# DEVELOPMENT OF A CITY-SITE: ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 1750-1850

by

Steven J. Shephard, Ph.D.

Alexandria Archaeology Publications
Number 16

Alexandria Archaeology
Office of Historic Alexandria
City of Alexandria, Virginia

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## Foreword

The Alexandria Archaeology Publications series is composed of papers on various aspects of research conducted under the auspices of Alexandia Archaeology, a division of the Office of Historic Alexandia, City of Alexandria, Virginia. The authors include professional staff members, university students and Alexandia Archaeology volunteers. Editing of the papers has been kept to a minimum. It should be understood that the papers vary in tone and level of technicality, since they were originally directed toward many different audiences.

We are pleased to offer the papers within this series and in so doing are opening our "manuscripts on file" - including professional conference papers, background documentary studies, student course papers, and volunteer research papers - to professionals and public alike.

This publication was originally presented as a paper at the Historic Petersburg Conference: "Urbanization in Maryland and Virginia," in March, 1988.

Pamela J. Cressey, Ph.D.
City Archaeologist
1991

Alexandria has been described variously by early visitors as "one of the wealthiest and most respectable towns in Virginia" (Schoepf 1784), as "a very handsome town, prettily situated on the banks of the Potomac" (Massie 1808), and as a place displaying an "absence of enterprise and of capital" while exhibiting "all the marks of decay" (Alexandria Gazette 1852). Each of these observations had some truth to it depending on the time of the visit and the mood of the visitor. Like every other town, Alexandria has had up and down periods as the result of a number of social and economic factors. After an initial period of prosperity lasting into the 1820s, hard times set in until the decade of the 1850s when prospects again looked excellent. These hopes were dashed by the onset of the Civil War. The first one-hundred years of Alexandria's existence as a municipality is a time of significant change in settlement pattern, economic foundation, and social composition. Although the town sustained growth in size and population while evolving from a mercantile port to a commercial center with some manufacturing, Alexandria never underwent the industrial development which Baltimore and Richmond experienced. It is in part this fact, which so disappointed the businessmen of a hundred or so years ago, that makes Old Town the attractive place to live, shop and work that it is today.

The first one hundred years of Alexandria's development may

be divided into two time periods for the purpose of discussing urbanization. From the town's founding in 1749 to about 1800 was a time of steady growth, thriving trade and high hopes. During the period of the 1820s until the 1840s, Alexandria's economy was in decline and population growth was minimal; two major fires, plus epidemics of yellow fever and cholera took their toll on buildings and citizens. While it is arbitrary to designate any clear break in time, these two fifty year time periods can be effectively compared when each is considered as a whole.

As an archaeologist, it is appropriate to begin the discussion of Alexandria's development from 1750 to 1800 with a consideration of the settlement site itself. Alexandria Archaeology's research design is based on the premise that Alexandria can be studied as a "city-site." Quite simply, this is a geographical location which is a site of human settlement. Changes in the configuration of this settlement can be viewed through time and interpreted in light of the culture of the inhabitants.

Alexandria's first human inhabitants were Native Americans who came to the area about 10 to 12,000 years ago. Evidence gathered to date indicates the locality was used for hunting and fishing expeditions and not for permanent settlements. No village sites of Native Americans have ever been located in the current bounds of Alexandria, although Algonquian villages are known to have existed at various times north and south of the city-site (Potter 1984:4).

Europeans began to inhabit the area in the 1720s when a few Scots farmers and merchants settled with the purpose of growing

and shipping tobacco to Europe. By the late 1720s a "Rolling house" was established at the Potomac River end of a road which later became Oronoco Street, so named for its role as a "rolling road" for tobacco (Alexandria Legislative Petition, Nov. 20, 1787; Hambleton 1983:64). This "Rolling house" expanded into several tobacco warehouses and a residence on the property of Hugh West, which formed a point at the northern end of a bay. By 1740, West had established a public ferry from his wharf at West Point across the Potomac to Fraziers Point (Shomette 1985:18). On a plat of this bay drawn by George Washington in 1748 to promote this location for establishment of a town, is inscribed: "Note that in the bank fine cellars may be cut from thence wharfs may be extended on the Flats with[out] any difficulty and Ware Houses built theron as in Philadelphia. Good Water is got by sink[in]g Wells at small depth." He also states that the "Shoals or Flats" are "about 7 feet at High Water." In 1749, the Virginia Assembly passed an "Act for erecting a Town at Hunting Creek Warehouse in the County of Fairfax." The town was laid out in a regular pattern covering 60 acres with rectangular one-half acre lots with streets running north-south and east-west (Figure 1). The town was managed by a board of trustees that oversaw both physical and economic development. The new owners of the town lots were required, within two years from the time of purchase, to build a house of wood, brick or stone. The structure had to be at least twenty feet square and nine feet in height with a stone or brick chimney. In 1752, the trustees required that all future houses be built "in line with the street" with "no gable


Figure 1.

or end" of the buildings being "on or next to the street" (Cox 1976:x). Street names of the new town reflected land proprietorship (Fairfax and Cameron Streets--for Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron), the chief commodity (Oronoko Street--for the local tobacco), location (Water Street), and loyalty to the crown (Royal, King, Queen, Prince, Princess and Duke Streets) (Hambleton 1983:64).

Alexandria was situated on a bluff above the river. The banks along the bay rose up from the river shore ten to twenty feet and the only access to the river was by rough roadway cuts at West Point on the north and Point Lumley on the south (Carne 1880:231). There was a wharf at each of these points which reached nearly to the channel where ships of the deepest draft could load and unload cargoes. Reverend Andrew Burnaby, an English traveler of 1759, described Alexandria as:

> ..a small trading place in one of the finest situations imaginable. The Potowmac [sic] above and below the town, is not more than a mile broad, but it here opens into a large circular bay of at least twice that diameter. The town is built upon an arc of this bay; at one extremity of which is a wharf; at the other a dock for building ships; with water sufficiently deep to launch a vessel of any rate or magnitude (Miller 1987:36).

The bay which had been recorded as four or five feet deep in 1749, soon showed the effects of silting. As trading vessels more frequently ran aground, merchants saw the need to fill in the river and extend wharves. The process was called "banking out" and earth was cut from the banks loaded on wooden carts and then dumped at the rivers edge (Carne 1800:231). The filling proceeded in an irregular manner, piles were driven to hold the earth, the areas between wharves were filled in and by about 1791

the bay was no more (compare Figures 1 and 2) (Shomette 1985:404).

Alexandria, like Petersburg, Richmond and Fredericksburg was founded in great part as a result of the tobacco trade. The export of this and other agricultural products and the trade in manufactured goods, originally by importation but eventually through local production, directed Alexandria's economic development (Sharrer 1977:17).

As previously mentioned, tobacco warehouses were located at the site which became Alexandria even prior to its founding in 1749. Tobacco shipments to Britain increased and consumer goods were shipped back to the new town. The population had reached about 1,700 by 1755 (Preisser 1977:53) and the future looked bright.

In 1765, Alexandria's tobacco trade was enhanced when the General Assembly enacted a tobacco inspection law requiring all tobacco to be taken to designated public warehouses for inspection prior to shipment (Shomette 1985:40). Produce grown in the hinterlands to the west and brought to Alexandria for shipment, such as wheat, corn, oats and barley soon began to rival tobacco.

Although, the export of agricultural products such as tobacco, fish, pork and lumber, was the mainstay of Alexandria's commerce in the eighteenth century, manufacturing did take place on a limited scale. Ship-building was one enterprise which began early and continued to some degree into the twentieth century. In 1752, only two years after the town's founding, the first ocean going vessel was launched at Alexandria. It was the 154

ton ship Ranger built at Point Lumley (Shomette 1985:29). Between 1752 and 1772, seventeen other vessels were built at Alexandria ranging in size from thirty ton schooners to ships of two hundred tons. By 1774 a shortage of timber and a decline in the number of merchants trading at Alexandria put an end to the shipbuilding trade (Preisser 1977:104-107) until the turn of the century.

Other maritime related businesses were bakeries making ships bread, rope walks supplying lines and hawsers, and coopers producing barrels and barrel staves. Distillers and brewers offered stores of rum and wine. Roberdeaus distillery, established in 1774, consisted of three large storage grain and molasses storehouses, a cooper shop, a woodyard, three stills, twenty cisterns, a millhouse and a large wharf. This facility produced both "Alexandria Rum" and "low wines" (Preisser 1977:109).

Despite the development of small scale manufacturers,Alexandria's eighteenth-century economy was focused on the sale and shipment of products by merchants (Preisser 1977:109). Yet consumer goods, such as groceries, clothing, housewares and luxury items, were imported at a rate greater than trade goods were exported, thus creating an unfavorable balance of trade. This situation eventually led to an economic decline in the early nineteenth century (Sharrer 1977:21 and 23).

By 1763, the city-site of Alexandria had expanded by one street on the west and one street on the south. The population was a little over one thousand and the county court house was now

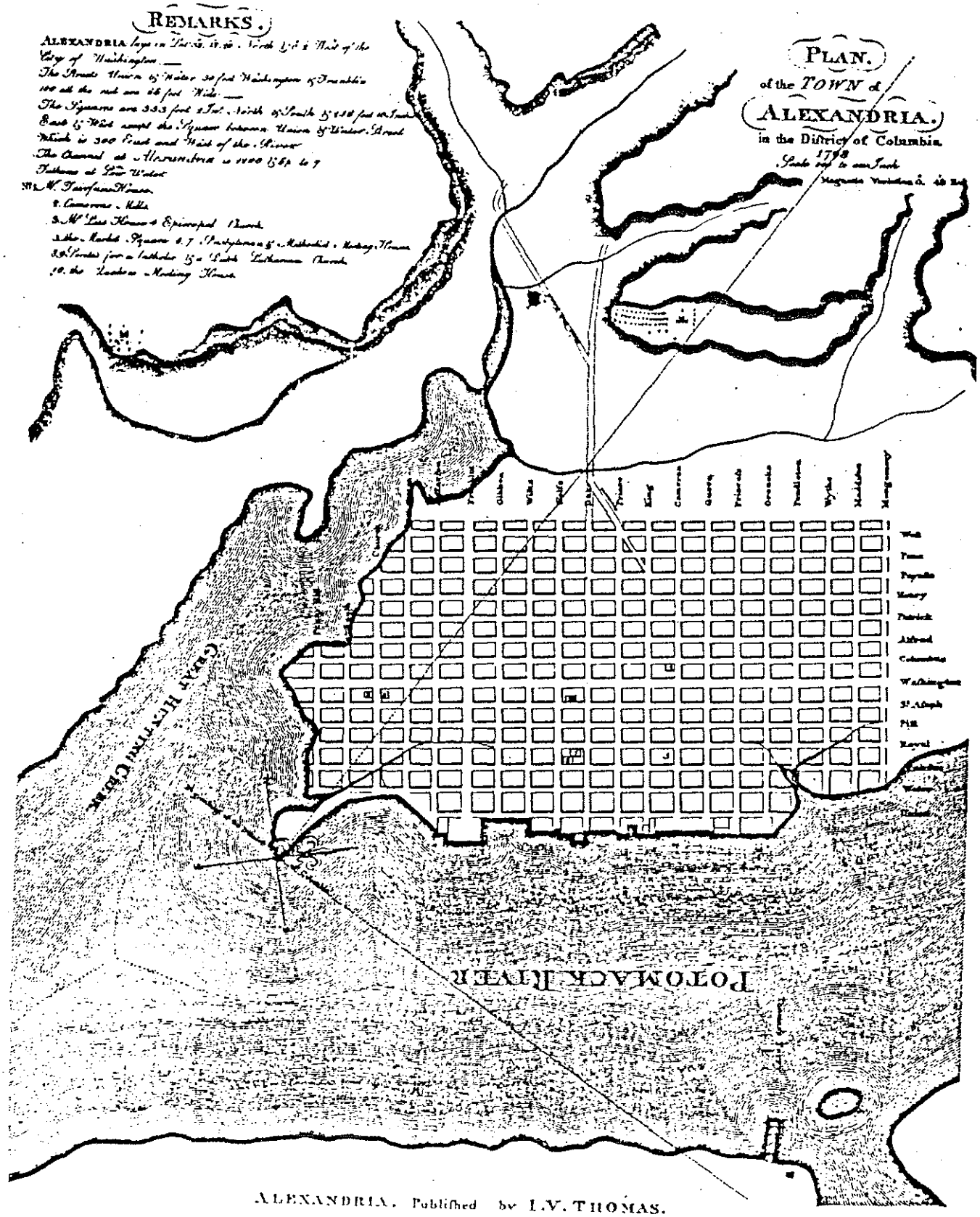
REMARKS.
PLAN.
of the TOWN of
ALEXANDRIA.
in the District of Columbia.
1798
POTOMACK RIVER
ALEXANDRIA. Published by I.V. THOMAS.

Figure 2.

located here. In 1791, the town was included in the newly formed Federal City and would remain a part of Washington, D.C., until retrocession to Virginia in 1846. The map of Alexandria in 1791 (Figure 2), shows the boundaries have grown much larger, extending south eight streets to Great Hunting Creek, inland an additional nine streets to West Street, and north four streets to Montgomery. Not until the twentieth century did Alexandria expand significantly beyond this size.

The population of Alexandria in the second half of the eighteenth century can be stratified into three basic socioeconomic levels. The upper class was composed of gentleman land holders and merchants and their families. The middle class included families headed by professionals such as ministers, lawyers, teachers, and doctors as well as craftsmen such as coopers, cabinetmakers, blacksmiths, bricklayers, ship carpenters, tailors, tanners, and shoemakers. Unskilled laborers and servants made up the lower end of the socioeconomic hierarchy, with slaves being at the very bottom. There was little residential segregation of different socioeconomic groups (Cressey et al. 1982:151; Preisser 1977:100). The middle and lower classes were located in the central part of the settlement, upper class residences were scattered along the river bluff (Figure 3).

Members of the upper class controlled the town government, held public office, attended the entertainments of the day and enjoyed the luxuries which were available in a port of international trade. The artisans and craftsmen of the middle class could maintain a comfortable life. In general they labored alone

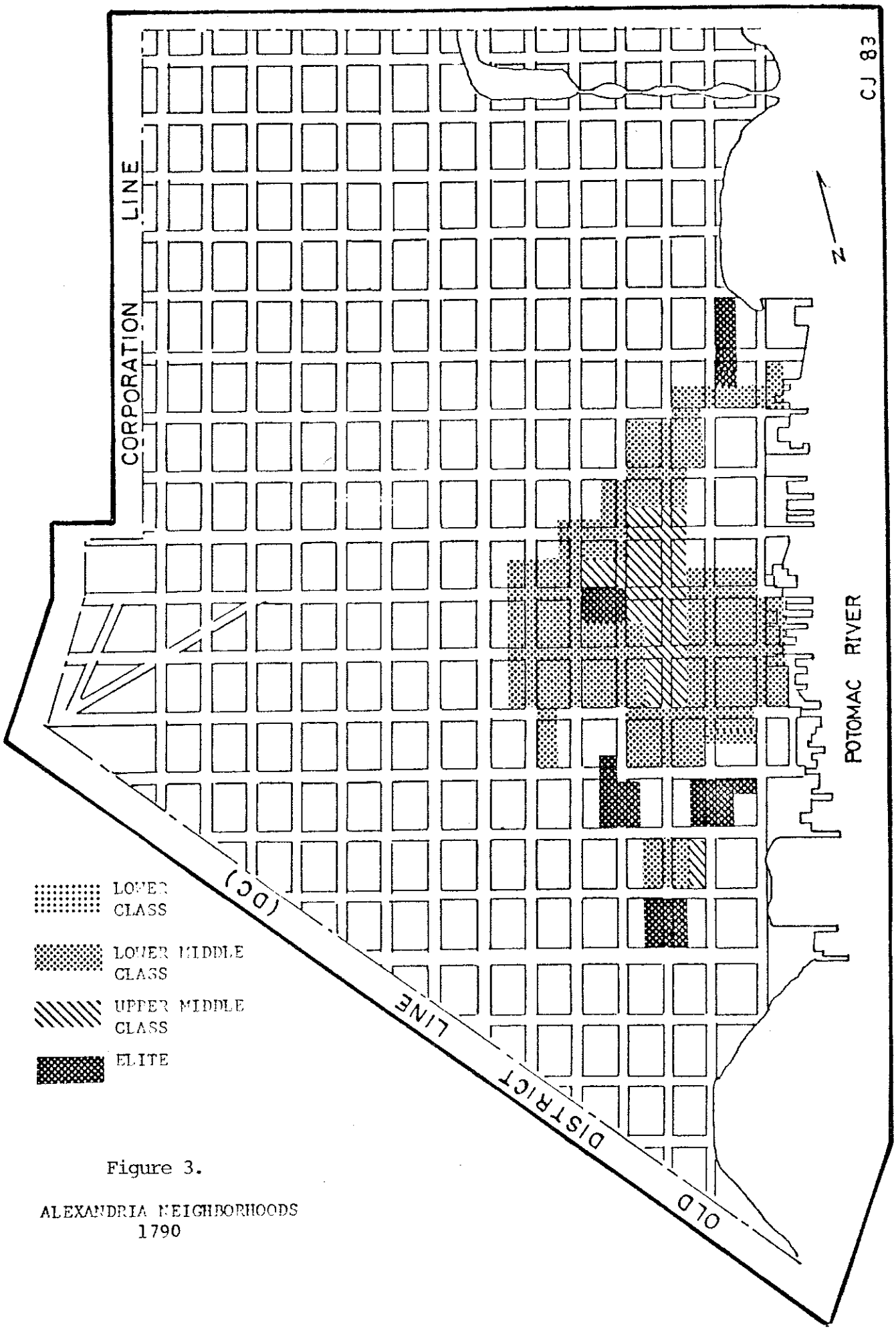


Figure 3.

ALEXANDRIA NEIGHBORHOODS
1790

or with an apprentice or two, who probably lived with their master. Their home and workplace often occupied the same structure (Preisser 1977:100). Low levels of public funds for relief of the poor suggests that Alexandria's economy provided work for those who sought it (Preisser 1977:100 and 262).

Although Alexandria was not a major center of slave trading in the eighteenth century, slaves are known to have been sold here beginning at least by 1757. Probably most slaves lived on their masters property. There were free blacks living in Alexandria at least by 1790. In this census year there were fifty-two free blacks recorded, representing less than ten percent of the total black population (Preisser 1977:94, 95 and 100).

To summarize the period 1750 to 1800: Alexandria had grown from a collection of tobacco warehouses beside a rolling road to a thriving port of almost 5,000 people. In fact, between 1790 and 1800 the population had nearly doubled. By the 1790's, Alexandria was an international port with about 1000 ships tying up at the wharves each year. Trade was conducted with ports in Canada, Sweden, France, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, Italy, Portugal, Spain, the West Indies, Bermuda, Madeira, Surinam, and at least twenty-five American ports (Shomette 1985:67-69). The new century seemed filled with promise.

The first fifty years of the new century, however, brought changes to Alexandria many of which were not for the better. Evaluation of the land-use pattern of the Alexandria city-site reflects some of the changes in the City's social and economic character. Baron Alexander von Humbolt, after a visit to Alexan-

dria in 1804, commented on the layout of the town as follows:

> It has increased considerably since my last visit to it in the revolutionary War -- it was then composed of a few scattered buildings, & chiefly along the River & which was bordered with a high bank, said bank is now cut away to make long wharfs, and the streets are here paved, the foot way divided from the carriage way with curb stones in the streets are generally running at right angles & the Houses mostly of brick, & many of them are a good stile [sic] of architecture... (Miller 1987:60)

It is interesting that this visitor indicates an expansion of the buildings away from the waterfront. When the commercial, governmental and residential land use of the town is mapped chronologically there is a shifting of the core westward beginning in the 1770's.

The core-periphery analysis examines urban land-use patternsin terms of a set of relationships which holds the peripheral areas of a town subordinate to the politicoeconomic center, or core. Commercial and governmental functions take place in the core, and the residences located here are of the upper and middle classes. Places of manufacture and residences of the lower class are located in the semi-periphery area or the periphery of the town. Tax and census records as well as business directories can be used to map out the changing geographical relationship of the core and periphery in Alexandria (Cressey et al. 1982).

The core and periphery map for 1750, shows what von Humbolt observed in his earlier visit during the Revolutionary War. The core is along the waterfront of the bay with a short extension westward between Cameron and King Streets (Figure 4). There was a mixture of land uses and socioeconomic status groups within residential areas. The most successful merchants built docks and

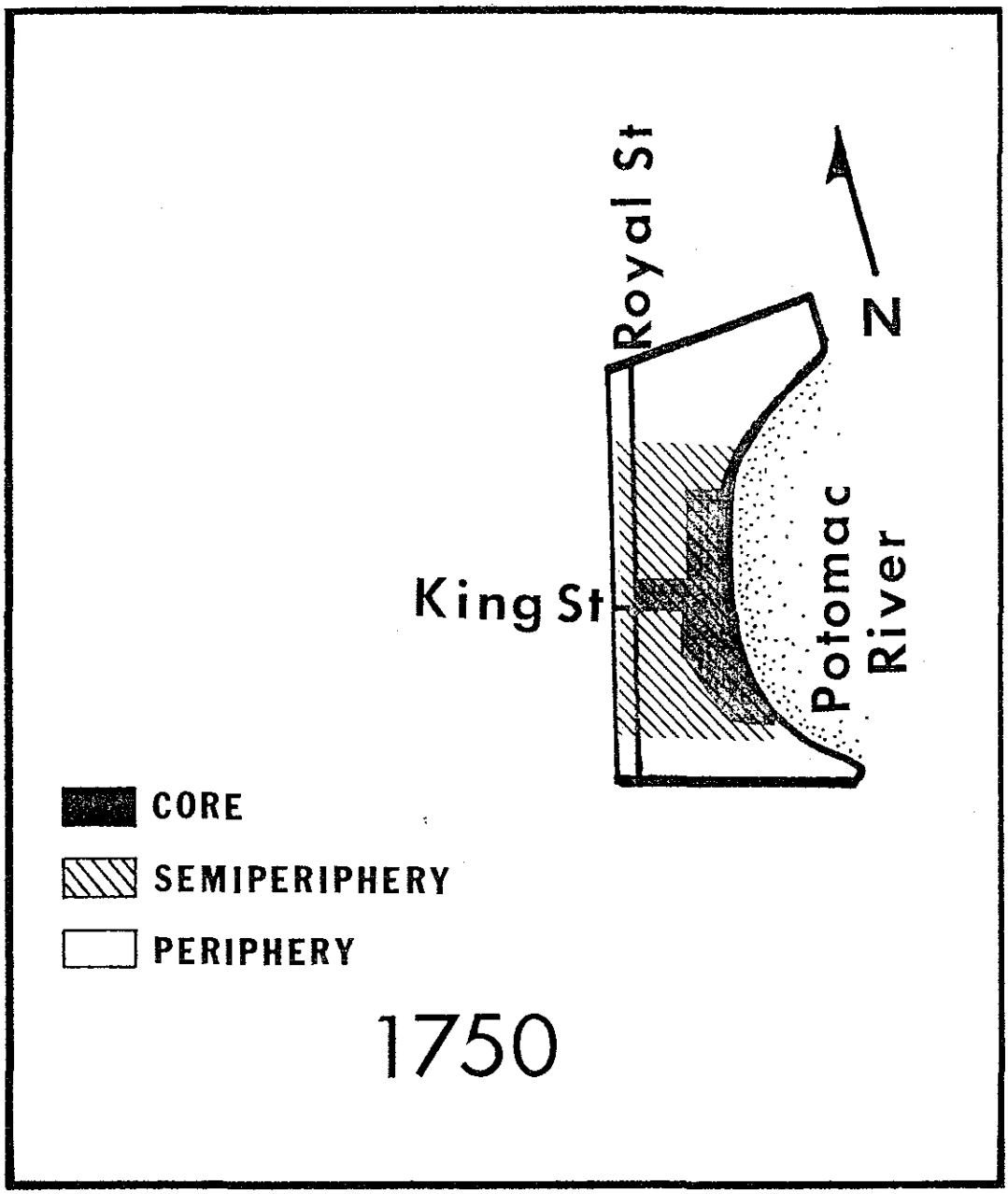


Figure 4. Alexandria's Core, Periphery, and Semiperiphery in 1750.

warehouses on the waterfront with their homes on the bluffs above. Middle and working-class neighborhoods, with some manufacturing mixed in, formed the semi-periphery (Cressey et al. 1982:150).

By 1810 (Figure 5), the core was much larger and oriented east/west, away from the waterfront. The area on the waterfront was reduced in size. Governmental buildings, businesses, banks and residences of the upper and middle classes made up this central area. Various socioeconomic groups lived relatively close to each other, but distinct neighborhoods were beginning to form (Cressey et al. 1982:151). Free blacks, who were rapidly increasing in numbers, formed two neighborhoods, that were eventually referred to as "The Bottoms" and "Hayti", on the southern outskirts of town (Figure 6). Black neighborhoods eventually formed on the northern and western periphery of town as well (Cressey 1985: Figure III-4).

By 1850 (Figure 7), the core area expanded in size, extending further westward, as well as north/south along a major transportation artery. The core no longer extended to the waterfront. The central east/west corridor was more specialized financially and commercially with governmental and upper class residential areas on the perimeter. The surrounding semi-periphery underwent neighborhood, retail and small-scale industrial development (Cressey et al. 1982:153).

This geographical shift of the urban core, to the west and away from the waterfront parallels and is related to the economic shift Alexandria experienced in the first half of the nineteenth

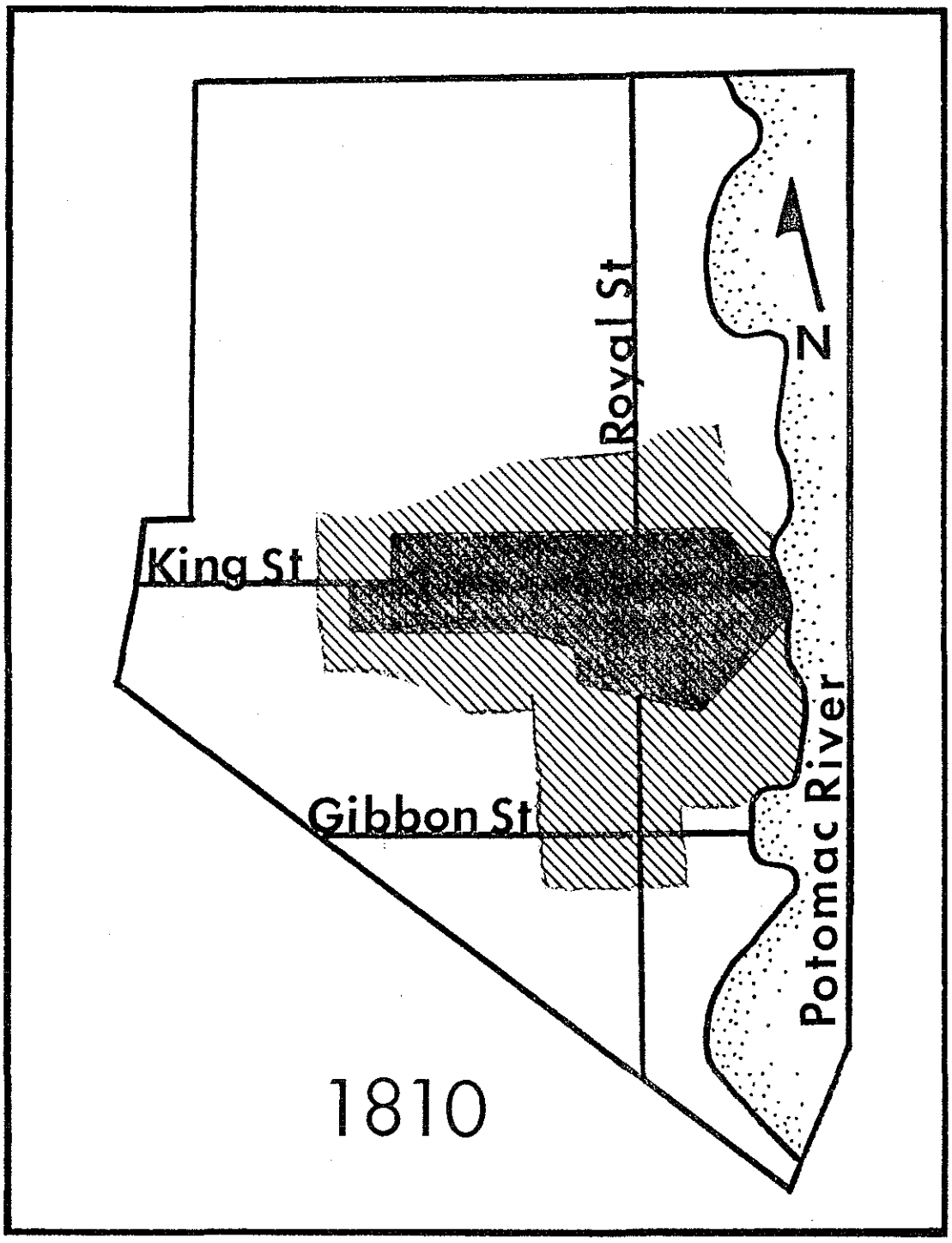


Figure 5. Alexandria's Core, Periphery, and Semiperiphery in 1810.

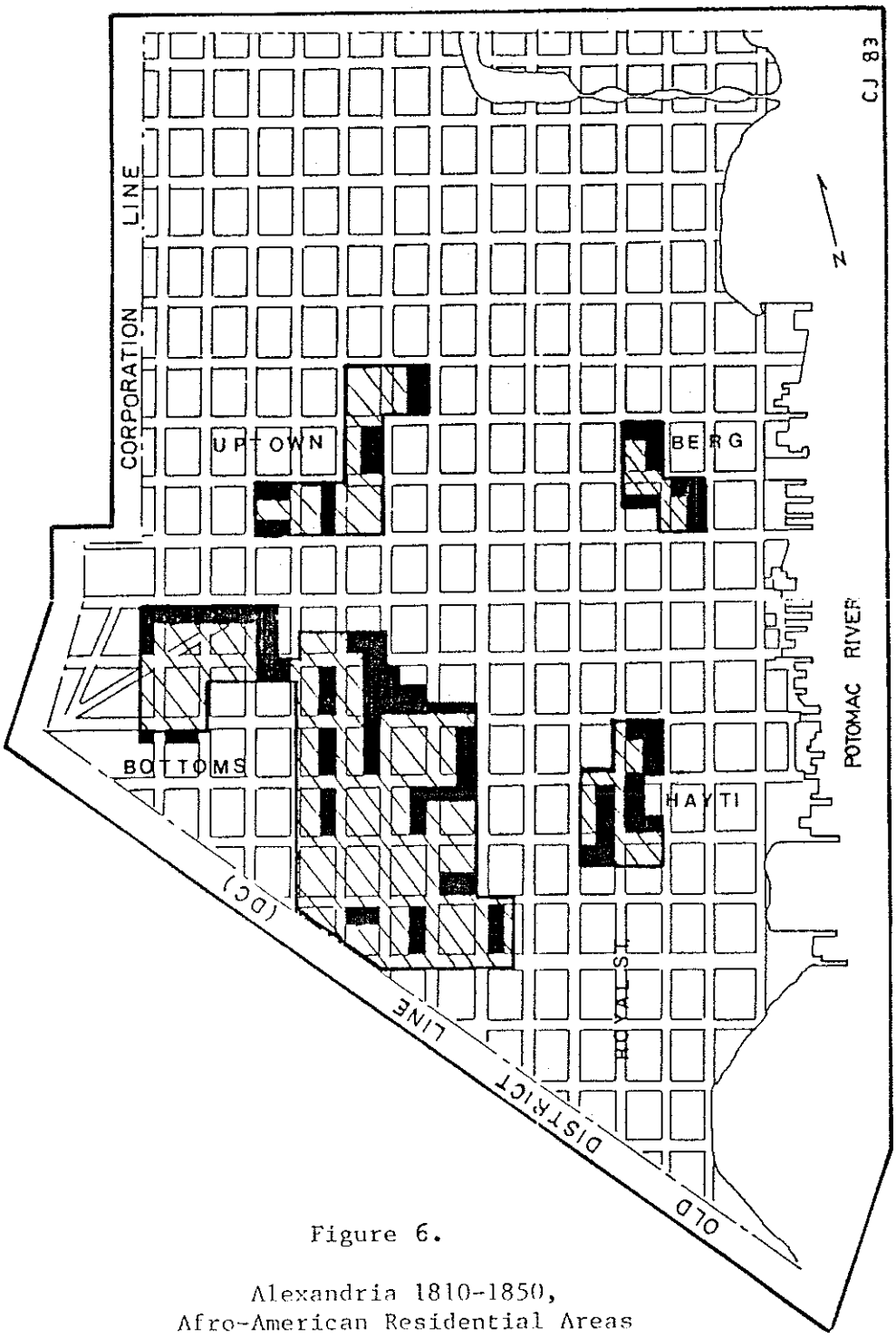


Figure 6.

Alexandria 1810-1850,
Afro-American Residential Areas
(Cressey et al. 1984, Appendix II:10)

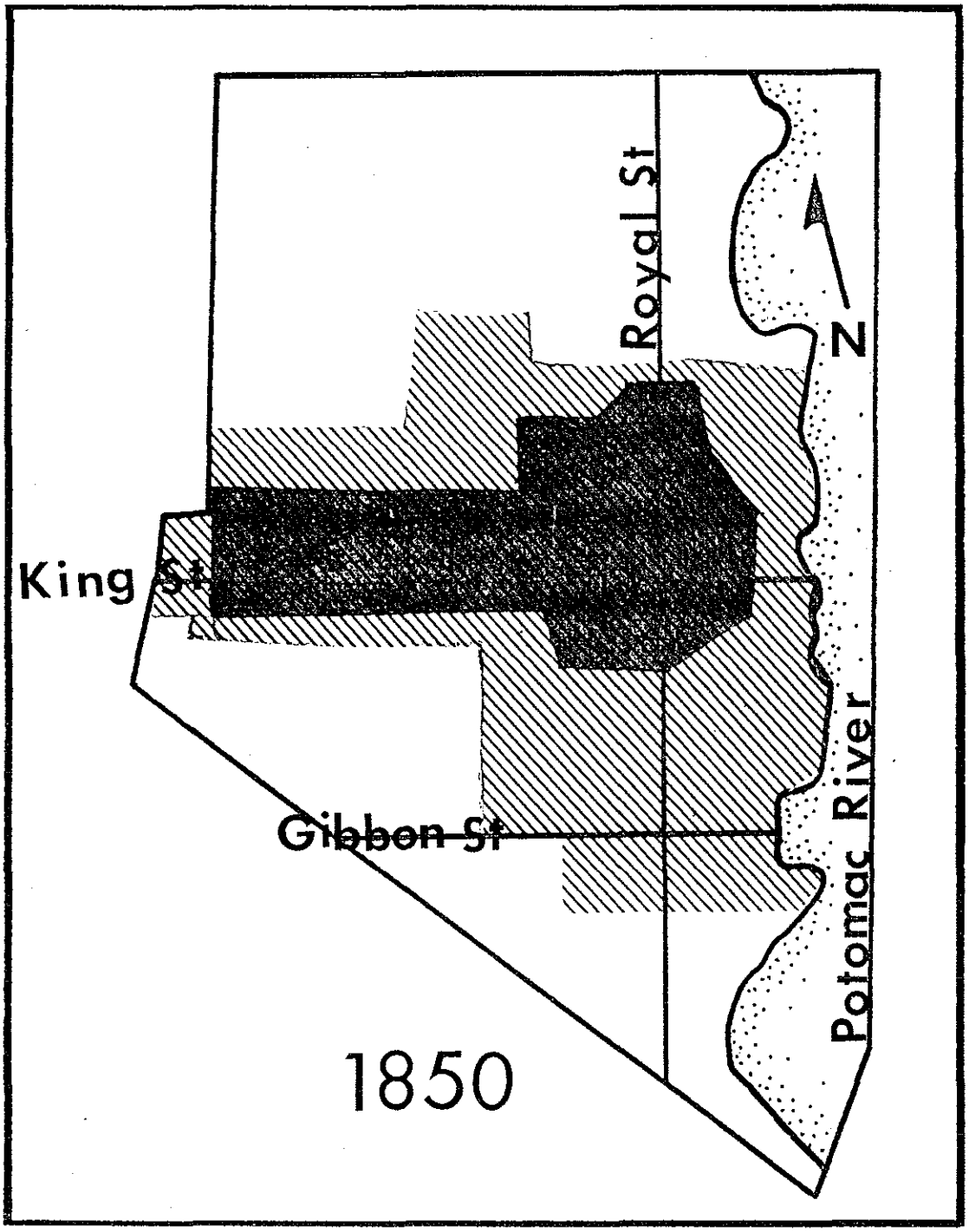


Figure 7. Alexandria's Core, Periphery, and Semiperiphery in 1850.

century. The town's beginnings as a mercantile port gave way to the development of Alexandria into a commercial and small-scale manufacturing center. After 1800, the prime export shifted from tobacco to wheat in the form of grain, flour and bread (Sharrer 1977:18). Flour was shipped primarily to the West Indies and was a major export between 1760 and 1830, peaking in 1811 and 1820. Tobacco exports still ranked Alexandria fourth nationally in 1828, but declined rapidly over the next two decades (Sharrer 1977:17-19). Unlike Baltimore, Alexandria was not a milling center. The topography did not offer a sufficient source of water power to power more than a few scattered mills (Sharrer 1977:19).

Sugar refining was the most valuable manufacturing enterprise in the early nineteenth century. Two refineries, using slave labor, produced enough sugar to rank Alexandria third nationally in production for 1810. In the 1820 census of Manufacturers, Jacob Hoffman, owner of one of the refineries comments on the state of his business that "for some years the demand has regularly declined owing to the general decline of trade." Hoffman's refinery was taken by the bank in 1825 and the remaining refinery ceased operations in 1828 (Cressey 1987:2)

In the spring of 1817, the prices of agricultural commodities had begun to decline. Losses taken by merchants were passed on to farmers who increased their debts to survive. Bankruptcies increased and businesses were sold. This economic condition continued well into the 1840s. In addition, a fire in 1828 destroyed forty houses, stores and warehouses, including a sus-

pender manufactory, a furniture factory, a tallow chandlery, and an apothecary shop (Sharrer 1977:23).

One commodity which retained its importance during this period was fish. Shad and herring were caught in the Potomac and processed at the "Fish Wharf." There was a small local market but most fish were salted and barreled for export. A collection of shanties grew up adjacent to the fish wharf on the north waterfront and was known as "Fishtown." A visitor to this area in 1852 described it as follows:

> For nearly a quarter of a mile the dock was lined with crowds of colored men and women, washing and cleaning fish; The women were especially worthy of observation. Covered from head to heels with scales, they stood or sat among the piles of fish that lay heaped around them; and in the midst of songs and laughter they performed their tasks with wonderful alacrity and skill...The atmosphere was redolent of fish; fish scales lined the walks and pavements; fish were being cooked in every form; fish were given away; everything was fishified (Miller 1987:151).

Beginning in the late 1820's slave trading also became big business. In 1828, the largest slave trading company in the United States was established in Alexandria. The firm of Franklin and Armfield handled between three hundred and fifteen hundred slaves a year for the next eight years. Slaves were purchased by agents in Warrenton and Richmond, Virginia and in Easton, Frederick, and Baltimore, Maryland. The slaves were kept in a slave pen in Alexandria with barracks and separate yards for men and women. Groups were then sent to either New Orleans or Natchez, Mississippi, on ships (the firm owned at least four) or sometimes were marched overland the 900 miles to Natchez. Although this partnership ended in 1841, three other slave trading firms continued to operate in Alexandria up to the Civil War

(Sweig 1980; Sharrer 1977:25).

The presence of slavery has been given as one of the deterrents to industrialization in Alexandria. Immigrants tended to avoid settling here because of limited employment opportunities in unskilled jobs and preferred the urban centers to the north. In addition raw materials such as coal and iron were not available locally, and after the mid-1820s, the successes of Richmond and Baltimore in drawing off the trade of the Shenandoah Valley was sorely felt (Sharrer 1977:23 and 27). One hope of the businessmen of Alexandria was to build a canal which would connect their town with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal at Georgetown.

The Alexandria Canal Company was chartered in 1830 and the work was completed in 1845. From Georgetown the canal crossed the Potomac in an aqueduct bridge (an impressive engineering feat at the time), ran on level ground south for seven miles and terminated at Alexandria in a turning basin plus a set of four locks. The locks lowered canal boats about thirty-eight feet to the Potomac River where cargoes could be discharged onto wharves or directly into sailing vessels. Coal from western Maryland mines became the major cargo shipped to Alexandria, but boats brought wheat, corn, whiskey and flour as well. Business was booming from the canal trade. Alexandria however, had not gained a major advantage over its competition in the western trade. Baltimore had completed a railroad line to Cumberland, Maryland just prior to the completion of the C & O Canal to that terminus (Griffin 1983). Railroads held the future for trade, especially for coal, and Alexandria had a rail connection by 1851.

Improved means of transportation resulted in improved opportunities for manufacturing. Thomas Smith set up a factory producing steam engines in 1830. The factory turned out engines for a cabinet shop, bark mill, and plaster mill, all located in Alexandria. It also supplied a twenty horsepower engine to a plaster and bark mill in Norfolk, as well as fifteen horsepower engines to clients in South Carolina and Louisiana. An advertisement in the Alexandria Gazette, dated April 15, 1835, listed the products of Smith's Foundry and Machine Factory as: low and high pressure steam engines, fire engines, rope making machinery; brass, iron, and composition castings; wrought and cast iron mill work; cast iron rollers, soap boilers and other kettles; mill and tobacco screws; turning lathes; taps and dies; letter copying presses; and soda water apparatus(Sharrer 1977:28).

Although the center of American textile manufacturing throughout the century was in New England, during the 1840s there was an increase of textile production in the South. In Alexandria, the Mount Vernon Cotton Manufacturing Company was established in 1847. The 4,000 spindles and 120 looms were powered by two thirty horsepower steam engines; and the employees numbered forty-seven men and eighty-eight women (Sharrer 1977:29). By 1852, 200 employees were listed on their payroll and production had reached 4,800 yards of sheeting per day (Elliot and Nye 1852:11).

The 1850 Census of Manufactures for Alexandria listed a total of ninety-one manufacturers with an annual product value of $500 or more. These included two steam-powered iron foundries

together employing fifty-five laborers, a steam-powered tanning establishment, two shoemaking factories with thirty to thirty-five workers each, two cabinet making shops with twenty employees each, and a third cabinet factory using steam power which listed forty-five workers. Additional manufacturing establishments listed in 1852 are the Neutral Mill, using steam power for grinding plaster; the Steam Saw Mill and Shipyard; and the Porter and Ale Brewery, producing 3,000 barrels a year (Elliot and Nye 1852:11).

During this period of expansion in manufacturing, the population of Alexandria also increased at a steady rate. By 1850, there were nearly 9,000 people living in town. Included in this population increase were a number of immigrant German Jewish families, who generally became engaged in retail business and who tended to be of middle class status (Cressey et al. 1982:154).

The composition of Alexandria's population was more heterogeneous in 1850 than it had been in the late eighteenth century. There was a larger middle class in 1850 when compared to 1790, probably due to an increase in management and supervisory positions resulting from a expansion in manufacturing (Shephard 1985:97). The increase in factory jobs would also reduce the number of craftsmen and apprentices. The increasing size and heterogeneity of the population in the first half of the century probably contributed to the epidemics of yellow fever in 1802, 1803, 1804 and 1821 plus an epidemic of cholera in 1832 (Swain 1988:89 and 90).

In relationship to the total Alexandria population, the

number of free blacks greatly expanded in the first half of the nineteenth century while the slave population contracted. In 1850, there were 1,308 free blacks accounting for 15% of the total population compared to a total of fifty-two in 1790 comprising 2%. In contrast, there were 1,067 slaves in Alexandria in 1850 making up 12% of the total population compared to 543 slaves in 1790 accounting for 21% of the population (Stephens n.d.)

The free black neighborhoods of "the Bottoms" and "Hayti" which had started to form just after the turn of the century steadily expanded between 1810 and 1850. Other smaller free black neighborhoods, "Uptown" and "the Burg" (for Petersburg), formed on the northern periphery (Figure 6). The 1830s, was a period of increasing tensions between whites and blacks. As the numbers of free blacks grew, whites were aware of the shifting demographic balance. The Nat Turner Rebellion in August of 1831, turned concern to fear. In order to allay this fear one month after the Rebellion, free blacks presented a signed petition to the mayor declaring the Rebellion "an outrage" and pledging to "give public information" of any conspiracies being planned (Cressey 1985:57-59).

One group that had sympathetic ties to the black community was the Quakers. Members of the Society of Friends began settling in Alexandria in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1802, the Alexandria Monthly Meeting was established and a number of Quakers became civic leaders of considerable influence throughout the nineteenth century. They were known as honest and

successful citizens whose traditional Quaker values of hard work, practical innovation, formal education and eradication of slavery were beneficial to the community (Swain 1988:31 and 32). Quaker leadership was instrumental in establishing schools, a lyceum, a library, manufacturies, the Alexandria canal, and the Alexandria Water Company. Quakers also aided individual slaves in gaining their freedom and sold or rented property to free blacks.

Tension between whites and blacks combined with the increasing heterogeneity of the population in the 1830 and 1840s resulted in greater segregation of neighborhoods. In 1850, the upper and middle classes occupied the core area which now is nearly cross-shaped (Figure 8). The arms of the cross extend along the two major transportation arteries going north-south and east-west. The lower class surrounds this area in the semi-periphery. The basic configuration of the neighborhoods in relationship to each other is similar in 1790 and 1850. The change is in expansion of settlement and a shift of the pattern westward.

In the first one hundred years of Alexandria's history it had experienced prosperity in the eighteenth century, an economic recession from about 1825 to 1845, and a resurgence of trade in the late 1840s which allowed Alexandria to thrive as never before until the coming of the Civil War. The town developed from a major port dominated by mercantile interests into a commercial center with exports of locally manufactured goods and products from the west surpassing imports of producer and consumer goods (Sharrer 1977:35). Industrial development was on a small scale.

The population evolved from a fairly homogeneous group of

primarily British settlers, with enslaved Afro-Americans making up about a fifth of the population to a more heterogeneous mix of people with blacks making up over a quarter of the population (slaves accounting for 12% of the total population, free blacks making up 15%). Religious preference expanded from being predominantly Episcopalian and Methodist to include Quaker, Catholic, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Jewish, and Baptist faiths. The number of students educated in the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century greatly increased over the number schooled in the eighteenth century. Small private academies still existed, but public secondary schools were available as well.

By 1850, Alexandria's "golden years" as a major international port were over. While Baltimore and Richmond developed industry, Alexandria depended on an increasing number of manufacturers and expanding commerce. That Alexandrians were enjoying their new prosperity and were looking forward to a bright future is evident in one visitor's comments of 1853. He observed that,

> Activity, life, bustle, trade, and smiling faces rejoicing in the day of prosperity are everywhere seen in the old Virginia town. The merchants of that city are getting to be in the finest humor with themselves "and the rest of mankind," and they meet their new customers, beginning to come in from the Valley and from Eastern Virginia, with smiles as bland and as kind as a Summer's morning (Miller 1987:157).

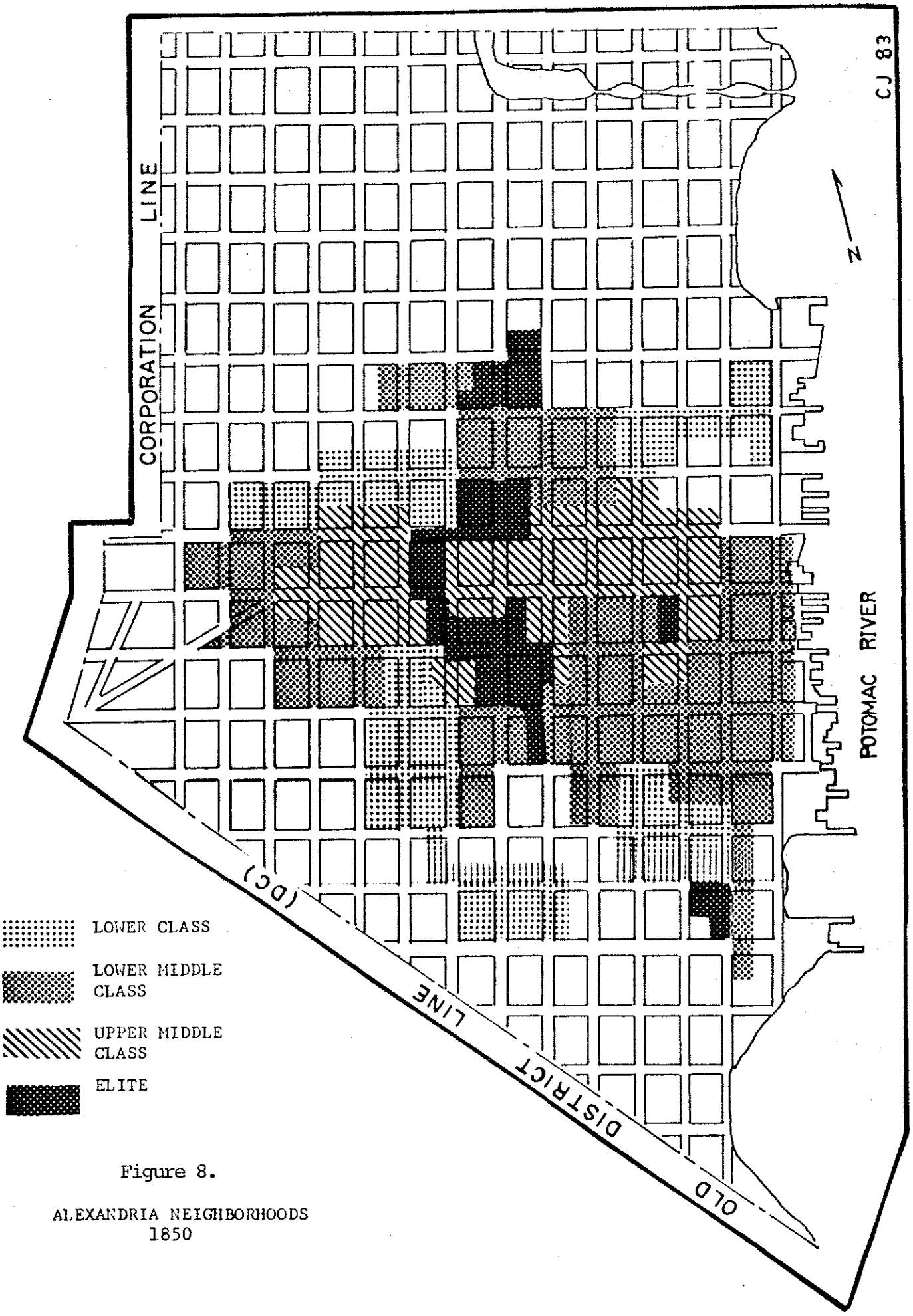


Figure 8.

ALEXANDRIA NEIGHBORHOODS
1850

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