

ART. XII.—*The Washingtons at Whitehaven and Appleby*. By E. HINCHCLIFFE, B.A.

*Read at Kendal, September 10th, 1971.*

A COLLECTION of press cuttings made by the late William Jackson, F.S.A., now at Tullie House, Carlisle, contains a series of letters and articles contributed to local newspapers in the last quarter of the 19th century on the subject of the Washington family. W. S. Harper, in an article which first appeared in the *Whitehaven Guardian* in 1875 and was later published as a paper in an expanded form (CW1 v 98), states:

I have a strong belief that the ancestor of the illustrious soldier-president George Washington sailed from Whitehaven to Virginia, and had a connection of some kind with the town — perhaps in the shipment of tobacco, dyewoods, and other Virginian produce.

He believed:

it is at least worth a consideration whether, looking to the trade carried on with Virginia, the Whitehaven Washingtons might not have originally settled here as agents or correspondents for their relations in the colonies.

His search of the registers of St Nicholas, Whitehaven produced a number of Washington entries, but none earlier than 1696/7, and, as he himself admitted, "it seems certain that John and Lawrence Washington . . . sailed from England to Virginia about 1655-7". It was J. C. C. Smith who found a connection with Whitehaven which had previously been overlooked, and made the discoveries which "have at any rate the one advantage that instead of being, as is too frequently the case, matters of surmise or theory, they are founded on evidence which is quite conclusive" (CW1 ix 97). He realised that the Mildred

Gale who was buried at St Nicholas, Whitehaven on 30 January 1700/1, and who is described in her will as wife of George Gale of Whitehaven, was grandmother of George Washington. The daughter of Augustine Warner of Virginia, she had married Colonel Lawrence Washington, son of the emigrant John, and "came to England after the death of her husband for the purpose presumably of attending to her executorship duties and dealing with her deceased husband's English property".<sup>1</sup> Now who and what was George Gale of Whitehaven? Where and when did he meet the widow of a Virginian planter? What was the date and place of their marriage? Although he gives some details of the Gale family in 1712, Smith had to leave these questions largely unanswered, and his attempts to find a record of the marriage were unsuccessful. He refers to a bond which George Gale gave for the tuition of his wife's children by her previous marriage, but gives no information as to how the bond was implemented. He found a record of the burial of Mildred, daughter of George and Mildred Gale, at St Nicholas, Whitehaven, on 26 March 1701, but are the burials of mother and daughter all the evidence there is for the persistence of a belief in a Washington connection with Whitehaven?

Other items from William Jackson's collection of cuttings reflect equally strong claims for Westmorland as the ancestral home of the Washington family. Many of these are "no more than surmise or theory", but one detail mentioned by the writer of an article headed "The Family of General Washington" does stand up to closer scrutiny. "In examining some papers belonging to a Westmorland family",<sup>2</sup> the writer came across the following account:

<sup>1</sup> Smith, J. C. C., "New notes on the ancestry of George Washington", CWI ix 97.

<sup>2</sup> Although this story appears to be known in Westmorland, an identification of the papers has not been possible. Mr B. C. Jones has kindly searched the Hill MSS., but found no mention of the incident.

At the capitulation of York Town, on the 18th October, 1781, the *Guadaloupe* Frigate, which had been detached to the Chesapeake River, and directed to co-operate with the army, was surrendered with the town. When the Captain gave up his sword, General Washington enquired from what part of England he came; and on his replying "from Appleby in Westmorland", Washington at once said "I am very glad to meet a Westmorland man; my family sprung from that County, and my brother was at Appleby School." The General invited the Captain (who was none other than Captain Robinson, brother of John Robinson, ten years member for Westmorland, and at that time Secretary to the Treasury) to dinner, and showed him much attention the whole time he was a Prisoner of War.

Hugh Robinson, exactly eight years younger than his eldest brother John, was the sixth son of Charles and Hannah Robinson of Appleby. Born on 15 July 1735, he entered the Navy in 1755, served for many years under Rodney, commanded the 28-gun frigate *Guadaloupe* from November 1780 until the surrender of York Town, and although he never secured another ship was eventually gazetted Rear-Admiral in 1794.<sup>3</sup> At the time of the surrender of York Town his eldest brother "Jack" was Secretary to the Treasury in Lord North's administration, having represented Westmorland at Westminster from 1764-1774, and then Harwich, a seat he held at his death in 1802.<sup>4</sup> According to the School Honours Board he was a pupil at Appleby 1736-1744, and two Washingtons are listed as pupils at approximately the same time — Lawrence Washington 1729-1732 and Augustine Washington 1732-1741. If the dates are correct, Hugh Robinson's brother and George Washington's brother were contemporaries at Appleby, a fact which they no doubt discovered in the course of their conversations at York Town. It was not, of course, unusual for

<sup>3</sup> *Some account of the family of Robinson of the White House, Appleby, Westmorland* [by C. B. Norcliffe-Robinson] (London: Nichols and Sons, 1874), pp. 54-57 and 73-74. See also *The Annual Register*, 1781, pp. 128, 134.

<sup>4</sup> For the detail of John Robinson's Parliamentary career see *DNB* and *Norcliffe-Robinson*, pp. 37-50.

Virginian settlers to send their sons to be educated in England,<sup>5</sup> but had Augustine Washington any particular reason for sending his sons to Appleby? Might Appleby have been the school George Gale chose for the boys' education when he gave bond for the tuition of Mildred Gale's children by her first marriage, one of whom was Augustine, George Washington's father? George himself, it is generally agreed, received little formal education — for reasons which will be dealt with later — but was it ever his father's intention that he too should attend Appleby School?

Research has provided answers to some of the questions posed at the end of last century. Although George Washington was himself uncertain of his English ancestry, and in answer to an enquiry from Sir Isaac Heard could only reply "... our ancestor who first settled in this country came from some one of the northern counties of England, but whether from Lancashire, Yorkshire, or one still more northerly I do not precisely remember".<sup>6</sup> An earlier family connection with Westmorland has been proved beyond doubt.<sup>7</sup> The descent of the Washingtons of Warton, Carnforth, from the Washingtons or de Wessingtons of Washington, co. Durham, has been further clarified in papers by W. P. Hedley and G. Washington (CW2 lxiv 110 and CW2 lxviii 42). T. Pape, in an article contributed to *The Applebeian* in 1919 and based on notes on manuscript material at Appleby Grammar School supplied by the Headmaster, Mr Counsell, drew attention to the evidence for the attendance of

<sup>5</sup> *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 21, pp. 196-199. The list given is incomplete, but does show that from 1690 to 1780 some 18 young Virginians attended University at Edinburgh, 13 at Oxford, and 27 were resident at the Inns of Court.

<sup>6</sup> George Washington to Sir Isaac Heard, 2 May 1792. Quoted in Padover, S. K., *The Washington Papers* (N.Y.: Harper Bros., 1955), 21.

<sup>7</sup> Hoppin, C. A., *The Washington Ancestry*. Privately printed by E. Lee McClain, Ohio, 1932.

Pape, T., *The Washingtons and the Manor of Warton* (Morecambe, 1938).



Lawrence and Augustine Washington at Appleby. It is quite remarkable that any later connection with the county, and the county town, should have been completely ignored in any biography published before 1933. Douglas Southall Freeman incorporates the details of the circumstances in his chapter "The Rise of the Washingtons",<sup>8</sup> but the sources he cites by no means exhaust the available evidence. What has been stated as fact by both Hoppin and Freeman will bear amplification, and cannot be fully appreciated without the background of a wealth of local material which sheds new light on the connection with Appleby and Whitehaven.

Writing of Virginia in the early years of the 18th century, Freeman remarks "George might be King, but tobacco was the master. From the time that the plant beds were burned in February until the crop was put aboard ships a year later, Virginia laboured over tobacco. It has been so ever since the infancy of the Colony." It was as mate aboard the *Sea-Horse* of London, master Edward Prescott, captain John Greene, a ship engaged in the tobacco trade, that John Washington, George's great-grandfather, went to Virginia early in 1657, and despite uneconomic use of land, bad harvests, disputes with the Crown over land tenure and prices, tobacco remained the staple of the Northern Neck. Some settlers, Augustine Washington among them, went to great lengths to develop an alternative, an iron industry, but their efforts had largely come to an end by 1750. Every year, in February and March, the Potomac and Rappahannock swarmed with ships owned by English and Scottish merchants soliciting for business. Originally they came

<sup>8</sup> Freeman, D. S., *George Washington, a biography* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1949). By far the most comprehensive and well-documented biography so far published, but even so, Freeman makes no more than passing reference to much of the material available on the English connections of George Washington's immediate family.

in ballast, but as time went by they brought over the ever increasing variety of goods the growing colony felt it needed to improve living standards. The price the planters were paid for their crop, and the quality of the tobacco on arrival in the home port, were frequently the subject of acrimonious dispute, and the captains and merchants were, until the passing of the Act of 1730,<sup>9</sup> constantly suspected of sharp practice. Not all of these were villains, however, and the Gales of Whitehaven, who became the principal importers of tobacco, were a family held in esteem in their home town.

John Gale arrived in Whitehaven in 1663 with his wife Elizabeth and three children, John, Ebenezer, and Elisha.<sup>10</sup> According to a grant of arms made to the Gale family in 1712<sup>11</sup> their claim to be descended from the Gales of Akam (Acomb) in Yorkshire was upheld, but they appear to have come to Whitehaven from Newcastle. It has been suggested by Hay<sup>12</sup> and others that the reason for their removal may have been religious intolerance in the North-East, and the attraction of Whitehaven the more enlightened outlook of Sir John Lowther, owner of the estates of Whitehaven and St Bees. Elisha certainly became a staunch Presbyterian and was one of the five residents who collected subscriptions and were empowered to build a "house or chapel in a decent manner" to be used

<sup>9</sup> "An Act for Amending the Staple of Tobacco, and for preventing Frauds in his Majesty's customs", 1730. See Hening, W. W., *Statutes at large*, 4 247.

<sup>10</sup> The date of John Gale's arrival in Whitehaven is fixed by the record of his eldest daughter's baptism at St Bees, 19 September 1663. For this and other references to Whitehaven registers see PRS, *St Bees*, 1538-1837, by H. B. Stout (1968), and Caine, C., *The churches of the Rural Deanery of Whitehaven (with extensive abstracts from the Parochial Registers)*. (Whitehaven, 1916.)

<sup>11</sup> College of Arms, 6D, xiv, p. 189. An extract is given as an appendix to J. C. C. Smith's paper, CW1 ix 100. See also Curwen, J. F., "Pedigree comprehending the descents of the Families of Braddyl of Brockholes, Dodding of Dodding Green, and Gale of Whitehaven", CW2 viii 382.

<sup>12</sup> Hay, D., *Whitehaven, a short history* (Whitehaven, 1966). Mr Hay has also supplied much other valuable information not incorporated in his book.

by Presbyterian Dissenters. This was the James Street Chapel, enlarged in 1749 and rebuilt in 1905. When the construction of Lowther Street necessitated the demolition of the original chapel dedicated to St Nicholas, John and Ebenezer Gale were two of the signatories to the agreement entered into with Sir John Lowther for the rebuilding. When building was halted in 1688, probably due to the illness and death in 1690 of the original clerk of works Roger Strickland, Ebenezer Gale took over the post for two years until the completion of the building in 1693. He was one of the first churchwardens, and as such responsible for the appointment of the Rev. Francis Yates to succeed the Scottish Episcopalian James Marr. Forty years later the family were still supporters of what had, since the consecration of Holy Trinity Church in 1715, become known as the "Old Chapel", and by her will, dated 1735, Elizabeth, wife of John Gale junior, left £200 for the augmentation of the salary of the minister.<sup>13</sup>

The construction of Lowther Street, the building of a new and larger St Nicholas, the need for the new Holy Trinity Church are some indication of the growth of the town. In 1642, the year in which Sir John Lowther was born, Whitehaven was a village of some 50 houses, with a population of about 250. In 1660 Sir John obtained confirmation of Whitehaven's right to hold a weekly market and annual fair. He improved the harbour facilities his father had built to give shelter to the vessels carrying coal to Ireland, and it was a rapid expansion of this trade which laid the foundation of Whitehaven's future prosperity. There were eight principal seams in the Whitehaven area, and Sir John's first important engineering feat was to drive a level which drained a sufficient area to meet the needs of the trade for the rest of the

<sup>13</sup> Hutchinson, *Whitehaven — passim*. Caine, pp. 6-9. Hay, pp. 106-109.

century. New pits were sunk, and in 1683 a cartway was constructed at the suggestion of John Gale from the Woodagreen Pit to obviate the use of sacks in the loading of vessels in the harbour. In 1695 the output of the collieries Sir John owned was 18,904 tons, and by 1708 the shipment alone of coal had risen to 35,304 tons, occasioned largely by the discovery of the Main seam and the sinking of the new Ginns Pit in 1700. Writing in 1725 Defoe observed "it is grown to be very considerable by the coal trade, which is increased so considerably of late that it is now the most eminent port in England for the shipment of coals except Newcastle and Sunderland".<sup>14</sup>

Sir John brought shipwrights to the town to build the vessels this trade required. In 1676, Whitehaven had a fleet of 32 ships; in 1682 it had 40, employing about 400 seamen. In 1685, when Whitehaven became a separate customs port responsible for the coast from Ravenglass to Ellenfoot (later Maryport), the number was 46, and by 1706 this had reached 77, with a total tonnage of about 4,000. None of these were large vessels, and the largest, the Whitehaven-built *Resolution*, in which Richard Kelsick made his first voyage to Virginia in 1675, was a mere 60-footer of 90 tons. Yet this venture saw the beginning of another trade which was to make 18th-century Whitehaven as thriving a port as Newcastle or Liverpool. Kelsick brought back a cargo of tobacco. By 1712 the annual imports into Whitehaven of this one commodity totalled 1,639,193 lbs. By 1740 the figure had increased to 4,419,218 lbs. With the Union of 1707 Glasgow was also granted the privilege of import, and although one consequence was a trade war between the two ports, it was Whitehaven which benefited from the early ventures of the Glasgow importers in that all their

<sup>14</sup> Williams, J. E., "The growth and decline of the port of Whitehaven, 1650-1900". Leeds M.A. thesis (1952); quoted *in extenso* by Hay, pp. 42 f.

cargoes were carried in vessels built in Whitehaven and manned by Whitehaven crews. Whitehaven's registered tonnage continued to show a steady and constant increase — to 17,485, against Liverpool's 15,932, in 1744, and to 34,490 in 1770 (Liverpool's figure for the previous year being 33,000). In 1789, with 437 ships registered at the port, Whitehaven was second only in importance to Newcastle with 495, followed by Liverpool with 394, and well ahead of any Scottish port, of which Greenock was the most flourishing, with 315.<sup>15</sup> Increased trade and activity brought about a comparable rise in population. At the time of the rebuilding of St Nicholas Church it was estimated at 450 families and a total of 2,272 persons. Twenty years later it had risen to some 800 families and a total of approximately 4,000, by 1762 to 9,063, and the figure at the census of 1811 was 10,106.

The Gales were one of the families with a range of interests whose members played a prominent part in the development of the town. John Gale was one of Sir John Lowther's agents, with a continuing interest in the Whitehaven mines. The three brothers, John, Ebenezer, and Elisha, as well as John junior, were all original members of the Town and Harbour Board of Trustees established by Act of Parliament in 1708. The family took over from the Kelsicks as the principal importers of tobacco, and the port books record cargoes of up to 30,000 lbs. per consignment in the names of John and Matthias Gale in partnership with Thomas and Walter Lutwidge, members of the family which later superseded them in the business. While his father, his uncles, and his brothers John and Matthias busied themselves with public affairs and the management of the expanding tobacco business at home, George Gale appears to have gone out to Virginia, probably in the first instance as their agent in the Colony.

<sup>15</sup> Jarvis, R. C., "Cumberland shipping in the eighteenth century", CW2 liv 212-235

When George Gale first sailed for Virginia and whether he returned to Whitehaven with each annual cargo are matters for conjecture. There is no evidence of his return to England until November 1700, when Mildred Gale applied to the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in London for a grant of probate of the will of her late husband "Lawrence Washington, of Washington Parish in the County of Westmoreland in Virginia, Gentleman . . ." who, according to her application "had died a matter of a year ago". Probate was granted on 10 December 1700 with the proviso that should other executors appear they could obtain probate of the will.<sup>16</sup> Lawrence Washington, born in 1659, was the eldest son of the emigrant John Washington and his wife Ann Pope. When he was approximately 27 Lawrence married Mildred Warner, daughter of Augustine Warner of Gloucester, Virginia, Speaker of the House of Burgesses and a member of the Council.<sup>17</sup> At his death, soon after making his will on 11 March 1698, Lawrence and Mildred had three children, John then almost seven, Augustine aged three, and Mildred who was only a baby. By the terms of his will his personal estate was to be divided equally between his wife and children. His land he gave to his children, but desired that "my estate should not be appraised but kept intire and delivered to them as above given according to time and my children to continue under the care and tuition of their mother till they come of age or the day of marriage, and she to have the profits of their estates, towards the bringing of them up and keeping them at school". He appointed his cousin John Washington, his friend Samuel Thompson, and his wife Mildred, and probate was granted to Samuel Thompson on 30 March 1698.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> P.R.O.: PROB 8/93.

<sup>17</sup> CW1 ix 97 n.

<sup>18</sup> Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia. *Westmoreland, Virginia, Deeds & Wills*, 2 133. Quoted in full *Hoppin*, I 239.

What reasons had Mildred Washington (now Mildred Gale) for coming to England and making a further application for probate? J. C. C. Smith did not have access to or knowledge of the material which Hoppin examined and published, but his suggestion could well, in part at least, be borne out by fact. John Washington, who held control of the estate during the minority of the two boys, filed two accounts of his trust with the County Court of Westmoreland. The first, compiled when John came of age, has been lost, but the second, a final account drawn up when Augustine was nearing his majority has survived.<sup>19</sup> On the credit side of the account is the following item: "By money in severall persons hands in England amounting to as per inventory appeares — £402. 2s. 9d." Admittedly this is a statement of account made in 1713, but it is quite possible that a similar state of affairs obtained in 1698. Mention is also made in the will of "the dividend of land that I bought of Mr Robert Lisson's children in England lying in Mattox, between my brother and Mr Baldrige's land". Attempts have been made to identify this land in England, but Mattox must be the area of the Mattox Creek Farm where Lawrence was born, and which he inherited on the death of his father in 1677. The purchase of this particular tract could have been made when Lawrence and, as Freeman thinks possible, Mildred also, paid a brief visit to England in 1686.<sup>20</sup>

Mildred Gale had little time in which to attend to any of her duties as executor. She was already in an advanced state of pregnancy, and gave birth to a daughter, whose baptism as the daughter of George Gale of Whitehaven was recorded at St Nicholas, Whitehaven, on 25 January 1700/1. The mother did not long survive the birth, and was buried at St

<sup>19</sup> *Westmoreland, Virginia, Deeds & Wills*, 5 140-141. Quoted in full Hoppin, I 242-243.

<sup>20</sup> *Freeman*, I 31.

Nicholas on 30 January 1700/1 as the wife of George Gale of Whitehaven. The registers of St Nicholas also record the baptism on 7 January in the same year of Jane, a negro servant of George Gale, the burial of the same Jane on 20 February, and the burial of the infant Mildred on 26 May 1701. This triple tragedy which, within the space of a few months, deprived George Gale of his wife, daughter and servant, was to have repercussions, the full significance of which is not always recognised.

Mildred left a will dated 24 January 1700/1 of which probate was granted in the Archdeaconry of Richmond on 18 March following.<sup>21</sup> She describes herself as "wife of George Gale of Whitehaven in the County of Cumberland", quotes the "Last Will and Testament of my late husband (Lawrence Washington bearing date the eleventh day of March one thousand six hundred ninety eight)" and refers to "an Indenture of Marriage made and executed by and between John Washington one of the Executors of my late Husband's will of the one part & my present husband Geo. Gale with my own command and approbation thereof of the other part bearing date the Sixteenth Day of May in this present year one thousand seven hundred . . ." Where and when Mildred (Warner) Washington became Gale's wife are questions to which there is still no complete answer. J. C. C. Smith thought it "not unlikely that Mildred Washington met George Gale through having gone to stay with relations of her first husband in Whitehaven". If the marriage took place at Whitehaven there should be a marriage-bond in the records of the Archdeaconry of Richmond. Smith failed to find one, and although the records of the Archdeaconry have been sorted, edited and printed since 1886, no such

<sup>21</sup> Lancashire Record Office. Probate records — Archdeaconry of Richmond, 18 March 1700/1. The full text of the will is given in Appendix I.



marriage-bond has come to light, neither does there appear to be any trace of a licence in any English registry. Freeman makes the simple assumption that "in the spring of 1700 she (Mildred Washington) married George Gale, who seems to have been a temporary resident in the Colony". Hoppin, who would certainly have quoted any record of the marriage had he been able to find one, could only state "Whether the marriage took place in Virginia or Maryland or at Whitehaven is not of known record, but as the indenture of marriage was executed by her cousin by marriage, John Washington . . . George Gale, most probably, was visiting Virginia and married the widow there and took her to England."<sup>22</sup> It is equally probable that George Gale's business interests necessitated a temporary return to Whitehaven to consult with other members of the family, and that his wife took this opportunity of attempting to settle some of her previous husband's outstanding affairs.

George Gale was now left with the care of Mildred's children by her first marriage, aged ten, seven and three. Her will stated that "whereas by the Last Will & Testament of my Late Husband . . . I am intrusted with the tuition of his children & with the proffits of the land and legacys left by the said will . . . I do hereby leave the Tuition and Guardianship of the said children with the proffits of the land & legacys to my Present Husband George Gale . . ." This she felt she had a legal right to do in view of the indenture of marriage already mentioned, by which she was "empowered to devise by will or other instrument the estate and legacys of my late husband to the uses and purposes therein mentioned". George Gale therefore entered into bonds in the Archdeaconry of Richmond for the care, custody and education of the children at the same time as he applied for probate

<sup>22</sup> *Hoppin*, I 243.

of his wife's will, and the grant of probate and his bonds all bear the same date, 18 March 1700/1.<sup>23</sup> The two boys were already old enough to start school, and Gale obtained boarding places for them at Appleby School.

Why, when there was a perfectly good school at St Bees, only five miles from Whitehaven, did he prefer to send his stepsons to Appleby, more than fifty miles away? That it was the older school would probably carry little weight, nor that, like St Bees, it had a long-standing connection with The Queen's College, Oxford. That the headmaster came from St Bees and was doubtless known to the Gales was probably a much more important factor. Jonathan Banks, born 1655, was the son of a St Bees farmer. Educated at the local school, he went up to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in 1671, matriculated in March of that year, and graduated in 1676/7. After a year as master of Carlisle Grammar School he returned to St Bees as headmaster in 1681. Five years later, on the death, after a long illness, of Richard Jackson, during which time Rowland Noble had held a temporary appointment, a vacancy occurred at Appleby. The appointment of the headmaster at Appleby had since 1671 been vested in the Provost and Fellows of The Queen's College, Oxford. Anxious to secure the services of the best man they could find they offered the post to Banks. To the intense disappointment of the Governors of St Bees and the chagrin of Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, Banks accepted.<sup>24</sup> Their choice would appear to have been justified, for Bishop Nicolson, a frequent visitor to the School House at Appleby, writing in 1702, remarks "'Tis at present the best endowed school in this Diocese, and perhaps the most flourishing in the North of England: the

<sup>23</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>24</sup> Bate, J. H. D., "The Schools of Westmorland in Tudor and Stuart Times". Manchester M.Ed. thesis (1968).

present master, Mr Jonathan Banks . . . being a person of good learning and great industry. My two sons (all I have) are now under his care."<sup>25</sup> At Appleby, John and Augustine Washington were obviously in good hands, and good company too.

At some time during the next twelve months George Gale returned to Virginia, alone. This was the occasion for John Washington and Samuel Thompson, surviving executors of the will of Capt. Lawrence Washington, to challenge the legality of his custody of the three children and his retention of the profits of their estates for their education. Gale was summoned to appear before the County Court of Westmoreland County, Virginia to answer a plea "wherefore he the said Gale doth keep and detain against the will of them the said John and Samuel plaintiffs and against the peace the estate of the decedent belonging to his orphans . . . whose tuition and charge together with their estates belongeth to the executors as their guardians and tutors till they arrive of age". (See Appendix II.) On behalf of the executors, William Fitzhugh and Nathaniel Pope, their attorneys, claimed that the trust reposed in Mildred Washington for the care and tuition of her children, and her use of the profits of their estates for that purpose, was only personal and for the period of her own life. On her death the custody of the children, and her interest in their estates, reverted to the surviving executors, whose loss by virtue of non-compliance was estimated at £100 sterling. George Eskridge, who was to become one of the most eminent lawyers in Virginia, appeared for the defendant. He interpreted the will of Capt. Lawrence Washington to mean that his wife Mildred had an entirely separate trust reposed in her for the

<sup>25</sup> CW Extra Series, I 36. Jonathan Banks was the author of three works — *Januae Clavis : or Lilly's Syntax explained* (London, 1679). *The Life of Bishop Rainbow, late Bishop of Carlisle* (London, 1688). *Vindiciae Anglicanae quatuor vocalium Latinarum* (London, 1721).

tuition of the children and for their support until they came of age. As the surviving parent, and by virtue of the indenture of marriage to which John Washington had been a party, she, by her own will, had devised that trust to her husband George Gale. Gale had been granted probate of her will by due process of law in the Archdeaconry of Richmond, and his present position as legal guardian of the children was therefore unassailable. The plaintiffs put in a demurrer, repeating their claim that Mildred's appointment as guardian was only personal, and adding that the trust reposed in her was something which she could not devise. The Court overruled the demurrer, and found that "the tuition and guardianship of the said John, Augustine and Mildred . . . together with their estates for the reasons in the defendants plea aforesaid laid down to him the said George Gale of right doth lawfully appurtaine, and that the defendant aforesaid be dismissed home without delay with his reasonable costs in this behalf sustained . . ."

Had the matter been allowed to rest there the boys would have completed their education at Appleby and the whole course of American history might, in consequence, have been changed. John Washington and Samuel Thompson, however, persisted in their attempt to recover possession of the estates and custody of the children. Their only recourse was to petition for an appeal, which, if granted, would have to be heard by the General Court in Williamsburg, Virginia. It is the summary of their petition for an appeal, heard before a Grand Jury [on 13 April 1702], which provides the evidence for the substance of previous litigation.<sup>26</sup> Appeals from decisions of the County Courts were not frequent, but when made had to be heard by the General Court, consisting of the Governor

<sup>26</sup> Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia. *Westmoreland Orders*, 1698-1705, p. 157. The version of the legal proceedings given by Freeman makes no mention of the hearing before the County Court, neither does he give any indication that Gale's position as legal guardian had been upheld. The full text of the summary of the petition is given in Appendix II.

and at least five members of the Council, and convened in April and October. The records of the Virginia General Court were unfortunately destroyed when the Confederate Forces evacuated Richmond on the night of 2-3 April 1865, and it is not possible to give the date on which the suit was heard or quote the precise finding of the Court. That the General Court reversed the decision of the County Court, and ordered Gale to return the children to the custody of Capt. Lawrence Washington's surviving executors, has to be inferred from subsequent events. The record of John Washington's receipt of the children is dated 3 September 1705,<sup>27</sup> but they had obviously been returned to his care by April of the previous year — "I do hereby acknowledge to have received of George Gale the Children of Capt. Lawrence Washington . . . and all the Estates and portions belonging to the said children, and I do hereby discharge George Gale from all further demands on account of the Estates and portions of the said children, Given under my hand this sixth day of Aprill Anno: Dom: one thousand seven hundred and four." The two boys had been at Appleby for just under three years, and Mildred, presumably, had been in the care of the Gale family in Whitehaven.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Westmoreland, Virginia, Deeds & Wills*, 3 369. Quoted by Hoppin, I 244. Hoppin uses this reference merely to establish that Augustine Washington returned from England in 1704, and not 1713, as stated by one biographer of George Washington. He does not mention the hearing by the County Court, the appeal, or give any reason for Gale's return of the children to the care of the executors.

<sup>28</sup> After returning the children to the care of the executors Gale settled in Maryland. He married again, his second wife being Elizabeth Denwood, the daughter of Levyn and Priscilla Denwood, of a Quaker family, of Somerset County, Maryland. They had four sons, Levyn, George, John, and Matthias, all of whom continued to live in Maryland. The family created and sold lots in Whitehaven — town, and built a mansion at Princess Anne. George Gale died in 1712, leaving a will dated 26 July 1712, and proved 20 August in the same year. (Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland. *Maryland Wills*, 13-438.) In his will he is styled "Colonel George Gale", and since there is no reference to anyone of that name in *English Army Lists and Commission Registers 1661-1714*, his commission would appear to have been in the Colonial Militia. His widow survived him by twenty-five years, and her will, as well as those of the children, is in Annapolis. The details of the family are included in the grant of arms to John Gale of 1712, an extract from which is given in CWR ix 100.

John Washington of Chotank, having secured the return of the three children, was less careful of their estates than might have been expected in view of his earlier concern for their welfare. The affairs of John the executor and John the heir were often confused, and young John, on reaching his majority in 1712, had to make several applications to the Court for a proper settlement of his own affairs. Hence the need for the accounts of his trusteeship rendered by John the executor, to which reference has already been made, and the appointment of new guardians for Augustine and Mildred in May 1713. Augustine came of age in 1715, and very soon afterwards married Jane Butler, then aged 16, if the traditional date of the marriage, 30 April 1715, is accepted. Using his own and his wife's resources he very soon began to add to the 1,700 acres with which he had begun his married life. In 1717 he purchased a further 150 acres on the south bank of the Potomac, and in 1722 was ready to build a new home at Pope's Creek. Before they were able to occupy what later became known as Wakefield the young couple had raised three children, Lawrence, Augustine, and Jane, having lost their eldest son Butler, who had died in infancy. Augustine continued to acquire more agricultural land, and then, about the time of the move to Pope's Creek in 1726 or 1727, turned his attention from the growing of the staple tobacco to prospecting for iron ore which he had found to be present in abundance on land he had purchased along Accokeek Creek. He entered into negotiations with the English owners of the Principio Iron Works for the building of a furnace on his property, but there were difficulties over terms and conditions, and in 1729 he decided to go to England to deal directly with his Quaker partners. It was almost a year before he returned to Virginia, to find on his arrival at Pope's Creek that his wife Jane had died

on 24 November 1729. Augustine did not remain a widower for long. Within a year, on 6 March 1730/1, he married Mary Ball, an orphan of 23, and on 22 February 1731/2 their first child was born and christened George.

Of Augustine's three children by his first marriage at this time, Freeman states: "... the two boys either were at Appleby School in England or else were sent there at about the time of the marriage." The evidence for Lawrence and Augustine's education at the school which their father had attended comes from a number of local sources, some of which have not previously been thoroughly investigated. At Appleby, as at many other schools, lists of former pupils have long since disappeared. It is fortunate therefore that for this particular period in the school's history there exists at Appleby documentary evidence of a different nature, and with a much wider significance. The school had been given a remarkable library of 295 volumes by Reginald Bainbrigg, the antiquary and associate of Camden, and headmaster at Appleby 1580-c. 1612.<sup>29</sup> Other headmasters had added to this collection, as Bainbrigg had expressed the hope they would, some purchases were made with school funds, and one of Richard Yates's first acts on being appointed headmaster in 1723 was to inaugurate a new Library Fund to which pupils on leaving the school were encouraged to give half a guinea. Yates entered in a meticulously kept account book details of all the monies he received and of the books he bought.<sup>30</sup> He also compiled a

<sup>29</sup> The generally accepted date of Bainbrigg's death, 1606, taken from the date of his will, has had to be amended in the light of the discovery in Hill MSS. 3, 635 of the draft of an indenture in his name dated 3 April 1612. The actual date and place of his death are unknown, but probate of his will was granted at York 17 September 1613. A transcript of his will and the 1656 catalogue of his library are given as an appendix to CW2 xxxix, art. 27.

<sup>30</sup> "Account of Money received for the use of Appleby School by me, Richard Yates, since Feby. 20th, 1724; all received by the boys before that period being squandered by the head scholars." MS. at Appleby Grammar School.

*Roll of Benefactors to the School Library*, on which he entered some details of the donor's origin and later career, and this Roll hung in the old school until the move to the present site in 1887.<sup>31</sup> With the £133 he collected Yates purchased 431 volumes, and in 1782, the year after his death, a new catalogue was compiled, with the help of which it has been possible to identify all his purchases, even though some are now lost. The Library continued to grow, and when a third catalogue was compiled in 1847 the total was 1,273 volumes. The Library is now housed in the University Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, and is acknowledged to be the finest example of its type in the North of England.

To the Library Fund inaugurated by Yates both Lawrence and Augustine Washington made donations of half a guinea. These are recorded in the Account Book as follows:

1732. Dec. 4.	Lawrence Washington	10 - 6
1741. Dec. 3.	Augustine Washington	10 - 6

Both donations are recorded in greater detail on the *Roll of Benefactors*. The parchment sheets of this Roll were unfortunately washed with gall to improve legibility by some over zealous searcher at the end of last century. The first sheet is now so blackened as to make the writing almost indecipherable, but the use of modern photographic techniques has made possible a reading which is a closer approximation to the original than that given by Leach in 1894.<sup>32</sup> Souvenir hunters have tampered with the second sheet, and where the entry for Augustine's gift should appear three lines of the text have carefully been cut out.. The substance of this entry seemed beyond possible recovery until a transcript of the first two sheets was

<sup>31</sup> "Roll of Benefactors to the School Library from the year 1730." MS. at Appleby Grammar School.

<sup>32</sup> Leach, R. E., "Benefactors to the Library of Appleby Grammar School", CWI xiii 20.



discovered in 1967 in the Dean and Chapter Library, Carlisle, among the collection known as the Hill MSS.,<sup>33</sup> and this had fortunately been made before the original had been defaced. The two entries, so far as they can be completed, would appear to have read as follows:

1732. Dec. 4. Lawrence Washington, eldest son of Augustine Washington of . . . Potomack River, Virginia, America . . . home gave half a guinea.  
 1741. Dec. 3. Augustine Washington, 2nd. son of Augustine Washington of Pope's Court on the Potomack River, Virginia, America, on his leaving the school, gave half a guinea.

"Pope's Court" in the transcript is a misreading of "Pope's Creek", and in the Lawrence entry "... home" has generally been equated with the majority of other entries as "on leaving school". What other information was available or used when the list of famous old boys was compiled for entry on the present School Honours Board cannot now be discovered, but the two relevant entries occur in this form:

- 1729-32. Lawrence Washington.  
 1732-41. Augustine Washington.

This assumes that Augustine senior brought Lawrence, then aged 11, with him when he visited England to see his partners in the Principio Iron Works. Such an assumption could well be correct. Had Lawrence been sent to Appleby after his father's marriage to Mary Ball in 1731/2, a period of twenty months could hardly be described as "his long and careful schooling in England", to use Freeman's description of what it is generally agreed he enjoyed.<sup>34</sup> Even three years,

<sup>33</sup> The Hill MSS. are a miscellany in eight volumes folio, one quarto of drafts, transcripts and much original material collected by John Hill (1797-1861), of Castlebank, Appleby, Recorder of Appleby and High Sheriff of Westmorland 1855. They have the general title "Collections for the History and Antiquities of the County of Westmorland", and are deposited in the Dean and Chapter Library, Carlisle. The section devoted to Appleby Grammar School, vol. 3, 581-659, is a unique source of information. For a note on John Hill and a list of contents of the nine volumes see CW1 ix 14.

<sup>34</sup> *Freeman*, I 57.

assuming that Lawrence returned to Virginia for good in 1732, is not a "long" time, and a fourteen-year-old lad would hardly be welcomed by a stepmother barely ten years his senior with a baby of her own. Did he in fact return to Virginia for good in 1732? Despite every effort to find some positive evidence of Lawrence's whereabouts and activities after 1732, there is nothing at all conclusive until his reappearance at Epsewasson in 1738.<sup>35</sup> This was the property further up the Potomac which became the family home from 1735 to the end of 1738, and which for the next two years Lawrence helped his father to manage. His father is known to have paid another visit to England in 1736 or 1737, and to have returned with a more advantageous contract from the Principio Company, a book, *A Complete View of the British Customs*, which he had bought in London on 4 May 1737, and "news of his sons Lawrence and Augustine, familiarly Austin, who were at Appleby".<sup>36</sup> Is there reason to suppose that Lawrence's return to Virginia in 1732 was only temporary? Did he return to Appleby, bringing Augustine with him? Or was Lawrence elsewhere in England until his final return in 1738?

These questions cannot be answered with absolute certainty, but there are good reasons for supposing that Lawrence's association with Appleby, with the school, with Richard Yates, and with Joseph Deane, did not come to an end in 1732. The evidence comes from a series of letters which passed between Richard Yates and Lawrence as well as Augustine senior, and between Joseph Deane and Lawrence, in the years 1741-44. Some are reproduced in Conway's *Barons of the Potomac*,<sup>37</sup> and all are to be found in the *Havemeyer Papers*, part of the Lloyd W. Smith

<sup>35</sup> *Freeman*, I 57, n. 63.

<sup>36</sup> *Freeman*, I 56, and n. 53.

<sup>37</sup> Conway, Moncure D., *Barons of the Potomac and Rappahannock* (N.Y.: Grolier Club of New York).

Collection at Morristown, New Jersey.<sup>38</sup> Between the time of his known return to Virginia and the period which these letters cover, the Colony had become involved in the war with Spain.<sup>39</sup> Admiral Edward Vernon had received orders on 19 July 1739 to open hostilities, and by 19 October, when war was formally declared, he was in the West Indies. Porto Bello was an easy prize, and though Vernon would probably have been content to maintain naval superiority, the home government wished a more spectacular show of force. Vernon decided to mount an attack on Cartagena, Columbia, and Virginia soon heard that 3,000 troops for the land expedition against the settlement were to come from the Colonies. Virginia's quota was 400 men, and all the company officers, except for one lieutenant per company, were to be nominated by the Governors of the Colonies which supplied the men. The field officers and 30 lieutenants were sent out from England, and the regiment was placed under the command of the former Governor Alexander Spotswoode. On his death at Annapolis on 7 June 1740 the "American Regiment" was then placed under command of William Gooch, Governor of Virginia, with the rank of General. Two days later the names of those who were to lead the Virginian companies were chosen, and Gooch announced them to the Council on 17 June. Whatever canvassing he may or may not have done, the first named was Lawrence Washington. Another who received his Captain's commission on the same day was Archibald Gordon.<sup>40</sup> The Regiment arrived in Jamaica in November 1740, ten weeks before the rest of the troops for the expedi-

<sup>38</sup> Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, New Jersey. Lloyd W. Smith Collection, *Havemeyer Papers*.

<sup>39</sup> For a fuller account of the expedition see *Freeman*, I 64-70.

<sup>40</sup> A list of the officers is given in P.R.O.: C.O. 5: 1327, and for additional detail of Lawrence Washington's and Archibald Gordon's military careers acknowledgement is made of the assistance given by Mr A. S. White, formerly assistant librarian, The War Office.

tion arrived from England. Lord Cathcart, the original commander, had died. Brigadier Thomas Wentworth had taken over command, and soon found himself at variance with the resourceful Vernon. Vernon urged an immediate surprise attack, but it was three weeks before an assault was made. The Spaniards strengthened their positions, the rains of the wet season descended, and in Wentworth's final attack his troops were mown down. Some 600 were killed, many were wounded, and yellow fever broke out among the rest, taking an even greater toll. In this ill-conceived, mismanaged, and abortive attack the "American Regiment" played but a small and insignificant part. Of the 3,000 Colonials, if indeed the full quota had ever been raised, only 300 were actually put ashore. Wentworth ordered the rest to remain on board ship in the harbour, and among these was Lawrence Washington, acting as Captain of Marines on the flagship. As he waited for further orders after the failure of the attack he wrote home to his father, and to Joseph Deane. His letter "From the Harbour of Cartagena, 31 March 1741" has not survived, but we do have Joseph Deane's reply, which he sent from Whitehaven on 24 July 1741.<sup>41</sup> The two letters must have told the same sorry tale, for Deane, after expressing his own and his family's relief over Lawrence's immediate safety, can only continue, "I will not enlarge much, being afraid I am writing to one not of this world, so that I know not whose hand this may fall into."

On 28 June 1742 John Lewis wrote to "Captain Lawrence Washington of the American Forces at Jamaica," whither the fleet had sailed, "I cannot see what delight you take in such a life. I heartily wish you safe here with honour, that so wished for title, so much desired to be gained in the field of Battle,

<sup>41</sup> The text of the whole of this correspondence is given in Appendix III.

but I think may as deservedly be acquired at home in the service of his Country, County, Parish & Neighbourhood, in peace & quietness." The force spent several weary months in Cuba, then Vernon in October 1742 decided to disband the "American Regiment" without making any further use of the men. At the end of 1742 or the beginning of 1743 Lawrence Washington returned to Virginia with some of the survivors of the expedition, and was then, though not immediately, appointed Adjutant-General of the Colony. Most of the rest of the officers appear to have been sent back to England. Joseph Deane, writing again to Captain Washington on 6 November 1744, remarks "We have a company of Blakeney's Regiment in this town [Whitehaven] and the Captain's name is Gordon."<sup>42</sup> I find he went out on the same footing as you did and is now in full pay so that if you was to come over you would be the same. He tells me he knows you very well and seems to blame you in not coming over (but this is not to advise you for I know nothing of it), he further tells me he had a dispute over the seniority but you got it." Lawrence Washington did apply for half pay, which he was granted 25 December 1743, and which he continued to receive for the rest of his life. Before this payment was confirmed Lawrence's father had died on 12 April 1743; he had inherited the whole of the Little Hunting Creek property, and on 19 July 1743 was married to Anne Fairfax, daughter of Colonel William Fairfax, cousin and agent of Lord Fairfax the proprietor of the Northern Neck properties. On his wedding day Lawrence wrote to Richard Yates to give his old schoolmaster news of this happy occasion. On 13

<sup>42</sup> Archibald Gordon, appointed Captain 9 June 1740 at the same time as Lawrence Washington, was one of the officers sent to England when the "American Regiment" was disbanded. He was appointed Captain in Blakeney's Regiment 14 October 1742, became Major 16 July 1758, and Brevet Lt. Colonel 16 January 1762. He was wounded at Ticonderoga, and died in Cuba in 1762.

November Yates replied, in terms which would hardly be used to someone he had known only as a school-boy, signing the letter "Dear Lawrence, your most affectionate friend", and giving him news of his own marriage to Nancy Hartley "who had a brother Hugh at school when you was here, I believe, and another whose name was Alderson when Austin was here".<sup>43</sup> On 28 July 1743 Lawrence also wrote to Joseph Deane, giving him news of his safe return and of his marriage, and in his reply Deane remarks: "You know what this country affords. If I can assist my friend in anything I beg you will let me know. I shall write to you by other ships from time to time and I hope you will do the same to me."

Now who, and what, was Joseph Deane? Freeman, in a note, describes him as "one of Lawrence's teachers". There is no mention of a Joseph Deane in any of the records of Appleby School. Yates, at the end of his congratulatory letter to Lawrence, writes: "This comes down to Honest Jo, Deane to whom I leave the direction of it." All Deane's letters are sent from Whitehaven, he mentions that he has written to Lawrence "by several ships", he refers to the loss of some ships and their cargoes, in which he appears to have had a personal interest. He was obviously in close touch with the sea, with shipping, and with the trade with the Colonies, and it now seems clear that he was the man described on his marriage at St Nicholas, Whitehaven, on 28 July 1728, as "Tide Surveyor of the Port of Whitehaven", and referred to elsewhere as an "Officer of the Crown". He was also an Appleby man, born there in 1701, a member of a Dufton family which is dealt with in greater detail in Appendix IV. He held the post of Tidemaster for over fifty years, still being described in 1776 in the Board of Customs Record of Ages and capacities

<sup>43</sup> For Hugh and Alderson Hartley see letter 5 in Appendix III.

as "a good officer though a little infirm".<sup>44</sup> He resigned his post on 15 July 1777, and his death was reported to the Board on 30 November 1780. Further evidence of his standing in the community is to be found in Westmorland Quarter Sessions Records.<sup>45</sup> Between 1744 and 1774 he stood bond to the Justices of the Peace for the transportation of thirteen felons to America, two of whom were landed "at Port South Potomack". He was, by 1746, a man of sufficient means to move with his family of four boys into a new and larger house he had built at No. 79 Lowther Street. His second son, Joseph, born 22 December 1730, entered the Navy, was gazetted Captain 17 October 1758, and served with distinction on the *St Lawrence*.<sup>46</sup> To the Washington boys, Joseph Deane was clearly more than an acquaintance through whom they sent and received their mail. In his letters to Lawrence he mentions both Whitehaven and Appleby personalities. "All friends here is well except your once much admired Mrs Milham,"<sup>47</sup> he writes in 1741. In 1744, he remarks: "Dr Skilbeck is Mayor [of Appleby]<sup>48</sup> and Mr Yates is married." The content of his letters in general suggests an association which continued until Lawrence was on the verge of manhood, and that Lawrence should write to Deane from Cartagena is an earnest of the depth of their friendship.

These details, plus the fact that Lawrence Washington chose to write to Richard Yates on his wedding day, and that Yates could reply in a letter which bears all the marks of an adult friendship, suggest a possibility which would account for Lawrence's presence at Appleby after 1732. Numbers at schools

<sup>44</sup> H.M. Customs and Excise, King's Beam House, London. *Customs 82/178*: Record of Ages and Capacities, Whitehaven.

<sup>45</sup> Westmorland Record Office, Kendal. Quarter Sessions Papers: Transportation, WQSP/T/4 *et seq.*

<sup>46</sup> See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1760, pp. 462, 485.

<sup>47</sup> For Mrs Milham see letter 5 in Appendix III.

<sup>48</sup> For Dr Skilbeck see letter 6 in Appendix III.

such as Appleby were not large by modern standards. Amongst the Hill MSS. is a work schedule prepared by Yates for the Christmas holiday of 1738. 47 pupils are listed, though this may not be the total in attendance at the time. The master himself was expected to cope with 40 to 50 pupils, but if numbers rose above this figure an usher was usually employed to instruct the junior pupils. It was not unusual for an able boy to remain at school in this capacity,<sup>49</sup> and occasionally schools employed a senior pupil as well as an usher. The list of ushers at Appleby is not complete, but the school had required the services of one as early as 1603, one certainly throughout Yates's tenure of office, and of two on occasions. One gap in the records extends over the period immediately before and after 1740, when first Lawrence and then Augustine could be described as "senior pupils".<sup>50</sup> Lawrence could have returned to Virginia in 1732, made his gift to the Library Fund then, not knowing whether he would return to Appleby to continue his education, and then come back, bringing his younger brother Augustine with him. By 1735, when he was 17, he would have completed the normal course, and by the time his father paid his second visit to England have been acting as usher for at least a year. His return to Virginia in 1738 would be in accordance with the usual practice of a three-year term as usher, and this longer and closer friendship with Yates would develop the rapport of which there is more than an indication in their letters to each other. Visits to Whitehaven may well have continued, and the friendship to which Joseph Deane refers would undoubtedly mature.

Evidence of this nature may be all that there is, or is ever likely to be, to account for Lawrence's

<sup>49</sup> This appears to have been the case at Carlisle G.S. See Robinson, F. J. G., "Notes on Carlisle Grammar School register", CW2 lxix 175.

<sup>50</sup> I am indebted to P. J. Wallis, Department of Education, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, for details of ushers at Appleby G.S.



whereabouts between 1732 and 1738, when it is generally agreed he returned to Virginia for good. Of Augustine's career it is possible to be much more certain, though again it is an assumption that Lawrence brought him to Appleby in 1732. The name Washington occurs once on Yates's work schedule for Christmas 1738, and this must be a reference to Augustine, as Lawrence was already back in Virginia by then. In 1741 his father wrote to Yates to enquire about Augustine's future career. Yates's reply is of additional interest in that it contains the only known reference to a disastrous fire at Little Hunting Creek, the family home until the move to Ferry Farm at the end of 1738, a misfortune which Augustine senior must have mentioned in his letter. Yates refers him to Joseph Deane — "Mr Dean (whose intentions and conduct are always and always have been so friendly to you and your sons) will say enough to you about your son Austin's desire to study the Law . . . Not but I have that opinion of your lad's goodness that if he thought it were not agreeable to your sentiments he would reconsider his thoughts to any other employment you should think most expedient for him." He was now almost of age, he was still at Appleby, and it would not seem unreasonable to assume that he too was acting as usher, as his brother Lawrence may have done before him. His friendship with Deane was close enough for Yates to value Deane's opinion of the young man as highly as his own, and there is no doubt about the date on which he left the school, 3 December 1741.<sup>51</sup> His arrival in Virginia is confirmed in John Lewis's letter to Lawrence of 28 June 1742. "Your brother Augustine is just come in," he says, "and gone up to his father. I have not seen him, but I hear he is very desirous of being with you." Had John Lewis seen him he would no doubt have confirmed

<sup>51</sup> See above, p. 171.

Joseph Deane's observation "upon my word he is grown a pretty young fellow."

At the time when Lawrence and Augustine were at Appleby the school was at its zenith. Richard Yates was a scholar of distinction,<sup>52</sup> who obviously communicated to his pupils his own love of learning. His reputation drew pupils to the school from all parts of the north of England, and the Washington boys were not the only ones to be sent from Virginia. His 431 additions to the school Library include not only the latest textbooks and works of reference for the study of the Classics and Divinity but a wide selection of material for the teaching of mathematics, geography, modern history, French and Italian.<sup>53</sup> The steady flow of pupils to the universities, and particularly to The Queen's College, Oxford, was more than maintained. The *Roll of Benefactors* gives a clear indication of the many walks of public life in which former pupils came to hold positions of responsibility. There could be no more eloquent tribute to the high esteem in which Yates was held than his epitaph, composed by Archdeacon Paley, in St Lawrence, Appleby:

*Fifty eight Years Master of the Grammar-School  
in this Town, whom an accurate Knowledge of  
Roman Literature, a just and harmonious Elocution,  
unwearied Diligence and a serious Attention to the  
moral and religious Improvement of his pupils,  
eminently qualified for the important station he  
held.*

The substance of this eulogy is underlined by Freeman's description of Lawrence Washington on his

<sup>52</sup> Richard Yates was born at Newby, Westmorland, in 1701, the son of John Yates and Margaret Wilkinson (see *Morland registers, part 1: 1538-1742*, PRS XXXVIII (1957)). He was probably educated at Bampton G.S., went up to The Queen's College, Oxford, in 1716, graduating B.A. in 1721/2, M.A. in 1730.

<sup>53</sup> A full bibliographical catalogue of the Library as it stood in 1847 is currently being compiled by the author of this article, and is to be published by The University Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, in 1972.

return home in 1738: "As a result of his long and careful schooling in England, the young lad had grace, bearing and manners that captivated George."

Major Lawrence, Adjutant-General of the Colony, married into one of the most influential families in Virginia, became George's hero, and he no doubt began to look forward to the day when his father would send him to Appleby. That it was his father's intention to do so we now know from the draft of a contemporary attempt at a biography of the General, written at Mount Vernon by David Humphreys in 1788.<sup>54</sup> The original has been scratched out and re-written so often as to make the reading of some passages almost impossible, but E. Harrison Clark of Washington D.C., who is working on a new biography,<sup>55</sup> is prepared to vouch for the authenticity of one statement. This was made by the General to Humphreys, and he asserts that it was only his father's untimely death which prevented him following his half-brothers, Lawrence and Augustine, to school in England. Augustine senior died when George was eleven, leaving a widow and five other younger children. His will was a most business-like document covering every eventuality,<sup>56</sup> including the one his own father had failed to foresee, the remarriage of his widow while the children were under age and the need for complete protection of their interests in such a situation. Lawrence received everything on Little Hunting Creek where he began to build the house he called Mount Vernon, Augustine all the lands in

<sup>54</sup> David Humphreys (1752-1818) was a native of Connecticut. A graduate of Yale, he achieved swift promotion during the Revolution, and had become lieutenant-colonel and aide-de-camp to George Washington by the age of 28. His diplomatic career brought him to England for a time, and his literary works include poetry, biography, and works of political economy. He was elected F.R.S. in 1807.

<sup>55</sup> E. Harrison Clark, Ph.D. (Harvard), *George Washington* (in preparation).

<sup>56</sup> The text of the will is given in Ford, Worthington C., *The Washington Family*, an appendix to vol. 14 of Ford's edition of *The Writings of George Washington*, but published separately.

Westmoreland, and George was bequeathed Ferry Farm; the residue of his personal property Augustine divided equally between his wife and their own four sons. George's inheritance was enough to ensure him an adequate start in life as a planter, but no more; neither was he to receive the "careful schooling in England" his brothers had enjoyed.

What formal education George did receive is still a matter of debate. Littlefield upholds the tradition that on his father's death he went to live with his brother Augustine at Wakefield, and attended the school Henry Williams ran near Mattox Creek at what is now Laurel Grove.<sup>57</sup> Freeman does not accept the tradition,<sup>58</sup> and thinks it much more likely that the only school George attended was that kept by the Rev. James Marye at Fredericksburg. This was easily accessible from Ferry Farm where his mother continued to live. Littlefield is of the opinion that this was the school to which he progressed when he returned from Wakefield to live with his mother, and cites as evidence a copy of Samuel Patrick's *Clavis Homerica*, bearing George's signature and the inscription "Fredericksburg, Virginia". E. Harrison Clark supports Littlefield's arguments for George's attendance at Henry William's school, and is convinced that here he learned the rudiments of geometry, geography, and surveying. He feels that whatever instruction George received was basically of a tutorial nature, which left him ample time to copy out the *110 Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour in Company* of which so much has been made whenever George's early years are under review. These are based, according to Littlefield, on William Mather's *The Young Man's Companion*; Freeman and Clarke prefer to equate the original with Francis Hawkins' *Youth's*

<sup>57</sup> Littlefield, G. E., *Early Schools and School Books in New England* (New York, 1965).

<sup>58</sup> Freeman, I 64, n. 112, and 78, n. 26.

*Behaviour*, itself a direct descendant of Baldassare Castiglione's 16th-century classic *Il Libro del Cortegiano*.<sup>59</sup> At some time or another, however, he studied English history, he read *The Spectator*, he came to know Addison's *Cato* by heart, and became familiar with a whole range of literature quite different from the solid practical fare of a local school. It is not without significance that Yates used *The Spectator* not only as reading material but also as the basis of exercises in Latin translation, and that three volumes of fair copies of their versions, written out by pupils themselves, are still extant. Addison's *Cato* was in the Library at Appleby, as were many other of the books George is known to have read, including Leybourn's *Line of Proportion* which he used to acquire the rudiments of surveying. These may have been used, and certainly would be known to his brothers from their time at Appleby, but how great an influence they were able, or were allowed to exert over George between the age of 11 and 16 it is difficult to say. Clark feels that there is now sufficient evidence to confirm the tradition that he spent the greater part of this period with Augustine, now married to Anne Aylett, on the Pope's Creek-Bridges Creek plantation. Lawrence, on the other hand, is known to have made the suggestion that George might make a career for himself at sea, an idea which found no favour whatsoever with his mother, and of which her brother, Joseph Ball, had so low an opinion as to write to her: "I think he had better be put apprentice to a tinker."<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Castiglione, Baldassare, *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (Venice, 1528). First English version, *The Courtier . . . done into Englyshe by T. Hoby* (London: W. Seres, 1561). A Latin version was published ten years later with the title *De Curiali sive Aulico libri quatuor . . . in Latinum conversi; B. Clerke interprete* (Londini, 1571). There were two copies of this Latin translation in the Bainbrigg Library.

<sup>60</sup> The evidence for this suggestion is contained in two letters to Lawrence Washington of September 1746, one from William Fairfax, the other from Robert Jackson, and in a letter from Joseph Ball to Mrs Mary Washington dated 19 May 1747. These are reproduced in *Conway*, 236 f., and the *Ball Letter Book*.

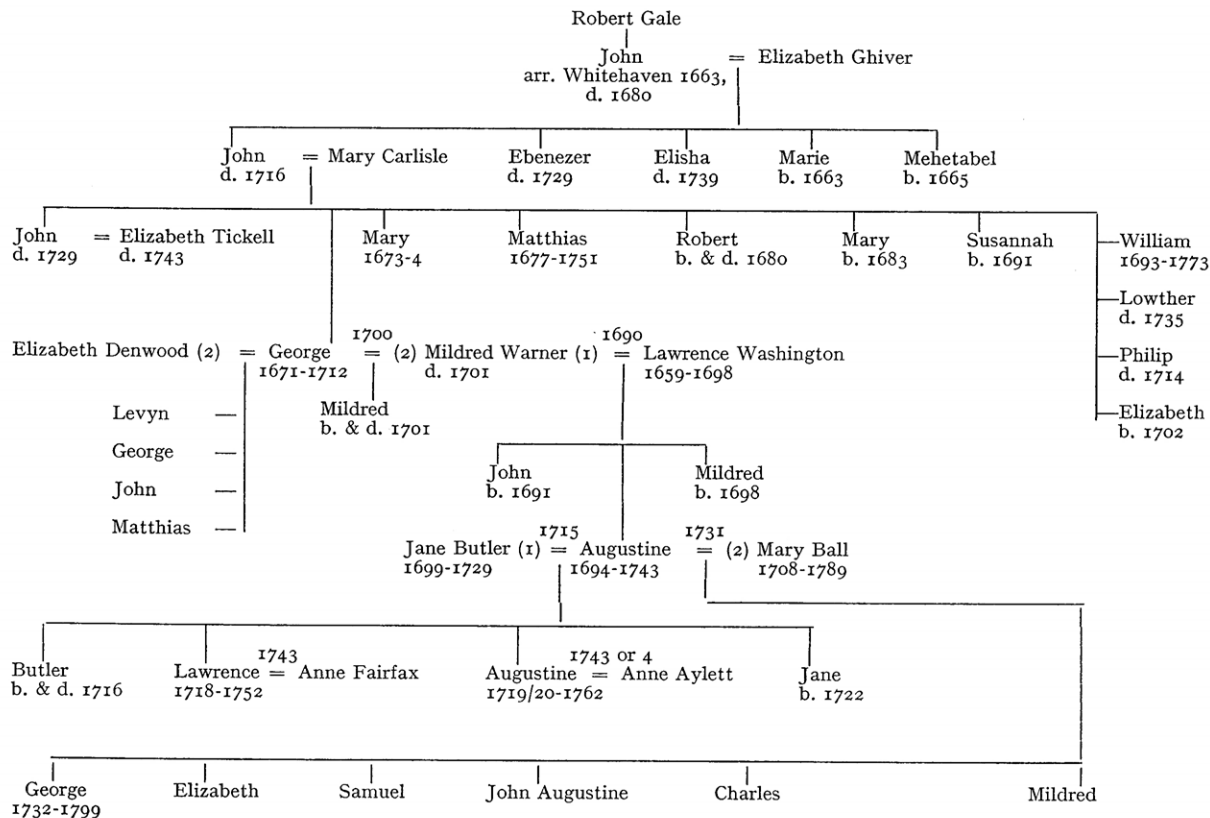
Towards the end of this period he certainly did spend some time with Lawrence, completing "A Plan of Major Larw. Washington's Turnip Field" on 27 February 1747/8 before setting out from Mount Vernon with George William Fairfax on a survey of the South Branch of the Potomac. Freeman sums up the position in this way:

Augustine Washington had taken the pains and had entailed the expense of sending his two older boys to school in England. Unless, improbably, he had sustained an unknown financial disaster or some unrecognised loss of interest in his children, it is not reasonable to assume that he would have neglected the training of George, his eldest son by his second marriage. It is to be taken for granted that between seven and eleven years of age George received as good schooling as could be provided at or near his home, from which his mother was unwilling he should go.<sup>61</sup>

It is equally reasonable to assume that from the time of his father's death his brothers felt some moral responsibility for George's welfare, and that they had an obligation to pass on to him some of the benefits of the education which they had enjoyed and which fate had denied him. Appleby Grammar School may not be able to claim the first President as a pupil, he may not have had the book-learning his brothers acquired from so capable a teacher as Richard Yates, but the by-products of grace, urbanity, and charm, the "moral and religious improvement" which he could not fail to observe in both his brothers must somewhere, at some time, have engendered a desire to be their equal, though denied their opportunity.

<sup>61</sup> *Freeman*, I 64, n. 112.

The Gales of Whitehaven.  
Their connection with the Washingtons of Virginia.



THE WASHINGTONS

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## APPENDIX I.

### Will of Mildred Gale, 1701.

In the name of God Amen. I Mildred Gale wife of George Gale of Whitehaven in the County of Cumberland being doubtfull of the recoverie of my present sickness but of sound and perfect mind & memory, praise be therefore given to Almighty God, do make and ordain this my present Last Will & Testament in manner and form following, Recommending my soul into the hands of Almighty God, hoping through the Merits Death & Passion of my Saviour Jesus Christ to have full and free pardon of all my sins and to inherit everlasting life and my body I commit to the Earth to be devoutly buried at the discretion of my Executor hereafter named, And as touching the Dispositions of all such temporal estate as it hath pleased God to bestow on me which by an Indenture of Marriage made and executed by & between John Washington one of the Executors of my Late Husband's Will of the one part & my Present Husband Geo. Gale with my own consent and approbation thereof of the other part bearing date the Sixteenth Day of May in this present year one thousand seven hundred I am enabled & empowered to devise by will or other Instruments the estate and legacys of my Late Husband to the uses & purposes therein mentioned, I give and dispose thereof as followeth.

First whereas by the Last Will & Testament of my Late Husband (Lawrence Washington bearing date the eleventh day of March one thousand six hundred ninety eight) I am intrusted with the tuition of his children & with the proffits of the lands and legacys left by the said Will of their Late Father Lawrence Washington, I do hereby leave the Tuition & Guardianship of the said children with the proffits of the lands & legacys to my Present Husband Geo. Gale he being accountable to them in the same manner as I am by the Tenure & purpose of the said will obliged to perform.

Secondly that after the receipt of one thousand pounds sterling by my Husband Geo. Gale, what remains over & above the said thousand pounds, shall be equally divided between my said Husband & children by equal parts & portions. Lastly I do ordain and appoint my Loving Husband Geo. Gale my Full & Sole Executor of this my Last Will & Testament. In witness whereof I the said Mildred Gale to this my Last



Will & Testament my hand & seal have set the twenty fourth day of January one thousand seven hundred.

Mildred Gale

Signed Sealed & Published  
in the Presence of  
Fra. Yates  
Matt. Gale  
Joseph Sewell

On 18 March 1700/1 George Gale, gent., of Whitehaven, entered into three bonds, each of £1,000, his bondsmen being John Gale senior and John Gale junior, both of the same place.\* In the first bond George undertook to execute and perform his wife's will and to make a true and perfect inventory of her goods and chattels. In the second he undertook to "well and honestly educate and bring upp John Augustin and Mildred Washington naturall and lawfull children of Mildred Gale his late wife by a former Husband deceased with sufficient meat drink cloaths and all other necessaries agreeable to their condition and estate during their minority", and to pay them the legacies left to them by their mother at the age of 21 or marriage.

Mildred's will was delivered to her husband by decree of Court and in the third bond he undertook "upon lawfull warn- ing" to re-deliver the will into the Court.

\* The signatures were witnessed by Matt. Gale and Fran. Yates. The latter was then curate of St Nicholas, Whitehaven.

## APPENDIX II.

### Summary of the petition of John Washington and Samuel Thompson, surviving executors of the will of Capt. Lawrence Washington.

Grand Jury p. A°. 1702 Sworn and Charged.

Capt: George Gale was summoned to answer Mr. John Washington & Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup>. Thompson Surviveing Ex<sup>rs</sup>. to the last Will and Testament of Capt. Law: Washington: decd of a plea wherefore hee the sd. Gale doth keep and detain agt. the Will of them the sd. John & Sam<sup>l</sup>. plts and against the peace &c the estate of the decedent belonging to his Orphts. John Augustine and Mildred Washington as also the sd. Orphts. being within age and whose tuition and charge together with their Estates belongeth to the Extrs as their guardians or Tutors till they arrive to age. And whereupon the plts by Wm

1702 —  
Grand Jury  
sworn —

Washington  
&  
Thompson.  
Ex<sup>rs</sup>  
Washington  
vs  
Gale —

ffitzhugh and Nath<sup>l</sup>. Pope their attorneys say that the Deced Lawrence by his last Will & Testament did bequeath to his sd three children all & singlar his reale estate with three parts of his whole personall estate in four to bee divided and the fourth to his wife Mildred Washington. . . . And ordained them the plts & his sd wife Mildred his Extrs. . . . And committed the trust of his sd children to his sd wife till they come of age or day of marriage . . . That the Deft. Gale intermarrying with the sd Mildred the relict of the sd Lawrence possessed himself of all & Singlar the estate of the said Lawrence belonging to him or the said children, and removed himself with his wife and the abovesd John and Augustine Washington with part of their Estates for England Since when the sd Mildred his then wife by her last Will delegates the trust reposed in her by her sd decd husband Washington of the said children and their Estates to her said husband, George Gale the deft And dyed. That the deft Gale by pretext of the sd. Will of his said & decd wife detaines the Droit de Gard of the plts. as Executors of the first Testator due to them of the said children and their sd Estates which hee hath no right to doe for that the trust reposed in the sd Mildred by her sd former husband Washington was but only personall and terminated with her life . . . Wherefore the plts say they are damnified by virtue of the said detainer the summe of One hundred pounds sterl . . . And the Deft by George Eskridg his Attorney saith that the plts aforesaid their Accons aforesaid against him ought not to have or maintaine [substance ?] for that the aforesaid Mildred his late wife had a separate trust reposed in her by the last Will of her former husband Lawrence Washington aforesaid for the tuition of the three children aforesaid till they came of their respective ages And that the said Mildred as surviveing Parent of the said Children by her last Will and Testament as aforesaid Did devise the tuition of the aforesaid Children to him the Deft which after Probat of the said will was committed to him by the Ordinary of the Diocese of Chester therefore conceives the plts their accon aforesaid against him ought not to have And of this . . . To which the plts aforesaid demurr in law and say that the trust reposed in the the last testator was butt personall and terminated by her death therefore the last Testators will and further shee being a feme covert is void and of this . . . which demurrer being considered by the Court overruled And upon mature deliberation on the premises aforesaid. It is Considered by the Court that the tuition & guardianship of the sd John Augustine and Mildred Orphts of the sd Lawrence Washington

dec'd together with their Estates for the reasons in the Dets plea aforesaid laid down to him the said George Gale of right doth lawfully appurtaine And that the Deft aforesaid bee dismist home without day with his reasonable costs in this behalf sustained . . .

ffrom which Judgement the said John Washington & Sam<sup>l</sup>. Thompson appeale to the third day of the next Gen<sup>l</sup>. Court —

John Bushrod Gent security with the appellants

Charles Ashton Gent with the appellee —

### APPENDIX III.

#### Letters to Lawrence and Augustine Washington.

##### 1. *Joseph Deane to Lawrence Washington. 1741.*

Dear Sir,

It was a very great satisfaction and pleasure to me and to all your friends in having the favour of yours from the Harbour of Carthagenia the 31 March last, and tho we have not had that favour repeated, and great misfortunes and mortallity hath attended you, yet I hope to God you are still in being, and that he hath, and will protect you at all times this is the sincere prayer of your affectionate frind.

We have had dismall accounts how to judge is very uncerton, and upon my word I am under the greatest uneasiness for your preservation so that I beg you will let me hear from you. I will not enlarge much, being afraid I am writing to one not of this world, so that I know not whose hands this may fall into. I hear Colonel Yonge hath write [*sic*] to England and accusess your Virginians of Cowardice and that they are all or most of them brock. I hope it's not true; but be as it will I beg you will keep up your spirits. Your Brother and all Friends is [*sic*] well and at your sarvice and upon my word he is grown a pretty young fellow. Pray also give me directions how to proceed As to state affairs I am no judge but Your Fine Admiral hath got great aplause tho he could not take the town, and some is blamed for storming the Fort (much) without first a breach.

All frinds hear is [*sic*] well except your once much admired Mrs. Milham\* who is just a heap of Corruption (so uncerton

\* Isabel, wife of Mr James Milham, merchant, was buried at St Nicholas, Whitehaven, 12 August 1741.

is this world) and must be dead e'ar this comes to hand; all  
 hear joins in our kind love to you and I am

Dear Sir

Your most affectionate humble servant

Jos. Deane

Whitehaven July 24. 1741.

It's uncerton this coming to your hand, yet would neglect  
 no opportunity to show my regards for you.

2. *Richard Yates to Augustine Washington. 1741.*

Appleby Oct. 9. 1741

Dear Sir,

In the midst of your late calamity which you suffered by  
 fire, for which I am sincerely concerned, there's a more sensible  
 pleasure to find room for congratulation: and I do most heartily  
 give you joy of your son's happy escape out of the midst of  
 a danger that prov'd fatal to so many about him, and I pray  
 God he may live long to enjoy the satisfaction and benefit of  
 his advancement in the army as well as to give a comfort to  
 his father.

Mr. Dean (whose intentions and conduct are and always have  
 been so friendly to you and your sons) will say enough to you  
 about your son Austin's desire to study the Law so that he  
 will spare me the trouble of saying more than that, if you  
 think it convenient for him to be educated that way, I believe  
 he will take abundance of pains to shine in a profession on  
 which he had set his heart. Not but I have that opinion  
 of the Lad's goodness that if he thought it were not agreeable  
 to your sentiments he would reconcile his thoughts to any  
 other employment you should think most expedient for him.

I am, with my best respects to Major Washington,

Dear Sir, your most affectionate Friend

and Very Humble Servant,

Ri. Yates.

[Addressed] To Augustine Washington Esq:

3. *John Lewis to Lawrence Washington. 1742.*

Capt. Lawrence Washington.

Virginia, June 28th 1742.

Dear Sir,

Having this opportunity by a vessel of our own John Briggs  
 master consigned to Capt. Robert Turner by the advice of our  
 good Governor I could not let it pass without letting you know  
 that we are all well and much as you left us. My son Warner

is come from England and I have taken him into partnership by giving him half of all my vessels and cargoes. Your brother Augustine is just now come inn [*sic*] and gone up to his father. I have not seen him, but I hear he is very desirous of being with you. Mr Page is married to Miss Ailce [?] Grymes, and Mr Willis will soon be so to Miss Betty Carter. Miss Howell I believe partly engaged to Mr William Lightfoot, Mr Moore, Mr Baylor, Mr Grymes, Mr Burwell and all the young gentlemen and ladys of any note are yet single and likt [*sic*] to be so as far as I know. Mr Thomas Nelson is come in and gone this day to make his addresses to Miss Lucy Armistead and generally thought will be a match. Mr Wormeley and Colonel Charles Carter has lost their ladys. Mr Wormeley is making his addresses to Miss Bowls of Maryland — how it may fair with him I cannot say. The poor Secretary is near his death with a dropsey. The Governor has not yet recovered his health or [*sic*] do I think he ever will perfectly. Our Assembly is now broke up, but has done nothing material besides continuing the Tobacco Law for four years longer. All your friends and acquaintance are very well. Miss Randolph is yet single, though many offers has been made her, it is reported by some that she stays for you, but not believed by many for the dangers of war and a sickly climate no person can depend upon. I pray God give you a safe delivery from them and now I have given you as plain and short a detail of the affairs of this part of the world as possibly I can, time not admitting me to be more full, the vessel waiting for my dispatch.

If these should meet with you at Jamaica and there is anything in our poor cargoe that may be acceptable to you I have given the Captain orders to let you have it gratis.

I should be very glad of a line from you giving me as short and full account of the affairs with you, as I have done here. We have no news that can be depended upon from England a great while. I can only say that I hope they will be in earnest now, for I think they have only been at play hitherto with the lives and fortunes of thousands of poor souls. I cannot see what delight you can take in such a life. I heartily wish you safe here with honour, that so wished for title, so much to be gained in the field of Battle, but I think may as deservedly be acquired at home in the service of his country, county, parish and neighbourhood in peace and quietness.

I am Dear Sir

Your most affectionate Kinsman  
and Humble Servant

Jno Lewis

[Addressed] To Capt. Lawrence Washington of the American  
Forces at Jamaica.

per Capt. Briggs.

4. *Joseph Deane to Lawrence Washington. 1743.*

Dear Sir

Yours of the 18 July last gives me infinite pleasure one [sic] two accounts, first that you have escaped many daingers and returned in peace, and 2ndly that you are happily fixed to a young lady in whome I sincerely wish you all the cumford [sic] and happiness this life can afford.

My wife joins with me in the same good wishes and desires you will make our compliments (in a politer way than my pen is master of) to your lady.

I writ to you by the Howard since which wee have had no news, however I have sent you and your brother all the journals I could pick up, you know what this country affords. If I can assist my freind in anything I beg you will let me know. I shall writ [sic] to you by other ships from time to time and I hope you will do the same to me.

I am dear sir

Your very affectionate humble servant

Jos. Deane

Whitehaven Nov. 10. 1743.

P.S. You must excuse Brother Robinson's not writting. I told him I would writ when the first ships was [sic] ready to sail but wee have a surveyor in the [sic] that prevents me.

5. *Richard Yates to Lawrence Washington 1743.*

Appleby Nov. 13. 1743.

You tell me, Dear Major Washington, on the 19th of July that you had then taken your residence upon *Mount Vernon*, and give me to understand that in a few hours after writing you might probably be upon the *Mons Veneris*. A happy situation, believe me, I think you to be in. If I had not thought so, I should not have come there myself; for be it known to you I was married also on the 12th of May, the day sacred and solemn to all Schoolmasters of Appleby, but particularly so to me, before I made it my wedding day; being not only the day upon which the School was founded (as you may yet remember, if you have not forgot Nanny Huetson) but the day likewise on which my presentation to the School bore date just 20 years before, and as it had proved a happy day to me, productive of much profit and pleasure too for 20 years together, I ventured to make it an *Aera*, from which to date so considerable a revolution in *my* life, and I bless God for it. Thus far I find my satisfaction improved, and have no appre-

hension of any abatement but hope and prospects of farther improvement still.

But why all this upon myself, when I am writing a letter of congratulation to my friend? To let my friend know that my congratulation must be the more sincere, because I *feel* the joy that I *give* him upon the occasion. And to conclude with as hearty and as good a wish as I can make. I wish you, my Dear, and your wife as happy as I and mine are.

The woman I married is the daughter of Mr. Hartley of Kirby Steven\* who had a brother Hugh at school when you was here, I believe, and another whose name was Alderson when Austin was here. She's just 10 years younger than I (pretty much as 'tis with yours); I wanted about 15 weeks of 42 upon my wedding day. I hope your Father and his family are all well. I beg my best respects to him and Honest Austin, and am with sincere regard for you and your good Lady,

Dear Laurence,

your most affectionate friend  
and very humble servant,

Ri. Yates.

This comes down to Honest Joe Dean to whom I leave the direction of it.

[Addressed] To Laurance Washington Esqre on Mount Vernon in Virginia.

\* She was the daughter of Edward Hartley, gent., of Melbecks, who died 29 April 1740, aged 76. m.i. Kirkby Stephen Church (Bellasis, *Westmorland Church Notes*, ii 125). The bride's elder brother, Hugh, died 14 September 1744, aged 31. Alderson Hartley, her younger brother, born at Hartforth, Yorks., matriculated at The Queen's College, Oxford, 21 March 1737/8, aged 18, and graduated in 1741.

6. *Joseph Deane to Lawrence Washington. 1744.*

Dear Capt. Washington,

Yours at all times (if I may own it) gives me great pleasure, so that I hope you will not neglect renewing that pleasure when every opportunity [*sic*] offers.

I wounder you should not hear from me I seldome miss embrassing all offers and will continue so long as I find my letters is [*sic*] not troublesome.

My Brother Robinson hath, I fancie, received the value of your Bill. I have heard nothing to the contrary, poor Wilkin\* is dead. Dr. Skilbeck is Mayor,† and Mr. Yates is married‡

\* William Wilkin was Mayor of Appleby 1742/3, and was succeeded by George Skilbeck.

† i.e. of Appleby.

‡ See letter 3.

that's all the alterations I know there. The warr was expected to be halt. in Flanders, but it's quite otherwise I am afraid it's a trade now.

Wee have a companie of Blaikney's Regiment in this town and the Captain's name is Gordon. I find he went out upon the same footing you did and is now in full pay so that if you was to come over you would be the same. He tells me he knows you very well and seems to blame you in not coming over, (but this is not to advise you for I know nothing about it) he further tells me he had a dispute about the seniority but you got it.

This warr I am afraid will distress the Planters but its only living within due bounds at first (this advice may be given but not so easily taken). I could not learn from Mrs. Smith the reson of her coming away.

I have sent you the last papers and if I can surve you in any thing hear pray let me know. I had the worst luck with the Walnutt that ever Fellow had, wee lost our two ships and it was both them that had it in. We have little or no news hear but I hope to God the King of Prussia will never get out of Bohemia. He had the [Bulls?] and hath still if he would be honest, but I hope no body will trust him now.

My wife joins in our kind love to you and your Lady and I am with due regard

Dear Sir

Your most Obedient and most Humble Servant,  
Jos. Deane.

Whitehaven Nov. 6. 1744.

## APPENDIX IV.

### The Deane family of Dufton and Appleby.

By C. Roy Hudleston.

Many interesting particulars of the family to which Joseph Deane belonged are to be found in C. B. Norcliffe's *Robinson of the White House, Appleby* (1874) 93 f. Mr Norcliffe shows that Joseph was a son of Richard Deane, a member of Appleby Corporation and Mary (Smith) his wife. Having stated that Joseph was baptized on 3 April 1701, Mr Norcliffe goes on to confuse him with his son of the same name, and to describe him as a Captain in the Royal Navy. Mr Hinchcliffe has set forth the details of the elder Joseph's career as tide surveyor in Whitehaven from about 1724 until his retirement in 1777, three



years before his death. He married at St Nicholas Church, Whitehaven, on 22 July 1728 Elizabeth Filbeck, and had four sons, all christened at St Nicholas — Richard on 30 July 1729, Joseph on 22 December 1730, Charles on 13 December 1732, and John on 10 December 1734. Of these sons, only Charles survived his father. This is clear from Joseph Deane's will, dated 15 April 1780. Describing himself as of Whitehaven, Esquire, he says:

First I give and devise unto my son Charles Deane all and every my real estate and estates whatsoever in the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland to hold to him his heirs and assigns for ever subject to the payment of the sum of twelve pounds a year from and out of my Estate called Montreall situate at Keekle in the said County of Cumberland to my servant Margaret France during the term of her natural life, provided only that she be living with me at the time of my decease and subject to the payment of the sum of ten pounds a year out of the same estate to my servant Ann France during the term of her natural life provided only that she be living with me at the time of my decease and subject also to the payment of the sum of four pounds a year out of the same estate to my servant Margaret Sharp during the term of her natural life provided only that she be living with me at the time of my decease I also give and bequeath unto my said son Charles Deane his executors administrators and assigns all that my leasehold estate purchased from Anthony Peile situate at Keekle aforesaid and all my household stuff and furniture plate linen goods chattels and personal estate whatsoever or wheresoever subject to the payment of my just debts and funeral expences and I do hereby constitute and appoint my said son Charles sole executor of this my last will and testament . . . .

Jos: Deane.

Witnesses: John Grisdale, R. Wordsworth junior, J. Winder.

On 12 August 1780 Thomas Lutwidge and Samuel Martin of Whitehaven esquires and Richard Wordsworth of the same place gentlemen were bound to Beilby Bishop of Chester in £2,000, the condition being that Sarah Deane, wife and lawful attorney of Charles Deane, Commander of the Earl of Sandwich [*sic*] East Indiaman esquire,\* administratrix with the will annexed of Joseph Deane of Whitehaven esquire faithfully administer the goods of the deceased. On the same day Sarah was sworn before the Rev. Thomas Spedding at Whitehaven to execute and perform the will. Mr Norcliffe shows that Charles Deane — who was an alderman of Appleby — was of Keekle Grove, Whitehaven, and died at Hendon, Middlesex, on 9 January 1787. He married Sarah, widow of William MacDowall, a surgeon† in the East India Company's service‡ and had one

\* He was commander of the *Earl of Sandwich* 1771-1779.

† He was surgeon of the *Talbot*, East Indiaman.

‡ Sarah Margaret, a daughter of this marriage, was born 7 December 1770, married before 1796 Hugh Parkin of Skirsgill and had issue. She died 17 June 1858 (*Robinson of the White House*, 92).

son, Charles, and four daughters. Of the latter, the eldest, Elizabeth Mary, died 12 September 1819 aged 45, and is buried in the churchyard of St Nicholas, Whitehaven, Jemima, another daughter, married at St Nicholas, Whitehaven, 30 April 1821 Robert Benn of Liverpool, while Martha married (1) Major George Williams, H.E.I.C.S., Bombay, and (2) in 1826 Sir Robert Preston, 8th Baronet of Valleyfield, who died in 1858 s.p. Lady Preston died at Bath on 15 December 1867 in her 89th year.

Charles Deane, the only son, was of 61 Lincoln's Inn Fields, solicitor. On 27 November 1843, he was granted administration de bonis non of his grandfather Joseph Deane. It was then stated that Sarah Deane his mother had obtained a grant in the absence of her husband in parts beyond the seas, and her husband never proved the will. Sarah was since dead, leaving some of Joseph Deane's goods unadministered. According to Mr Norcliffe Sarah married a third time — Llewellyn and died at Whitehaven 6 September 1831.

Charles Deane, who inherited Keekle Grove, died unmarried in London 31 December 1864 aged 78. His will, dated December 1855, was proved in 1865 by his nephew of the half blood, Anthony Parkin of Sharrow Bay.

To revert to Joseph Deane, the Whitehaven Tide Surveyor, who died in July 1780. No details have come to light concerning his sons Richard and John, but his second son and namesake, Joseph, had a very distinguished naval career. *The Commissioned Sea Officers of the Royal Navy*, 242, records that he was commissioned Lieutenant at the age of 24 on 29 April 1755, promoted Commander 23 February 1758, and Captain on 17 October of the same year. He greatly distinguished himself while commanding H.M.S. *Lowestoft* on the River St Lawrence, and died in Jamaica early in 1779. Details of his career will be found in John Charnock's *Biographia Navalis* vi 308-310.

## APPENDIX V.

### The piazza at Mount Vernon.

In 1773 George Washington made plans for additions to each end of Mount Vernon, the house on the Hunting Creek Plantation which his father had built, and which he had acquired on the death of his elder half-brother Lawrence. During his absence as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army his distant kinsman Lund Washington acted as manager of the estate and continued the improvements the General had begun.

According to Lund Washington's accounts the piazza was erected in 1777, but there was considerable delay in finding a suitable material for the floor. The General wrote to a gentleman in Philadelphia who was experimenting with concrete, then in July 1784 to George Rumney, a merchant ship-owner of Whitehaven, "and would esteem it as a particular favour if Mr Rumney would make the following enquiries as soon as convenient after his arrival in England; the terms on which the best kind of Whitehaven flagstone black and white in equal quantities could be delivered at the General's landing . . . the stone to 2½ ins. thick or thereabouts and exactly a foot square each kind . . ."

The flagstones were imported from England and laid in 1786. In 1914 the floor was in poor condition. It was known that the flagstones had been imported from England, but evidently no-one troubled to consult the General's diaries and correspondence to discover the exact source. A fragment of broken stone was sent to the Geological Museum, South Kensington, and identified without difficulty as coming from a sandstone quarry at St Bees, worked at that time by a Mr McKay. 1,500 flags of the same shape and size were sent out to Mt Vernon, and the piazza was restored to its original condition.

### Acknowledgements.

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The War Office; Mr John Augustine Washington, Chevy Chase, Maryland; Mr E. Harrison Clark, Washington, D.C.; and Mr J. F. Whitehead, M.B.E., Appleby, for their valuable assistance; to the Governors of Appleby Grammar School for access to the records of the School and the Bainbrigg Library; to Mrs A. E. Wallis, Darlington, and Mrs G. W. Corner, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, whose informed interest provided the stimulus for this article; and to Mr C. Roy Hudleston for the additional notes he has supplied and his frequent help and guidance.