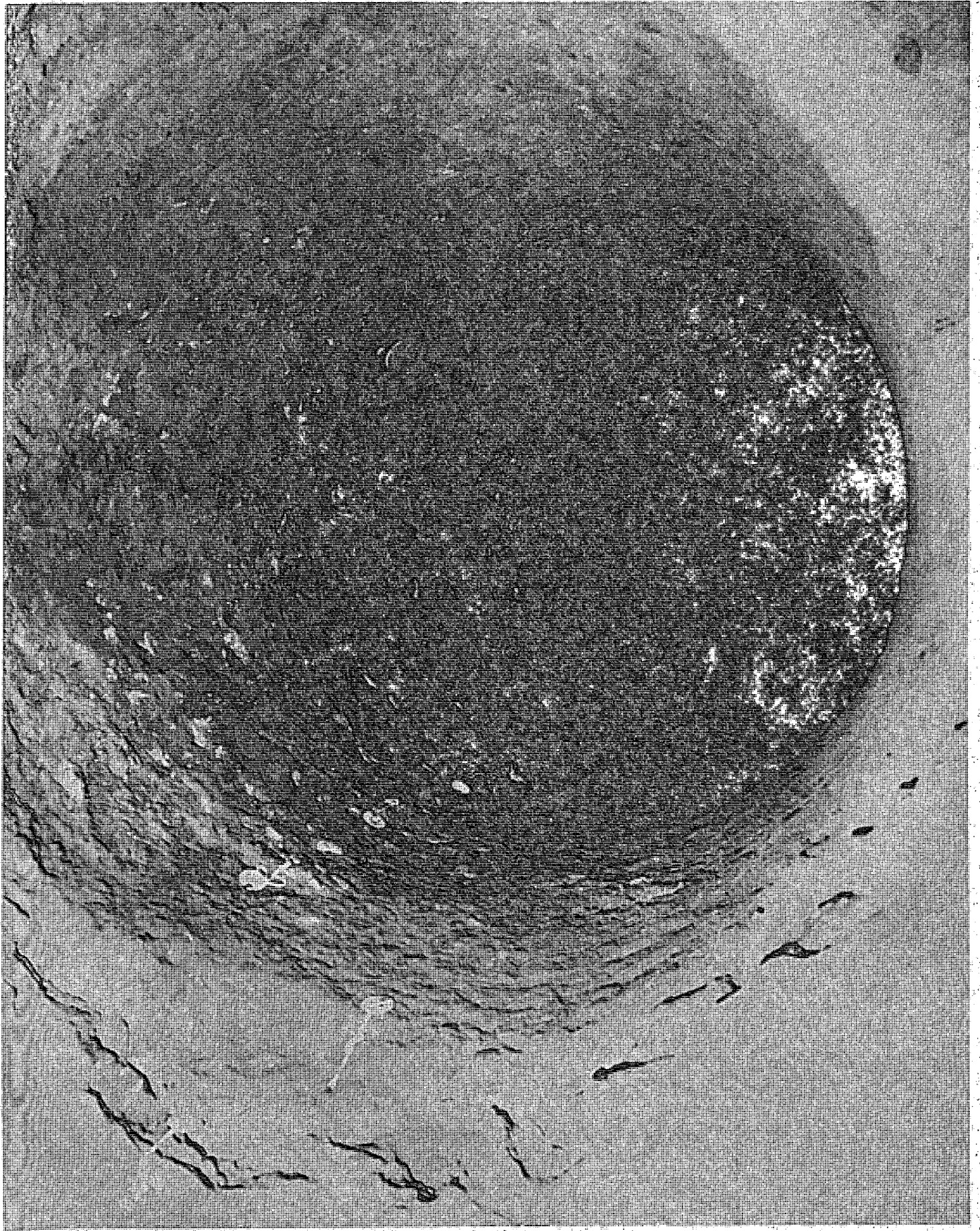


Illustration No. 21: Excavated well pit in basement, space B-3.

- Stratum C-3 1. "Small Westerwald grey stoneware, salt-glazed sherd"
- Stratum C-4 1. "American Indian potsherd"  
2. "Blue decorated delft rim sherd"
- Stratum C-7 1. "English white salt-glazed stoneware"  
2. "Plate base and rim sherds, dot, diaper and basket pattern"  
3. "English delft ointment pot rim sherd"  
4. "Underglazed polychrome decorated small delft pitcher sherds"  
5. "Base of glass tumbler"  
6. "2 creamware exterior green-glazed Whieldon type ware sherds"
- Stratum C-8 1. "Base of handle from glass pitcher or mug"  
2. "Base of English white salt-glazed stoneware pitcher"  
3. "Delft chamberpot rim sherd"  
4. "Part of clay pipe bowl"
- Stratum C-9 1. "Molded white salt-glazed stoneware bowl sherd"  
2. "Westerwald gray salt-glazed stoneware jug body sherd"  
3. "Applied sprig molded vine on stoneware white salt-glazed bowl sherd"  
4. "Slip decorated lead-glazed earthenware jar rim sherd"  
5. "Unglazed potsherd residue of paint inside"
- Stratum C-10 1. "Blue and red underglazed decoration on base of Chinese export cup sherd"
- Throughout mixed strata
1. "Fragments of green bottle glass"
  2. C-7 through C-10, "Sherds from 2 English white salt-glazed chamberpots"
  3. Throughout - Animal bones
- No strata given
1. "Half of bone pistol grip cutlery handle"
  2. "Part of brass drawer pull"<sup>4</sup>

These artifacts bear study because of the fact that they, alone of the entire collection, were found in a context which can be attributed to within or very close to the lifetime of Carlyle himself. Though few in number, they offer potential evidence to some of the types of things which must have been in use at the house at that time, ca. 1780.

The location of the shaft, as well as the extent of work necessary in the structural restoration, required that it be filled with sand and sealed. Its perimeter is accurately marked in the newly installed brick paving. All artifacts are in the possession of the curator (except the oyster shells).

- E. Well Shaft B-4: Mr. Muzzrole excavated this feature in the spring of 1974. No written record exists as to the nature of the stratigraphic context of the shaft nor of the specific types of artifacts recovered. The walls were dry laid stretchers of what may be eighteenth century brick. The diameter of the shaft is 3'-6" inside and the bottom is 13'-0" from the floor of B-4.

The finding of an early twentieth century tin can at the very bottom of the fill clearly establishes a fill date, which probably corresponds to the period in which the house was either first converted to museum use or the restoration, which

occurred a few years later. The bulk of the fill consisted of soil, building rubble, ceramics and glass sherds of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century dates.

The remnants of a brick-lined drainage trough, which led into the shaft from the south exterior wall, indicated that the feature may have been used as a cistern. If so, this would explain the absence of artifactual material from earlier periods, as a cistern was undoubtedly kept very clean of debris and silt. The bottom of the shaft is above the water table elevation for this area, which would preclude its possible use as a well.

The extensive structural repair work in the foundations adjacent to this feature prevented its being left accessible after the restoration. It was filled with sand and sealed.

- F. Garden Well: In March of 1974, Mr. Muzzrole located a depression in the garden near the northeast corner of the terrace wall. Test probes revealed a brick-lined shaft 10'-6" in diameter. The test pits yielded a high concentration of ashes mixed with large quantities of mid-to-late nineteenth century shards. These were mostly commercial type dinner and glassware and correspond to the operational dates of the Mansion House Hotel and its successors.

No further probing was carried out. It is hoped that time and resources will permit a more detailed investigation into the function and origin of this shaft.

- G. The Bank Well: Although the existence of this feature had been suspected, no attempt to locate it had been done prior to the start of construction in 1974. In January of 1975, while trenching for utility lines between the house and the bank, the backhoe struck a partially intact brick dome beneath a concrete slab. The Robert Mills drawing done in 1838 identified a stable and a privy on the southeast corner of the bank property. This newly discovered feature was evidently the receptacle for that privy. Shallowly placed fragmentary masonry foundations were later found to the south of the shaft, which were not specifically identified.

The hotel wing, which abutted the house on the north, passed directly over the site of the privy. The dome structure probably dates from this period, while the concrete slab was most likely an early twentieth century effort.

Despite the adverse weather and the ever pressing exigencies of the construction schedule, the potential information recovery from this shaft merited a full investigation. Due to the above factors, as well as the size of the shaft, it was decided to utilize mechanical equipment to remove the

overburden until a definable historic level could be identified. This did not occur until approximately two-thirds of the shaft had been excavated. The remaining one-third, which proved to be rich in artifacts, was at or below the water table, which was to prevent all but the most basic of salvage operations. Ultimately, the pumps could not keep up with the incoming flow of water, so the liquid medium was brought to the surface in buckets and then screened for retrieval.

The shaft measures 8'-6" in diameter and is 22'-6" deep from the surface elevation. It was built of dry laid brick stretchers which rested on a wooden ring at the bottom. Given the relationship to the water table, it is reasonable to assume that the shaft was initially constructed as a water well. The large diameter cannot be accounted for, except to hypothesize that it may have had some relationship to the warehouse or stable buildings known to have existed on the site near it in the eighteenth century.

The well was evidently kept clean, for there was no indication of a gradual accretion of debris at the bottom. The privy deposits began and ended within known limits (ca. 1807-1855) and the large quantities of closely dated objects recovered in the historic levels seem to indicate a large clean-up at one time.

A layer of building debris from the ca. 1915 demolition of the hotel formed the top layer of the shaft. The bulk of the earlier fill consisted of earth organic waste, soiled straw from the stables, large quantities of wooden architectural fragments from the demolition and remodelings, as well as trimming scraps of decorative pieces for new construction. There were several such mouldings in both wood and plaster which match exactly extant examples in the bank, which undoubtedly originate with the remodelings done by James Green.

The great majority of the cultural artifacts can be dated as originating in the period between 1830 and 1850 and the documented closing of the shaft in 1855 gives a convenient terminus post quem. The presence of several fragments of hotel china marked "Newton's Mansion House" definitively proves of a fill date after 1849, for it is known that A. G. Newton had vacated the Marshall House on King Street to become the proprietor of James Green's newly opened Mansion House.<sup>5</sup>

The following descriptions of the main categories of the artifacts represent only the result of the initial analysis made concurrently with the first washing and sorting. No cataloguing per se was done and, in reality, the worth of

this collection requires a most careful study in order to exact all that it can offer in terms of illuminating cultural patterns of the occupants of these buildings.

A grant given in 1978 by the Northern Virginia Service League to the Carlyle House will be used to catalogue this fine collection of artifacts.

1. Ceramics - All the popular patterns and types of the first half of the nineteenth century are well represented. Great quantities of feather edged pearlware and ironstone were recovered, as well as a considerable part of a large service of Canton, one of Willoware and a large service of Riley's Kings Lodge, Windsor Park pattern. Many of the ceramics are some form of Staffordshire type transfer ware. There are small samplings of copper lustre and silver resist wares, as well as Mocha. The earliest item recovered was a Liverpool transfer pitcher of 1785-90 printed with two versions of the popular Sailor's Farewell.

It appears that many of the earthenware items were discarded intact and, since many could have been 20 years old at that point, it is possible to infer that a change in taste may have dictated the discarding.

Several items survived the trip into the well intact, including stoneware crocks and a pitcher, a Piercy flower pot of ca. 1800, and several wine bottles, including three which kept their seals and contents.

2. Metal - A number of horse brasses and furniture brasses survived. There were about one-half dozen drawer pulls of, perhaps, Federal style and two bolt hole covers from Sheraton beds. Several pieces of folded lead were found, which may have been intended for flashing. Also, a badly crushed brass spittoon and numerous brass and plated buttons were recovered.
3. Glass - The remains of hundreds of wine bottles of the early nineteenth century were recovered. Besides the three previously mentioned, which were sealed and full, many more were found with corked and sealed mouths, which indicated that they were full before being broken. The majority of these were first quarter of the nineteenth century and may represent the contents of a wine cellar which had spoiled. Also present were many fragments from French olive oil bottles, including one with a seal which indicated that it was produced specifically for the American market.

Hundreds of fragments of drinking glasses, tumblers, decanters and oil lamp bases provide a wide selection of patterns and dates. The wine glass bases range from ca. 1800 to 1850 with majority from the 1830's. There are a few examples of early Sandwich glass.

4. Clay Pipes - Only a few stem fragments and six bowls were recovered. The bowls are early nineteenth century English and are highly ornamented. One is decorated with Masonic emblems and two others have the city arms of English pipe making centers.

5. Organic Materials - Several dozen shoe soles and several complete shoes of leather were recovered, as well as a saddle, several harness fragments and the leather visor from a military hat. Besides the architectural wood fragments mentioned above, several furniture fragments were found. Notably, these included spindles from Windsor chairs, a wooden commode seat and what may have been the crest rail of a country-made, Chippendale chair.

Other wooden objects included dozens of sewing thread spools, the arms and legs from two jointed dolls and the torso and head of an extraordinary doll of possible

African characteristics, perhaps carved by a slave, and complete with tiny brass hoop earrings.

Several bone items were found, including a domino, numerous buttons, a knife handle and several toothbrushes. Textiles were represented by numerous fragments of gold silk, a large mesh hair net, several pieces of black silk from a folding fan, whose lacquered bamboo staves were also recovered, and a complete scarf of gossamer silk in a striking gold and red pattern.

Thousands of natural seeds were present throughout the fill material. Peach pits, cherry seeds, gourd, pumpkin and watermelon seeds were the most readily identified. There were also fragments of large calabash gourds, several coconut shells and numerous eggshells, apparently from chickens. Oyster shells, clam shells, fish vertebrae and scales were identified, as well as hundreds of domestic animal bones, both butchered and unbutchered. Many boar tusks were found, but it is not known if they were from wild or domestic animals.

The artifacts from this shaft are so numerous and of such a rich variety that they must represent one of the most important local finds ever made for this period. The presence of the Newton china and several dozen common white chamber pots

indicate that some of this material came from the early hotel, although some items seem to have been made for private use and others substantially predate the hotel. This find is coeval with the contents of Shaft B-7 and a few pieces cross-match. This would indicate the possibility that some of the artifacts came from the house, which was being used as a private residence at this time. One intact pair of shoes is almost certainly third quarter of the eighteenth century, and there is a wood and wire jack from an early harpsichord. These, as well as the 1785 Liverpool pitcher, may plausibly be survivors from the Carlyle/Herbert period of occupancy, which may have been discarded in one of the general house cleanings effected when the property changed hands, as it so frequently did between 1827 and 1848.

Due to project limitations at the time, processing of the artifacts was restricted to superficial washing and preliminary sorting as to types. Some pieces were reassembled and others have been taped preparatory to gluing. As the context of this find was unitary, it was intended that all pieces receive the same basic cataloguing designation. The important organic items were either treated with Carbowax or left in water pending that treatment. All artifacts are now in the possession of the curator. The shaft itself was filled with sand

prior to the installation of the utility lines, which precipitated its initial discovery.

H. Architectural Remains on Lee Street: During the course of final grading for the garden along the Lee Street property line, the decayed remains of what appeared to have been plank flooring were discovered at a depth of approximately 24" below the surface. No datable artifacts were found nor was extensive probing carried out. From the location and elevation of this material, it may be reasonably assumed that it was a part of the large wooden stable building erected by James Green. The building existed in 1877 and probably dates from around 1852, when he acquired this portion of the Carlyle property.<sup>6</sup>

I. Bank Privy: The Robert Mills drawing of 1838 showed a privy located on the southeast corner of the main section of the bank building with access from Fairfax Street only. No attempt was made during the current project to investigate this feature. Construction of the hotel in 1855 destroyed the site and 10 - 12 feet of the shaft and modern backfill covers what may remain of the lower elevations of the shaft. Given the known early date of the privy, it may contain information of value, particularly if its location on the property line between the bank and house is considered.

The Carlyle office dependency was known to be extant to at least 1827 and possibly to 1847, when J. C. Herbert's widow sold that portion of the inheritance. It is conceivable that the demolished components of the office may have found their way into the auspiciously located privy. Should the possibility of reconstructing the dependencies ever become viable, this source of information need not be entirely forgotten.

J. Miscellaneous Recovery: Due to the extent and frequency of architectural and landscape modification to the Carlyle property, it is virtually impossible to scratch the surface anywhere on the site and not discover some form of ceramic shard. Many were found with a great spread in their presumed dates of origin. During construction it became next to impossible to monitor the individual finds and, as a result, few were seriously studied and fewer yet kept. In no instance, except as previously described, did any of this random recovery lead to the discovery of any archaeological feature.

During the extended course of the controlled dismantling of the interior of the house, many objects and artifacts were discovered and retained. Although not precisely archaeological in nature, this is an appropriate place to identify those which were catalogued. The three-digit portion of the number

refers to the room in which the find was made. All objects herein identified are now in the possession of the curator.

- CH-B2-1 Board trim found above ceiling between joists with dirt insulation no top. 11-1/2" wide, double beaded 3-1/2" unpainted band at center. (Many other pieces of similar description were found and are now in the bank building. This example was confirmed to have been used in the house and served as a prototype for the chair rail restoration.)
- CH-B3-1 Bottle found in ceiling
- CH-100-1 Bullet mold, above ceiling, two chambers, octagonal wrench handle
- CH-101-1 Plaster from ceiling
- CH-102-1 Board trim under floor, baseboard 10-1/2" with 1/2" bead, rose head wrought nail with flat point in place
- CH-103-1
  - 2
  - 3 Unpainted modillion blocks found above cornice 2-1/4" x 2-1/4" x 3-3/8"
  - 4 Newspaper fragment of 1867
  - 5 Plaster fragment from ceiling
- CH-200-1 Door hook, cast iron, 3-1/4"
  - 2 Door key, 3-1/2", hollow shaft, ring loop
  - 3 Shoe sole, 10"
  - 4 Roof shingle, 22-1/2" long, 3" wide, 6" weathered, rose head wrought nail in place
  - 5 Brass button with stem loop, American eagle motif, military issue
  - 6 Scissors, 4-7/8"
- CH-202-1 Stirrup above lintel, 4-3/4" x 4-1/2"
  - 2 Stamped spoon over lintel, 6" long
  - 3 Liberty head penny, 1854
  - 4 Liberty head penny, 1852, above partition
  - 5 Brass thimble
  - 6 Button 3/4", "NRCO. Goodyear's Pat. 1851"

- CH-203-1 Shoe fragment above fireplace, 4-1/2"
- 2 Child's shoe sole and upper, 7"
- 3 Shoe fragment, 4"
  
- CH-204-1 Shoe, 9", undifferentiated, worn on right foot
- 2 Shoe, 9-1/2", undifferentiated, worn on right foot
- 3 Shoe, with heel and cloth upper, 9-1/2"
  
- CH-205-1 Furniture key, 2-1/4", hollow cylindrical shaft
- 2 Wooden comb fragment, 5/8" teeth
- 3 Carved cap, 1-3/8" tall, 1" diameter
- 5 Black plastic hairpin
  
- CH-206-1 Spoon, above fireplace, 8"
  
- CH-207-1 Green tinted bottle, 5-3/4"
- 2 Bottle, 3", basket weave texture, handles
- 3 Bottle, 4-1/2", "Genuine Essences"
- 4 Bottle, 4-1/4", "Dr. Munn's Elixir of Opium"
- 5 Furniture key, 1-5/8", hollow cylindrical shaft
- 6 Door key, 3-7/8", decorated shaft, ring loop
- 7 Clay pipe fragment
- 8 Textured pipe bowl with stem base
- 9 Glass fragment, 2", portion of stem and base
- 10 Bottle neck fragment
- 11 Bottle base, 1-3/8" diameter
- 12 Cylindrical wooden pill box, 1-1/4" O.D. x 2-1/4" high
- 13
- 14 Cylindrical wooden pill box, 1-1/4" O.D. x 2-1/4" high
- 15 Cap for pill box
- 16 Cap for pill box
- 17 Wood thread spool
- 18
- 19 Wood thread spool
- 20 Wood fragment
- 21 Button, 5/8" diameter, five holes
- 22 Button, 1/2" diameter, four holes
- 23 Button, 1/2" diameter, "NRCO. Goodyear's Pat."
  
- CH-303-1 Men's shoe, leather upper, 9"

An old Scot legend says that, in order to have continual good luck in your house, a cat should be buried in the foundation wall of your home.

During the restoration, Jon Battista, the stone mason, found the partially mummified body of a cat in the southeast chimney wall that was being taken down for structural reasons. At first it was assumed that the cat had crawled into the flue and died; but upon further investigation, it was evident that the cat had been interred in a masonry cavity. As the body was partially mummified, with the skin and fur intact, it can be assumed that the cavity was airtight.

The body of the cat was carefully removed and photographed and, when the masonry wall was rebuilt a few days later, the cat was carefully returned to its proper place.

Footnotes

1. Muzzrole, Richard, Sketch dated May 10, 1973.
2. Kelso, William, Letter to J. Everette Fauber Jr., July 2, 1973.
3. Muzzrole, Richard, Drawing entitled Archaeological Report of the Carlyle House Shaft B-7, dated April 22, 1974.
4. Muzzrole, Richard, manuscript notes on shaft B-3, no date.
5. Alexandria Gazette, May 24, 1849.
6. Hopkins.

## CONCLUSION

After a reading of the biographical material contained in the Appendix following, the figure of John Carlyle will actually blossom into life. The story of his life in the Virginia Colony was one of success with his marriage to Sarah Fairfax, the offspring of one of the most important and wealthy families of Virginia. He became one of the founders and trustees of the then new town of Alexandria. One of the earliest purchasers of lots in the new town, he chose an elevated site overlooking the Potomac and completed his house there toward the end of the year 1753.

About this time, a new style of architecture was gaining ground in England and his native Scotland. Because of the King, in whose reign it developed, it was and still is known as "Georgian."

It has been aptly said that the architects of this new style came to America "in bundles." They were books from London and Edinburgh inspired by the riches of the English Renaissance and filled with details carefully drawn, which colonial craftsmen were quick to adopt and master.

Men of means and taste became architectural amateurs and their Georgian homes achieved, in most cases, English, Scottish and a certain portion of real American personality. An outstanding example and just such a reflection of this growing maturity and manners was the home that John Carlyle built, with the help of primitive tools, some of his staff of manservants (without expertise in the building discipline) and, doubtless, with limited amount of help from craftsmen who came along with the manuals and handbooks. We know that William Buckland was engaged, as an indentured servant, in the building of Gunston Hall for George Mason - just downriver from Alexandria - and was later responsible for elegant and sophisticated Georgian houses in neighboring Annapolis. Highly conjectural accreditation for many homes of great stature at this time is assigned to John Ariss who was also working extensively in the area.

The restoration of this mansion has not only preserved for posterity a Georgian building of historic significance, great distinction and Scot flavor, but its rehabilitation from almost total collapse called for innovative and imaginative techniques in the planning and building disciplines to restore its structural integrity and to introduce highly complicated

and sophisticated mechanical and security installations which are so necessary for the safety and operational effectiveness of the house museum. Long may it live and continue to interest and inspire future generations by providing and preserving still another isolated fragment of our Colonial past and great heritage.

It is the earnest hope of the owners, the many dedicated architects, engineers, historians, archaeologists and builders that our three years of stimulating, innervative and cooperative work on this important project will merit public and peer approval as a correct, proper and scholarly approach to the restoration and preservation of the John Carlyle House on its original site in "Olde Towne" Alexandria.

The instinct to retain such historical reference points suggests a personal need that tends to go unrecognized until it often can be no longer fulfilled. This almost happened to the John Carlyle House. "The awareness of this need and the consciousness of a duty to act upon it is sure evidence of our nation's cultural maturity."

## APPENDIX A

### CARLYLE HOUSE CHRONOLOGY

- 1720 John Carlyle - born in Dumfrieshire, Scotland
- 1744/45 John Carlyle - arrived Dumfries, Prince William County
- 1747 John Carlyle - moved to Hunting Creek warehouses at foot of present day Oronoco Street, Belhaven
- 1747 12/31 John Carlyle (age 27 yrs., 10 mo., 25 days) married Sarah Fairfax (17th birthday), second daughter of William Fairfax of Belvoir and brother of famous Lord Fairfax
- 1749 7/13 Purchased two lots in Alexandria, No. 41 for 30 pistoles and No. 42 for 16 pistoles - deed dated 9/20/49
- 1750 (?) Construction of house began
- 1750 6/5 Child born; died 8/19/50
- 175- (?) Storm damage to house and rebuilding
- 1751 Feb. Child born; died April 1752
- 1753 Aug. Carlyle and Sarah move into house
- 1753 8/1 William born; died 11/8/55
- 1755 4/14 Council of Governors in Carlyle House - Braddock - Washington (23 years old)
- 1755 7/27 George Fairfax born; died November 22
- 1757 1/4 Sarah Fairfax born
- 1759 8/12 Hanah born; died January 1760
- 1761 1/21 Ann Fairfax born at midnight; married Henry Whiting, Esq. in October 1775
- 1761 1/22 Sarah Carlyle died in childbirth at 1:00 a.m. (30 years, 22 days old). Buried in Presbyterian Church yard
- 1761 Oct. John married Sybil West

- 1763 Sept. John (Jackie) born; died February 25, 1766
- 1765 6/26 William born; died June 30, 1765
- 1766 May George William born; died 1781
- 1769 3/7 Sybil died
- 1772-73 William Herbert arrived Alexandria; married Carlyle's daughter, Sarah
- 1775 John Carlyle Herbert, son of William and Sarah, born
- 1780 John Carlyle died, leaving estate to son, George William (son by second wife, Sybil West). George William killed in action at age 16 at Eutaw Springs.
- 1781 S. C. The estate passed to grandson John Carlyle Herbert
- 1792 Bank of Alexandria chartered - William Herbert, third president - funds stored in Carlyle House - Quartered 305 Cameron Street
- 1794 Reference in Maryland Gazette to commencement address given at St. John's College by graduate John Carlyle Herbert
- 1796 3/18 Mutual Assurance Society indicated kitchen dependency 26' x 18', one-story high and "covered with wood" (shingles)
- 1800 John Carlyle Herbert received M. A. Degree from St. John's College
- 1803 John Carlyle, Esq. inheritance to John Carlyle Herbert
- 1803 Cholera epidemic and yellow fever
- 1803 2/19 John Carlyle Herbert sold corner property, Fairfax and Cameron Streets, to Bank of Alexandria for \$3,100.
- 1804-07 Bank building constructed
- 1805 John C. Herbert moved to Maryland

- 1807 Bank of Alexandria moved to new building - Cameron and Fairfax - Tax record shows \$50,000
- Carlyle Fairfax Whiting inherited - Struttfield Patent - Alexandria and Leesburg Rd., Episcopal H. S.
- 1819 2/25 William Herbert died (74 years old)
- 1827 7/26 Sarah Herbert died
- 1829 7/27 Arthur Herbert, son of William II and Maria Dulaney, (great grandson of Col. John Carlyle) born in Carlyle House, reared by John Peyton Dulaney, Welbourne, Middleburg, Loudon County, also, Muckcross, near Episcopal School.
- 1830 7/15 Carlyle House advertised for auction - House and lot on Fairfax Street about 67 feet and extending east 156 feet.
- 1834 6/25 Carlyle House Deed transferred to John Lloyd and wife, Ann, trustees, Orlando S. Morse (Lib. V. No 2 page 76)
- 1843 2/28 Alexandria Gazette, Auction, Bank of Alexandria building - three-story tenement, March 10 - (12 rooms, kitchen, store rooms, cellars, vaults, smoke house, stable) (Occupied by Mrs. Minor)
- 1843 4/15 Bank building of Alexandria conveyed by trustees to U. S. Treasurer for \$7,200.
- 1848 3/21 Solicitor of U. S. Treasurer conveyed three-story brick tenement to James C. McGuire for \$3,600.
- 1848 3/25 James C. McGuire sold to James Green the three-story tenement and lot of ground for \$3,700.
- 1848 4/6 A 33-foot strip of land between Bank of Alexandria building and the Carlyle house sold for \$800 to James Green. Sold June 18, 1847, by Mary Herbert (wife of John C. Herbert, and duly recorded in Orphan's Court in Prince George County, Maryland, in his last will) to Charles P. Shaw.
- 1848 4/10 Carlyle House conveyed by John Lloyd to James Green for \$3,000; 78'-8" south of Cameron Street, and easterly 150'-10".
- 1848 Deed Book 1 (3) page 460 describes Carlyle House with extant dependencies.

- 1849 5/24 Mansion House Hotel advertised under proprietor A. G. Newton. Alexandria Gazette - Mansion House is hotel for guest - operated by A. G. Newton with Restaurant in Basement.
- 1850 6/19 Mansion House described as "elegant Hotel" by a traveler. Reprint from "Trip to Alexandria" in Norfolk Beacon.
- 1855 8/11 Alexandria Gazette news item that James Green building a four-story addition to Mansion House.
- 1861-62 Green asked to vacate Hotel for use as Union Hospital headquarters.
- 1861 7/23 Mansion House occupied by Union troops, reported in Whittington Diary.
- 1861 11/9 Mansion House stripped of furniture, reported in Whittington Diary.
- 1862 1/27 Damages to house by Federal troops, reported in Whittington Diary.
- 1865 8/29 Thoroughly repaired and refitted, reported in Alexandria Gazette.
- 1887 Nov. Dilapidated, reported in Century magazine.
- 1914 Rehabilitation of Carlyle House by Wagar as museum.

APPENDIX B

DEEDS ASSOCIATED WITH CARLYLE PROPERTY

1749, 20 Sept.	Trustee Deed to John Carlyle Lot #41, 32 pounds, 5 shillings Lot #42, as surveyed by John West, MDCCXsix	Fairfax Cths Bk B, 501
1780, April 5	John Carlyle's Will - Fairfax Courthouse  to Carlyle Fairfax Whiting (grandson) "a part of my two lotts wheron I live in Alex. begining on Cameron & Water at the corner, continue on Cameron 50', then parallel to Fairfax into my garden 30'."  to Sarah Herbert (daughter) "a part of my 2 lotts beg. at intersection of Cameron & Fairfax and with Fairfax 30' so as to include my dryware house, then parallel to Cameron 100' into my garden."  to Geo. Wm. Carlyle (son) "all the rest & residue of my estate real & personal but if he dies....to grandson J. C. Herbert and Carlyle F. Whiting & their heirs."	
1803, 9 Feb.	Wm. & Sarah Herbert to John Carlyle Herbert, B&S East side of Fairfax St. and south side of Cameron St. beginning at intersection and running south 30', then east 100'; \$1500	Alex Cths Bk F, 145
1803, 19 Feb.	John Carlyle Herbert to Bank of Alexandria, B&S property bought from Wm. & Sarah Herbert, 9 Feb., 1803 plus property inherited from John Carlyle; total 45' south from intersection and 123'-5" east from intersection; \$3100	Alex. Bk F, 149
1827, 24 Sept.	John Carlyle Herbert and Robert J. Taylor to Geo. & John Hoffman, deed. Beginning on Fairfax at the house then occupied by William Herbert Junior as an office supposed to be 78'-8" to south of Cameron, then south on Fairfax to the house used by Wm. Herbert as a kitchen 67', then extending from Fairfax	Alex. Bk Q 2, 207

1827, 24 Sept. (continued)	and parallel to Cameron and King Streets the same width as on Fairfax St. to Water Street. (to settle debt of Thomas F. Herbert, proportional to debt)	
1827, 24 Sept.	D.O. to John Ladd	Bk Q 2, 211
1827, 24 Sept.	D.O. to John Lloyd	Bk Q2, 214
1831, 25 Feb.	John H. Ladd, executor of the will of John G. Ladd to Orlando S. Morse, B&S (see entry of Carlyle to Hoffman, 24 Sept., 1803, except only 156'-10" deep.) \$146.49	Alex Bk S 2, 627
1831, 24 Mar.	Geo. Hoffman & Henrietta (wife) and John Hoffman to Orlando S. Morse, B&S (d.o. Ladd to Morse), \$304.50	Alex. Bk S 2 640
1831, 8 April	John Lloyd and Harriet (wife) to Orlando S. Morse, B&S (d.o. Ladd to Morse, remaining shares of the property) \$2,300	Alex Bk S 2, 644
1831, 8 April	Morse's property held in Trust by Ed. Lee and Robt. Taylor to cover debt to Lloyd.	Alex Bk S2, 538
1832, 18 Aug.	J. C. Herbert to Guy Atkinson, B&S beginning on east side of Fairfax at the dividing line of the square being the north line of the lot where the said Guy Atkinson now lives; north on Fairfax 27', then east to Water Street; \$994.30	Alex Bk U 2, 203
1834, 25 June	Edward Lee and Robert Taylor, trustees for Orlando S. Morse to John Lloyd, B&S (sale for payment of debt; Lloyd purchased property; see entry for Ladd to Morse)	Alex Bk V 2, 76
1843, 15 April	Geo. Brant, Benjamin Waters, Wm. H. Miller and Wm. C. Gardner to Charles B. Penrose, Solicitor of the Treasury in behalf of the USA, B&S "which said lot of ground with all buildings thereon as was sold and conveyed by J. C. Herbert unto the said Bank of Alex., 19 Feb., 1803"; \$7200	Alex Bk C 3, 241

1844, 25 April	Neale & Smith to Shaw (public auction) beginning of Fairfax 69' N of Ramsay's Alley, east 123'5", north 27'+; \$405	E 3, 119
1844, 25 April	Neale & Smith (public auction) to Anthony C. Cazenove beginning on Water St 46' N of Ramsay's Alley, N 47', W 123'-5"; \$300	Bk E 3, 122
1847, 5 April	Cazenove to James Green (entry April 25, 1844) \$350	Bk 1, 3, 5
1847, 18 June	Mary Herbert (of Baltimore) to Charles P. Shaw B&S Property on east side of Fairfax and south of Cameron; beginning on the east side of Fairfax 45' south of Cameron and running south 33'-8"+ to line of John Lloyds ground, then east 123'-5"; \$505 (Mary inherited property from J. C. Herbert)	Alex Bk 1 3, 17
1847, 18 June	Mary Herbert to George H. Smoot beg. on Cameron 123'-5" east of Fairfax - E 73'-5" to Whiting's line, then S 30', then E 50' to Water St., then S 48'-8"+ to Manderville's line, then W 123'-5" and close.	
1848, 21 Mar.	United States to James C. McGuire, B&S all that 3 story brick tenement and lot of ground situate on the south side of Cameron east of Fairfax; beginning at intersection south 45' and east 120'-5"; \$3,600	Alex Bk 1 3, 447
1848, 25 Mar.	James C. McGuire to James Green, B&S property as entered under US to McGuire; \$3,700	Alex Bk 1 3, 448
1848, 6 April	Charles P. Shaw to James Green; B&S property as entered under Mary Herbert to Shaw, 18 June, 1847; \$800	Alex Bk 1 3, 453
1848, 10 April	John Lloyd & Ann (wife) to James Green, B&S property as entered under Lee & Taylor to Lloyd, 25 June, 1834; \$3,000	Alex Bk 1 3, 460

1848, 11 April	James Green and Jane (wife) to Charles P. Shaw, B&S beginning on the east side of Fairfax at the north line of that lot which Shaw purchased from Christopher Neale and Francis L. Smith 25 April, 1844, and running north 5', then east 63'; the same being part of the lot conveyed to Green from Lloyd April 10; \$80 (25 April, 1844 - Neale & Smith, Commissioners to Shaw by order of US Circuit Court for Alex., Oct. term, 1843; prop. owned by Atkinson, beginning on Fairfax 69' N of Ramsay's Alley, then east 123'-5", north 27'; \$405)	Alex Bk K 3, 6  Alex Bk E 3, 119
1848, 20 Sept.	Geo. G. Smoot & Catharine (w) to James Green beginning on Cameron St. at the said Green's present east line (believed to be 123'-5" east of Fairfax; E 33'-5", S 78'-8", W 33'-5", N to close; \$375	Bk K 3, 136
1848, 18 Dec.	Geo. H. Smoot and Catharine (w) to James Green beginning of Cameron 156'-10" E of Fairfax (Green's east line); E 40' to Whiting Line, S 30, E to Water St., S 48'-8", then W 90', N to beginning; \$625	Bk M 3, 108
1852, 10 Oct.	Joseph Eaches to James Green (public auction of Joseph Manderville's property) beginning of west side Water St 78'-8; S of Cameron, then S 67', W 90', N 67' E to beginning; \$425	Bk O 3, 217
1866, 8 Aug.	Wm W. Whiting & Lucy E. (w) to James Green Lot on SW corner Cameron and Water, 30' on Water and 50' on Cameron, being a part of Wm Whiting's inheritance from C. F. Whiting; \$350. C. F. Whiting's Will, 1 July, 1831, Alex Cths, Will Book #4, p. 11.	Bk 3, 153

- 1882, 1 Nov. Green's heirs to Geo. W. Brown Bk 12, 193  
 Known as Green's Mansion House  
 beginning at S intersection of Fairfax  
 and Cameron, then S 145'-8'+, E  
 246'-10" to Lee St (formerly Water),  
 N 145'-8'+, W to beginning; plus all  
 furniture, carpets, crockery, mirrors,  
 stores, and Billiard tables now used  
 in conducting the hotel business in the  
 Mansion House; \$60,000  
 James Green's Will written 28 July,  
 1866, executed 6 Oct., 1880; Alex Cths,  
 Will Book #1, p. 313
- 1884, 7 July Geo. W. Brown to Christopher C. Watson, Bk 15, 588~  
 Brooklyn, N.Y.  
 Known as Braddock House, formerly  
 Green's Mansion House, beginning . . .  
 (see prev. entry); \$1.
- 1885, 6 August Christopher Watson to John D. Fish, Bk 16, 95  
 Hempstead, N.Y.  
 (see entry for 7 July, 1884); \$1500
- 1887, 9 June John D. Fish to Timothy O'Meara, N.Y., Bk 19, 25  
 N.Y.  
 (see entry for 7 July, 1884); \$27,500
- 1888, 12 Jan. Timothy O'Meara to Robert S. Widdecomb, Bk 19, 445  
 Washington, D.C.  
 (see entry for 7 July, 1884); \$2000
- 1888, July 14 Irving Fish (Trustee) to Dean Fish Bk 20, p. 277  
 (Fish to O'Meara Trust - Closed)
- 1888, Sept. Robert S. Widdecomb to M.V. Tierney - Bk 20, 406  
 Trust in debt to Tierney for \$445.  
 All household and kitchen furniture,  
 beds, bedding, sheeting, crockery,  
 napkins, table ware, ice box in the  
 bar and bar room fixtures, Billiard and  
 poole tables and other personal property  
 now being in the Braddock House Hotel,  
 but shortly to be removed to the Fontine  
 Hotel on Cameron St.
- 1892, Jan. 15 Dean Fish to W<sup>m</sup> Hancock (Wilkes Barre, Bk.27, p. 128  
 Pa.)

1906, May 25	W <sup>m</sup> Hancock to Humphrey R. Wagar (Ionia, Mich.)	Bk. 55, p. 95
1906, June 14	Humphrey R. Wagar & Ophelia E. (W) to Wagar Land Co.	Bk. 55, p. 343
1916, Feb. 26	Wagar Land Co., Inc. to Wagar Realty Co., Inc.	Bk. 65, p. 162
1925, Feb. 9	Wagar Realty to Ernest Wagar (parcel #1 containing CARLYLE HOUSE - first mention as "HIST. CARLYLE HOUSE") - on Lee 72' S of Cameron, W 194', S 73'-8", E 194', N 73'-8" and all the furnishings: personal property of every description contained in the bldg. located upon the premises hereinbefore described.	Bk. 82, p. 110
1941, Dec. 15	Wagar Apt. Corp. to Schaeffer (amendment - Charter Bk. 11, p. 261) (except for 5' strip)	Bk. 182, p. 521
1941, Nov. 10	Schaeffer:Royster (owner adj. prop. to S) (Boundary agreement - boundary to be 146.47' S of bldg. line on Cameron. This covers that 5' x 63' conflict along S side of property.)	Bk. 182, p. 564
1968, Nov. 26	Schaeffer to Carlyle Investment Corp. "including the Old Carlyle House"	Bk. 485, p. 238
1970, 13 July	Carlyle Investment Corp. to NVRPA	712 - 243
1971, 10 July	Carlyle Investment Corp. to NVRPA	726 - 730
1972, 7 July	Carlyle Investment Corp. to NVRPA	743 - 209

## APPENDIX C

### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOHN CARLYLE

The early life of John Carlyle is shrouded in mystery. It is known that he was born into an ancient and gentle family of Southern Scotland, in Dumfrieshire, on 6 February 1720, into the Limekiln's branch of the Carlyle (or Carlisle) family.<sup>1</sup> His father was William Carlyle, an apothecary who took up residence across the border in England, in the town of Carlisle, and styled himself "Surgeon."<sup>2</sup> His mother was Rachel Murray Carlyle, of the neighboring family of Murray.<sup>3</sup> There were ten children born to Rachel between 1715 and 1733, but all but two died in early childhood. Two sons survived. The eldest, George, apparently studied medicine and became a physician and inherited his father's estate in 1744.<sup>4</sup> John, the second son, became a merchant and eventually moved across the Atlantic to take up business in Virginia. Nothing is known for certain of his childhood or education; it cannot even be said for sure where he lived, but certain things may be surmised. Younger sons of gentle families were often provided for by setting them up in a trade, by sending them to an Inn of Court to study the law, or by apprenticing them to merchants or tradesmen. John was probably either set up in trade or was apprenticed, for by 1744 (John was 24 years of age) he was described as a merchant of Whitehaven.<sup>5</sup> When William died in 1744, he left the entirety of his estate to

his eldest son George, reserving a generous yearly allowance for Rachel, as well as some of the furniture, and leaving the sum of £ 300 to John, to be received by him after his mother's death.<sup>6</sup>

The will was proved in the Bishop's court in Carlisle on 7 July 1744, and the signature of John Carlyle is found along with that of his brother on a court document in which they posted bond for the faithful execution of their father's estate.<sup>7</sup>

It is not known when John Carlyle moved to Virginia, but it is clear that he was in England in 1744 at the proving of his father's will. Less than a year later, on 17 June 1745, he is found in Truro Parish in Fairfax County, Virginia. On that date he purchased from one Mary Awberry 373 acres of land in Fairfax County for £ 45.<sup>8</sup> It seems likely that he came over to Virginia as factor (representative or agent) for a trading company and set himself up in business at the earliest opportunity. From John's letters to his brother George, it appears that Carlyle was the Virginia agent for a British merchant, a Mr. Hicks (dated December 1, 1746). His money from his father's estate would not come to him until his mother died (ca. 1755), so he must have had another source to accumulate the capital necessary for buying up large tracts of land. The £ 45 paid for the lands in 1745 was a large sum in those days, more than an average year's income for a



Illustration No. 22: Photograph of John Carlyle painted by John Hesselius (circa 1765).

man of Carlyle's station. Where he got his money can only be speculated upon; but in the course of the next few years he bought up other tracts of land in the same area, along the banks of Holmes Run, Hunting Creek, Goose Creek and the Tuskarora, all in the vicinity of the tobacco receiving station and warehouse at the mouth of Hunting Creek.<sup>9</sup> It may be guessed that he was exporting tobacco, using the station at Hunting Creek warehouse as his center of operations. He may have been trying to set himself up as a gentleman-planter of the type that thrived in northern Virginia. But in a deed of 1746 he was described as a merchant of Truro Parish and Fairfax County, and by 1749 he was important enough to be appointed a Justice of the Peace for Fairfax County, a position which carried great prestige and power.<sup>10</sup>

In 1747 John Carlyle joined with other landowners and merchants in a plan to settle western lands.<sup>11</sup> They planned to apply for a grant from the king to take up and settle 200,000 acres in Ohio. The members of the Ohio Company included John Hanbury, a London merchant, and a number of prominent Virginians, including Lawrence Washington, Augustine Washington, George Fairfax, and were joined later by George Mason, John Tayloe, Governor Dinwiddie and several members of the Lee family. Thus, only two years after taking up residence in northern Virginia he was associated with many important families in the area. But Carlyle and George Fairfax both

resigned from the company in June 1749. Perhaps they were busy with plans for a new town to be built around the tobacco warehouse at Hunting Creek.

Meanwhile, in 1747, John Carlyle married Sarah Fairfax, one of the daughters of William Fairfax.<sup>12</sup> Thus he became allied with one of the most important families in Virginia, a family that held vast tracts of land in northern and western Virginia. By 1748, then, Carlyle must have been a prominent man indeed, for the Fairfax girls did not marry "just anybody." Sarah's sisters were married to Lawrence Washington and George Lee. Through this marriage, Carlyle undoubtedly received a portion of the vast Fairfax landholdings in Virginia and became allied with Fairfax wealth and prestige.

In 1749 petitions were received by the Virginia colonial legislature in Williamsburg praying a statute to authorize the erection of a town to be called Alexandria on the Potomac River near Hunting Creek warehouse. The legislature passed, on 11 May 1749, an act for the establishment of a town and trustees were appointed for the survey of the town, the marking off and sale of lots and the general management of the town's business affairs. John Carlyle, William Fairfax, George Fairfax and others were appointed to the Board of Trustees.<sup>13</sup> Lots in the new town were sold on 10 July 1749, at

which time John Carlyle bought two of the best lots in the town, on the main street and on a bluff overlooking the Potomac in the center of the town.<sup>14</sup> It seems that there was an agreement among the trustees so that they could buy the choice lots and divide up the costs among themselves. In a letter from Augustine Washington to his brother Lawrence, written just after the sale, Augustine says:

...the reason the lots sold so high was River side ones being sett up first which were purchased at a very extravagant price by the prop (illegible) Your two, Mr Carlyles Mr Dortons Mr Ramseys (illegible) Mr Chapmans sold at different prices, as you may se by the sale, but we agreed before the Sale to give any Price for them & to strike them upon an average so that by adding them up & dividing them by five you sill se what your two lotts Cost.<sup>15</sup>

Carlyle may have begun construction on his house on his two lots at the corner of Fairfax and Cameron Streets, for it was stipulated in the deed that the purchaser "...shall and will Erect build and Finish on the said Lot one House of Brick Stone or Wood well framed of the Dimensions of twenty feet Square and nine feet pitched at the least with a Brick or Stone Chimney proportionably thereto within two years after the date hereof..."<sup>16</sup>

The house may not even have been begun when Carlyle returned to England for a visit, traveling with his father-in-law, William Fairfax. On 11 April 1750 he signed over to his friend and business partner, John Dalton, a complete power of attorney to transact

business in his absence, and by July was at Whitehaven, his old place of business on the Solway Firth in northern England.<sup>17</sup> William Fairfax wrote to Lawrence Washington from Whitehaven on 6 July, "We set off for Carlisle to morrow to visit Mrs. Carlyle," and closed his letter with a reference to his daughter Sarah, "Hoping Sally has got a pretty Boy to dandle till his Papa returns and, relieves the Sport..."<sup>18</sup> After leaving Mrs. Carlyle, they apparently traveled down to London to transact some business. Fairfax again wrote on 12 October:

I had the pleasure to receive your two Letters which relieved an anxious suspense Mr Carlyle and I were under on Accot of being told of Sally's dangerous Symptons in a cancerous Breast. You'll do Us Justice in thinking that your present Narration of her expected Recovery has only made our Enjoyment easy and sometimes cheerful.

John Carlyle returned to the colonies on one of Mr. Hicks' ships on April 30, 1751, as recorded in his letter of the next day to his brother. John described his passage as very long and extremely unpleasant, as the cargo ship was leaky and short of drinking water. His return in the spring permitted him to resume his civic duty as Justice of the Peace at Fairfax Court, which met again in June of 1751.<sup>20</sup>

The child John and Sarah were expecting while John was in England apparently died, as did a second child who lived only five weeks after her birth on February 24, 1752 (Letter dated May 23, 1752).

Of the seven born to John and Sarah, only two, Sarah and Ann, survived to adulthood. At the young age of 30, Sarah Fairfax Carlyle died in childbirth in 1761.<sup>21</sup>

The house John built for himself and Sarah in Alexandria was ready for occupancy the night their third baby, William, was born. In his letter of August 11, 1753, John announces the birth to his brother and says that his building is almost finished. It took almost a year longer than expected to finish the building, due to a severe rainstorm which damaged the stone walls of the house (Letter dated November 12, 1752). The walls had to be, in part, taken down and built back up by Carlyle's own labor force, a subject of great complaint in his letters. The carved keystone, dated 1752, reflects Carlyle's original aspiration of moving into the house before the end of that year.

Although there is no evidence to date to pinpoint the beginning of construction or the designer of the house, from John's letter to George dated May 23, 1752, we do know that the house was under construction and costing more than anticipated. The date of construction prior to July 18, 1752, is appropriate, for after that date all new construction had to conform to the new Board of Trustees' ordinance, which required houses to be built on the front property line to maintain a neat street facade.<sup>22</sup> Carlyle's house was set back to the middle of the property with two flanking pavilions.

As the threat from the French-supported Indians became more and more apparent along the frontiers of Virginia and the northeast, various military plans were drawn up and executed against the French. From its location, Alexandria quickly became an important center for supply of the troops. When an expedition under young George Washington was prepared in Alexandria to march to Ohio, John Carlyle was granted a commission as a Major in the militia, with the duty of acting as Commissary of Provisions.<sup>23</sup> Carlyle had apparently been for several years an officer in the militia, for he took the oaths required for a military commission at Fairfax Court as early as 1750.<sup>24</sup> Carlyle served as Commissary through the next few years, arranging supplies and transportation for the troops to be used on the frontier. When General Edward Braddock came over to Virginia from Ireland with his veteran troops to take command in the colonies, he made Alexandria his headquarters during April 1755.

General Braddock stayed at the Carlyle House during his sojourn in Alexandria and it was during this time that the five governors of the colonies met with him to discuss the financing and the campaigns against the French and Indians. In a detailed letter to his brother dated August 15, 1755, John describes Braddock's stay, his personality, and his disastrous campaign over the Allegheny Mountains. Carlyle's description of the Council of Governors was that "their (sic) was the Grandest Congress held at my home ever known on this

Continent." As the Council discussed measures of taxing the colonist in order to raise revenue to support the British troops, it has been said by some historians that "taxation without representation," which led the colonist to revolt, had its first seeds sown in the council room of the John Carlyle House. Carlyle was appointed storekeeper for Braddock's expedition.<sup>25</sup>

After the disaster of Braddock's expedition to the Monongahela River Carlyle settled into the routine of a wealthy merchant and leading citizen, carrying on activities as an importer of West Indian goods and possibly exporting tobacco. He regularly attended meetings of the Trustees of Alexandria and the monthly sessions of Fairfax County Court. He was involved in a series of lawsuits over his landholdings which he continued to increase year after year. After the death of his first wife John Carlyle married again, this time to Sybil West.<sup>26</sup> In the 1760's he was in business with Robert Adam dealing in grain, and at the same time was still in partnership with John Dalton, importing from the West Indies.

As the colonies were swept up in the revolutionary fervor in the early 1770's, Carlyle took an active part in the local revolutionary movement. He served from the beginning on the Fairfax County Committee of Correspondence after its establishment in 1774 and was one of the signers of the famous Fairfax County Resolutions of 18 July 1774.<sup>27</sup> He again acted as a storekeeper

and provided supplies during the war for independence, but died in 1780 before the end of the war. His only son, George William Carlyle, was killed in the Battle of Eutaw Springs in South Carolina less than a year later.<sup>28</sup> The exact date of John Carlyle's death cannot be determined. He wrote his will in April 1780 and it was proved in Fairfax County Court in October of the same year by his executors.<sup>29</sup> His property was left devised to his son, with certain portions set aside for his grandsons by his two married daughters, Ann and Sarah. When George William died in South Carolina the entire property descended to John's grandsons, Carlyle Fairfax Whiting (Ann's son) and John Carlyle Herbert (Sarah's son).

Perhaps the life and activities of John Carlyle can be more easily appreciated through a sort of horizontal framework, by considering his activities in several categories, that is to say as a merchant, as a landowner, as a local leader, and so forth. He was an important man in the formative years of the seaport village of Alexandria, and in many ways the story of John Carlyle must be also the story of colonial Alexandria. His house was a local landmark from the beginning, and he can be considered along with a handful of other transferred Scottish merchants one of the leading citizens of Alexandria, and indeed in all of Northern Virginia.

### Footnotes

1. All dates given new style, as though the new year began on 1 January, but the days of the month have not been changed to agree with the change in the calendar in 1752. Carlyle's birth date is taken from a genealogy in the files of the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority, Fairfax, Virginia.
2. Last Will and Testament of William Carlyle, from files of Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority.
3. A photograph of a portrait of Rachel Murray Carlyle is in Gay Montague Moore, Seaport in Virginia (Charlottesville: 1972), 66.
4. Last Will and Testament of William Carlyle.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Fairfax County Deed Book A, No. 1, Part 2, 400.
9. See Index to Deeds, Book 1 (1742-1797) in Fairfax Court House, for a list of Carlyle's deeds and transactions in Fairfax County.
10. Fairfax County Deed Book B, No. 1, 132, and Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, edited by Wilber L. Hall (Richmond: 1945), v. 279.
11. George Mercer Papers, edited by Lois Mulkearn (Pittsburgh: 1954), 2-3.
12. The date of the marriage is uncertain, but it seems probable that it took place sometime in 1748. See R. H. Spencer's genealogy of the Carlyle family in William and Mary Quarterly, 1st series, Vol. XVIII, No. 3 (January 1910), 201-212.
13. William Hening, Statutes at Large of Virginia (Richmond: 1820), VI, 214, "Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, Town of Alexandria, Virginia," photostats in Reference Office of Alexandria Public Library.
14. Proceedings of Trustees, 1-3.

15. Augustine Washington to Lawrence Washington, 19 July 1749; quoted in full in Moore, Seaport in Virginia, 7-8.
16. Fairfax County Deed Book B, No. 1, 501.
17. Ibid. 62.
18. William Fairfax to Lawrence Washington, 6, July 1750; quoted in full in Moncure D. Conway, Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock (New York: 1892), 282-284.
19. William Fairfax to Lawrence Washington, 12 October 1750; Ibid. 284-286.
20. Fairfax County Court Order Book, 1749-1754, 159.
21. Maryland Gazette, 12 February 1761. See also the epitaph of Sarah Fairfax Carlyle as recorded in Timothy Alden, Epitaphs (New York: 1814), V 906. The tombstone no longer stands, but it is assumed that she was buried in the Presbyterian churchyard in Alexandria.
22. Proceedings of Trustees, 18.
23. "Commission of Major John Carlyle," The Official Papers of Robert Dinwiddie, edited by Robert A. Brock (Richmond: 1883), I, 53. The recommendation of Carlyle for the position is in Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, V 460.
24. Fairfax County Court Order Book, 1749-1754, 67.
25. Braddock to Carlyle, 10 April 1755; Huntington Library Manuscripts, L0 563.
26. Family Bible - the manuscript page in the Bible written by John Carlyle documents the second marriage which took place on December 22, 1761.
27. Calendar of Virginia State Papers, edited by Sherwin McRae (Richmond: 1888), I, 51. See also Virginia Magazine of History and Biography (hereafter cited as Va. Magazine), Vol. XVIII, No. 2 (April 1910), 159-169, and Vol. XIX, No. 2 (April 1911), 158.
28. Henry Lee, Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States, (Washington: 1827), 335. Lee commanded the regiment in which young Carlyle was a cadet.
29. Fairfax County Will Book, 203.

### Carlyle, The Merchant

First and foremost, John Carlyle of Alexandria was a merchant. Trade remained his primary interest and occupation throughout his life. He undoubtedly accumulated most of his wealth through his business dealings. He was almost invariably described in the deed books of the time as "John Carlyle, Gent., Merchant." There is, unhappily, very scanty material to document this vital phase of Carlyle's activities, but from letters to his brother it is evident that John was associated with importing and trading activities. It appears that he was first associated with an English merchant firm whose principal representative was a Mr. Hicks--either as a junior partner or as some form of representative. In a letter to George dated December 1, 1746, John writes that he must "wait my next orders from him [Mr. Hicks]." In a letter after his marriage to Sarah Fairfax, John again writes his brother and hints that he would like to have some money in order to buy out of Mr. Hicks' business. Apparently after his return from England in 1751, John began trading on his own for he adds a note to his brother saying:

When you direct to me now must be to Mjr. Jno Carlyle  
Mercht at Alexandria on Standing bank South Potomuck-  
Virginia (Letter dated May 1, 1751).

Carlyle's business was both from England and the West Indies as seen in numerous references in letters to his brother. Carlyle's trading in Alexandria was allied with his close friend John Dalton who was, along with Carlyle, one of the original purchasers of lots in Alexandria. In 1775, Robert Carter of Nominy Hall compiled a diary letter-book that listed "Merchants and factors now residing in Alexandria, Potomac River."<sup>1</sup> Their trade, primarily from the West Indies, is identified in Carter's diary when the two merchants were listed as "Carlyle & Dalton, sell rum and sugar."

Carlyle also sold slaves and in a letter to his father-in-law, Thomas, Lord Fairfax, in 1762 he writes:

We have a vessel just arrived & expect her up with Sugar, Mollasses & Negroes & the sale is to be Monday.<sup>2</sup>

Carlyle's importing of slaves was confirmed in George Washington's ledgers, where there may be found numerous entries such as:

By cash lodgd. with Colo. Carlyle to pay for Negroes...150.<sup>3</sup>

In the eighteenth century the common medium of exchange in Virginia was tobacco. Cash was scarce and tobacco was the "chief money crop." Even taxes in Fairfax County were collected in tobacco, each tithable rated at so many pounds of tobacco. It may be surmised, then, that Carlyle generally received tobacco in payment for the imported goods and slaves he sold in Alexandria. He may have exported this tobacco to England or sold it for credit to exporting merchants. It is more likely that the tobacco never really passed through Carlyle's hands, but only bills of exchange for so many pounds or hogsheads of tobacco.

Carlyle had warehouses and outlet stores in Alexandria for storage and sale of his goods. In 1753 one James Farrow was tossed in the County Gaol for breaking into Carlyle's storehouse and stealing twenty shillings worth of rum.<sup>4</sup> In his will Carlyle mentioned a dryware house located on the northwest corner of his lots in Alexandria, at the intersection of Fairfax and Cameron Streets.<sup>5</sup> He owned several lots in Alexandria and may have operated warehouses there.

Carlyle was also, in later years, an importer of English thoroughbred racehorses. Horseracing was a popular sport among the northern Virginia gentry, and frequent advertisements for horses and horseraces appear in the newspapers of the 1760's. Carlyle advertised imported English horses throughout that decade, and was one of the managers of a horserace in Alexandria (along with George Washington) in 1761.<sup>6</sup> He even travelled as far as New York to carry on his horse trading activities. George Washington wrote a letter of introduction for "Collo. Carlye [sic] the bearer of this, going to New York to dispose of some English horses..."<sup>7</sup> He owned a famous thoroughbred named Holme's Starling which was imported in 1762.<sup>8</sup>

Carlyle owned several large tracts of land in the countryside around the town of Alexandria, on some of which were situated water mills for grinding grain. Towards the end of the eighteenth century wheat began to replace tobacco as the chief crop of the area, as the soil began to be too worn out for tobacco planting. Carlyle also went into the wheat business. He is found in the 1760's in business with Robert Adam, grinding and selling grain. In George Washington's papers may be found letters to

Carlyle and Adam along with entries in his ledger books for  
accounts with them.<sup>9</sup> From Washington's letters it can be seen  
that they kept a mill on Four Mile Run Creek and that wheat  
was often floated up to the mill for grinding on flat boats.  
Perhaps Carlyle also grew wheat on some of his own lands and  
ground it at his own mill into flour.<sup>10</sup>

The seaport of Alexandria was situated near the mouth of an  
important river which drained the fertile farmlands of  
Western Virginia, Southern Pennsylvania, and Maryland. If  
the Potomac could be opened for the navigation of canal  
boats the trade of Alexandria would certainly boom.

Carlyle, with other Alexandria merchants, realized the  
importance of this canal project for the future prosperity  
of Alexandria. George Washington was also one of those who  
realized the importance of the plan and supported such a  
project throughout his career. As early as 1762 there was a  
plan for a company of "adventurers" (they adventured their  
money) to subscribe to a project to build a canal around the  
Great Falls above Georgetown. An article appeared in the  
Maryland Gazette which was published in Annapolis in  
February 1762:

To the PUBLIC.

The Opening of the River Potowmack, and making it passable for Small Craft, from Port Cumberland at Will's Creek, to the Great Falls, will be of the greatest Advantage to Virginia and Maryland, by facilitating Commerce with the Back Inhabitants, who will not then have more than 20 miles Land Carriage to a Harbour, where Ships of great Burthen load annually; whereas at present many have 150; and what will perhaps be considered still greater Importance, is, the easy Communication it will afford the Inhabitants of these Colonies with the Waters of the Ohio. <sup>11</sup>

It was hoped that such a channel would entice trade away from the Pennsylvanian seaports, including the lucrative fur and skin trade. In Alexandria import/export merchants could purchase goods from the inland farmers and trappers for export and at the same time sell them their imported tools, cloth, etc. The managers appointed to take subscriptions for shares in the company included two prominent Alexandria merchants, John Carlyle and William Ramsay.

This was only the first of a series of companies formed for that purpose. In 1774 another company was seeking subscriptions to a "plan and estimate for opening the navigation of Patowmack river above the falls." <sup>12</sup> Once again a number of Alexandrians were immediate subscribers, including George Washington, John Carlyle, William Ramsay, Robert Adam,

John Dalton, George Mason, and others. Several meetings were held in Alexandria and Georgetown to try to raise funds, and construction was commenced under the direction of John Ballendine using slave labor to cut the canals, but this company, also, eventually failed.<sup>13</sup> It was not until well into the next century that the long dreamed-of canal to Alexandria was completed. Within a few years the railroad made it obsolete.

If Carlyle's chief interest during his years in Alexandria was trade and importing, other activities also occupied much of his time. He continued to acquire more and more land, supervised construction projects for the town and county and served in a number of official positions.

### Footnotes

1. "Letter Book of Robert Carter," edited by Kate Mason Rowland, William and Mary Quarterly, 1st series, XI (April 1903), 246.
2. John Carlyle To Thomas, Lord Fairfax, 4 September 1762; Huntington Library Manuscripts, BR Box 229.
3. George Washington's Ledgers, Ledger A, 13 February 1757, Mount Vernon Archives. See also Ledger A, 27 November 1756 and 30 April 1757.
4. Fairfax County Court Order Book, 1749-1754, 296. Farrow later escaped and was recaptured after stealing some goods from another merchant.
5. Fairfax County Will Book , 203.
6. Maryland Gazette, 23 April 1761.
7. Washington to Beverly Robinson, 27 September 1762; Writings of George Washington, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington : 1931), II, 382.
8. Va. Magazine, XXV (October 1927), 368.
9. George Washington's Ledgers, Ledger A, 180; Writings of Washington, II, 422-423, 444-453.
10. Writings of Washington, II, 422.
11. Maryland Gazette, 11 February 1762.
12. Virginia Gazette, 10 February 1774.
13. Maryland Gazette, 25 October 1774 and 14 January 1775. See Corra Bacon-Foster, "Early Chapters in the Development of the Potomac Route to the West," Records of the Columbia Historical Society, XV (1912), 96-322.

Carlyle, The Landowner

It is sometimes difficult for a twentieth-century, apartment-dwelling society to appreciate the profound importance of landowning in eighteenth-century society. The prestige of landowning can perhaps be more readily understood if we remember that only land was called "real" property, or "real" estate, as opposed to moveables or chattels. The roots of this prestige are to be found in feudal landholding when there were freeholders and non-freeholders; only the former were able to claim the privileges of free citizenship, the right to vote, the protection of their possession under the common law. A man was no more than a second-class citizen unless he had landed property. The reasons for the distinction had disappeared by the eighteenth century, but the shell of privilege and prestige remained. The ownership of land was still an essential prerequisite for entrance into the ranks of the gentry.

Within a year of his removal to Virginia John Carlyle began purchasing properties in Northern Virginia, along the rivers and streams that drained into the Potomac. By 1749 one

begins to find his name listed on official documents as "John Carlyle, Gent."<sup>1</sup> When he married Sarah Fairfax he became accepted into the ranks of the landed gentry and his rise into gentility was essentially complete. Through the years he continued to purchase tracts of land which he added to his own and his wife's until he had accumulated very scattered and vast holdings.

To the north of Alexandria along the curves of Four Mile Run Carlyle bought up several large tracts. He seems to have owned approximately 1500 acres or so along that stream<sup>2</sup> adjacent to George Washington's lands there. In 1762 Carlyle petitioned the Fairfax County for Court for permission to erect a grist mill on his property on Four Mile Run.<sup>3</sup> According to an act of the colonial legislature, such permission was necessary in order to insure that no one else's lands would be damaged by its construction or operation. A jury was assembled on the property in May 1762 to inspect the proposed construction site, and stated under oath that it appeared to them that the proposed mill would cause 20 shillings damage to William Ramsay's lands adjoining, due to the run off from the mill race.<sup>4</sup> Carlyle probably paid the damages to Ramsay, for the Court ordered,

four days later, to grant Carlyle permission to build his mill. Apparently Carlyle was already in the miller's trade, for in 1756 the County Court ordered that two orphans be bound over to John Carlyle:

Ordered that the Churchwardens of Truro parish bind Philip David and Maria Sovia children of Michael Dobile to John Carlyle Gent. according to Law who is to learn them to read and write the said Philip the trade of a miller.<sup>5</sup>

To the south of Alexandria Carlyle owned tracts of land along Great Hunting Creek and Little Hunting Creek. In 1760 he was operating a mill on "the main run of Great Hunting Creek."<sup>6</sup> To the south and west of town he owned several hundred acres along Holmes Run Creek.<sup>7</sup> He also had extensive landholdings in the more distant west, some of which came from the Fairfax holdings. Above Great Falls there were lands on Goose Creek, Sugar Land Run, and the Tuskarora.<sup>8</sup> There were lands in Fauquier County, and a large plantation in Berkeley County called Limekilns after his ancestral castle in Scotland.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to his extensive holdings in the countryside Carlyle was the owner of a number of lots in the town of Alexandria. At the initial sale of lots Carlyle was both

an agent for the sale of lots and a purchaser of lots. Carlyle, like many others, was able to purchase lots as the town expanded at low prices, some of which he resold at substantial profits. For instance, he purchased lots number 66 and 67 on Prince Street, between Fairfax and Royal Streets, from the Trustees in 1754 for a total of about £25, and sold them less than a year and a half later for more than £107.<sup>10</sup> As the town expanded to the westward away from the river and the Trustees marked off new lots for sale, many of the new lots were covered by the large marsh to the north and west. Carlyle bought some of these marsh lots for prices ranging between from £4 to £20.<sup>11</sup> At the same time the town was expanding out into the river. The original survey of 1749 showed the town laid out on a shallow basin with two points, Point Lumley at the foot of Duke Street and West Point at the foot of Oronoko Street. Between the two points was a curved inlet with the river front running along Water Street (now Lee Street). But the only deep water for large ships to approach the town was at the two points, so that the majority of the town's waterfront was useless for mercantile purposes. As a result, the merchants who owned lots along the river began

to fill and extend their lots out into the river, so that by the end of the eighteenth century the waterfront was a straight line with wharves along the whole. Carlyle extended his lots into the river, and also bought up other river lots with a plan to fill and develop them.<sup>12</sup> He devised part of his property behind his house "made out of the river" to his daughter Sarah.<sup>13</sup> Carlyle and Dalton as business partners also bought up several lots, both developed and undeveloped, which they either resold or leased out. For instance, they owned the "Long Ordinary," a tavern which was operated by Nathan Hughes on the south side of Queen Street between Fairfax and Royal Streets, and the lot and tavern at the corner of Cameron and Royal Streets which later achieved fame as Gadsby's Tavern.<sup>14</sup> Acting as executors and administrators for various estates they also came to acquire and administer a number of properties.

As a large landowner, Carlyle was involved in the usual array of lawsuits. Most of the suits would be in actions of trespass or debt. Carlyle leased out most of his lands in the country to farmers with rents payable in pounds of tobacco. Tenants would default on payment, or sometimes squatters would have to be evicted. The Court Order Books

for Fairfax County demonstrate the litigious nature of the landowners in northern Virginia in the eighteenth century, and Carlyle appears frequently among the litigants. Of course, Carlyle was also a justice for the court, so he would step down from the bench to plead his lawsuits and then resume his place with the "Gentlemen Justices." Sometimes the suits would involve multiple defendants and plaintiffs, including tenants, sub-tenants, original patentees of the crown, and so forth.<sup>15</sup> In one case, John Carlyle sued one John King for recovery of a debt of 107 pounds of tobacco plus approximately 25. King failed to appear before Fairfax Court in August 1755 to answer to Carlyle's complaint, so the sheriff was ordered to try again to serve notice upon him to appear before the next court. In September King again failed to appear, so the sheriff was ordered to execute an attachment upon King's goods to compel appearance. When King again was absent in November the Court awarded the judgement to Carlyle by default. The sheriff, however, reported that he had executed an attachment upon "one spoon," which was ordered to be sold to pay off the debt.<sup>16</sup>

John Carlyle, then, was both merchant and landowner. He made his wealth in trade and invested in landed property. He thus became a gentleman. As a member of the landed gentry he would have to perform certain public duties and fill certain public offices. He must serve as a Justice of the Peace, an officer in the militia, overseer of streets and wharves, adjustor of scales at the tobacco warehouses, tax collector, census taker, judge, and administrator. It is to the public figure, John Carlyle, that we must now turn, but we have looked first at his business activities in order to keep in mind that John Carlyle was primarily a merchant and landed gentleman; the other activities were the chores that went along with the position.

### Footnotes

1. Fairfax County Court Order Book, 1749-1754, 26.
2. Fairfax County Deed Book A, No. 1, 400; Book D, No. 1, 417; Book G, No. 1, 167. Diaries of George Washington, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick (Boston: 1925), 111, 55.
3. Fairfax County Court Order Book, 1756-1763, Part 2, 704.
4. Fairfax County Deed Book E, No. 1, 66.
5. Fairfax County Court Order Book, 1754-1756, Part 1, 497.
6. Fairfax County Deed Book D, No. 1, 721.
7. Fairfax County Deed Book B, No. 1, 132; Book D, No. 1, 501; Book K, No. 1, 48.
8. Fairfax County Deed Book B, No. 1, 176-183; Book C, No. 1, 262; Va. Magazine, IV (July 1896), 102.
9. Fairfax County Deed Book M, No. 1, 190; Will Book , 203.
10. Proceedings of Trustees, 22; Fairfax County Deed Book C, No. 1, 832; Book D, No. 1, 188.
11. Proceedings of Trustees, 50, 78.
12. Fairfax County Deed Book D, No. 1, 504..
13. Fairfax County Will Book , 203.
14. Fairfax County Deed Book D, No. 1, 794; Book E, No. 1, 257; Book M, No. 1, 188. Maryland Gazette, 29 May 1766, 8 September 1778.
15. See, for example, the lengthy records of Carlyle's action of trespass against Gerard Alexandria reported in Fairfax County Land Records of Long Standing, 1742-1770, Fairfax Court House.
16. Fairfax County Court Order Book, 1754-1756, Part 1, 389, 409, 433.

## Carlyle, The Public Servant

### JUSTICE OF THE PEACE

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of both English and colonial Virginian government was the dependence on unpaid, volunteer administrators on the local level. The neighborhood gentry served in a variety of positions and performed a multitude of tiresome tasks, especially in their duties as Justices of the Peace. The title of the position implies the dual nature of their duties. They were "justices" who heard and adjudged a variety of crimes, misdemeanors, and lawsuits. They were also expected to keep the peace and serve a number of administrative functions in the absence of a regular paid bureaucracy. Even more remarkable was the willingness, even eagerness, of the country gentry to assume these burdens. One may suppose that it was a means of flaunting their position and prestige as well as testifying to their sincere sense of citizenship associated with their status. As merchants became wealthy, they would invest their wealth in landed property, setting themselves up as country gentlemen gladly accepting the burdens of their obligations as a clear demonstration that they had finally arrived among the ranks of the gentry.

John Carlyle, as has been noted, began almost immediately to purchase large tracts of land upon his arrival in Virginia. By 1749 he was included as a "Gentleman Justice" in the Commission of the Peace issued from Williamsburg. After 1757 he was one of the quorum for Fairfax County Court.<sup>2</sup> From the court records which survive one can see the multitude of duties of the Gentlemen Justices. First of all they listened to pleas of all sorts at their monthly sessions of the County Court. They received indictments from the grand jury and heard the pleas of those indicted for various offences. They committed to gaol, fined, flogged, or pilloried offenders. They heard lawsuits and summoned juries. More difficult and serious cases, such as major lawsuits and felonies, were sent to the General Court at Williamsburg. For instance, James Farrow, who was accused of breaking into John Carlyle's warehouse and stealing his rum, was committed to the County gaol upon the oaths of two of the Justices of the Peace. He was presented at the next session of the County Court, where the justices decided to transfer him to Williamsburg for the next session of the General Court. Carlyle posted bond to ensure his appearance as a witness in Williamsburg.<sup>3</sup>

It must be assumed that these volunteer justices had some sort of rudimentary knowledge of the common law and equity. They followed the outlines of common law procedure. Carlyle must therefore have acquired a knowledge of the law at some time, though one may suppose that he never had any formal training in the law. Perhaps a volume or two of Blackstone, the handbook of American colonial law, graced Carlyle's bookshelves.

Even more important and time-consuming for the Gentleman Justice of the Peace were the various administrative chores which he had to perform. Carlyle collected taxes, took the lists of tithables for the parishes of Truro and Cameron, adjusted the weights and scales at the tobacco warehouses each year, and supervised construction of various public works for the county.<sup>4</sup> They looked after the orphans of the county, punished vice and disturbances of the peace, and generally pried into the business of everyone under their jurisdiction. From the yearly assessments of the county levy one can learn much of the activities of the Gentlemen Justices. Carlyle and others would, each year, present their accounts of expenses for settlement at the County Court. One finds such entries as "Dr. To John Carlyle Gent.

for Scalps received and not credited... 186 (pounds of tobacco)."<sup>5</sup> We thus learn that Carlyle was acting as receiving agent for bounty hunters who would bring their prizes to him for payment. He also served as agent for paying the bounty on wolves, as we find from such entries as "To John Carlyle Gt. Assee. of William Thornton for 1 wolf's head & 6 young Do. certified by Do.... 400."<sup>6</sup>

In 1751, the County Court ordered "...that there be Erected in the Town of Alexandria in this county a whipping post and Stocks and also a Ducking Stool for punishing Offenders."<sup>7</sup> A year later John Carlyle was reimbursed 1500 pounds of tobacco for "Pillory and Stocks."<sup>8</sup>

In 1752 the sessions of the Fairfax Court were moved to the town of Alexandria. It was necessary first to petition the Governor in Williamsburg for permission to move the Court.

Carlyle's expenses presented to the Alexandria Trustees included:<sup>9</sup>

To Sundry expenses to remove the Court House, Viz.	
To Cash pd Capt. Bowman carrying papers to Williamsbg.	£ 3..11..6
To do. to Richd Monday fixing a courthouse in town	2.. 0
To do. to Thos. Smith going with papers to Williamsbg.	2.. 3
To do. for cutting a road	2.. 3
To do. for John Carlyles expenses to Williamsbg.	6..19

There was not yet a permanent courthouse in Alexandria for the sessions of the Court, and it was not completed until the next year; Carlyle was appointed by the Board of Trustees to supervise its construction.<sup>10</sup> The new courthouse with a gaol was built on the square directly across the street from Carlyle's dwelling house.

When Fairfax County ordered a County Seal it too was supplied by John Carlyle, in 1755.<sup>11</sup> When the gaol needed repairs or a bridge needed building John Carlyle would look after it.<sup>12</sup>

The duties of a Gentleman Justice were endless and tiresome, but they were, after all, a sign of status.

#### TOWN TRUSTEE

As has been noted, John Carlyle was appointed to the Board of Trustees under the Act for incorporating the town in 1749. Until his death in 1780 he never missed a single meeting of the Board. The duties of trustees were also twofold.

First of all they were responsible for the management of the finances of the town, buying and selling land, and so forth. The trustees also had various administrative duties. They took charge of keeping the streets in repair, of public buildings such as warehouses and the courthouse, of

regulating building practices in the town, and also of maintaining public health and order.

An early scheme for raising money was the lottery scheme sponsored by the trustees of Alexandria (sometimes called Belhaven in early times). The town was only a year old when the lottery was announced in the Virginia Gazette and the Maryland Gazette, since the new town did not yet have its own newspaper: "...the Money arising therefrom to be applied towards building a Church, and Market-House in the said Town." John Carlyle was to be one of the managers. The lottery did not go well. The managers were unable to sell all their tickets, so the drawing was postponed five months until November.<sup>13</sup> Finally in February 1752 it was announced: "The Managers of the Belhaven Lottery, finding it impossible to dispose of the Tickets in the said Lottery, occasioned by several malicious Insuations and Reports, hereby give notice, That those Persons who have bought Tickets may have their Money return'd, by the Persons of whom they bought them."<sup>14</sup> The trustees would have to find another means of raising the money for the public improvements. The courthouse was built several years later, and the church was not erected until the 1770's.<sup>15</sup>

There was a variety of financial responsibilities for Carlyle as a Trustee. He was in charge of building a public warehouse and renting it out to a private manager. The public warehouse at Point Lumley was rented out to Andrew Wales, and Carlyle and the Trustees had a difficult time each month when time came to collect his rent.<sup>16</sup> There were also public wharves and shipyards to be built and managed, streets to be cleared, and so forth. Carlyle took an active role in all such activities, keeping meticulous records of his expenses and presenting them from time to time for settlement. The Trustees were always putting off payment, so that his duties undoubtedly cost Carlyle more than just his time.<sup>17</sup>

One of the chief administrative duties of the Trustees was the supervision of building projects in the new town. They ordained the size and types of houses to be built, the heights of chimneys, and the maintenance of yards. They were concerned with the appearance of their town as well as public safety and health. They ordered the draining of marshes and forbade the keeping of hogs in the town.

The greatest burden on the Trustees was undoubtedly the maintenance and repair of the public streets. From time to time new overseers were appointed from the ranks of the

Trustees to keep the streets in good order. This task was rotated among the Trustees. In 1763, Carlyle and others were appointed to various sections of the town, "...to make so much of the said Main street dry and fitt for traveling for Waggon & foot people."<sup>18</sup> They were to perform this task under penalty of a 20 shilling fine.

Carlyle undertook several construction projects for the Board of Trustees. He cleared the first road down to Point Lumley at the foot of Duke Street and built a warehouse there.<sup>19</sup> He supervised the construction of the courthouse built for the Fairfax County Court. And when a muster of the local militia was held Carlyle supplied the refreshments, as is seen from an entry in his accounts with the Trustees: "To Cash rum & sugar at a muster...19s 1d."<sup>20</sup> Someone kept an eye on doings at Williamsburg for the town: "To Cash pd to Coll. West to watch our Burgesses... £10."<sup>21</sup> The burdens of gentility weighed heavily on his shoulders, taking valuable time and money that could be invested in trade. There are few complaints; it was also a privilege.

There were other public duties as well. He was, for instance, one of the first members of the Sun Fire Company, listed on their first intact roster in 1777.<sup>22</sup> He may also have succeeded his father-in-law William Fairfax as His Majesty's collector of customs for the South Potomac, but this is uncertain. Since Carlyle was one of the merchants who took the lead in opposition to the king's mercantile policies, it would seem unlikely that he would occupy such an office. He may have held the office for a few years after Fairfax's death in 1758, but probably no longer held it by the time of the non-importation agreement of Virginia merchants in 1770.<sup>23</sup>

#### MILITARY COMMISSION

In May 1750 it was recorded at the Fairfax County Court that "John Carlyle Gent. took the Oaths and Subscribed the Test in respect to his military Commission and Ordered to be Certified."<sup>24</sup> Under the English statutes for religious uniformity all office holders were required to take certain oaths of allegiance and conformity to the Anglican Church.

His rank at this time is not known, nor in what capacity he served. One may guess that the position was honorary, a military title to go along with his newly acquired gentility, and that he probably did little more than supply provisions for musters of the county militia.

By 1753 he held the rank of Major. In May 1753 he accompanied William Fairfax, George William Fairfax, and George Washington on a trip to Winchester for a conference with certain Indian tribes whose aid was hoped against the French on the frontier.<sup>25</sup>

In 1754 a campaign was planned against the French and Indians which included George Washington's expedition to the Ohio frontier. The Council of Virginia recommended in January 1754 to the Governor "...That Mr. John Carlyle be appointed Commissary of Provisions."<sup>26</sup> A week later Major Carlyle was commissioned by Governor Dinwiddie "Commissary of Provisions and Stores for an Expedit'n intended to the River Ohio."<sup>27</sup> He was charged "...carefully and diligently

to provide Provis's of all kinds for s'd Expedition (viz) Bread, Flower, Corn, Pork and Beef, and the same to have carried to Wills's Creek, from thence to be carried to the Fort now building on the Waters of the Ohio." Carlyle was given power "to impress Boats, Sloops, Waggons, Carts, Horses, or any Thing else that is necessary for the safe Conveyance of Provisions or Stores." Enclosed with the formal commission was a private letter with fuller instructions for transferring supplies and arms to the frontier. From the correspondence of Major Washington and Governor Dinwiddie can be extracted some bits of information about Carlyle's activities as Commissary. There are letters from Carlyle to Washington, from Washington to Dinwiddie, and from Dinwiddie to both concerning supplies for the expedition.<sup>28</sup> Washington complained bitterly about the delays in supplies for his troops, and Dinwiddie wrote reproachful letters to Major Carlyle accusing him of hoarding supplies and overcharging.

It was not all Carlyle's fault. He had contracted with various persons to supply provisions and transportation and

was frequently disappointed.<sup>29</sup> Also payment for his services was infrequent and usually insufficient.<sup>30</sup> He was no doubt expected to make whatever profit he could in selling supplies to the army. Washington explained the problem in a letter to Dinwiddie in June 1754:

We have been extreemely ill used by Major Carlyle's Deputy's which I am heartily sorry for, for he is a Gentleman so capable of the Business himself, and has taken so much pains to give satisfaction. He, I believe has been deceived, and we have suffer'd by those under him; and by those who have contracted for provisions. We have been 6 days without Flour, and none upon the Road to our relief that we know off (sic) though I have by repeated expresses given timely notice to have had supplies....

In a late letter to Major Carlyle, I have complaind of the tardiness of his Deputys and desird he would acquaint them therewith as I had also done... 31

Washington later wrote to William Fairfax, "The promises of those traders who offer to contract for large quantities of flour are not to be depended upon; a fla most flagrent (sic) instance of which we experience in Croghan, who was under obligation to Maj. Carlyle for the delivery of this article in a certain time."<sup>32</sup> Dinwiddie nevertheless blamed Carlyle

for the delays in a series of bitter letters. Carlyle could have taken advantage of his position to engage in a bit of profiteering, but there is no evidence other than Dinwiddie's testimony to prove any purposeful delay or hoarding of supplies.

The next year General Edward Braddock came over to Virginia to assume personal command of military activities in the colonies. His fate is well known. On his way to disaster he spent several weeks in Alexandria, in the home of Major Carlyle, making plans for coordinating, financing, and supplying military expeditions for the upcoming campaigns. A meeting was held with five of the colonial governors at which plans were made and problems of fund-raising from uncooperative colonial legislatures were discussed. On 10 April 1755 Major Carlyle was appointed by Braddock to act as Storekeeper for the expedition which was to set out from Alexandria against the French and Indians in Ohio and was advanced one year's pay at five shillings per day.<sup>33</sup> Carlyle must have been quite busy with his duties, for

he did not get around to taking the required oaths before the Fairfax County Court until 17 June.<sup>34</sup> Various supplies, such as uniforms, bedding, unnecessary arms, and such, were left in the care of Carlyle when the troops left Alexandria. Many of these were not reclaimed, since many of the soldiers never returned. They were, some of them, disbursed in the course of the next few years of war to troops under Washington and others.<sup>35</sup>

Carlyle continued to act as Commissary for the next few years, and continued to have problems collecting payment from the colonial government. There are several manuscript letters written by Carlyle in which he discusses his difficulties in transporting supplies and collecting for them. In 1757 the army desired Carlyle to transfer some casks left in his care to Norfolk. He was obliged to hire ships at his own expense, and hope for reimbursement later. He wrote to his army connection: "The Freight of these Vessels will Stand me Thirty or forty pounds. Should be much Obliged for your Advice how I am to be repaid. Also for the Storage due on the Casks, which I am lyable for here."<sup>36</sup>

As late as 1771 Carlyle was still seeking repayment for his services during the French and Indian Wars. In December of that year the Executive Council in Williamsburg received a petition from Carlyle:

The Memorial of John Carlyle was read and considered, praying to be allowed to such a part of the 200000 Acres of Land promised by Governor Dinwiddie's Proclamation of the Board might judge him intitled to in Virtue of his Offices of Commissary of Provisions, and Pay-Master of the forces; but the Board were of Opinion, that the Nature of those Offices was such, as not to entitle him to a Share of the Lands offered by the said Proclamation.<sup>37</sup>

When the Revolution came along Carlyle again served in the capacity of a supplier, by now with the rank of Colonel.<sup>38</sup>

He purchased provisions such as beef and pork for the use of the army, and acted as receiving agent for various types of supplies.<sup>39</sup>

#### THE REVOLUTION

In 1770 a meeting of prominent Virginia merchants was held in Williamsburg to protest British mercantile policies.

There it was decided to agree not to import any British goods, and committees were established in the major seaports in Virginia to enforce this boycott. John Carlyle was appointed to the committee for the port of Alexandria, along with Robert Adam and Thomas Kirkpatrick.

As time went on the crisis of a final break loomed nearer and nearer. In May 1774 the major cities in the colonies formed committees of correspondence to coordinate and encourage resistance and to offer aid to blockaded Boston.

On 29 May the committee for Alexandria was established.

John Carlyle and John Dalton were elected to the committee, who immediately wrote letters to the various other committees:

We received yesterday the papers herewith sent, and conformable to the example set us by the Gentlemen of Baltimore, called a meeting of the principal Inhabitants, who chose a committee to correspond with that and the neighboring Towns, for the purpose of communicating to each other in the most speedy manner, their sentiments on the present interesting and alarming situation of America...

Deeply interested as we are, in the fate of Boston now suffering the scourge of oppression in the common cause, we decline entering into any resolutions, till the sentiments of the representatives of the people now met at Williamsburg, are known,

when we make no doubt that spirit which has distinguished Virginia as the intrepid Guardian of American Liberty, will again shine forth in all its former Lustre...

We are with most respect in behalf of the committee,

40

Gentlemen, Y<sup>r</sup> most humble servants,  
JOHN CARLYLE  
JOHN DALTON

Beneath the revolutionary rhetoric was a very real threat, the threat of organized resistance and revolution, and it was a desperate step for these men, for they were daring treason. They were all of them prosperous men, men who had prospered like Carlyle in trade, and they risked it all. Their courage cannot be overemphasized.

On 18 July 1774 there was held in the courthouse in Alexandria a general meeting of the inhabitants of Fairfax County, presided over by George Washington, at which a series of resolutions were adopted. John Carlyle was among the signers.<sup>41</sup> The resolutions formed an early statement of the rationale which produced the Declaration of Independence two years later. At the same meeting a Committee of Safety was formed for the county, again including John Carlyle, which

was to provide a sort of revolutionary government for the county under wartime conditions. Carlyle took an active part in the local revolutionary committees until his death in 1780.

John Carlyle, then, was intimately connected with the formation, government, and leadership of Alexandria from its beginning as a colonial seaport village and saw it through the trying years of revolution. In many ways this Scottish merchant, gentleman, and leader was a symbol of Alexandria's history in the entire colony. His massive stone mansion in the center of town stands as a monument and a symbol as well.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Executive Journal of the Council of Colonial Virginia, V, 279.
2. Ibid. VI, 51.
3. Fairfax County Court Order Book, 1749-1754, 296.
4. Ibid. 1749-1754; 49,200,443; 1754-1756, Part 2; 501; and 1756-1763; 594.
5. Ibid. 1749-1754, 48.
6. Ibid. 1749-1754, 471.
7. Ibid. 1749-1754, 182.
8. Ibid. 1749-1754, 253.
9. Proceedings of Trustees, 101.
10. Ibid. 24-25.
11. Fairfax County Court Order Book, 1754-1756, Part 2, 438.
12. Ibid. 1749-1754, 196, 443.
13. Maryland Gazette, 24 April 1751.
14. Ibid. 22 May 1751.
15. Ibid. 27 February 1752.
16. Proceedings of Trustees, 71, 81, 86.
17. Ibid. 71.
18. Ibid. 53.
19. Ibid. 16, 26.
20. Ibid. 101.
21. Ibid. 101.
22. Quoted in Moore, Seaport in Virginia, 151.
23. The Statement is made by R.H. Spencer in William and Mary Quarterly, 1st series, XVIII (January 1910), See Virginia Historical Register and Literary Notebook, III (1850), 18, 79, for his part in the opposition.

24. Fairfax County Court Order Book, 1749-1754, 67.
25. George Mercer Papers, 78.
26. Executive Journal of the Council of Colonial Virginia, V, 460.
27. Dinwiddie Papers, 53-54.
28. Letters to Washington, edited by S. M. Hamilton (Boston; 1901). Writings of Washington, I, 32-95. Dinwiddie Papers, I. Manuscripts on microfilm of Washington Papers in Library of Congress Manuscripts Division. See also Va. Magazine, LXXIX (April 1971), 131-144, and Virginia Historical Society Manuscript 3V8194D6194212, Richmond, Virginia.
29. Writings of Washington, I, 95.
30. Huntington Library Manuscripts L0 3353 and BR Box 257.
31. Va. Magazine LXXIX (April 1901), 137.
32. Writings of Washington, I, 95.
33. Huntington Library Manuscript L0 563.
34. Fairfax County Court Order Book, 1754-1756, Part 2, 302.
35. Writings of Washington, I, 185.
36. Huntington Library Manuscript L0 3113.
37. Executive Journal of the Council of Colonial Virginia, VI, 443.
38. The first reference to Carlyle's rank as Colonel seems to be December 1756. Writings of Washington, I, 519.
39. Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia, edited by H. R. McIlwaine, (Richmond: 1931), I, 308, 336; II, 210. The Letters of Patrick Henry, edited by H. R. McIlwaine (Richmond; 1926), I, 362.
40. Calendar of Virginia State Papers, I, 51-52.
41. The resolutions of 1774 are printed in full in Va. Magazine, XVIII (April 1910), 159-169.

Carlyle, the Man

All this information about the merchant, the landowner, the Justice of the Peace, the Colonel, and so forth, are all very nice, but what do they tell us about John Carlyle the man? What was he really like -- tall or short, fat or thin, dour or jolly, generous or parsimonious? He shared certain characteristics with his class and his time. He was a wealthy merchant with a good business sense. He was an educated man and possessed of a certain amount of what we would call "culture." His activities required a "gentleman's knowledge" of such things as law, building construction, and surveying. He possessed a respectable and rather expensive library, revealed in the inventory of his estate which was taken after his death in 1780:

5 vol. Rapins History of England  
1 vol. Chambers Dictionary  
3 vol. Salmons History  
1 vol. Naval do  
1 Heraldry Book  
1 Dictionary  
16 vol. Magazines  
30 vol. large octavoes  
5 vol. ditto  
90 vol. small octavoes  
23 vol. Voltares (sic) Works  
a parcel magazines and pamphlets  
16 vols. Sundry books  
43 vols. do small

The variety of his interests also shows up in the lists of his possessions, which included such diverse items as a set of trumpets with a french horn, a surveyor's compass with chains, a backgammon table, a pair of freemason medallions, money scales and weights, a picture of Bates (probably the famous eighteenth-century boxer), and two beehives.<sup>2</sup>

John Carlyle apparently maintained an interest and feeling for the old country. Only one visit to his family can be documented after his removal to Virginia, the trip with William Fairfax in 1750.<sup>3</sup> He may have brought back with him, or made arrangements to have shipped over, some of the family things, such as furniture and paintings. In his estate were a number of Queen Anne and Restoration furniture which may have come from the family belongings in Carlisle, and there were also a set of fifteen Cumberland prospects and a large prospect of Carlisle which hung in his home in Alexandria along with several family portraits.<sup>4</sup> He named his country estates in

Virginia after the ancestral homes of the Carlyles --  
Limekilns, Torthorwald, and Bridekirk.<sup>5</sup>

It has been noted that Carlyle's primary activity was that of a merchant. In his lists of possessions one can see the utensils and tools that a merchant would use for day-to-day business -- money scales, writing utensils, ink stands, bees wax, a set of ivory memorandum books, a few remnants of nautical supplies such as sails, and a set of spectacles.<sup>6</sup>

Carlyle appeared to be a sharp and tight-fisted businessman. He made his fortune in trade. Dinwiddie, as has been seen, accused him of all sorts of shady dealings in supplying the army, but Carlyle was probably not entirely responsible for the problems of delay and high prices.

There was a revealing exchange of letters between George Washington and the partners John Carlyle and Robert Adam in the 1760's. Washington accused them in a series of bitter letters of overcharging and cheating him in a wheat transaction. In 1765 Washington wrote to Carlyle and Adam

that he would send his wheat on flat boats to their mill on Four Mile Run, but he was uncertain as to the agreement on weights and measures.<sup>7</sup>

I once thought I had agreed with Colo. Carlyle at 58 lbs. to the Bushel but it seems it was otherwise....

You were saying the Standard for Wheat at Philadelphia was 58 lbs, and at Lancaster 60 lbs. I have taken some pains to inquire likewise into this matter and am informed that 58 is a much more general weight than the other all over Pennsylvania (sic) and Maryland...

The dispute was still hot two years later, in February of 1767:

Had you Gentlemen been as candid in your representation of Matters as I endeavored to be in mine, some things woud (sic) not have been advanced for Facts that have so little corrispondance with truth; you must excuse the freedom of the expression because I can, to a jury of sensible honest men, to yourselves, or to anybody else, evidently prove the pappable error of some of your assertions, and the absurdity of others...

Washington went on to describe the transaction and noted that the wheat which Carlyle and Adam had sold for him had never been entirely accounted for, and that the money had not been paid.

How then am I to make remittances for Goods to Cloath a numerous Family, supply a House in various necessaries, and support it in all its various expences? ...do you conceive it reasonable that, I should deny myself these conveniences, indeed for the most part absolute Necessaries because it may be attended with some difficulty to you to make the payment according to Contract, or more beneficial perhaps, to apply the money to some other purposes? ...have I not a right to call for my own engagd to me by solemn contract without giving offence?

The question of weight to the bushel had not yet been settled either; Carlyle and Dalton had only given him an allowance of 57 pounds per bushel after their own weighing.

Washington asked: "You do not imagine that if I was even to be governd by weight, that two or 3 Bushels of the lightest is to regulate the whole?"<sup>8</sup>

But even such a sharp dispute over business did not interrupt social relations between their families. Washington's diaries record frequent visits of the Carlyle family to Mount Vernon and of his family to their house in Alexandria.<sup>9</sup> On several occasions the Carlyles were forced to spend several days at Mount Vernon due to the heavy rains which inevitably washed out the road to

Alexandria. There were other friends and family connections, particularly the Fairfaxes of Belvoir to whom frequent visits must have been made. There were also the other wealthy Scottish merchants of Alexandria, such as William Ramsay, John Dalton, Robert Adam, Thomas Kirkpatrick, and their families, whom the Carlyles must have seen regularly.

One humorous picture of these Scotsmen as hosts has survived in George Washington's diaries. He attended a function in Alexandria on 15 February 1760, and recorded his experience:

Went to a ball at Alexandria, where Musick and Dancing was the chief Entertainment. However in a convenient room detachd for the purpose abounded a great plenty of Bread and Butter, some Biscuits with Tea and Coffee which the drinkers of could not Distinguish from Hot Water sweetned. Be it rememberd that pockethandkerchiefs servd the purposes of Table Cloths and Napkins and that no Apologies were made for either.

The proprietors of this Ball were Messrs. Carlyle, Laurie, and Robt. Wilson...

I shall therefore distinguish this ball by the stile and title of the Bread and Butter Ball. We lodged at Colo. Carlyle's. <sup>10</sup>

There is other testimony, however, from Mrs. Mary (Cary) Ambler, who was visiting her Fairfax relatives in 1770.

She found Col. Carlyle very helpful to her indeed. Her carriage had broken down on the way from Alexandria to Baltimore:

When I stopd at Mrs. Chiltons was agreeably surprised to see Co. Carlyle in the street who came to tn that day, upon hearing of my loss he kindly undertook to get it repaired & also to purchase an horse for me to make out the sett as I have but 3 since Mr. Fx's Horse dyed on the road.

He returned later in the day to report "...that he had borrowed one sett of Harns of Mr. Gough & that another was making Baltimore Tn which he hoped would be done by Wedsy night." The harness was repaired so the party set out for Alexandria on Thursday, stopping Friday night at a tavern on the way. "We set off from this Hospitable House on Satur'd morg. & were so happy as to get to Colo Carlyles that night." They stayed Saturday night there and attended church with the Carlyles the next morning: "A Cold Day this Morg. went to Church in the Court House, dined with Colo Carlyle & sett off in the aftn for Mount Vernon." They left Mount Vernon on Monday morning:

...set off for Belvoir where God be thanked we arrived safely & found my sister very well but Miss Carlyle very sick. M. Ambler wrote to Colo Carlyle from Mount Vernon begging the favor of him to send for the chariot to Town & have it Mended which he did & came down to Belvoir in it on Tuesday Eveng. <sup>11</sup>

We have, then, two pictures of John Carlyle, one showing a stingy Scotsman, and the other an open and generous gentleman. There is no reason to doubt either account; Carlyle, like all of us, was capable of both.

There is some question as to Carlyle's religious affiliation. As an office-holder, he was required by English law to swear the oaths of uniformity and supremacy and to subscribe the Test Act, to demonstrate his devotion to the Church of England. His sentiments seem to have been Presbyterian. He was of Scottish stock, and many of the Alexandria Scots were Presbyterian. In his will he requested: "And as to my Body I desire it may be intered under the Tombstone in the enclosed ground in the Presbyterian Yard near where my first wife and children are intered..."<sup>12</sup> He also bequeathed "...the interest of Five hundred pounds to the Poor of the Presbyterian Society in or near Alexandria the Interest to

be paid by my Executors annually for that use to the minister for the time being till my son comes of Age."<sup>13</sup> Carlyle probably attended the Anglican church in order to satisfy the letter of the law, but his attendance was probably merely perfunctory. He did come to the rescue of the Anglicans when their contractor failed to complete Christ Church, finishing up construction for them.<sup>14</sup> And he purchased a pew in the new church in 1773 for 30 pounds.<sup>15</sup> But one may presume that his sentiments were always strongly Presbyterian, and after the Revolution freed him from the obligations of the Test Act he probably became an active Presbyterian.

Of the home life of the Carlyle family very little is known. Only two daughters by his first marriage survived. There were five children who died in childbirth or infancy -- Rachel, Anne, William, George Fairfax, and Hanah. Sarah Fairfax Carlyle died in childbirth in 1761. The eldest surviving daughter Sarah married an Irish immigrant-merchant William Herbert, who achieved prominence in town as President of the Bank of Alexandria and served as mayor.

They took up residence in the Carlyle House after John Carlyle's death. The second surviving daughter was named Anne, perhaps after the child who had died in infancy. Anne was born in 1761, and was the child born at her mother's death. She married, in 1777, Henry Whiting of Gloucester County, joining him in residence there. Their childhood was apparently gay, filled with frequent visits and excursions to Mount Vernon and Belvoir with the other girls in town. Of Carlyle's second marriage almost nothing is known. He is said to have married Sybil West after the death of Sarah, and there was certainly a son, George William Carlyle, who was born around 1765. The lad was killed in South Carolina in Henry Lee's regiment in 1781.

Once again we must fall back on inference to attempt to reconstruct something of the Carlyle homelife chiefly relying on the evidence of their possessions listed in the inventory of 1780. It may be suspected, however, that at least some of the household items had already been given to the two married daughters as they set up housekeeping before Carlyle died, so the list may be woefully incomplete. There were nine Negro slaves listed among the possessions

on the town property in Alexandria -- Jerry, Joe, Cook, Penny, Charles, Sibreia, Cate, Moses, and Nanny. These were probably house servants, such as cooks and butlers, and may have occupied quarters in the attic or in outbuildings. It was a well kept house, one would suspect, staffed with nine servants.

The furnishings of the house reflect both functional and ornamental pieces. There were fine mahogany tables and chairs for a well-furnished dining room, and mahogany pieces which may have belonged in the parlor ("Blue Room"). The upstairs furnishings were more simple, apparently painted wood and cotton curtains. There was fine china for formal dining and an assortment of cheaper items for daily use. The lists of glass and silver show an odd and ill assorted lot of different types of pieces. There was an "old tea chist called the Mistake," which may have been an old family joke.

Among the lists of possessions there are also such items as:

- 1 silver mounted small sword
- 1 do do cutlass
- 1 old small mourning sword
- 3 guns
- 1 case pistols
- 2 spontoons
- 3 tomihaukes
- 1 powder horn

This military hardware may be souvenirs and leftovers from the days of the French and Indian Wars of the 1750's, when General Braddock marched out of Alexandria one spring day in 1755 toward the banks of the Monongahela. In one of his general orders to his army while encamped in Alexandria he instructed the officers to leave behind their spontoons and other useless instruments which would be a hindrance on the march through the wilderness.<sup>16</sup>

Local tradition points to the Carlyle House as Braddock's headquarters while in Alexandria. It is to that tradition that our attention must be directed, as perhaps the most significant connection associated with the history of the Carlyle House.

Footnotes

1. Fairfax County Will Book D, 382.
2. Ibid, 368ff.
3. Conway, Barons of Potomack, 282-284.
4. Fairfax County Will Book D, 371.
5. Ibid. 203, 383, 385.
6. Ibid. 368ff.
7. Washington to Carlyle and Adam, 9 March 1765: Writings of Washington, II, 422-423.
8. Ibid. II, 444-453.
9. The Diaries of George Washington, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick (Boston: 1925), 4 volumes.
10. Ibid. 15 February 1760.
11. "Diary of M. Ambler, 1770," Va. Magazine, XLV (1937), 152-170. Mrs. Ambler had a disconcerting way of sometimes referring to herself in the third person as M. Ambler.
12. Fairfax County Will Book D, 203.
13. Ibid. 204
14. Vestry books in files at Christ Church, Alexandria.
15. Washington Diaries, January 1773.
16. Braddock's Orderly Books, contained in microfilms of Washington Papers, Series 6 A, Reel 117, Alexandria Public Library Reference Office.

## APPENDIX D

### MORE ABOUT THE BRADDOCK CONNECTION

Tradition must, of necessity, form a significant segment in the study of history. One of the tasks of the historian is to attempt to verify or discount legends and traditions. Too often it is impossible to do either, with the tools of historical research and the limitations of documentation. But history is above all else the search for truth about the past, and it is vital to that quest that legend be carefully separated from documented fact, identified as such, and traced as far as possible back in time to its origins. Legend and oral tradition should not be simply abandoned as a pack of lies, for that might be as great an injustice to the past as deliberate falsehood. They serve as important (and often delightful) sources of knowledge about the past. But they must be used with care and a healthy skepticism.

John Carlyle's house is inseparable from the Braddock legend. For at least a hundred years the story has been accepted and repeated until it has become an integral part of that silent stone structure. The story goes that General Braddock accepted the hospitality of Major Carlyle, stayed in Carlyle's house, and met there with the five colonial governors who came to Alexandria to meet with the General in April 1755. There are also auxiliary legends, telling

us, for example, that the meeting took place in the "Blue Room," or that the General stopped to exchange a jest with one of Carlyle's Negroes at his departure from the house. Much of this has been now verified. Now we have no reason to deny the Carlyle house its legend. The cache of letters from John to his brother has substantiated the legend of the Council of Governors meeting in Carlyle's home.

The events of Braddock's unhappy expedition to the banks of the Monongahela, including the stay in Alexandria, have been studied carefully and minutely by able and meticulous historians.<sup>1</sup> A survey of the principal events may be helpful for us here.

General Edward Braddock arrived in Hampton with three British men-of-war on 19 February 1755, accompanied by his aide, Robert Orme, and his secretary, William Shirley.<sup>2</sup> Two days later, on Sunday, 23 February, they went up to Williamsburg to meet Governor Dinwiddie.<sup>3</sup> The transports carrying the troops from Ireland had not yet arrived, and did not begin arriving until the 25th; it was not until 14 March that they all came in.<sup>4</sup> It was planned to send the troops directly up to Alexandria immediately upon their arrival.<sup>5</sup> On the 22nd of March Braddock set out with Dinwiddie and Commodore Keppel by land for Alexandria.<sup>6</sup> The

transports were already on their way to the same place. Braddock, Keppel, and Dinwiddie arrived in Alexandria on the 26th and found the town already crowded to bursting with soldiers and camp followers. A Mrs. Browne, who accompanied her brother on the expedition from England, arrived in town the 22nd and recorded in her diary: "Went with Mr. Lake to every House in the Place to get a lodging, and at last was Obliged to take a Room but little larger than to hold my Bed."<sup>7</sup> Braddock hoped to go directly on to Annapolis where Governor Sharpe of Maryland expected him. There he hoped to meet with Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, Governor Morris of Pennsylvania, and Lieutenant Governor DeLancey of New York.<sup>8</sup> But the roads to the northward were bad, and Shirley and the other governors were delayed. Braddock left Alexandria for Annapolis with Dinwiddie, Keppel, Sharpe (who had come down on the 29th to accompany them), and a number of aides and servants, on Thursday, 3 April.<sup>9</sup> The guard daily mounted at the General's headquarters was reduced the same day from 30 to 10 men.<sup>10</sup> They waited in Annapolis until Monday, 7 April, but the northern governors still did not come, so Braddock, Dinwiddie, Keppel, and the gentlemen-followers returned to Alexandria to await them.<sup>11</sup> Captain Orme recorded:

The General was very anxious to remove the troops from Alexandria, as the greatest care and severest punishments could not prevent the immoderate use of spiritous liquors, and as he was likewise informed the water of that place was unwholesome; Therefore as the Governors were not arrived, the General returned the 7th to Alexandria for the Congress.<sup>12</sup>

On 10 April 1755, Braddock appointed Major John Carlyle store-keeper for his planned expedition to Ohio, and while awaiting the arrival of the governors the unloading of the ships continued and plans were made for supplying the expedition.<sup>13</sup> Many of the troops were moved out of the town into various camps to the westward.<sup>14</sup> The governors finally arrived in Annapolis on 12 April, a Saturday, and came down to Alexandria the next day.<sup>15</sup> On 14 April Braddock, Keppel, Orme, and the five governors met "at the Camp at Alexandria," to discuss plans for the coming campaigns and the difficulties of financing them.<sup>16</sup> Minutes of the meeting were kept by Braddock's secretary, William Shirley, Jr., the son of Governor Shirley of Massachusetts. They agreed on plans for expeditions in the northwest as well as Braddock's push into Ohio. A major problem for the campaign had been the reluctance of the colonial legislatures to vote funds for the war. At the Alexandria Council the governors therefore considered the problem.

The Governors present acquainted his Excellency that they had severally made application to their respective Assemblies for the establishment of the common fund proposed, but had not been able to prevail upon them to agree to it, and gave it as their unanimous opinion that such a Fund can never be established in the Colonies without the aid of Parliament. They likewise declared that having found it impracticable to obtain in their respective governments their proportions expected by his Majesty towards defraying the expense of his service in North America, that they were unanimously of opinion that it should be proposed to his Majesty's Ministers to find out some method of compelling them to do it, and of Assessing the several Governments in proportion to their respective abilities, their shares of the whole money already furnished and which it shall be thought proper for them to furnish towards the General expence of his service,

This was a sore subject, Parliament, doubting its authority to legislate for the colonies, was reluctant to enact legislation to force the colonies to pay for their own defence, but it seemed only equitable that they should contribute. Colonial legislatures had been lethargic or downright uncooperative in granting funds to support the common defense. The southern colonies, who were not particularly threatened by the French and Indians, were especially reluctant to contribute, but even Pennsylvania's legislature was troublesome. The question remained open and was not solved until a new ministry in London decided to force the colonies to bear their fair share with a

tax on stamps. The Stamp Act, of course, was odious to the colonists, and provided impetus to a movement of resistance, which led to eventual revolution. The American revolutionaries formulated a rationale for their actions which denied the right of the mother country to levy taxes on the colonies. But all of this was in the future on that afternoon in April in 1755, when five colonial governors gathered and requested the mother country to force their colonies to help pay for the war.

Braddock left Alexandria to join his troops at Wills Creek on 20 April, the governors having left on the 17th.<sup>17</sup> A small detachment was left behind in Alexandria along with the sick. The remainder of the tragic story of Braddock's expedition need not be told here.

### Footnotes

1. For the best documented studies of Braddock in Alexandria, see Francis Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe (Boston: 1885), 190ff, and Lee McCardell, 111-Starred General; Braddock of the Coldstream Guards (Pittsburgh; 1958), 154ff. McCardell includes an excellent bibliography.
2. Dinwiddie Papers, 1, 510. Virginia Gazette, 28 February 1755.
3. Virginia Gazette, 28 February 1755.
4. Admiralty In-Letters (ADM 1), Vol. 480, Public Records Office, London; transcripts in Library of Congress Manuscripts Division.
5. Captain Orme's Journal, in Winthrop Sargent, The History of an Expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1755 (Philadelphia: 1855), 286, Braddock Orderly Books, George Washington Papers, Microfilms at Alexandria Public Library, Series 6A, Reel 117, 28 February 1755. Virginia Gazette, 14 March 1755.
6. Virginia Gazette, 21 March 1755. Orme's Journal, 290.
7. Diary of Mrs. Charlotte Browne, Library of Congress Manuscripts Division.
8. Orme's Journal, 288. Dinwiddie Papers, 11, 4. Virginia Gazette, 21 March 1755.
9. Orme's Journal, 297. Maryland Gazette, 3 April 1755.
10. Braddock Orderly Books, 3 April 1755.
11. Maryland Gazette, 12 April 1755.
12. Orme's Journal, 297.
13. Huntington Library Manuscript LO 563.
14. Braddock Orderly Books, 8 April 1755. Orme's Journal, 298. Maryland Gazette, 17 April 1755.
15. Maryland Gazette, 17 April 1755. Colonial Office Papers

(C.O. 5), Vol. 46, Public Records Office, London; microfilms in Library of Congress Manuscripts Division.

16. There is a manuscript copy of the minutes, signed by Shirley, in the papers of Braddock, in Colonial Office Papers (C.O. 5), Vol. 46. Printed version in The Documentary History of the State of New York, edited by E.B. O'Callaghan, (Albany; 1849), II, 648-651. Other primary accounts of the meeting are in Orme's Journal, 300-307; Dinwiddie Papers, II, 15-17; Maryland Gazette, 15 May 1755; Colonial Office Papers (C.O. 5), Vol. 46; Admiralty In-Letters, (ADM 1), Vol. 480; Writings of Washington, I, 116.
17. Maryland Gazette, 24 April 1755. Colonial Office Papers (C.O. 5), Vol. 46.

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