Carlyle Connection "It's a fine beginning."

Colonel John Carlyle's Loyalist Neighbor By Richard Klingenmaier

On a December evening in 1775, Enoch Hawksworth, a 42year old dry goods merchant, hastily packed a few chosen belongings and quietly left his home in Alexandria, Virginia. Moving quickly through the shadows and along back alleys to a nearby livery stable to retrieve his horse, he hoped to avoid all contact with his neighbors. What his future would hold from this night forward, he did not know. His immediate goal was to escape from this rebellious town where his refusal to join the local Patriot militia resulted in his neighbors calling him a Tory and threatening him with bodily harm.

Hawksworth had good reason to fear for his safety; earlier in February a local loyalist was tarred and feathered and carried through the streets by a surly mob.1 In October, word had reached Alexandria that Lord Dunmore, the Royal governor, was on his way up the Potomac River with his fleet and 4,000-man army to destroy the rebellious town. Before the rumor was discredited, many "inhabitants busied themselves packing up their belongings ready for flight...some even left town."2 As one historian points out, the first 15 months of the Revolutionary War were "so saturated with patriotism that dissent was tantamount to treason."3 This was hardly the time to be suspected, let alone accused outright, of being a "Tory."

Hawksworth now desperately sought sanctuary among other loyal British subjects. The city of Boston, occupied by the British army since 1768, would have been a logical choice, but that sanctuary seemed too far away. Instead, his intended destination was Philadelphia, where he hoped to find passage on a ship bound for England. As he would later record in an official deposition, he became a



A typical shop of the period.

"wandering refugee for loyalty."4

Enoch Hawksworth's decision to leave his home town was not an easy one, but one he most certainly agonized over because of family considerations. While details of his personal life in Alexandria appear to be non-existent, he seems to have been a widower with a young child at the time of his departure. According to his official deposition given to British authorities in Southampton, England, on 4 October 1783, "having made provision for a young and motherless daughter" [presumably with a local family] he set out alone that December evening in 1775 for Philadelphia where he subsequently boarded an unarmed brig destined for Port Lorient, a small city located on the western coast of France. His choice of a French vessel may have been a ruse to mislead Patriot authorities in Philadelphia as to his true destination. In any event, that



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choice proved to be a poor one. The brig was soon captured off the North American coast by a British cruiser, possibly part of the British invasion force soon to confront General Washington on Long Island in August 1776. The French vessel was taken to Staten Island, New York, where Hawksworth was initially treated as a rebel and imprisoned on board a prison ship. Somehow he was able to convince his captors of his loyalty and was soon set free, possibly though with the stipulation that he immediately sail to England as further proof of his loyalty to the Crown. Taking passage on board a British ship, he landed at Cork in southwest Ireland, in mid- September 1776 and subsequently reached London in October of that year.

Some time after his arrival in England, he was asked by British authorities to "go on a mission to Newfoundland." While he did not elaborate, "the mission" may have involved an anticipated influx of other loyalists to Canada as the war dragged on and the need to prepare for their re-settlement. Hawksworth refused the offer, however, stating he feared capture by American rebels.

How Enoch Hawksworth felt about his return to his country of birth is not specifically known, but was likely a combination of relief and anger. As with the thousands of loyalists to follow him, wealthy or destitute, "gentlemen" or of the "mid-lin sort," that initial feeling of relief soon turned to disenchantment.5 While many considered themselves staunch supporters of their King and hoped to have some influence in the development of British colonial policy, this was not to be the case; the British government ignored their petitions as well as their basic needs. Even worse, many loyalists felt patronized by British officials. They soon realized that they were merely guests in Britain and that unless they renounced all ties to their former homeland and became true British citizens, they would always be just "colonials." For those born in the colonies or of long-term residence, the British Isles felt like a foreign country despite common language and loyalty to the Crown, for even they had become "Americans."

Like most British loyalists who sought sanctuary in Britain, Enoch Hawksworth believed his stay there would be temporary, that the rebellion in the colonies would be quickly defeated and that he would be able to return and be reunited with his young daughter. In Hawksworth's own words, he became "very depressed and nervous" as the war dragged on. If indeed he had intentions to return to the colonies, poor health and financial concerns by the end of the war made a return impossible. Whether he had subsequent communication with his daughter remains unknown.

Unlike the many exiled upper-class loyalists who enjoyed the comradery of their peers, patronized the New York and Philadelphia-style coffee houses in London and founded "loyalist clubs" where they could exchange news and gossip, the less advantaged loyalists like Enoch Hawksworth were on their own, unless they had family to assist them. Hawksworth's livelihood depended upon employment, something he found extremely difficult to obtain. He eventually found a job as a house servant in Bath, England. However, by 1783, at age 50, deteriorating health as well as an increasing loss of eyesight forced him to resign his position. The circumstances of the remaining twenty-two years of his life appear to be unknown. Surviving records show he died at age 72 in High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, England in 1805.**6**

Enoch Hawksworth of Alexandria, Virginia Enoch Hawksworth immigrated from England to Alexandria in 1764. Records listing "bonded" and "indentured" immigrants to the colonies during that period do not show Hawksworth in either category, suggesting his travel to Virginia was as a "freeman." He was probably accompanied by his wife Mary Wright Hawksworth who he married in London on 14 February 1759.7 At the time of their voyage, their daughter may not have been born yet. Whether Hawksworth had previous mercantile experience or initially apprenticed himself to a local merchant in Alexandria is open to speculation. However, by 1775, according to his own subsequent testimony, he was operating a dry goods store in Alexandria, on North Fairfax Street "adjoining the House of Col. John Carlyle." Since his store is not listed among the more than two dozen mercantile establishments known to have operated during this period, we can surmise that his business was a small neighborhood enterprise and not involved directly in import/export activities of any significance. 8 T he exact location of his store is not recorded, but two sites are possible.

The first possible location for Hawksworth's "store" would have been on the adjoining lot to the south of the Carlyle property. In 1796, this lot was owned by Barnard Bryan and is noted on William Herbert's 1796 Mutual Assurance Policy No. 10. The accompanying sketch, however, does not depict any actual structure on Bryan's lot at this time. A further examination of surviving Mutual Assurance policies for other properties located on the east side of North Fairfax Street from Ramsay's Alley northward to the Herbert property revealed the existence of three lots, two owned by Guy Atkinson and one by Barnard Bryan. All three lots were subsequently built on between 1796 and 1797. According to a written notation on Guy Atkinson's insurance policy No. 156 dated October 1797, Barnard Bryan built a "Wooden house" on the lot between Atkinson's 3-story brick house and the Herbert property in 1797. We therefore can assume with some degree of confidence that Enoch Hawksworth's "store" was not located on the adjoining lot to the south of John Carlyle's property. In fact, the three lots were almost certainly vacant throughout Hawksworth's presence in Alexandria.

The second, and most likely location, is described in Mutual Assurance Policy No. 11 issued to William Herbert in March, 1796, then owner of the Carlyle House property. This policy focuses on the northern half of the Herbert (Carlyle) property and describes three insured wooden structures located near the southeast corner of Cameron and Fairfax Streets. They are identified on the policy as three "dwelling houses." However, earlier references to what appear to be the same buildings during John Carlyle's life time identified them as an "office/accounting room," "a dry goods store," and "a dry warehouse." In his will, John Carlyle left to his daughter Sarah Carlyle Herbert a narrow portion of lot 42, measuring 30' X 100' bordering Cameron Street that included Carlyle's "dry warehouse" at the corner of Fairfax and Cameron streets. John Carlyle's "dry goods store," situated immediately to the south of the warehouse, was most likely the site described by Hawksworth as "adjoining" John Carlyle's property.

Conclusions

Alexandria's archives do not identify Enoch Hawksworth as a merchant or even as a property owner anywhere in Alexandria during the years of his residency - 1764 to 1775. He left no discernible traces of his life in the colonies, other than his official deposition in 1783. Searches of both Maryland and Virginia Gazette newspapers for the period do not reveal any advertisements related to "his" business.**9** Surviving Alexandria church records too, do not reveal any identifiable trace of Enoch Hawksworth, his wife Mary, or their daughter, to include an obituary and burial record for Mary, who presumably died in Alexandria sometime between 1764 and Hawksworth's departure eleven years later. Existing tax records for Alexandria were not compiled until after 1787.

This dearth of information suggests that Enoch Hawksworth did not own his own store in Alexandria, but, in fact, leased John Carlyle's "dry goods store" for his mercantile business. His subsequent deposition states that he owned his business and was not employed by Carlyle as a clerk or store manager. As part of that deposition presented to the British Claims Commission on 4 October 1783, he provided the following printed notice: "Alexandria, May 20th, 1775: Enoch Hawksworth, at His Store Adjoining the House of Col. John Carlyle, Has for Sale on Reasonable Terms, for Cash Only, a Neat and General Assortment of Coarse, Fine, and Superfine Broad cloths, Groceries, etc."10 He likely presented this notice as proof of his residence in Alexandria, not as proof of his business per se, since he did not claim a loss of inventory or other property. His claim appears to focus more on his need for some form of immediate "monetary relief" from the British government in 1783 because of poor health.

The above notice-of-sale also poses two questions. When did Enoch Hawksworth first decide to leave Alexandria? The notice would suggest that he was already considering leaving Alexandria as early as May 1775. His stipulation that all sales would be for "Cash Only" suggests a certain immediacy for the sale. It would also explain a lack of any subsequent claim for property lost; he apparently was able to dispose of his store inventory prior to his departure in December.

Second, why did he choose a Baltimore printer to produce the notice and presumably, advertise the sale in Baltimore only? The answer may be self-preservation. Fearing preemptive action from Alexandria's "rebels", Hawksworth may have intentionally sought to conceal his intended departure for as long as possible, while also arranging for the future care of his young daughter.

Unfortunately, we may never know the full story of Enoch Hawksworth's life in Alexandria. He was not a man to leave noticeable footprints, and John Carlyle's surviving correspondence is lacking any information regarding the day-to-day operation of his dry goods store. In addition, Carlyle's business records have not been located.

As one historian has noted: "Men who...separate themselves from their homes...who become outlaws, wanderers, and exiles, - such men leave few memorials behind them. Their papers are scattered and lost, and their very names pass from recollection."**11** Indeed, Enoch Hawksworth described himself as a "wandering refugee for loyalty." His story is brief. Nonetheless it is historically important, if for no other reason than his connection to one of Alexandria's notable patriots - Colonel John Carlyle.

Endnotes:

 Smyth, John F.D. Tour in the United States of America.
 London: G. Robinson, J. Robinson & J. Sewell, 1784.
 Cresswell, Nicholas. Journal of Nicholas Cresswell 1774-1777. Port Washington, Kennikat Press.

3 Ellis, Joseph. The Quartet - Orchestrating the Second American Revolution 1783-1789. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2015.

4 Coldham, Peter Wilson. American Loyalist Claims, Vol. 1. National Genealogical Society, Washington, D.C., 1980.
5 Of the sixty thousand loyalists who fled the colonies in North America, eight thousand whites and five thousand free blacks are estimated to have traveled to Britain by the end of the war. See: Jasanov, Maya. Liberty's Exiles -American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World. Vintage Books, 2011.

6 Coldham, Peter Wilson.

7 Chapman, John. Ed. Book of The Register of Marriages Belonging to the Parish of St. George, Hanover Square, London, Vol.II,1886. [Entry: 14 February 1759 - Enoch Hawksworth, B. (Bachelor) & Mary Wright, S. (Spinster).]
8 In 1775, Robert Carter of Nomini Hall created an extensive list in his Letter Book of Alexandria's prominent mercantile firms. Hawksworth's business is not among them.

9 Note: The Alexandria Gazette was not published until 1784.

10 The Notice of Sale was published in Baltimore by "John Dunlap at his printing-office in Market-Street, where all manner of printing work is done with elegance and the utmost expedition. 1775."
11 Jasanov, Maya.



News from the Educator

This winter has been very busy despite the snow. I am in the early stages of summer camp planning and am excited about what the fourth year has in store! In honor of the fourth year we added a fourth session! Our newest session, Mini Camp Carlyle, will be a halfday camp for our younger historians, rising kindergarten to rising second grade. This session will take place the week of July 18-22. Our full day sessions for rising third to rising sixth grade will take place July 11-15, July 25-29, and August 8-12 from 9am-4pm. To register and find more information on this and other NOVA day camps please visit novadaycamps.com. Helen and I will be offering training for new volunteers in March. If you are interested in volunteering with us please contact me at vherndon@nvrpa.org or 703-549-2997.

~Vanessa Herndon

News from the Curator

Carlyle House fabulously put on several exciting public programs during the winter months so far! We had a great turn out at our Soldiers' Christmas event on December 5th with 800 visitors! John Carlyle and his family welcomed visitors into the museum for free tours. The 1st Virginia Regiment had an encampment in the front yard which included musket fire and drill demonstrations. Also, our friends in the City of Alexandria Pipe and Drums performed an outdoors concert with almost a dozen members of their company. This was the last open house that we hosted before installing our new exhibit, "Who These Wounded Are" on the second floor.

We had another very successful Historic Alexandria Candlelight Tours on the second week in December, partnering with Gadsby's Tavern Museum, Lee-Fendall House, and Lloyd House, the headquarters for the Office of Historic Alexandria. Over 700 visitors came, and this year they had a special treat: sugar cookies baked by The Dairy Godmother in Del Ray! Did you know she does more than just cobbler and custard? It was a delicious event all around with 18th century style cranberry shrub punch to wash it down!

We celebrated John Carlyle's 296th birthday on February 6th with dancing, birthday cake and cherry shrub punch! A half dozen dancers, a fiddler and dance master, the Appin Living History Regiment, and outdoor games provided by expert Tad Miller brought history to life for over 400 visitors! This is a fun program which highlights our favorite Alexandria founding father's birthday (no offense to George...). We have lots of great upcoming programs this spring and we hope to see you there!



Walking Tour, "Walking Behind the Scenes of Mansion House Hospital"

Saturdays, February 6-October 1, 3:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Curator's Tour, "Who These Wounded Are: The Extraordinary Stories of the Mansion House Hospital"

Sunday, February 28th, 10:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.

The Architecture of Carlyle House: Behind the Scenes Saturday, March 13th, 11:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.

Beyond the Call of Duty: Roles and Responsibilities of Civil War Nurses, Speaker: Chris Foard The Lyceum, 201 S. Washington Street, Alexandria Tuesday, March 29; 7:00 - 8:30 p.m.

Braddock Day: The French & Indian War in Alexandria Saturday, April 9; 12 p.m. to 4 p.m.

Friends of Carlyle House Herb and Craft Sale Saturday, April 23; 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.

Attics and Alleys Tours Saturdays in May (7, 14, 21, 28) – 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.

Mothers' Day Tea Sunday, May 8th, Seatings at 12:00 p.m. and 2:30 p.m.

Walking with Zombies May Date, TBD

Please see our website for further details!

~Helen Wirka

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Carlyle House Historic Park is accredited by the American Alliance of Museums.

News from the Site Manager

Wow, what a fantastic response to our Annual Appeal! You exceeded our goal of \$10,000 by \$5600 for a total of \$15,600!! And you did this in record time. We are so gratified by your generosity and hope that each of you has found the opportunity to visit the exhibit that you made possible. Carlyle House has experienced a 39.6% increase in visitation due to the publicity and attention that *Mercy Street* has brought the site.



Information about our new garden audio tour!

We now have a new interactive experience, a mobile tour app of our beautiful gardens! Thanks to Helen's hard work and oversight, visitors can access interpretive content through their personal mobile devices. The app accesses an 8-stop audio tour highlighting the history, unique architecture, and gardens of Carlyle House. For visitors who prefer to read, the app includes transcriptions of each audio piece. See the postcard above for details on the several ways to access the tour.

Speaking of the garden, please contact Suzanne Kalvaitis to volunteer for this year's Friends of Carlyle House Herb & Craft Sale on April 23. Once again, the Friends will sell plants from the Mount Vernon greenhouses. We expect some fabulous vendors this year, along with live musical entertainment, a book sale, a bake sale, and a free plant clinic by the Master Gardeners. The Friends need your help to make this yet another successful Garden Day!

We have a new customer satisfaction survey in place. RocketUp allows visitors to provide completely anonymous feedback via a one-question survey. We hope that this will encourage visitors to give us their frank opinions so that we may hone and perfect our overall operations. Check it out for yourself. Type <u>rkt.la/ch</u> into your web browser and let us know how we're doing!

Please save the date! The Friends Annual Meeting and party will be on Saturday, June 10 at 6:00 p.m. We hope to see you there!

~Susan Hellman