

THE PHASE III MITIGATION OF THE BONTZ SITE (44AX103)
AND THE UNITED STATES MILITARY RAILROAD STATION
(44AX105) LOCATED ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF DUKE STREET
(ROUTE 236) IN THE CITY OF ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA



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ABSTRACT

Between July and December, 1988, personnel from the James Madison University Archeological Research Center (JMUARC) conducted a Phase III mitigation of the Bontz site (44AX103) and the United States Military Railroad Station [USMRR] site (44AX105) located on the south side of Duke Street (Route 236), in Alexandria, Virginia. The proposed widening of the roadway adversely impacts sections of both of these sites. The excavations and documentation of these two sites revealed significant information about the industrial/commercial/residential development along the Route 236 corridor.

The Bontz site represents the preserved archeological remains of two structures which have a built history from the late eighteenth through mid twentieth century. The evaluation of this site determined information about the owners of the properties as well as providing documentation on the historic village of West End. The two structures on this site were built and occupied by butchers who relocated to West End to practice their trade. Throughout the nineteenth century, the owners of the Bontz site were involved in the butchering trade and possibly used one or both of the structures for commercial sale of meats.

The excavation revealed significant information about the occupants of the property, the construction methods and the types of buildings erected in this village. Rear additions to both structures as well as numerous renovations to the buildings were examined. Artifacts distributions revealed that several sheet middens had accrued and represent a disposal pattern of discard immediately behind the structures.

The Bontz site was one of many properties in West End owned by butchers during the nineteenth century. Many of the surrounding lots were owned by butchers and at least five slaughter houses were extant in West End during the period between 1796 and 1900. The village of West End developed around the Little River Turnpike. Along with the developing butcher/tanning/slaughtering industry were other commercial ventures including a carriage manufacturer, candle and soap manufacturer, taverns, milling, general stores, a bakery and a hotel. Most construction in West End occurred between 1796 and 1810. The community development was closely tied to Alexandria's economy.

The USMRR station in Alexandria is historically significant on a local, regional, and national level. While limited in size and scope, the amount of preservation determined in the excavation of the commissary buildings suggest that sections of this twelve square block complex may remain intact. Excavations of these areas would provide significant information about the rail yard and operations of a military base during the civil war.

Preceding the railroad development that occurred in the 1850s was the residential/industrial development of the Spring Garden Farms subdivision. Numerous residences were constructed on various lots during the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. By 1810, industrial use of the properties, in the form of brickyards and market gardens, became prevalent. Preservation of cultural deposits associated with the early residential/industrial development may be identified in the area, particularly in and around the Spring Garden Resort.

The narrow width of the right-of-way combined with disturbance of the cultural deposits at both sites limited the interpretive value of the archeological component within the area of proposed construction. Accordingly, it is the recommendation of JMUARC that no additional archeological testing is necessary on those sections of the USMRR site or the Bontz site which are located within the proposed VDOT right-of-way. Following a review of these findings by the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, the two sites may be cleared and the planned construction be allowed to continue.

The urban development that is taking place in Alexandria is encroaching upon the USMRR site and the historic village of West End (including the Bontz site). Whenever feasible as development occurs, additional documentary studies and archeological evaluations of these significant areas should be conducted. This information would prove valuable for comparative studies with similar sites in Alexandria and other towns in this region. Evidence recovered through the excavated samples of these two areas suggest preservation of cultural deposits that would further an understanding of this area. Further documentation of this area would also expand the data base for the Alexandria city-site, particularly that of nineteenth century commercial/industrial development on the city's western periphery.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
LIST OF PLATES.....	ix
LIST OF TABLES.....	xi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	xiii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
PROJECT GOALS.....	3
The Bontz Site.....	5
United States Military Railroad Site.....	5
PROJECT LOCATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING.....	6
Location.....	6
Soils.....	6
Climate.....	7
Vegetation.....	7
Hydrology.....	8
HISTORIC BACKGROUND.....	8
Development Within the Route 236 Corridor.....	17
Development of the Little River Turnpike.....	18
Land Development.....	30
Development of West End.....	36
Cemeteries.....	38
INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL GROWTH WITHIN THE ROUTE 236 CORRIDOR.....	39
Flour Mills and Trade.....	47
Butchers and Tanners.....	51
Slaughter Houses and Butchers.....	58
Taverns.....	70
Brickmakers and Brickyards.....	78
Market Gardens.....	88
The 2000 Block of Duke and Wolfe Streets.....	93
Commercial Development.....	99
Slave Pens and Dealers.....	109
UNITED STATES MILITARY RAILROAD HISTORY.....	116
The Orange and Alexandria Railroad.....	117

The Civil War.....	118
The USMRR Operations.....	121
USMRR Station at Alexandria.....	134
Post-War Railroad.....	156
HISTORY OF 1200 AND 1700 BLOCKS OF DUKE STREET.....	160
METHODOLOGY.....	173
PREVIOUS WORK IN THE PROJECT VICINITY.....	178
ARCHEOLOGY.....	179
Structure 1.....	179
Structure 2.....	185
Bontz Site.....	192
USMRR Site.....	210
ARTIFACT ANALYSIS.....	229
Methodology.....	229
Discussion of Artifacts.....	233
Bontz Site	
Ceramics.....	234
Glass.....	236
Tobacco Pipes.....	249
Metal.....	251
Bullets and Casings.....	252
Coins.....	253
Buttons.....	253
Marbles.....	256
Brick.....	256
Faunal Remains.....	257
Interpretations.....	259
USMRR Site	
Ceramics.....	261
Glass.....	262
Tobacco Pipes.....	266
Metal.....	266
Bullets and Casings.....	269
Coins.....	269
Buttons.....	270
Marbles.....	270
Faunal Remains.....	272
Interpretations.....	273
CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS.....	275
USMRR Contributions to the Civil War.....	280

SITE INTERPRETATIONS.....	282
The Bontz Site.....	282
The USMRR Site.....	286
RECOMMENDATIONS.....	289
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	293
APPENDIX A: MAP KEY.....	307
APPENDIX B: PLAN AND PROFILE OF POSTHOLE/MOLDS IN BONTZ AND USMRR SITE.....	409
APPENDIX C: ARTIFACT TABLES FOR BONTZ SITE (44AX103).....	421
APPENDIX D: ARTIFACT TABLES FOR USMRR SITE (44AX105).....	485

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Map of the project area showing location of Bontz Site (44AX103) and the United States Military Railroad Site (44AX105) in Alexandria, Virginia (detail of USGS:1983 Alexandria, VA, Quadrangle).....	2
2. Changing historic boundaries of Alexandria/District of Columbia.....	4
3. The village of West End (Hopkins 1878).....	16
4. 1775 map of Virginia (detail of and abstracted from Frye and Jefferson 1775).....	20
5. Property development in the Route 236 project corridor from 1796-1797.....	33
6. Detail of Route 236 project corridor showing the location of property owned by butchers in 1810, including slaughter houses and tanneries.....	52
7. Detail of Route 236 project corridor showing the location of property owned by butchers in 1849, including slaughter houses and tanneries.....	53
8. Detail of Route 236 project corridor, Alexandria, Virginia, showing the location of taverns.....	71
9. Detail of Route 236 project corridor, Alexandria, Virginia, showing the location of brickyards and market gardens.....	79
10. The O&ARR station occupied and operated as the USMRR by the Union Army in 1861 (detail of USMRR Station Map).....	119
11. USMRR station in 1865 showing all improvements to the facility.....	138
12. Illustration of Fort Clough, located in the intersection of Duke and Payne Streets (Lloyd House Library).....	147
13. Plan of the Soldier's Rest located on the south side of the 1300 and 1400 blocks of Duke Street (Soldier's Rest Alexandria, Virginia [Anonymous 1865]).....	149
14. Map of Alexandria showing the development of the railyard following the Civil War (Hopkins 1877).....	158
15. Bontz Site (44AX103) showing the location of test units.....	174

16. USMRR Site (44AX105) showing the location of test units.....	177
17. Bontz Site (44AX103) showing the location of features.....	180a ✓
18. Structure 1 Bontz Site, foundation remains.....	180b
19. Bontz Site, Structure 2 foundation remains and disturbance to the area caused by utility installation.....	188
20. Plan of feature 35N-2F, Bontz Site.....	193
21. Profile of feature 35N-2F, Bontz Site.....	194
22. Bontz Site, plan of feature 15N-3F.....	198
23. Bontz Site, plan of feature 25S-1F.....	202
24. Plan and profile of feature 60S-2F, Bontz Site.....	207
25. Plan and profile of feature 65S-4F, Bontz Site.....	209
26. Base map of USMRR Site showing the placement of features and post holes/molds.....	211
27. Plan and profile of feature 0-3F, USMRR Site.....	213
28. Plan and profile of feature 10N-2F, USMRR Site.....	217
29. Profile of feature 10N-5F, USMRR Site.....	220
30. Profile of feature 25N-10F, USMRR Site.....	223
31. Examples of pipe fragments recovered from the Bontz Site.....	250
32. Examples of buttons recovered from the Bontz Site.....	255
33. Examples of pipe fragments recovered from the USMRR Site.....	267
34. Examples of buttons recovered from the USMRR Site.....	271
A:1 Property development in the project corridor from 1798- 1810.....	308
A:2 Property development in the project corridor from 1811- 1850.....	309
A:3 Alexandria and Fairfax County showing the vicinity of the 1700 block of Duke Street (detail of and abstracted from Sanborn Map Company 1912, 1921).....	310

LIST OF PLATES

1. The USMRR complex viewed from the roundhouse, view to the west. Village of West End is located in the upper right background. The photo was probably taken in the summer of 1862 (National Archives Photograph Collection) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA)..... 44
2. The slave trading facility at 1315 Duke Street (Russell 1982:Plate 99) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA)..... 113
3. Hooff Realty, view to the north (previously Bruin's Slave Prison) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA)..... 113
4. View to the southeast showing the expansive machine shops of the USMRR (Alexander 1977:Figure 254) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA)..... 120
5. The USMRR offices, view to the southwest (Davis 1982:436) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA)..... 120
6. Stock pile of rails at the western extension of the USMRR (Lord 1969:127) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA)..... 132
7. Construction of the stockade around the USMRR complex, summer 1863 (Russell 1982:Plate 106) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA)... 132
8. USMRR showing the commissary buildings, view from the roundhouse. Note brick structure (right center) gutted by fire (photo taken in the spring 1863) (Alexander 1977:253) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA)..... 137
9. USMRR roundhouse with the raised cupola, view to the west. Railway offices are located in the left center of the photo (Alexander 1977:253) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA)..... 144
10. The interior of the USMRR stockade, view to the west. Village of West End is in the background (photo taken fall/winter 1863; National Archives photograph collection) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA)..... 145
11. Locomotive with the President's Car, 1864 (Russell 1982:Plate 106) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA)..... 148
12. The engine house of the USMRR constructed in the fall of 1863 (Russell 1982:Plate 98) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA)..... 148
13. Structure 1, foundation, Bontz Site (44AX103) view to the south (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA)..... 181

14.	Structure 1, foundation, Bontz Site (44AX103) view to the north (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).....	182
15.	West wall of Structure 1, Bontz site (44AX103). Note the iron rods along the outside of the wall. Soldier course and brick pier are in the right foreground (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).	184
16.	Structure 2 foundation remains, view to the west (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).....	186
17.	Interior of Structure 2, Bontz Site (44AX103), view to the southeast. Note concrete basement floor (35N-2F) and side wall addition in left background (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).	189
18.	Excavated interior of cellar entrance at the front of Structure 2, view to the west. Note utility disturbance along left side of the photo (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).....	190
19.	West wall of Structure 1 rear addition, Bontz Site (44AX103). Note wall intrudes into feature 15N-2F (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).....	197
20.	Feature 10N-2F, Bontz Site, 44AX103, view to the north. (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).....	199
21.	Feature 25S-1F, brick walkway, Bontz Site, 44AX103, in lot 1 behind Structure 1. A support post 25S-3F is in the center of the test unit (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).....	203
22.	Feature 0-3F, USMRR Site, 44AX105, view to the north showing wooden planking and small cellar (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).	214
23.	Feature 0-3F, USMRR Site, 44AX105, interior of cellar with wood remnants (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).....	215
24.	Detail of the feature 10N-5F, USMRR Site, 44AX105, showing the water-sorted lenses of soil (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).....	219
25.	Feature 10N-5F after excavation, USMRR Site, 44AX105 (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).....	219

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1 Statement of Employees of Alexandria Railroad June 30, 1863.....	150
2 Daily Morning Report of Men in the Employ of Alexandria, Virginia, selected days from February 5, 1864 to February 28, 1865.....	154
3 Chain of Title, United States Military Railroad Site.....	165
4 Chain of Title, Bontz Site.....	167

Appendix C: Bontz Site Artifact Tables

C:1 Ceramic Sherd Distributions From Yard Sample Test Units, Bontz Site (44AX103).
C:2 Bontz Site (44AX103) Glass Inventory, Features, Test Units From Yard Area, and Structures 1 and 2.
C:3 Glass Analysis, Trademarks, Alexandria Phase III, Bontz Site (44AX103), Test Units and Miscellaneous Recovery, Features, and Structures 1 and 2.
C:4 Pipe Fragments, Alexandria Phase III, Bontz Site, 44AX103.
C:5 Metal From Individual Test Units, Bontz Site, 44AX103.
C:6 Inventory of Bullets and Casings, Bontz Site, 44AX103.
C:7 Coin Artifacts, Alexandria Phase III, Bontz Site, 44AX103.
C:8 Button Analysis, Alexandria Phase III, Bontz Site, 44AX103. Structure, Feature, Lots, Test Unit, and Miscellaneous Recovery.
C:9 Marbles Recovered, Alexandria Phase III, Bontz Site, 44AX103.
C:10 Miscellaneous Artifacts, Alexandria Phase III, Bontz Site, 44AX103.
C:11 Faunal Remains From Test Units (Layer B), Bontz Site, 44AX103.

- D:1 Glass Inventory From Test Units and Features, United States Military Railroad (USMRR) Site, 44AX105.
- D:2 Glass Analysis, Trademarks, Alexandria Phase III, USMRR Site, 44AX105, Test Units and Miscellaneous Recovery.
- D:3 Pipe Fragments, Alexandria Phase III, USMRR Site, 44AX105.
- D:4 Metal From Individual Test Units, USMRR Site, 44AX105.
- D:5 Bullet Inventory, USMRR Site, 44AX105.
- D:6 Coin Artifacts, Alexandria Phase III, USMRR Site, 44AX105.
- D:7 Button Analysis, Alexandria Phase III, USMRR Site, 44AX105, Test Units and Miscellaneous Recovery.
- D:8 Marble Analysis, Alexandria Phase III, USMRR Site, 44AX105.
- D:9 Miscellaneous Artifacts, Alexandria Phase III, USMRR Site, 44AX105.
- D:10 Faunal Analysis, Feature 25N-1F, USMRR Site, 44AX105.

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INTRODUCTION

From July 25 to December 21, 1988, personnel from the James Madison University Archeological Research Center (JMUARC) conducted a Phase III mitigation of the Bontz site (44AX103) and the United States Military Railroad Station at Alexandria [USMRR] (44AX105) on the south side of Duke Street (Route 236) in Alexandria, Virginia (Figure 1). The Phase II investigations recovered sufficient information to determine the two sites potentially eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places.

A contractual agreement was arranged between the Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT) and JMUARC for the completion of the project (#0236-100-107, C501). The Phase III investigation was conducted in accordance with federal environmental and preservation legislation initiated for the protection of potentially significant cultural resources which will be adversely impacted by federally funded projects.

Two sites will be directly impacted by the proposed widening and realignment of Duke Street in the city of Alexandria, Virginia. The proposed widening along the south side of the 1700 block of Duke Street will impact approximately 60% of the Bontz Site, and the widening along the 1200 block will impact about 35% of the commissary buildings associated with the United States Military Railroad (USMRR) complex.

The Phase II investigation identified preserved cultural remains on both sites. The Bontz site included two early nineteenth century residences in the old village of West End. The USMRR site included remains of the military Commissary Department complex located along the 1200 block of Duke Street within the 12-square block fortification in the city of Alexandria. The Phase II evaluation recommended mitigative recovery of both sites and established research objectives, such as information on transportation networks, artifact distributions, socio-economic status of site occupants, environmental influences, and land use patterns, which provide the basis for this investigation (Cromwell 1989:78-80). A mitigative testing strategy was initiated to sample both sites in order to address these research goals.

The Phase III investigation of Duke Street (Route 236) employed both historic research and archeological testing to document the cultural resources on these two sites. The historic research included pertinent maps, deeds, tax records and a myriad of supplemental historic material and provided site-specific and a general background of the region. The archeological investigation involved both manual and mechanical field excavations to evaluate the cultural resources identified during the Phase II evaluation and the historic research.

In 1749, the city of Alexandria was established as an inland port along the Potomac River. By the early nineteenth century the town extended as far west as Henry Street, which marks the east boundary of

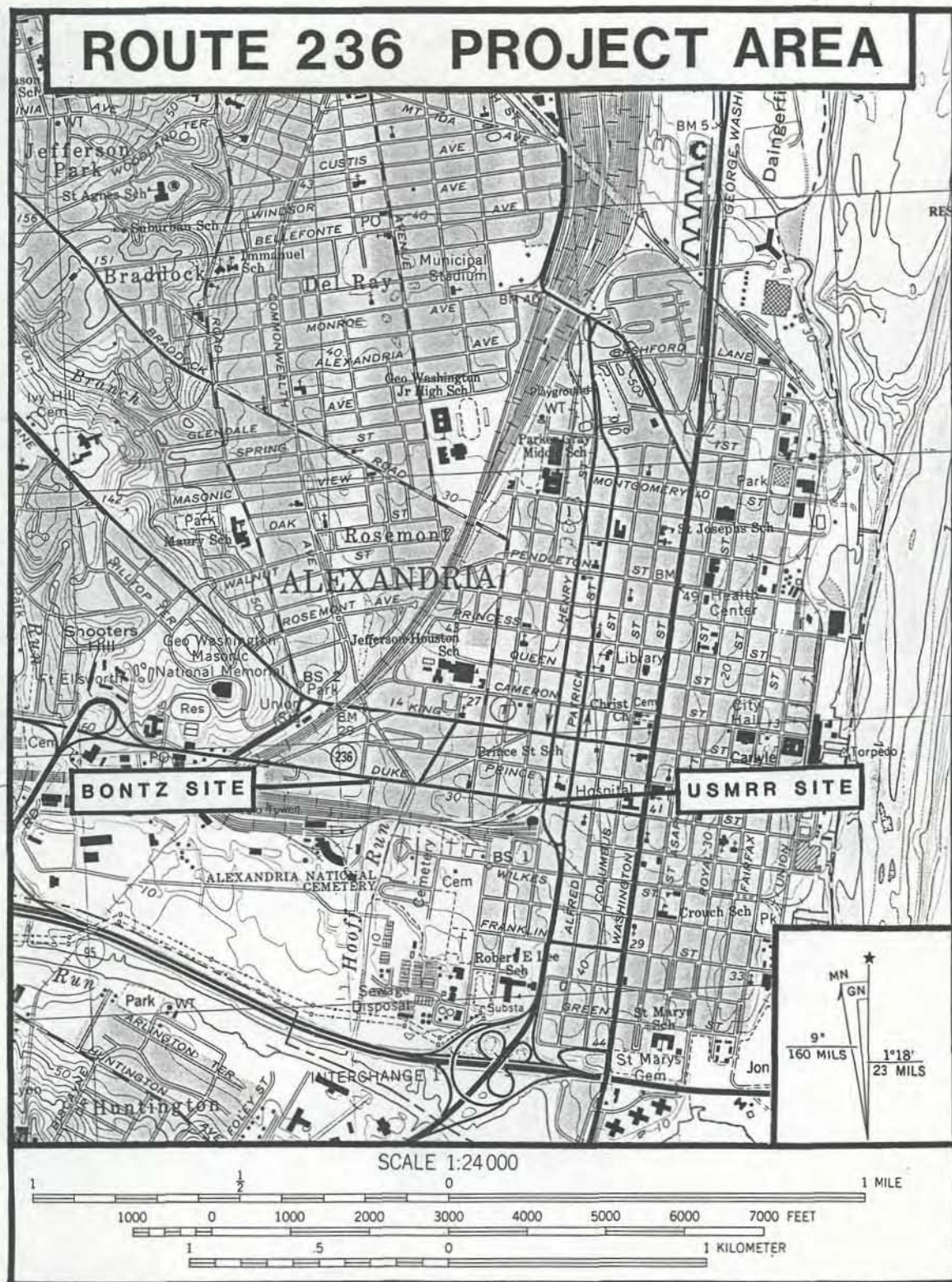


Figure 1. Map of the project area showing location of Bontz Site (44AX103) and the United States Military Railroad Site (44AX105) in Alexandria, Virginia (detail of USGS:1983 Alexandria, VA, Quadrangle).

the Route 236 project area. That portion of the city of Alexandria east of Hooff Run was incorporated as part of the District of Columbia in the early 1800s (Figure 2). The land west of Hooff Run, includes the Bontz Site which is located in the nineteenth century village of West End. West End was a suburb situated on the periphery of Alexandria until its annexation into the city in the early twentieth century.

The Bontz Site (44AX103), located on the south side of the 1700 block of Duke Street, included the brick foundations of two early nineteenth century residential buildings and associated cultural features and preserved cultural deposits within the rear yard areas. The site contained thirty-seven post holes/molds and 10 indeterminate features.

The USMRR Site, located within the city of Alexandria, contained sections of four buildings associated with the Civil War military Commissary Department of the railroad station. The USMRR fortification encompassed a 12-square block area bound by Duke, Alfred, Gibbons, and Payne streets. The excavations, however, were limited to the area located in the proposed VDOT right-of-way along the south side of the 1200 block. The features identified included a series of post holes/molds and a well/cistern associated with four structures of the commissary complex. In addition, the site contained several other features of indeterminate function associated with an early nineteenth-century occupation of the block.

PROJECT GOALS

The primary goal of the archeological investigations at the Bontz and USMRR sites was to mitigate the impact of the VDOT Route 236 project on the sites. These archeological investigations were also conducted to provide information concerning Alexandria's western industrial corridor. This western corridor has received limited archeological or historical attention; the majority of the research conducted by the Alexandria Archaeological Research Center has focused on the established historic district within the city of Alexandria exclusive of the Route 236 project corridor.

In 1977, the Alexandria Urban Archeological Program (AUAP) was initiated to study the city of Alexandria as an entire site (Cressey and Stephens 1982:41, 42). The program provides a central base for both archeological and historic data from geographic districts of the city for comparison within the city and with other urban centers. The research strategy for the Bontz site and USMRR complex incorporates site-specific goals with the broader goals established by the AUAP system.

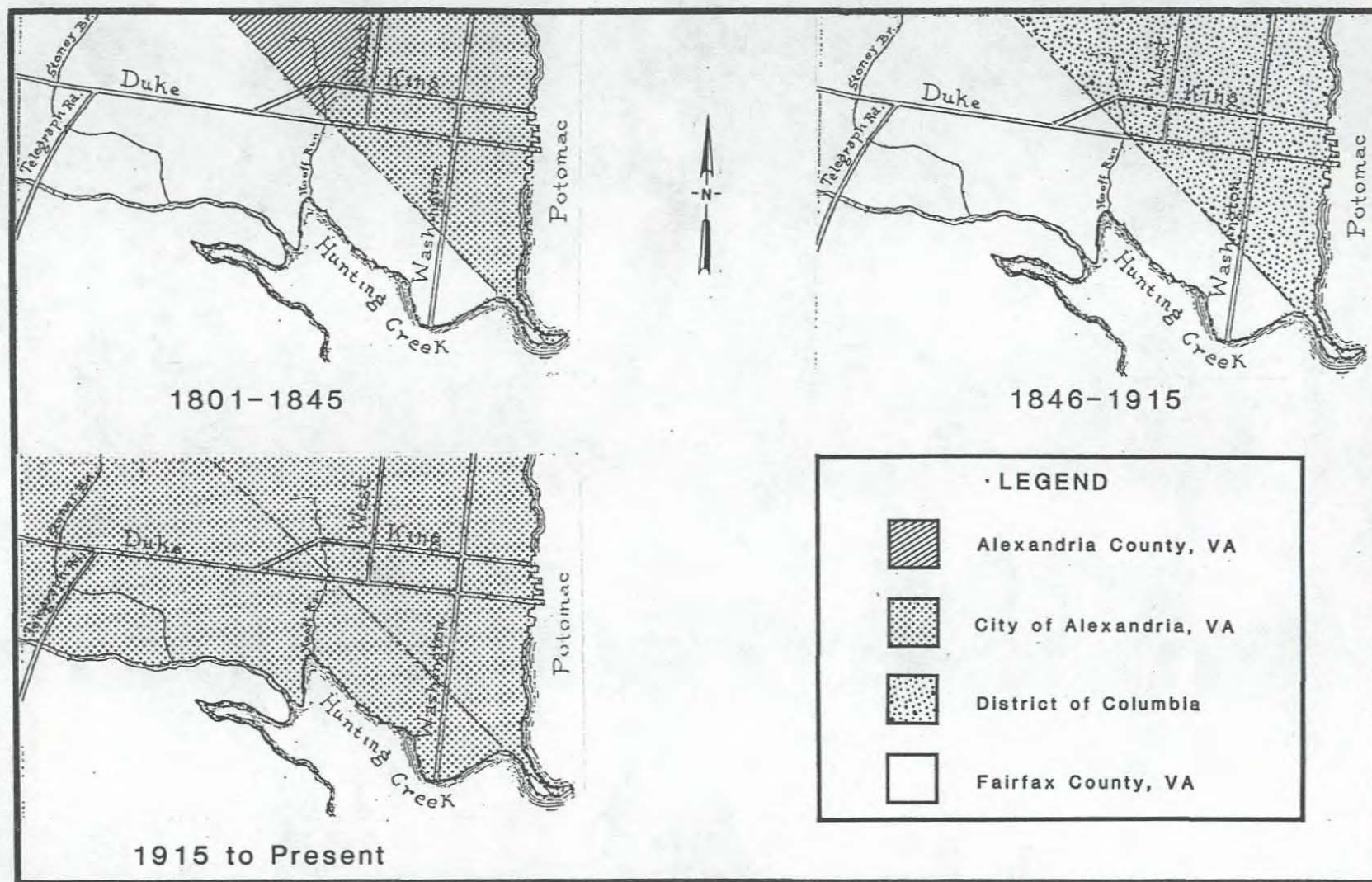


Figure 2. Changing historic boundaries of Alexandria/District of Columbia.

The Bontz Site (44AX103)

The archeological investigations into the Bontz Site backyard midden had as their specific goal the determination of artifact concentrations as indications of discreet functional areas. Test units were systematically implemented to achieve this goal and to further determine the integrity of the cultural remains. The artifact analysis yielded data concerning the material culture associated with the occupants of the site and allowed for inferences concerning their use of the site during the nineteenth century.

The documentary research undertaken in relation to the Bontz Site had as its primary goal the determination of a cultural and historical context for the property and its occupants. Specifically, questions of ethnicity, occupation, land ownership, and property values were addressed, taken as indicators of the growth and changing economic focus of the West End community as a whole and the Bontz Site in particular.

The documentary research was also geared toward outlining the West End community's initial settlement, primary subsistence, and economic relationship with the Little River Turnpike (Duke Street). The information gathered generated a data base for this 1700 block neighborhood that allowed for comparisons with other Alexandria neighborhoods.

An additional purpose of the investigations was to confirm the hypothesis that the village of West End was purposely established adjacent of the District of Columbia/city of Alexandria boundary line to avoid the higher taxes and district government and yet be close enough to capitalize on the economic market.

United States Military Railroad Site (44AX105)

The archeological goals for the USMRR Site focused on the determination of functional areas through controlled excavation and subsequent artifact analysis. Historic research tentatively indicated that the 1200 block where the site is located had three uses throughout the nineteenth century. These included an early nineteenth century residence, a mid-nineteenth century back yard, and the establishment of the O&ARR and USMRR from the mid-to-late nineteenth century. A series of excavated test units was implemented to archeologically document these use changes and distinct areas.

Historic research on the USMRR site had as its goal the more precise determination of changing land use and economic concerns throughout nineteenth century. Data on the ethnicity and occupations of the inhabitants were also collected to provide a fuller context through which comparisons could be made with other Alexandria neighborhoods. This research was deemed especially important in the case of the

brickyard, as the relationship of the manufacturing endeavor to the economy of Alexandria figured into the site's significance.

The excavation of the Union Army commissary buildings at the USMRR Site, constructed in the 1860s, focused on the exposure of features and middens as a sample for the entire commissary complex. Few excavations of this type have been conducted on Civil War sites, and this sample provided an opportunity to examine activities at a Union Army Civil War military base.

PROJECT LOCATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

Location

The project area is located in the City of Alexandria, Virginia, which is situated in the Coastal Plain Physiographic Province. The USMRR site is situated on the south side of the 1200 block of Duke Street and the Bontz Site is located on the south side of the 1700 block of Duke Street/Little River Turnpike. These two blocks will be impacted by the proposed VDOT widening of Route 236 which involves the addition of new traffic lanes from the 1100 through the 1900 blocks. The right-of-way along the 1200 block is 35 ft wide and extends east/west along the length of the block. The right-of-way along the 1700 block will accommodate two turn lanes into Holland Lane. The right-of-way varies in width from 40 ft in the western section of the right-of-way to 40 ft east/west and 275 ft north/south in the eastern section along Holland Lane. The excavations were limited to the areas of the sites located within the right-of-way and that would not impede vehicular or pedestrian traffic.

The entire right-of-way along the 1200 block is a parking area for the Fannon Petroleum Company. In the eastern half of the lot, the surface is asphalt while the western half is graveled. None of the original landscape was evident prior to the excavation.

The right-of-way along the 1700 block was located in a grass covered median strip along the southwest side of the Duke/Holland intersection. Before excavation, both sites were covered by 2-4 ft of fill deposited after the site occupations (Cromwell 1989:48-53; 62-64). These fills were of no significance and were removed by a Gradall prior to the excavation.

Soils

The project area is within the Coastal Plain Physiographic Province at an elevation of 30 ft AMSL (Figure 1). The project area overlies the old marine and riverain deposits which cover eroded

Piedmont materials (Cheek and Zatz 1986:2). These soils are part of the Pre-Brandywine (Patuxent Sand) formations which consist of well sorted medium sands which typically include mica, rounded quartz pebbles and chert. The moist maritime clays are compact and normally include fine lenses of silt and bog iron at the upper and lower edges of the clay zones (Wentworth 1930:38, 40, 49).

During the area's 150 year built history, the original landscape has been altered by several episodes of cut and fill. Natural soil layers are covered by a variety of fills deposited across both the Bontz and USMRR sites. At the Bontz site, the fills represent the raising and leveling of the landform prior to the construction of a parking lot for the shopping center. These fills date from the 1950s-1960s. The fills along the 1200 block are generally related to railroad development in this area and are composed of cinder, slag, gravel or clays. All of these fills were used to raise and/or modify the landform for construction projects during the past 150 years.

Climate

The climate of the area is typified by warm humid summers and mild winters (Maury 1878:3; Ruffner and Bair 1981:418). The average temperature varies between a low of 35.7 degrees in January to a high of 78.5 degrees in July with an average yearly temperature of 57.4 (Ruffner and Bair 1981:419). The coldest weather is usually from late January to early February and the warmest weather is during July and August.

No distinct wet or dry seasons occur in Alexandria and a moderate amount of rainfall is distributed throughout the year (Ruffner and Bair 1981:416). The average rainfall varies between 2.46 in. in February and 4.71 inches in August with a average annual rainfall of 39.82 in. (Ruffner and Bair 1981:419).

Vegetation

Historically, the area was covered in mixed deciduous forest of oak and conifers, such as Virginia pine and short pine. Braun categorized the area as in the Atlantic slope section of the Oak and Pine forest region of the piedmont (Braun 1950). A variety of grasses grew in the open fields including blue grass and white clover. Various wild fruits such as grapes, persimmons, strawberries, and cherries were plentiful. All varieties of fruits and vegetables were grown in the area as agriculture was the mainstay of activity outside of the cities. (Maury 1878:23, 24).

None of the original landscape remains intact. Industrial, commercial, and residential growth along Duke Street during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries has erased any visible evidence of the earlier vegetation.

Hydrology

Water was available from streams, springs, and wells. The wells in Alexandria averaged between 20 and 30 ft in depth (Maury 1878:23). Community wells were common throughout the town and were maintained by the townspeople as good quality drinking water was scarce at times. (Local News 1861).

Drinking water was also available from springs in the area. In the early nineteenth century, several community wells were located to the south of the 1200 block in the area previously known as Spring Garden Farms (Gilpin 1806). The Spring Garden complex also had a spring which contained good drinking water (Miller 1989:56).

The local tidal streams, which were brackish, could not be used for drinking water. Hooffs Run, the east boundary of historic West End is not a tidal stream and may have provided water for local residents during the nineteenth century.

GENERAL HISTORIC BACKGROUND

In order to more fully appreciate the specific history and cultural resource of the Bontz and USMMR sites, as well as the significance of the West End community as a whole, a broad overview of the history of Alexandria is desirable. Because historical research indicates the West End was relatively self-contained in an economic sense, it would seem at first that a focus on its development is all that is necessary for the construction of historical context. However, as will be demonstrated, Alexandria, as a whole, experienced economic trends that reflected changing regional and national interests. The West End was not exempt from such changes, and indeed, part of its historical significance lies in its economic contributions to Alexandria.

The following is a general discussion of the development of Alexandria and is meant to focus the reader on those broad historical trends. Immediately following is the more specific discussion of the history of the project area.

The beginnings of Fairfax County and Alexandria centered around the tobacco trade. At the confluence of Great Hunting Creek and the Potomac River, private warehouses were established to store tobacco until it could be exported. In 1730, the Colony of Virginia passed a law intended to control flooding of the tobacco market. This law appointed four sites to be the only tobacco inspection stations in the colony. Since all of that crop legally had to be inspected before being exported, such an appointment ensured prosperity as long as the industry flourished. One of the four sites selected by the colonial governor was at Great Hunting Creek (Netherton et al. 1978: 22-23).

The tobacco inspection station was built on Simon Pearson's land in 1732 (the lower end of present day Oronoco Street in Alexandria). Its presence encouraged growth in the area, which was focused in what is known today as Old Town Alexandria (Harrison 1964:414; Netherton et al. 1978: 22-23). In the area comprising the project corridor, much of the land was patented at an early date; however, it was held by absentee owners for speculation. Thomas Harrison was known to have built a house on his land north of Hunting Creek near Shuter's Hill by 1749 (Mitchell 1988:194; Mitchell and Sprouse).

Alexandria was founded in 1749 by a small group of Scots merchants. The establishment of the town was directly linked to the success of the tobacco trade which remained its primary economic support for several

decades (Shephard 1985:79). The town was laid out on a sixty acre tract along the Potomac River bounded by a line between Duke and Wolfe Street to the south, midway between Royal and Pitt to the west and from the jail on the northwest end of town, east to the river. The first lots in the town were sold in 1749; by 1763, the town had expanded through the auction of 58 additional lots (Reps 1969:124).

The port was the economic focus of the city throughout the eighteenth century. Catapulted by its great tobacco trade, the young town flourished throughout the 1750s and 1760s. By 1768, Alexandria had nearly 7,000 inhabitants (Netherton et al. 1978:64). The years surrounding the American Revolution obviously slowed this trend but only temporarily. Legislation passed by the Virginia Assembly in 1786 limited the exports of tobacco to only six ports including Alexandria and this helped to keep tobacco a profitable export for the city (Shephard 1985:80).

Limited industrial growth occurred in Alexandria during the third quarter of the eighteenth century although a slow economy was typical of many cities at this time, particularly during the Revolutionary War. Industries operating at this time included ropewalks, tanneries, distilleries, a brewery, textile spinning mills and two sugar refineries (Shephard 1985:80). Expansion away from the core along King Street was limited, and the areas west of the city limits typically consisted of large unsettled tracts of land. By the late eighteenth century, the city had gradually extended westward to the vicinity of Henry street (Cressey et al. 1982:149).

The greatest change in Alexandria's economy following the Revolutionary War was a transition from a tobacco cash crop to one of flour. As a result of soil exhaustion and commercial expansion, lands once used for growing tobacco were becoming scarce. Alexandria quickly changed focus to compensate for this deficit. Flour became a major export from Alexandria during the latter part of the century and, in time, would replace tobacco as the major export (Shephard 1985:79-80). The flour trade returned Alexandria to one of the nation's leading ports, a position it maintained until the 1820s.

Soon after the United States Constitution was ratified rumors spread that the new nation's capital might be located on the Potomac. In fact, Shuter's Hill, located one mile west of Alexandria was viewed as "an admirable site for the public buildings" (Packard 1902:153-154). George Washington though had other plans. The first president insisted that no federal buildings be raised on the Virginia side of the Potomac. The reason for his inflexibility was probably in response to criticism about situating the seat of government so close to his own vast landholdings (Froncek 1977:150-157; Green 1962:12). Citizens of Alexandria, however, were persistent and "remonstrated with zeal" against being excluded from the proposed district (Gazette 3/30/1824).

When the residency bill was passed in July 16, 1790, Alexandrians were disappointed that their city would not be the seat of government,

but excited to be included in the new federal district. They perceived their prospects to be very bright indeed (Netherton et al. 1978:133). In 1791, the Virginia General Assembly ceded ten miles of ground from Fairfax County (including virtually all of the town of Alexandria) to the Federal Government; however, this territory did not come under federal jurisdiction until the Government moved to the District in 1801 (Netherton et al. 1978:45).

During the 1790s, there was a definite surge of business enterprises of every kind in Alexandria. This can be attributed to a thriving flour trade and the chartering of such important projects as the Patowmack Company and the Fairfax and Loudoun Turnpike Company. Certainly, though, the knowledge that the federal city was to be built across the Potomac from Alexandria, contributed to its dramatic growth.

The city of Alexandria doubled its population and grew to become a major seaport during the period between 1790 and 1810 (Cressey et al. 1982:150). The city became an important regional market through the export of wheat and tobacco and was one of the ten busiest ports in the United States during the 1790's (Cressey 1985:51). This prosperity and the subsequent increase in population caused economic growth that generated expansion and development, particularly along the transportation corridors entering the town.

Beginning in the late 1780s, the large estates and plantations outside of Alexandria were broken up and sold. The great migration of fortune-seekers during this period of renewed prosperity had filled the town to its capacity. New accommodations had to be found and the lands immediately outside the present bounds of Alexandria were eyed for subdivision.

Soon after Alexandria was ceded to the district, two new subdivisions were built along the Duke Street Corridor. The first was the larger, a four-acre tract, Spring Garden Farm and the latter was West End. The Spring Garden Farm, developed around a retreat, Spring Garden, was established in 1786. West End was actually situated west of the district bounds, in the state of Virginia. Many of these lots were sold during the last five years of the eighteenth century.

By the early nineteenth century, the citizens of West End desired to form a township but it is doubtful that a petition was ever presented to the government (Gazette 8/3/1804). Spring Garden Farm had become a primarily lower class industrial section of town with brickyards and low-income housing. Meanwhile, West End had retained a self contained community status. Industrial growth in West End during this period included a carriage manufacture, a distillery, slaughter houses, flour mills (southwest of the village) stores and taverns.

Initially, the people of Alexandria were excited about their city's incorporation into the district. Possibilities of community growth and the intent to divert trade from rivaling ports such as Baltimore was a key concern. Soon after Congress and President Jefferson occupied

Washington in 1801, the novelty and excitement began to fade from the Alexandria citizens' minds. They were starting to feel slighted, realizing that the United States Congress was not set up to cater to the needs of the three district cities: Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria. In fact, Congress initially stipulated that the laws of Virginia and Maryland were to continue in those parts of the district which formerly belonged to those states respectively (Gazette 1/26/1803; Green 1962:12).

During the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, exportation from Alexandria relied on produce transported from western counties. The road service at this time was primitive at best and impassable at worst. Farmers who lived along these roads were required to maintain the sections of road that passed by their properties. Naturally, this could not be enforced and the roads were rarely maintained (Netherton 1978:147, 190).

Numerous efforts were raised to build toll roads linking Alexandria and the farms to the west. The Little River Turnpike Company was formed and began to develop a roadway from the boundary of the city to the town of Aldie in western Fairfax County (Shepherd 1970). It was not until the Little River Turnpike was completed during the second decade of the nineteenth century that a significant improvement was made in transporting goods from the rural farms in the western counties and the marketplace of Alexandria.

The Little River Turnpike and the Alexandria and Leesburg Turnpike were the two primary transportation links between the hinterland and the city during the early nineteenth century. These turnpikes, while providing an easier transportation mode also aided the development along the road corridors. By way of these transportation corridors, produce and livestock were brought daily to the city, and subsequently, industries were developed along or near these roadways to process items for sale in the city and cater to the constant flow of traffic. Slaughter houses, taverns and market gardens were among the numerous industries that appeared along the western corridor.

While Alexandria prospered under the district government during the first decades of the nineteenth century support for this government began to wane. There arose cries that district inhabitants were being taxed without representation and deprived of self-government (Gazette 2/11/1817). These outcries came within a decade of the district's creation but Alexandria was not able to summon enough support to execute the desired retrocession until crisis demanded it.

While the citizens of Alexandria were idly renouncing Congress's unequal distribution of funds to their neighbors across the Potomac, Georgetown and Washington were employing every means to improve their situation. Georgetown opened the necessary roads in every section of their country to enhance their trade (Gazette 3/30/1824). Immense sums of money were spent to improve their waterways. To compound

Alexandria's economic woes, even Washington was gradually improving its commerce and industry.

Georgetown merchants, once dependent on Alexandria's supplies, were suddenly looking for goods beyond the district's third and oldest city. "The want of sufficient and fashionable assortments at the Alexandria market drove them to deal in the larger cities of the north and finally to shipping and importing almost exclusively for themselves" (Gazette 3/30/1824).

As faltering Alexandria merchants watched their once flourishing trade decline, they called for resolutions. By 1817, many residents believed a retrocession from the District of Columbia was the only answer to their city's decline. Although most Alexandrians recognized the symptoms, apathy governed the towns actions. Contemporary news articles reflect the apathetic nature of Alexandria's citizens during a period when they should have taken extensive action (Gazette 2/11, 12/17/1817; 3/30/1824; 2/8, 2/12/1825). "While Washington and Georgetown were in full march, Alexandria . . . remained stationary. A fatal lethargy had seized on her faculties" (Gazette 3/30/1824). One Alexandria resident wrote in his frustration and anguish "[Georgetown] feeds upon the bread which you and your children should eat" (Gazette 3/30/1824).

This apathy was blamed in large part on the natural advantages of Alexandria. Residents were lulled into a false security created by years of dominant trade and industry. They came to believe that no improvements were needed. One disgruntled correspondent wrote, "In glancing over the map of our extended country, the eye scarcely rests upon a spot combining more numerous and important advantages of situation for commerce than Alexandria, yet our progress is so slow as to be almost imperceptible" (Gazette 12/17/1817).

In May, 1817, a listing was printed in the Alexandria Gazette showing the total number of buildings in Alexandria. This total included 164 three-story brick houses and warehouses, 343 two-story brick houses and warehouses, 10 three-story wood houses and warehouses, 373 two-story wood houses and warehouses, 380 1½-story and one-story houses, 7 places of worship, 1 academy, 2 Lancaster schools, 22 private schools, 1 brewery, 7 bakehouses, 2 sugar houses, 2 potteries, 1 brass foundary, 2 nail manufacturers, 1 Morroc Leather manufacturer, 2 plaster mills, 2 ship yards and numerous other buildings (Gazette 5/9/1817). A total of 1,385 buildings were within the city limits at this time.

In 1817, prices began to fall for agricultural products and this marked the beginning of a recession in Alexandria that would continue until 1840 (Shephard 1985:81). Many of the townspeople went into debt and some went bankrupt (Gazette 2/11/1817; 2/8/1825). The period between 1820 and 1840 was marked by a slowed economy hampering population and construction and growth.

This depression can be tied to the shift of goods and services from Alexandria to other ports, particularly Baltimore. The local economy remained dependent on slave labor and was slow to industrialize while other cities in the northeast, closer to the raw materials, industrialized faster, thereby drawing trade away from Alexandria (Cressey 1985:51). The expansion of the national economy in the west also meant crops were being grown and shipped from the Mississippi and Ohio valleys thereby causing a dramatic shift of trade away from the east (Cressey et al. 1983:149).

Opportunities to improve the waning economy were not seized by Alexandria citizens. Funding for projects, such as the Little River Turnpike, Leesburg Turnpike, and the Alexandria Canal, was slow in coming and in the two latter cases, delayed construction for over a decade. And while Alexandrians argued and pondered their options, the opportunities were lost or trumped by neighboring cities (Gazette 3/30/1824; 2/12/1825).

Although Alexandria was gripped by a recession, moderate industrial growth continued during the 1820s and 1830s. Within the town, industries such as ropewalks, breweries, mills, tanneries and brickyards continued to operate or were constructed within the corporation boundaries. The addition of steam engine manufacturers during the 1830's did improve the struggling economy (Shephard 1985:81,82).

Early in the 1840s, Alexandria faced a financial obstacle of gigantic proportions. The city had to pay for its canal, the last-ditch attempt for financial recovery. The canal through Alexandria had finally been completed and in 1843 it was joined to the Chesapeake & Ohio canal on the north side of the Potomac (Netherton et al 1978:201, 208). In the 1830s, Alexandrian's had made the choice to rely on the established method of canal transport rather than railroads which were still in their infancy. Unfortunately, the canal was an expensive venture that was antiquated within 20 years.

Construction of Alexandria's canal had proven to be costly and covering the cost was a dilemma. Heavily in debt, Alexandria petitioned Congress for fiscal relief. When Congress failed, Alexandria turned to the state of Virginia. The state legislature agreed to foot the bill but wanted Alexandria and the remaining Virginia lands contained within the district in return. In 1846 the District of Columbia retroceded all Virginia lands which were reorganized as the city of Alexandria and Alexandria County. The latter eventually became present day Arlington County (Froncek 1977:150-157).

The 1840s saw Alexandria begin economic recovery due to improved transportation networks. The Alexandria canal had been connected with the C&O canal in 1843 and by the end of the decade, railroads were beginning to emerge (Cressey 1985:51, 57). The retrocession of Alexandria back to Virginia in 1846 and these two industries helped to bring Alexandria out of the depression that had gripped the city for nearly three decades.

By the mid-1840s, it was apparent that railroads would be the mode of transportation for the future. Baltimore was quickly rising to the forefront of leading cities through extensive employment of rail transport and Alexandria didn't want to be left behind again. Therefore, citizens of Alexandria took initiative and invested in the development of railroads that would link the town to the rich farmlands on either side of the Blue Ridge mountains (Meyer 1948:459-463).

Four railroads were constructed during the 1850s including the Orange and Alexandria, Manassas Gap, Alexandria and Washington and the Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire. This greatly improved the link between the markets in Alexandria and the farmers' supplies to the west (Shephard 1985:84).

The development of the railroad initiated economic growth for the town during the 1850's. At this time, 91 industries were operating in Alexandria and these industries manufactured a diversity of products. Iron foundries, tanneries, shoemakers, cabinet makers, plaster mills and breweries were just some of the industry developed or expanded during this period (Shephard 1985:83).

The railroads brought a new, rapidly growing mode of transportation to Alexandria that would, in time, supplant the turnpikes as the primary transportation for market goods (Hurd 1988:8-9). The development of the railroad also appears to have initiated a residential growth in Alexandria. The population growth was induced by industrial expansion and the development of the transportation networks. The need for labor in these new endeavors provided the enticement for immigrants to move to Alexandria (Shephard 1985:83).

The ensuing decade was one of renewed optimism, which can be attributed primarily to the railroad. After leaving the confines of the District of Columbia and relieved of the heavy financial burdens of its canal, Alexandria made a bold attempt to reattain its once prominent status. The O&ARR and other railroads in town helped reinstate the city as a competitive market.

The growth and economic success in Alexandria continued throughout the 1850s and into the 1860s. Unfortunately, the prosperity would not last due to the outbreak of the Civil War. In May of 1861, Union troops occupied the town and for the duration of the war, trade and prosperity were directly tied to the presence or absence of military personnel (Shephard 1985:84).

Alexandria was the only Southern city to be placed under martial law for the duration of the war (Barber 1988:15). Civilian and military traffic throughout the town was constantly monitored and the civilian traffic was required to present identification (Miller 1987:235).

Once occupied, the city became part of an economy brought about by the military occupation. Due to the proximity of the city to the Union

Capital and the central location of major rail lines, the city became a supply base, a camp for Union soldiers and a hospital center (Barber 1988:15). Upon the arrival of Federal troops in Alexandria, all rail lines in the city, including the strategic Orange and Alexandria Railroad along Duke Street/Little River Turnpike, were seized for military operations.

Over 50% of the voting populace left Alexandria to avoid the occupation and many of these people never returned after the war (Barber 1988). This population was replaced by freed blacks who flocked to the north during the war. By the end of the war, the population of Alexandria had increased beyond its prewar level. On their road to freedom, Alexandria was the first free city encountered by many contraband (slaves) headed north. Numerous opportunities for employment were found with the occupying army and many free blacks took jobs and settled in Alexandria (Barber 1988:43-44). Unfortunately, when the war ended, so did most of the jobs; a majority of this large unskilled labor force would, in postwar years, join many other Alexandria citizens in unemployment.

Immediately following the Civil War, the federal government began to disband the military and turn control of the city back to the local authorities (Barber 1988:101). The military turned control of the railroads back over to the state and the previous owners of the railroads soon regained rights to their properties.

In the late 1860s, the city of Alexandria fell back into a economic depression. The industries were slow to regain capital and the employment structure of the old south had been abolished. As mentioned, few jobs existed in the town during the postwar years and therefore, unemployment was very high. Many of the town's industries closed down following the war years. The town, as well as the entire state of Virginia suffered economic hardships during reconstruction (Shephard 1985:84).

At the same time, the village of West End was described as being worthy of local notice for "... not only its good people, and good citizens, but for other things it contains" including the water reservoir for the city (Gazette 1868). The village of West End, independent of Alexandria, appears to have at least maintained some of the diversity of the war years boasting a brewery, a store, the water company for Alexandria, a blacksmith shop, tavern and hotel (Figure 3).

The role of the railroads changed during the period between 1860 and 1880 from that of a supplier for the port of Alexandria to being a transportation route between larger industrial cities with Alexandria being only a stopover (Hurd 1987:9-10). The port of Alexandria was no longer a viable trade facility and therefore the transportation of goods was being diverted by the use of the railroads. The rail lines in Alexandria were merely a stopping point but not a destination for goods and services (Hurd 1987:10).

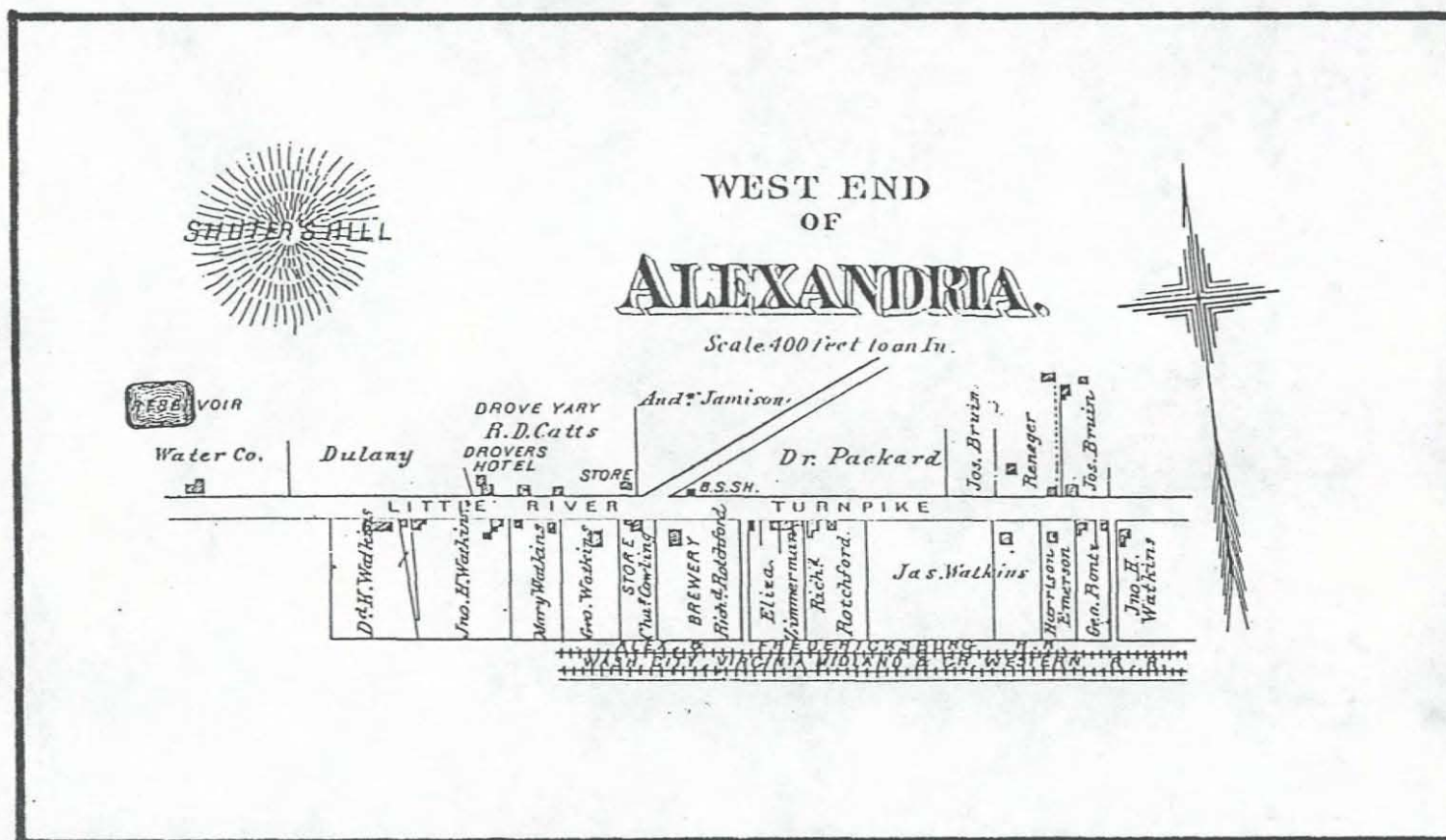


Figure 3. The village of West End (Hopkins 1878).

The late nineteenth century development of the railroads was a civilian copy of the lessons learned in rail travel during the military operations of railroads during the civil war. The railroads were reorganized to provide networks that could transport goods and people across the nation without costly and time consuming stops and transfers in each city. While this improved transportation development, it caused many economic hardships for Alexandria because the railroads now were linking the large industrial cities together and Alexandria could not compete with these larger markets.

The expansion of the railroads did generate some growth in Alexandria during the late nineteenth century. The improvement in trade helped the economy enough that several industries that had closed following the Civil War were reopened. In fact, Portner's Brewery became the largest brewery in the south, and a local tannery became the state's largest producer of leather goods (Shephard 1985:85).

The physical size of West End had not changed much since the original settlement in the early nineteenth century. The residences and businesses that made up the town were still intact and this small community apparently didn't suffer as many economic hardships as Alexandria. In the early twentieth century, the village of West End was incorporated into Alexandria (Cressey 1985). Alexandria finally was expanding and many areas to the north and west of town were also incorporated at this time.

Over the last 75 years, Alexandria has developed into a suburb and transportation network of Washington. Many of its citizens leave each day to work at jobs in Washington D. C. (Shephard 1985:85). Although Alexandria's primary role as a suburb has not changed during the twentieth century, a few large industries including the railroad have survived. Today, Alexandria has experienced a new economic growth tied to urban renewal. A community interest in preserving the city's past has helped Alexandria regain much of the status lost during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Development Within the Route 236 Corridor

During the historical documentation of the Bontz site (44AX103) and the UMSRR site (44AX105), research focused on specific information concerning the sites as well as the surrounding area. The information about the residents of the sites placed the sites within a historical context. The research focused on the area bounded by Prince Street to the north, Patrick Street to the east, Hunting Creek to the South and Telegraph Road to the west. Documentation of the USMRR site also included information about the 12-block area encompassed by the rail yard during the civil war years.

Due to the proximity of the two sites, much of the historical information is relevant to both. For clarity in this report, when

delineation is required, the area defined west of Hooff Run and east of Telegraph Road, which represents the village of West End, is simply referred to as West End. West End Village was developed from John West's subdivision (1796) and the settlements north and west of it in Fairfax County. The area documented in the project corridor east of Hooff Run is referred to as Alexandria.

The majority of historical research for this investigation was extracted from primary sources available at the National Archives, Virginia State Library and the circuit courts for the city of Alexandria and Fairfax County.

Several boundary and jurisdictional changes to the project area have resulted in a sometimes confusing arrangement of where the relevant documents are stored. In addition, a number of records have been lost. Fairfax County particularly has suffered a significant loss of its early nineteenth-century deed books; however, by cross-referencing alternative sources, most gaps were sufficiently filled.

One consistent and continuous source proved to be the Alexandria Gazette. Published daily for most of the period, the advertisements, editorials, and local news items of this newspaper provided detailed information not found in any other sources. Every available issue was examined between the years 1796-1821 and 1861-1865. A sample was taken for the issues published between 1822 and 1833. From the last date to 1903, selected issues were reviewed.

Throughout the report, this newspaper is cited as Gazette. However, throughout its published history, it appeared under several names:

1792-1800	<u>Columbia Mirror and Alexandria Gazette.</u>
1800-1803	<u>Alexandria Advertiser and Commercial Intelligencer.</u>
1803-1808	<u>Alexandria Daily Advertiser.</u>
1808-1812	<u>Alexandria Daily Gazette.</u>
1812-1817	<u>Alexandria Gazette, Commercial and Political.</u>
1817-1822	<u>Alexandria Gazette and Daily Advertiser.</u>
1822-1823	<u>Alexandria Gazette and Advertiser.</u>
1824-1833	<u>Alexandria Phenix Gazette</u>
1825-1861	<u>Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser</u>

Development of the Little River Turnpike

The history of roads in the project corridor begins early in the eighteenth century. Because one of Virginia's four tobacco inspection stations was located at the mouth of Hunting Creek, roads were vital to this area. Although planters typically transported crops by water, some relied on the several roads leading to Hunting Creek Warehouse (Alexandria). The earliest extant map of Fairfax County, ca. 1745-48, shows the area of Alexandria before it was laid out as a town. A

network of five roads converge at a point on Great Hunting Creek about a mile west of the future site of Alexandria. This is the approximate location of the present junction of Route 236 and Telegraph Road.

Two of the roads head south west to a church near the mouth of the Occoquan River (Colchester). A third road runs west to Popeshead Creek. The fourth leads northwest to another church situated about six miles from the point on Hunting Creek (probably representing Falls Church), and the fifth road leads north to a point on the Potomac River (Stephenson 1983:22).

Fry and Jefferson's 1755 map of Virginia shows three roads leading from Cameron's Ordinary, situated two miles west of Alexandria (Figure 4). Two of the roads run northwest and parallel to each other, over the Blue Ridge into the Shenandoah Valley. The first passes through Vestal's Gap. This was known as the Eastern Ridge Road, which later became the Middle Turnpike or Route 7 (Cooke, 1977:11). The second road passes through William's Gap (later known as Snicker's or Sniggar's Gap). In 1785, this route became the first turnpike in the area (and later was straightened and improved as the Little River Turnpike). The third road trends southwest to Colchester (Stephenson 1983:25).

By the mid 1700s, this well worn trail had developed into King's Highway, and by 1773 was declared the official post route through Virginia. This road had also become an important commercial link to the thriving port at Colchester. Gilpin's map of Alexandria, dated 1798, still noted the Colchester Road as the Main Post Road (Cooke 1977:11; Harrison 1964:530; Stephenson 1983:35).

Between Cameron Run and the line of Duke Street when extended, the Colchester Road (Telegraph Road) forked (Figure 4). One branch ran west of Shuter's Hill, continued north to Georgetown, and was called the Georgetown Road (Fairfax County Deed Book T:205; Y:45). The other fork intersected the line of Duke Street Extended and continued a course that follows the approximate line of present-day Diagonal Road into King Street.

By 1792, Colchester Road had been shifted west and only its connection with King Street was retained which was named Centre Street (Diagonal Road). A Fairfax County deed of 1791 refers to Centre Street as the road leading from Alexandria to Colchester (Fairfax County Deed Book U:22). Another deed dated the following year described the road as the Alexandria Road leading into King Street (Fairfax County Deed Book X:548). In 1812, Charles Lee offered for sale building lots, which, he stated were situated on Centre Street, the new street lately laid off and gravelled leading from Simpson's corner at the Turnpike Road into King Street at Hooff's Meadow (Gazette 12/29/1812).

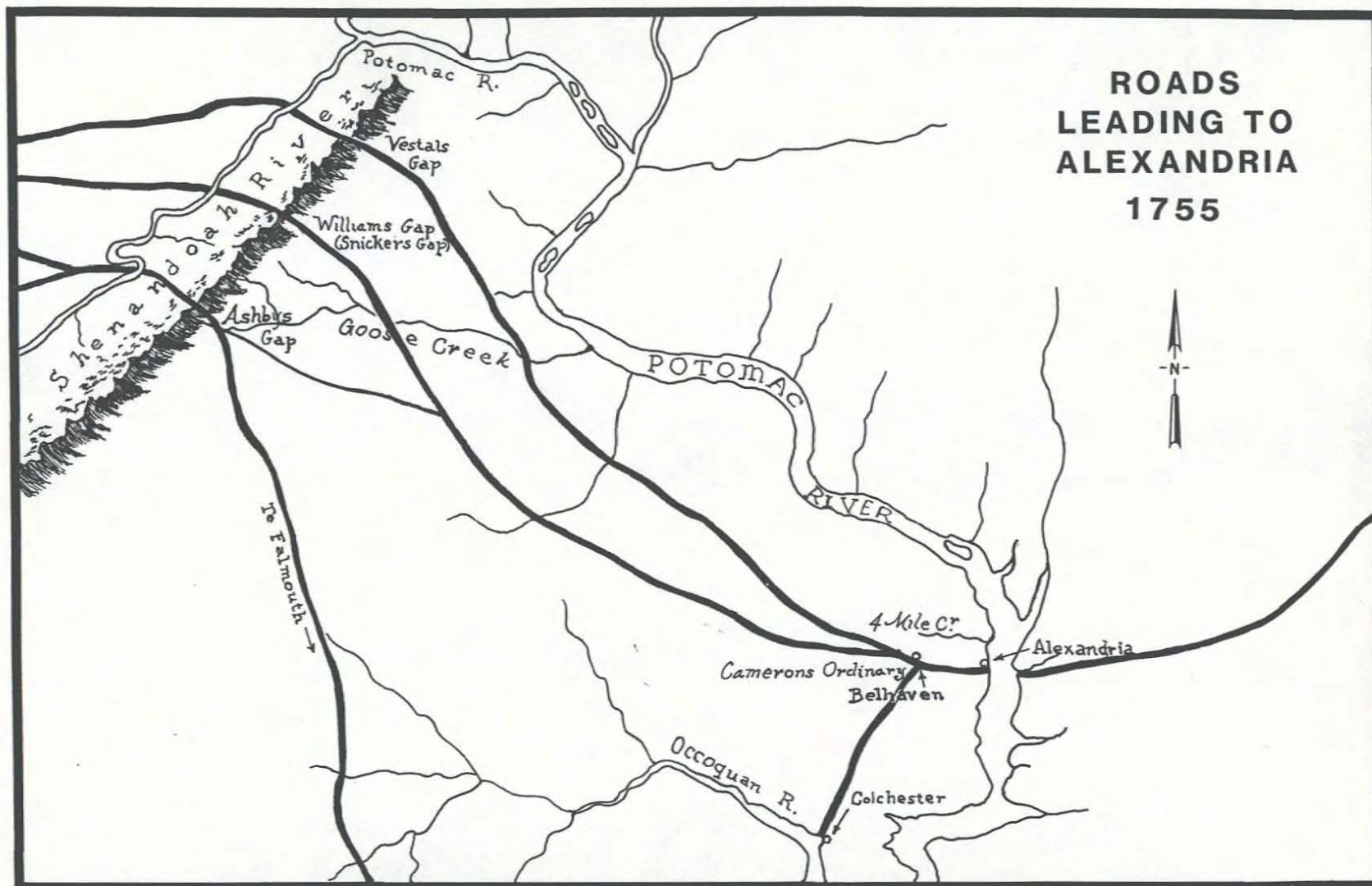


Figure 4. 1755 map of Virginia (detail of and abstracted from Frye and Jefferson 1755).

Apparently Centre Street was improved and perhaps slightly realigned before being renamed Centre Street in 1812.

At the turn of the nineteenth century descriptions of land conveyances distinguish between the old road to Colchester and the new road (Fairfax County Deed Book G2:8). The western realignment was probably made in conjunction with the addition of a toll gate on the east-west road (Route 236). The former route of the Colchester Road would have allowed traffic to bypass the toll gate; however, the new route forced all Colchester traffic--coming and going--to travel the toll road, if only for a $\frac{1}{4}$ mile.

The exact age of the Little River Turnpike is unknown but documentation suggest its construction coincided with the founding of Alexandria. The Virginia General Assembly passed an act in February, 1772, authorizing repairs of certain roads leading from Vestal's and William's (Snicker's) gaps in the Blue Ridge to the towns of Alexandria and Colchester (Hening vol 8:546-551). They were not toll roads at this time and funding for repairs and maintenance came from taxes levied on tithable inhabitants of Fairfax, Loudoun, Berkeley and Frederick counties.

The 1745-48 map of Fairfax County clearly shows a road passing through Vestal's Gap and a road passing through William's Gap (Snicker's). Both roads have several branches along their southwesterly course and travellers originating from both gaps could reach Great Hunting Creek, by following these branches (Stephenson 1983:22). Frye and Jefferson 1755 map shows two roads which diverged from a point two miles west of Alexandria--one running to Vestal's Gap, the other to William's gap (Stephenson 1983:25).

By 1785, the roads connecting Snicker's and Vestal's gaps with Alexandria and Colchester were in such a poor state of repair, that the General Assembly authorized the construction of "one or more gates or turnpikes across the roads . . . within five miles" of Alexandria. The money collected at these gates were to pay for necessary repairs (Hening 1969, vol 12:75). This appears to be the point at which the road from Alexandria to Snicker's Gap via Centerville became a toll road. These were among the earliest turnpikes in the state. As early as 1772, the General Assembly granted toll rights to Augusta and Nansemond counties to pay maintenance costs of two certain roads (Pawlett 1977:15).

A letter published in the Gazette, November 17, 1803, stated that previous to the organization of the town of Centerville, the Virginia General Assembly passed a law enabling commissioners to survey and lay out a turnpike road from Snicker's Gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains, to Alexandria. The commissioners determined that the route should connect with an existing road the ford of Little River, pass through Newgate (Centerville) and terminate at Alexandria. The letter continues to say that the road from Little River to Newgate was indeed constructed, although the author omitted the dates when the law was passed and of the actual construction.

In the same issue of the Gazette, another letter appeared addressed to the stockholders of the Little River Turnpike Company. This letter stated that the original turnpike from Alexandria crossed the ford at Little River at which point it split into two roads, one running to Snicker's Gap and the other to Ashby's Gap. Bishop James Madison's map of Virginia, published in 1807 (before the completion of Little River Turnpike), shows a road running from Alexandria through Centreville to Little River where it diverged. Its two branches passed through William's Gap (Snicker's Gap) and Ashby's Gap respectively (Stephenson 1983:36).

The first reference to a Turnpike within the project corridor was found in a George Minor's Survey made at the request of John West, 1786; Fairfax County Deed Book Y:533; Z:383). It extended from Duke Street beginning at the bridge across Timber Branch (Hooff Run). The same source noted that the first turnpike gate was situated at the southwest corner of Simpson's lot extending across the turnpike to the northeast corner of Fagan's lot. With the opening of the Little River Turnpike, the first turnpike gate was moved west near the entrance to the new Colchester Road.

The necessity of maintaining a good road from the hinterland to Alexandria became more urgent as Baltimore and Philadelphia began competing with the Alexandria market. In attempt to reestablish Alexandria's status, the Patowmack Company was organized. On May 17, 1785, the Patowmack Company proposed to cut several canals to the Great Falls on the Potomac to open navigation to the Upper Potomac region and the western country (Hening, vol 12:68; Netherton et al. 1978:127, 204-208).

The Pawtomack Company faced hardships over the next decade which slowed progress. An act passed by the Virginia General Assembly ordered the sale of delinquent shares and extended the deadline for completing the canal and locks to January, 1795 although this deadline was not met (Shepherd 1970:241). The General Assembly then purchased twenty shares in the company, to be matched or bettered by the state of Maryland, and new subscriptions were opened to the public (Shepherd 1970; Gazette 12/22/1795, 10/15/1796). On the same day an act was passed to open subscriptions for a turnpike road from Little River in Loudoun County to Alexandria (The locks and canal built by the Pawtomack Company were finally opened in February, 1802. Netherton et al. 1978:184; Shepherd 1970, vol 1:378; Gazette 2/27/1796).

The Fairfax and Loudoun Turnpike Road Company represents the first charter granted for a private turnpike company in the country. The act of association for the said company stated the following purpose:

Whereas the great quantity of heavy articles of the growth and produce of the country, and of the foreign goods which are daily transported between the town of Alexandria and the western counties of the state, requires an amendment on the highway, which can only

be effected by artificial beds of stone and gravel, disposed in such manner as to prevent the wheels of the carriages from cutting into the soil, the expenses whereof will be great, and it is reasonable that those who enjoy the benefits of such a highway should pay a compensation therefor, and there is reason to believe that such highway will be undertaken by an association of citizens, if proper encouragement be given by the legislature [Shepherd 1970].

The act stipulated that subscribers be at least 21 years old and initially pay \$20 per share, \$40 per share when stock certificates were distributed, and the balance of \$140 per share when the company was organized. Six hundred shares were allotted to Alexandria area residents and 650 to citizens in Winchester (Shepherd 1970, vol 1:378-382).

Considerable excitement was generated over the expected money and prestige from the turnpike. An advertisement placed in the Alexandria Gazette expounded the promise and great advantage of the proposed road, which would attract the attention of monied and patriotic men (Gazette 2/27/1796). Another advertisement, offered building lots for sale on Duke Street, stating that they were rising fast in value as [Duke Street] is expected to be one of the principal inlets to the town (Gazette:16/1796).

This enthusiasm wasn't matched by the residents of the farm country due to the high cost of shares. Many landholders west of Goose Creek believed the navigational improvements made by the Pawtomack Company would better serve their needs (although in a few years it was said that nothing hindered road improvement more than the ill-founded idea that opening the Potomac navigation would render the Turnpike Road useless and unprofitable) (Gazette 11/19/1803).

As a result, subscription sales were very slow, and most were purchased by citizens of Alexandria. Before enough capital could be generated, the deadlines expired and the Fairfax and Loudoun Turnpike Company was dissolved. This failure only increased the resolve to build a turnpike for city residents saw that such a link to the fertile western counties as a turnpike was imperative to the growth and prosperity of Alexandria (Gazette 11/17/1803).

On January 28, 1802, the General Assembly passed an act incorporating the Little River Turnpike Company. Subscriptions for the proposed turnpike, modeled after the Lancaster Pike in Pennsylvania, were opened before the year was out. Each share cost \$100, half the price charged by the failed Fairfax and Loudoun Turnpike Company. Stockholder's were required to pay \$10 down for each share purchased. The balance was to be paid in small sums, as called for by the company with one month's notice. If a subscriber failed to make any of the payments, all previous payments would be forfeited as would that subscriber's shares in the company (Shepherd, 1970, vol 2:383).

Subscription books in Alexandria were opened on April 24, 1802, by William Hartshorne and John Thomas Ricketts who were the local representatives of the company (Gazette 4/24/1802). By August 18, the requisite number of shares had been sold and the call was made for the election of officers (Gazette 8/18/1802).

With the company organized, the actual planning and surveying of the road could begin. The act of January, 1802 had affixed the beginning and terminating points of the proposed road, leaving its course to be determined by the company's president and directors, taking into view however, shortness of distance, the nature of the ground and other circumstances (Shepherd 1970, vol 2:385). Late in 1803 this would become a heated issue.

This act empowered the employees and officers of the Little River Turnpike

absolute authority to enter all lands, tenements and enclosures, through which the said road passes, and to examine all beds of stone and gravel in the vicinity, which may be necessary for making said road; first giving notice of their intention to the owners thereof . . . If the owners would not donate or agree to terms for such land or materials required by the company three disinterested freeholders were to be appointed to appraise the property in question. After paying the appraised value, the company may lawfully enter into said lands . . . and dig, cut and carry away, any of the said materials doing as little damage as possible (Shepherd 1970, vol 2:384).

The 1802 legislation stated that the road would be 30 feet in width, 20 feet of which was to be covered with crushed gravel and stone. In an amendment passed January 19, 1803, the General Assembly directed that the Little River Turnpike be widened to a width of 50 feet. Still, only 20 feet would be improved with gravel, and the remaining 30 feet used as a summer road for horse and foot travel (Shepherd 1970, vol 1:382; vol 2:452-453).

The initial stretch of the proposed turnpike, from the stone bridge on Duke Street to the approximate intersection with Colchester Road, was to remain 66 feet in width. This was in accordance to an act passed by the General Assembly in 1785 regulating city streets emanating from Alexandria (Hening 1969, vol 12:205).

The Little River Turnpike could not erect gates nor charge tolls until the initial ten mile section was completed. Fairfax and Loudoun county courts were required to appoint overseer and to allot the male laboring tithables residing within three miles of the road as at present established, to keep the same in good repair. Each man was required to work on the turnpike no more than six days per year (Shepherd 1970, vol 2:386).

Three important safeguards were included in the original act incorporating the Little River Turnpike Company. The first was the institution of specific time limits. Construction was to commence within one year following March 1, 1802, and be completed by March 1, 1807. If the turnpike was not fully employed by the last date, then all rights and privileges granted to the Little River Turnpike Company would be forfeited. Secondly, after the seven year period, all tolls were be subject to control by the state legislature, so that net stock profits would remain greater than 15 percent. The final safeguard stated that if the road fell into disrepair for more than five day due to company neglect, tolls were to cease at the nearest gate until the problem was resolved (Shepherd 1970, vol 2:386).

Construction commenced by late 1802, and within a year, the turnpike extended four miles from the stone bridge over Hooff Run on Duke Street to Trough Hill. To this point, Little River Turnpike followed the original turnpike route. A Fairfax County deed dated January 15, 1806, stated that the southline of the old turnpike road was now the northline of the present turnpike road (Fairfax County Deed Book G2:46). The first toll gate on the original turnpike was taken down. An advertisement of November 10, 1803, referred to the old turnpike gate near the house of the late William Simpson (Gazette 10/29, 11/10/1803).

As construction progressed, stockholders and residents who expected to benefit from the project, began to argue the route which should be adopted. A letter appeared in the October 29, 1803 issue of the Gazette announcing that a decision was to be made which will involve very important interests of the town of Alexandria, of the people connected by trade with that town, as well as the stockholders in the company. Over the next month, many other letters were published concerning this much debated issue.

The turnpike beginning and termination points weren't contended since they both had been set by state law. The turnpike was to start at the Duke Street bridge over Hooff Run because it was most convenient to the town, as now built and inhabited, and because it was at this point that an existing Virginia road conveniently met an existing District of Columbia road (Gazette 11/17/1803). It was to terminate at the ford of the Little River at Aldie where two existing roads converged.

The argument concerned the area that was to run from Trough Hill to Little River. Two routes were considered. The first continued to follow the line of the original turnpike to Centreville and then to Aldie. The second was to go by way of Fairfax Court House and Gum Spring before reaching the Little River.

The term of the present officers of the Little River Turnpike Company expired at the end of November 1803. Many stockholders and others became concerned that this important decision should be decided by newly elected officers. There was an uneasiness that a decision made by those officers leaving their posts might be contrary to the wishes of the majority of the subscribers (Gazette 11/17/1803).

At a directors meeting of the Little River Turnpike Company held in Alexandria November 9, 1803, three of the five directors--Leven Powell (president), John Thomas Ricketts and Charles Simms--insisted that a decision regarding the course of the road be decided that day. A petition, however, was presented, signed by a majority of the stockholders who held over half the subscribed shares, requesting a postponement of the decision. The petition asked the decision be referred to the newly elected officers. The question of a postponement was put to a vote and was voted down. The direction of the road was then put to a vote and the northern route, via Fairfax Court House and Gum Spring, was accepted by a three to two vote.

The dissenting minority was heralded by two subscribers George Gilpin and James Keith, who published the events of this meeting in the Gazette on November 17, 1803. In this account they stipulated their reasons for protesting the decisions made by the majority of Little River Turnpike directors. Keith emphasized that there was no reason to make such a hurried decision since the route already accepted was laid out to a greater distance than could possibly be improved before the next election of officers (Gazette 11/17/1803).

The hasty action of the exiting directors of the Little River Turnpike Company did not stand. It seems Gilpin and Keith's protests were taken to heart although a decision still had to be made. As one Fairfax County citizen put it

Alexandrians be on your guard, your most important interests as Stockholders and inhabitants of the town, are about to be disposed of; the issue rests with the next election--the fixing on the route of the Turnpike Road, is a work that is not only to affect the people of our day, but to descend to posterity (Gazette 11/30/1803).

The ensuing election resulted in only one personnel change. Thomas Swan was replaced by J. Thompson. Powell, Ricketts Simms, and William Payne were elected (Gazette 12/6/1803). The new directors reconsidered both of the proposed routes. Proponents of the southern route via Centreville argued the town had been built at its present site because of its position along the original turnpike. Rerouting the turnpike, could very well mean the demise of Centreville (Gazette 11/17/1803). Another facet of their argument was that a southern route would draw the trade of the counties laying to the southwest of Centreville to Alexandria (Gazette 11/17, 12/1/1803).

The stronger argument was for the northern route. First of all, the one claim that the southern route would draw trade from the south was refuted. It was felt that regardless of whether the Little River Turnpike was built by Centreville farmers from this region would continue trade with other markets to the south of Alexandria. In addition it was pointed out that the residents of this part of the state did not much care which route was adopted, evidenced by the fact that

very few, if any shares were taken by them on the condition that the road should be made by Centreville (Gazette 11/23/1803).

Baltimore and Georgetown were Alexandria's greatest commercial rivals at this time and a northern route would draw trade away from these markets. The intention of the Little River Turnpike, wrote one concerned citizen, was never to draw to Alexandria the products of those portions of Virginia convenient to Fredericksburg and Richmond rather it was for the advantage of that part of the western country, naturally convenient to Alexandria, and which sometimes might trade to Georgetown and Baltimore . . . (Gazette 1/19/1803).

Nine-tenths of all wagons transporting flour to Alexandria (approximately 12,000 barrels per year) came from the territory west of Little River and Goose Creek. The cry arose that extensive trade would only be maintained as long as the roads to Alexandria were shorter and better than the other roads in the neighborhood (Gazette 11/23, 11/25/1803).

A survey submitted by Simon Summers November 9, 1803, showed support for the northern route. It was two to three miles shorter than the proposed route by Centreville. This route was drier and had a greater amount of materials by which to build the road. Summers report also stated that only three to four bridges would have to be built along the northern route as opposed to eight to nine requisite for the southern route (Gazette 11/17, 11/23/1803). Those concerned were surely leaning toward the northern route when a letter from representatives of the western counties appeared in the which apparently settled the controversy

Since our arrival in Alexandria, we have heard with astonishment, that a great majority of the stockholders in this place are anxious that the Turnpike Road should be carried by the way of Centreville, with a view of drawing the trade of the southwestern Counties of Virginia, to Alexandria.

Do the merchants and other stockholders in Little River Turnpike Company, residing in Alexandria believe that a Turnpike Road was authorized to be made for their exclusive benefit? If they do they are greatly mistaken. The law was produced by the petitions from the counties of Loudoun, Berkley, Frederick and Shenandoah. The farmers in these counties had long been in the habit of bringing their produce to the Alexandria market--They had suffered much by the badness of the road--The Virginia Assembly passed the law for their relief and accommodation and they never will quietly submit to a deprivation of that benefit intended them by the Legislature. If the road should not be made according to the true intent and meaning of that law, they will oppose the payment of tolls on it.

We think it a duty which we owe to the inhabitants of the counties in which we reside, to make this public declaration (Gazette 12/1/1803).

The sincerity and urgency conveyed by this letter certainly contributed to the directors' final decision. It was finally settled that the route would follow on a northwestern course from Trough Hill, by the county court house and the Gum Spring to the Little River at Aldie. On the 15th of December, Richard Ratcliff (the owner of extensive lands surrounding the courthouse) called for twenty able-bodied Negro Men, to be employed on the Little River Turnpike Road for one year. The wording suggests his intention was to hire area residents' slaves, as he added good usage to, and punctual payment for their services may be relied on (Gazette 12/15/1803). This becomes more apparent when in October, 1805, a \$10 reward was offered by a Little River Turnpike Company agent, for the delivery of a 50-year old runaway "Negro Man . . . belonging to the heirs of Thomas Mason" who had been working on the turnpike near Alexandria (Gazette 10/24/1805). No further information is known concerning the labor employed to construct the turnpike.

The progress of construction moved slowly because of problems with the terrain. The price per mile was the equivalent of \$3698 per mile, instead of the estimated \$2500 (Gazette 11/17/1803; 12/12/1806). As a result available funds arising from the initial subscriptions were dwindling. The company made several calls to its stockholders for an advance of \$10 per share. In September, 1804, the company "earnestly solicited . . . delinquent stockholders," cautioning that further delinquency would result in the "loss of trade of that fertile and extensive country . . . bordering on the Potomac . . . to the town of Alexandria, if the road should not be completed" (Gazette 9/12/1804; 12/12/1806). Relief came from the Commonwealth. The General Assembly authorized the state to purchase 100 shares of the Little River Turnpike Company (Shepherd, vol 3, 1970:198). This boosted the confidence of malcontent stockholders. With the support of the state legislature, completion of the road must have seemed much more plausible.

The first ten miles were completed by the fall of 1806. With the approval of the governor, two gates were erected and tolls collection began October 10. The first gate from Alexandria was established near the entrance to the new Colchester Road (Telegraph Road). (By 1868 a toll gate house had been erected on the north side of the turnpike at this spot. Fairfax County Deed Book J4:476; Gazette 7/31/1807). As directed by the incorporation act, no persons travelling up or down the Colchester Road were subject to any toll (This provision was first adopted in 1801 as part of the laws regulating the original turnpike road. Shepherd, 1970, vol 2:299, 386).

The tolls implemented were as follows:

For every score of sheep.....	6 1/4 c
For every score of hogs.....	6 c
For every score of cattle.....	12 1/2 c
For every horse.....	8 c
For every 2-wheeled Riding Carriage.....	6 1/4 c
For every 4-wheeled Riding Carriage.....	12 1/2 c
For every cart or wagon with wheels not exceeding 4" in breadth.....	8 c per horse
Same but with wheels exceeding 4" but less than 7".....	1 c per horse

All return wagons are not subject to tolls unless their load exceeds "500 weight," in which case the toll is the same (Gazette 10/3/1806).

The total expenditure thus far was \$48,320.00 which comprised the entire amount of shares subscribed. An urgent but optimistic reopening of subscription books was announced in mid-December. The company said the large amount of tolls already collected should be incentive enough for potential investors to subscribe. The stock, under all the present disadvantages attending the road [is fully expected to] produce a profit of 10 percent per year to the holder and is expected to soon rise to 15 percent, which is the limit to the profits fixed by law (Gazette 12/12/1806).

Further inducement for worried individuals came in a letter published in the Gazette. The author, who signed his name as Phocion, touted the progress of the turnpike and encouraged its fast completion stating that a good road will enhance the value of every house and lot 20 percent and prevent trade from being taken away by rival cities (Gazette 12/27/1806).

This propaganda succeeded but stockholders were still cautious. In the fall of 1807, they planned to present a petition to the General Assembly that would authorize tolls every five miles instead of ten when the road was completed (this never became law). It seems they were still concerned about making their money back (Gazette 11/12/1807; 10/13/1809). Construction continued at a faster pace and in the fall of 1808, the next ten mile section was completed with six additional miles ready to be formed and paved. Interestingly, this part of the road was to be 56 feet wide rather than 50 but still only a 20 foot width was to be paved (Gazette 1/9/1809).

The remaining eight-mile stretch was likely finished early in 1810. Even before completion the road was heavily travelled. For the year ending January 1, 1810, tolls collected totaled \$11,360. This amount doubled for the year ending December 31, 1816. In fact, between 1806 and 1817 the net total of tolls collected on the Little River Turnpike was \$101,791.27 (Gazette 4/23/1810; Netherton et al, 1978:192-193). Lots along the turnpike were, as promised, rising in value. In 1813, John Dundas was selling building lots on Commerce Street (which empties

into Duke Street right before the entrance to the turnpike). He boasted that these lots are in the most improving part of the town and are daily increasing in value (Gazette 3/30/1813).

Such high returns were unexpected and the directors and stockholders were pleasantly surprised and annual dividends of six percent were dispersed to shareholders. New turnpikes were connected to the Little River Turnpike, only increasing the value of the latter. The Virginia State Board of Public Works further secured investments by purchasing 125 1/2 shares of the turnpike company in 1815. One citizen exclaimed that the Little River Turnpike was becoming a case in point on the benefits and profits of turnpikes . . . I much doubt whether in ten years from now, better stock will be found in the Union (Gazette 1/12, 1/14, 1/25/1818; 1/14/1819; Netherton et al:192-193).

Heavy traffic and high tolls levelled off, however by the mid-1820s. Only \$15,970.10 was collected in 1824 and \$1,000 less in the following year. Certainly the Little River Turnpike lost business to other good roads and turnpikes being built in the area during the nineteenth century. The development of railroads during the mid to late nineteenth century further diminished the use of the turnpike and by 1896, tolls were no longer collected on this road. Today, the road remains a primary transportation route in northern Virginia (Milner 1986:21).

Land Development

The growth of the road networks and Alexandria's port facility helped create expansion during the last decade of the eighteenth century. In the area of the Route 236 corridor, several large landholdings were subdivided and sold. The properties significant to this study include John West's Cameron estate and the Spring Garden Farms.

West began the subdivision of his properties early in the 1790s. Early in 1796, Spring Garden Farm was subdivided and late in 1796, the remainder of John West's property, which was to become West End was subdivided. The development of these properties along the Route 236 corridor reflect the residential and industrial growth in this area during the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century.

John West's Cameron Estate

Prior to John West, Jr.'s death around 1777, the entire project corridor was comprised of his extensive estate and that of the Alexander family. Cameron, named for Thomas the 6th Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron, was the residence of John West, Jr. Situated along the north bank of Cameron Run, it consisted of several tracts that West acquired either by purchase, grant or inheritance including: the 313-acre eastern half of Carr & Simpson's patent (purchased by West's grandfather in 1698); the 213-acre patent originally granted to Simon Pearson in 1729;

250 acres purchased by West, from Burr Harrison in 1762; a grant of 74 acres to West in 1765, which included a regrant of Thomas Harrison's 41-acre patent; and a 47-acre patent originally granted to Charles Bennet in 1776 (Mitchell, 1988:125, 194, 231, 282; Gazette 7/31/1807).

Upon John West, Jr.'s death (will proved February 18, 1777; Fairfax County Will Book D:4), most of the Cameron tract was divided between his two sons, Thomas and John. A third son, Hugh West inherited unidentified lands which included a small parcel of the Cameron estate. As a resident of Alexandria, Hugh had no desire for the Fairfax County property (Note: September 6, 1800, Hugh West sold a one acre lot situated on the southwest corner of Wolfe and Elizabeth streets in West End to Nicholas Hingston and William Yeaton (Fairfax County Deed Book Y2:223; Alexandria Will Book B:483).

Thomas and John West, both residents of Fairfax County until their deaths in 1806, partitioned the Cameron tract (Fairfax County Will Book I:499, 540). Thomas retained a moiety of the Pearson patent and the western part of the remaining land. He resided on the inherited land, which was known as Cameron Plantation (Fairfax County Deed Book W:303). John West held the other Pearson patent moiety and the remainder of his father's estate which adjoined Alexandria. The latter became the land on which he eventually built his addition to the town of Alexandria, appropriately called West End. By the time of his death, John West resided near the Falls Church (Gazette 12/10/1806; Mutual Assurance Declaration #147, 1797).

Between 1788 and 1804, Thomas West divided and sold Cameron. Purchasers were primarily interested in the property's water rights desiring to erect mills along Cameron Run and Stoney Creek. Bird's Mill, one of the first milling operations in this area was built on an 8-acre lot purchased of Thomas West and was operational by 1790 (Fairfax County Deed Book X:55). The following year, Bird leased his mill to John Stump of Harford County MD and John Thomas Ricketts of Fairfax County. (A discussion of the mills is included in the section on industrial development).

A cluster of houses was built on several lots at the first toll gate on the original turnpike leading from Duke Street. These lots were purchased from John West. At least three of these were built between 1794 and 1796: William Simpson's dwelling (a tavern by at least 1803), John Korn's Waggon Yard and Joseph Fagan's dwelling and possible slaughter house (Fairfax County Deed Book Z:383; X:310, 485; Gilpin 1796 [Lee plat]; Gazette 3/3/1803).

North of Simpson's tavern stood the elegant mansion of Ludwell Lee's Shuter's Hill estate. It was built in the early 1790s on four adjoining tracts originally part of John West's inheritance. The 60-acre lot extended in an L-shape from west of Simpson's land on the turnpike to Hooff's Run (Fairfax County Deed Book B2:452). In 1797, Lee insured the mansion house for \$9,700 (Mutual Assurance R1, V2:142)

Another 37-acre tract, bounded on the north side of the turnpike, east of Simpson's, south of Lee's and west of Hooff Run was sold by John West to Charles Lee and Phillip Richard Fendall, as tenants-in-common, for 1,100 British pounds in 1787. The deed mentioned that a certain Lucas formerly lived on the property (Fairfax County Deed Book Y:533). The old Colchester Road leading into King Street bisected the tract (Fairfax County Deed Book U:22). The property was subdivided and the first lots were sold in 1793. By 1796, three adjoining lots comprising about five acres had been sold. A house fronting Duke Street had been built on each (Figure 5, lots C1, C2, C3) (Fairfax County Deed Books X:612, 617; W:105).

The easternmost parcel of West's property north of Duke Street was purchased in 1792 by Lawrence Hooff for L250 (Figure 5, lot D) (Fairfax County Deed Book X:548). The only parcel that lay on the south side of Duke Street and east of Fagan's lot sold by John West before 1796 was a one acre lot purchased by Josiah Williams in 1794 (Fairfax County Deed Book A2:226). A house was likely built on the lot at this time; however, no records were found to support this.

Spring Garden Farm

Alexandria's boundaries at this time extended west from the Potomac River to Alfred or Patrick Street. During 1793-1794, William Thornton Alexander laid out Henry Street. When Spring Garden Farm was subdivided, lanes were laid out southwest of Duke and Henry streets. In 1794, Alexander, a resident of King George County, sold 82 acres to John Wise, a local tanner, for L1,222.10 (Fairfax County Deed Book A2:216). Included on this plot was a pleasure retreat known as the Spring Garden. First opened in 1786 by Abel Willis, the Spring Garden originally provided tea and other entertainments for the ladies and gentlemen of Alexandria (Miller 1989:2-3).

Spring Garden Farm was a part of the 500 acres in the south east corner of the Hausen patent retained by Phillip Alexander. In 1762, its western boundary became the division line between the lands of West and Alexander (Mitchell 1988:59-61).

In 1794, Alexander sold lots on the north side of Duke Street. The two-acre square between Fayette and Payne streets was purchased by James Keith, and the land immediately east of John West's line was bought by Francis Peyton (Alexandria Deed Book R2:85; Fairfax County Deed Book X:542).

John Wise sold the 82-acre tract known as Spring Garden Farm on February 17, 1795 to Matthew Franklin Bowne and Theodorus Hamilton for an annual rent of L300 (Miller 1989:1) (Figure 5). Wise may have reserved the four acres in the northeast corner as his tanyard. Within seven months, the two merchants, trading under the firm of Matthew Bowne

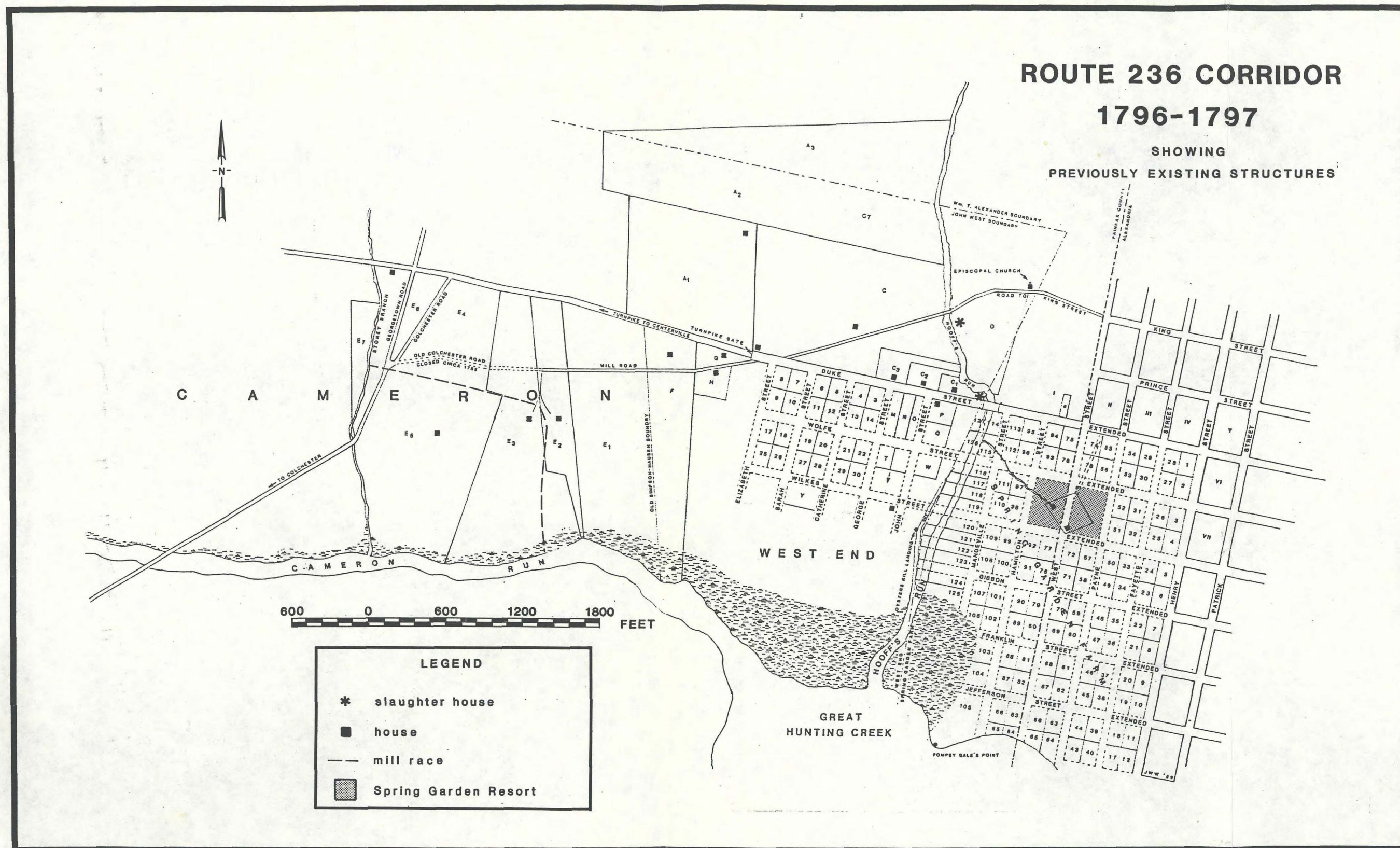


Figure 5. Property development in the Route 236 project corridor from 1796-1797.

& Co., had subdivided the property into 128 lots (Note: lot 128 was probably found to be outside the property bounds and thus eliminated) (Gilpin 1806). The subdivision, also commonly known as Spring Garden Farms, was intersected by extensions of Alexandria's streets.

Two additional lanes were drawn in the plan of the subdivision to balance the design but neither were laid off. These lanes, Mandeville and Hamilton were presumably named for Theodorus Hamilton and John Mandeville (Miller 1989:Appendix [Newby Survey]).

The subdivision of Spring Garden Farm, as did all additions to Alexandria since 1785, had to adhere to a state law dictating the extension of Alexandria's streets. Passed in October 1785, this act created a district in which all subsequent subdivisions laid out congruous to the town of Alexandria must uniformly extend streets emanating from that town. The district created was bounded as follows:

Beginning at Great Hunting Creek and running thence parallel with Fairfax Street to Four-Mile Run, so as to intersect King Street (when extended) one mile west from the Court House [still located in Alexandria at that time]., thence east down said run to its confluence with the Potomac River, thence south down the Potomac to the mouth of Great Hunting Creek, thence west up said creek to beginning (Hening 1969).

A width of 66 feet was to be maintained on all such extended streets. East-west trending streets were to be at a distance of 353 ft 2 in., while those running parallel with Fairfax Street were to be 246 ft 10 in. from one another. This design would continue the two-acre block pattern created by John Alexander in 1749 (Hening 1969:203).

On September 9, 1795, Matthew Bowne & Co. held a public sale of their property. The lots purchased that day, were bought with the condition that cash payment would be due in six months when the deeds of acquisition would be distributed. Prior to the expiration of the six month grace period, a notice appeared reminding purchasers that payment was due March 9, 1796 (Gazette 3/1/1796).

According to the same notice, John Wise had previously conveyed his title of the Spring Garden Farm subdivision to three trustees, John Mandeville, Jesse Simms, and John Foster. These men held the lots in trust for the purpose of executing their sale. Two months later, Simms purchased title to the entire tract. He paid Wise 4450 British pounds and assumed the role originally entrusted to the two men in addition to himself (Miller 1989 [Fairfax County Deed Book Y:403]). Sixteen of the 128 lots were purchased at the original subdivision by John Mandeville and John Foster (Gilpin 1796).

A question arises of whether they retained these lots in their capacity of trustee or purchased them outright. The March 1, 1796 advertisement stated that after a specified date when purchasers claimed their deeds, the trustees, considered themselves at liberty to give

deeds or not, as may suit them. Perhaps unclaimed lots were possessed by Mandeville, Foster and certainly Simms.

On July 17, the firm of Matthew Bowne & Co was dissolved for unknown reasons. All of the property, both real and personal possessed by the partners, Bowne and Hamilton, was conveyed to Jesse Simms in an unconditional trust. Subsequently, Simms and the individual purchasers of the subdivided Spring Garden Farm lots jointly owned an undisputable title to that property (Gazette 3/1, 6/30/1796; Miller 1989).

The deeds for Spring Garden Farm lots were distributed beginning in late May 1796, and continued into the fall. Although there were 128 half-acre lots, only the 40 northernmost were included in this study (in addition to the eight half-acre lots of Spring Garden resort not assigned lot numbers in the subdivision). This group comprised all that part of the subdivision north of Wilkes Street.

All 48 lots were conveyed in 13 parcels over a 20-month period beginning in May 1796. Sixteen were sold as a four-acre lots (Figure 5, lot 95-96-112-113-114-115-126-127, Spring Garden); 16 were sold as two-acre lots (Figure 5, squares 29-30-53-54, 1-2-27-28, 31-32-51-52, 97-98-110-111); 12 were sold as one-acre lots (Figure 5, lots 55-56, 73-74, 93-94, 116-117, 118-119); 3 were sold as one lot (Figure 5, lot 3-4-25); and only one half-acre lot was sold (Figure 5, lot 26). Of the eight identified original grantors, all were Alexandria residents.

The Virginia General Assembly passed an act December 13, 1796 intended to stimulate the construction of houses in the several additions of lots contiguous to the town (Shepherd 1970, vol II:40-41). This would benefit Alexandria in two ways: further encouragement of the expansion boom and increased tax revenue. The law, which applied to all new additions inside the corporation limits, included only the part of Spring Garden Farm laying in Alexandria. Only those lots which presently or in the future had built on them a house of at least 16 feet square with a brick or stone chimney shall be incorporated into the town of Alexandria (Shepherd 1970 vol II:40-41).

This was not a novel idea in Alexandria. A similar building code was repealed in 1752, only three years after Alexandria was organized. This legislation had required houses of at least 20-ft square with a stone or brick chimney to be built on town lots within two years of their purchase. A similar law was passed in 1762 and this too was repealed, two years later (Miller, personal communication 9/20/1989). The law of 1796 suffered a similar fate. In 1798, an amendment was passed stating that by leaving unimproved lots out of the corporation, the prosperity of Alexandria was to a great degree prevented. For this reason, all unimproved lots within the corporation were hereby incorporated (Shepherd 1970 vol II:122-123).

Spring Garden Farm exemplified the frequent neglect of both adherence and enforcement of the 1796 building code. Of the 14 parcels sold, only two (Figure 5, lots 29-30-53-54, 95-96-112-113-114-115-126-127) were immediately improved with buildings by the original grantee.

There was one parcel however, which contained extant buildings. The four acre Spring Garden tract, had a tavern built on the property by 1786. Six parcels (Figure 5, lots 55-56, 73-74, 75-76, 93-94, 3-4-25, 97-98-110-111) were sold to different parties or relinquished to Simms within a year. None of these six had houses built on them by the original grantee; however, the new owners of two (Figure 5, lots 75-76, 93-94), immediately raised a house on their lots.

Development of West End

Beginning at the western boundary of Spring Garden Farm, lay 24 acres which John West subdivided 13 months after Bowne & Co's auction. A notice appeared September 29, 1796 announcing a public sale of a number of lots of ground on the South of Duke-Street Extended to be held October 10. The advertisement also requested those who had previously contracted lots, to come that day and take up their deeds (Gazette:9/29/1796). This shows that some lots had been reserved at an earlier date.

The plan of John West's subdivision had 33 half-acre lots and 2 three-quarter acre lots intersected by extensions of Alexandria's Wolfe and Wilkes streets, in accordance to the 1785 Act of Assembly. Perpendicular to these were five streets which West named after his family members: John, George, Catherine, Sarah and Elizabeth. In actuality, most of these streets were never publicly used. John Street (Holland Lane), George Street (Georges Lane) and Elizabeth Street exist today. Sarah and Wolfe streets appear to have been used occasionally in the nineteenth century as 15-foot wide lanes. Wolfe Street extended was condemned and taken over by the Orange & Alexandria Railroad in 1850 (Fairfax County Deed Book S3:119).

West farmlot all 35 lots as 20 parcels between October 1796 and March 1798 (24 of the half-acre lots were assigned consecutive numbers from 3 to 30). Eight half-acre lots were conveyed as two 2-acre squares (squares 3-4-13-14, 21-22-29-30); 16 were conveyed as one-acre lots (Figure 5, lots 5-12, 6-11, 7-10, 8-9, 19-27, 20-28, V, Z); eight were conveyed as single lots (Figure 5, 17, 25, 26, O, Q, T, U, W); one was reserved as a public lot (Figure 5, lot 18). Both 3/4 acre lots were conveyed individually in 1797 (Figure 5, lots M, N).

Although West's subdivision was subject to the 1785 act regulating streets, the corporation building code of 1796 did not apply to Fairfax County property. West however implemented very strict control over his subdivision. Unlike his neighboring proprietors, he did not sell his subdivision in fee simple. Instead, each parcel was leased on ground rent forever. This meant that ensuing grantors would pay West a specified annual fee for as long as they possessed the property (Gazette:9/29/1796). In addition West included a clause in every lease which stated that the leaser shall for each half-acre lot:

raise a house of brick, stone or frame on the above lot of ground, sixteen feet square at least, with a brick chimney,

two windows with twelve lights to complete the same by plastering and white washing it in a workman like manner together with everything else necessary to make it a comfortable and convenient dwelling house (see Fairfax County Deed Book Z:222).

In most cases, West allowed two years from the date of conveyance to complete construction. If, however, the house was not completed by the specified date or rent became overdue by 20 days, then the lease would be void and West reclaimed the property (Fairfax County Deed Book Z:222).

Nine original grantees satisfied their leases by building a house within the specified time (Figure 5, lots 3-4-13-14, 6-11, 7-10, 17, N, O, Q, T, U, W). One though, relinquished two parcels of his two-acre square (Figure 5, square 3-4-13-14) to West presumably so he would not be required to build on them. West immediately sold in fee simple the two parcels separately to two different parties.

Five original grantees sold or relinquished claim to their leases (Figure 5, lots 5-12, 8-9, 25, 26, M, V, Y) without building a house before the specified date. All but one of these were acquired by a new party who built a house by the original deadline. Lot Y was relinquished to West and subsequently became part of his farm. Five original parcels with houses (Figure 5, lots 6-11, 7-10, 17, O, T, W) were sold within 10 years by the initial grantors.

Eventually several of the leasers bought the ground rent charge from West, probably to gain full title of their lots. Of the 20 original parcels, the leases of six (Figure 5, lots 19-27, 20-28, 21-22-29-30, N, Q, U) were bought out by the initial grantors. Of these, three (Figure 5, lots 19-27, 20-28, 21-22-29-30) were purchased before houses were raised within the two year period. Noteworthy is the fact that these three parcels were all owned by Matthew Robinson and formed two adjoining squares. Most likely, desiring to keep the four acres for pasture or garden, the Alexandria merchant purchased full title for the land therefore negating the stipulations of the lease. Leases for two parcels (Figure 5, lots 5-12, M) were purchased by subsequent occupants. In both instances, they were the second owners of the property and both raised houses soon after the conveyance.

The original grantors appear to have been a similar group. Fifteen men purchased the 20 parcels. All but two of this group were residents of Fairfax County at the time they acquired their lots. Of the two exceptions, one (Charles Jones) moved to his West End property (Figure 5, lots 7-10, 17) by 1798; the other, Thomas Richards, lived in Alexandria. He sold the lot (Figure 5, lot M) in 1797. Unlike the portion of initial grantors of Spring Garden Farm studied, the original West End landowners were middle class tradesmen. Significantly, more half-acre lots were acquired at West End, and most of these were maintained as dwellings. Of the 15 lots of West's subdivision which

fronted Duke Street, all but one (Figure 5, lot 0) were conveyed in parcels of 3/4 to two acres.

A pattern emerges of these front lots suggesting that the structures built on Duke Street were either combination business/residential buildings or just business establishments. Very few appear to have been exclusively dwellings. There was a bake house, a coach manufactory, blacksmith shop, and butcher shops situated along Duke Street within the West End subdivision between 1797 and 1810. As Duke Street/Little River Turnpike was quickly becoming the main trade route to the city, merchants and tradesmen would logically want their shops fronting this transportation corridor while residences may have been situated at the south end of the subdivision.

Cemeteries

Beginning in the 1820s, several tracts of land on the south side of Duke Street near Hooff Run were purchased by various sects for burial grounds. Apparently the first cemetery was established by the Methodist Church. Between 1820 and 1825, the Methodist Church purchased at least a two acre square in the Spring Garden Farm subdivision (Figure 5, lots 97-98-110-111) (Gazette:11/8/1825; Fairfax County land tax, 1820, 1822). By 1843, the six acres bounded by Wolfe, Mandeville, Franklin and Hamilton streets, was occupied by the graveyards of the Methodist Protestant and Presbyterian churches (Alexandria Deed Book D3:21; Stephenson 1983:45).

By 1860, St. Paul's and Penny Hill cemeteries had been established on two squares situated on opposite sides of West Street from each other. And in that year, a three-acre lot, which adjoined both St. Paul's and Penny Hill cemeteries, was sold to the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church for its burial ground (Fairfax County Deed Book C4:388). The several military hospitals which operated in and near Alexandria during the Civil War created a need for a soldier's cemetery to bury the casualties. The land for this was probably seized by the federal government because no deed of conveyance was found. It was situated between the Methodist and Presbyterian cemeteries and Hooff Run (Russell 1982:104; National Archives Civil War Photographs: Soldier's Cemetery at Alexandria).

Twenty years after the Civil War, the first black cemetery was organized within the project area. Established in 1885 by the Negro Baptist Association, it was located on the east line of Holland Lane, 300 feet south of Southern Railway's main line and 90 feet west of Hooff Run (Fairfax County Deed Books S3:324; U5:29; V5:170). Ten years later a group of black ministers established a second black cemetery neighboring its predecessor. The property acquired for the cemetery lay on the west side of West Street and was half of the original Spring Garden lot. The near-three-acre parcel was organized as the Frederick Douglass Memorial Cemetery (Miller 1989:20-21).

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL GROWTH WITHIN THE ROUTE 236 CORRIDOR

1786-1959

At the time Spring Garden Farm and West End were first settled, prospects for the proposed federal district (District of Columbia) were very optimistic. For this reason, Jesse Simms' subdivision was initially more attractive than John West's. By the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, though, opinions changed in regard to living within the district. The higher taxes and ineffective district government certainly made West End and other neighboring Virginia lands outside the District of Columbia inviting. In 1807, James Patton offered for sale four acres of his Spring Garden Farm property, which he stated were most eligibly situated without the territory of Columbia (author underline) (Gazette 6/22/1807). West End residents not only enjoyed a lower cost of living as Virginia citizens but they merely had to cross the district line to enjoy the benefits of the city. Within eight years of its creation, many residents believed West End was a self-sufficient community and could survive independently of Alexandria.

In the summer of 1804 residents of West End and neighboring Fairfax County communities met at Simpson's Tavern in West End. They discussed the propriety of presenting two petitions to the General Assembly, one requesting township for the village of West End, the other for the establishment of a Bank of Virginia at West End (Gazette 7/28, 8/3, 8/11/1804).

The request for township was never discussed by the state legislature. The meeting Simpson Tavern was significant, however, because at this early date, a contingency of West End residents obviously were convinced that their village was financially sound and commercially diverse enough to stand on its own. Another indication of this was in the West End residents' request for a bank.

On December 7, 1804, a petition from numerous inhabitants of Fairfax, Loudoun, Fauquier, Hampshire, Culpeper, and Prince William counties was presented to House of Delegates at Richmond. The petitioners desired to increase capital stock in the Bank of Virginia in addition to the establishment of an office of deposit and discount of the said bank in that part of the county of Fairfax immediately adjacent to the town of Alexandria (Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia Held at Richmond December 1804, 1805 1804:13). The reasons for establishing a bank at West End were put forth to the General Assembly in a very convincing argument.

Alexandria was the only significant market on the southern shore of the Potomac. Being so, it was of primary importance to the rich extent of the country bordering on the Potomac, particularly to the article of flour (Gazette 8/11/1804). Because of the incorporation of this town to the District of Columbia, the adjacent territory in the state of Virginia took on the vital role of maintaining the state's trade routes to that important market. West End, they stated, was considerably advanced in population and improvement upon the original plan of the

town (Gazette 8/11/1804). The memorialists further described the community as daily improving and growing up into a town contiguous to Alexandria (Gazette 8/11/1804). A thriving Alexandria economy would naturally and necessarily promote and enlarge the new town growing up by its side. Alexandria's great business and agricultural improvements created an urgent need for a larger bank capital. The petition concluded that it would be expedient of the General Assembly to pass legislation establishing an office of the Bank of Virginia in the vicinity of West End (Gazette 8/11/1804).

The petition initiated much deliberation. The argument was put before several legislative committees over the ensuing months (Journals of the House 1804:27, 42; 1805:11; Gazette 8/2, 8/21/1805). The final outcome was not stated; although, the apparent silence on the matter leaves a very clear indication that the state rejected the proposal.

West End's prosperity was directly related to Alexandria and had that port town continued to flourish, then West End would have likely been granted township. But as was discussed earlier, Alexandria's economy began to decline at the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century and continued in a depressed state for nearly three decades. This period of stagnation in both Alexandria and Fairfax County was clearly illustrated by the growth patterns of the Duke Street corridor between 1810 and 1850.

After the initial boom of the two Duke Street subdivisions, lasting a period of 15 to 20 years, few lots were further improved over the next 40 years. Brickmaking and butchering continued as leading industries of the corridor. Two extensive slave trading operations were established in 1829 and 1844, and both were quite prosperous.

The presence of the slave pens as well as the brickyards, slaughterhouses, and tanneries, certainly diminished the status and desirability of this community. Many tenements along the 1000-1600 blocks were occupied by blacks (both slave and free). Certainly, there was little choice at that time where blacks could live and probably a conscious effort was made by town planners to contain slave trading operations in undesirable neighborhoods. One ironic aspect of this situation was that free black tenants were living next door to black slaves imprisoned at the two Duke Street slave pens.

Aside from the growing black presence, tenements of this part of upper Duke Street housed many transient laborers. A significant number were identified as brickyard laborers and bricklayers. Between 1810 and 1850 there was a definite pattern of short-term occupancy. Occupants often spent a year (or season) in one house before moving on. In several cases though, a tenant was listed in tax records as occupying one house and then the next year as occupying a neighboring house. This suggests laborers were renting tenements for the duration of available work, then moving outside the area to a new job, and completing the cycle by returning to the original neighborhood perhaps for the new season of their original job (Alexandria Land Tax Record 1810-1850).

Because Fairfax County land tax records did not list occupants for this early period, there is no way of establishing an accurate number of West End's renting population. In that village, however, most landowners were tradesmen who resided on their properties and worked in nearby shops in the community. Instead of a transient labor force, West End likely had a more permanent settlement of apprentices.

Not until the Orange & Alexandria Railroad appeared in 1850, did any industry significantly alter the lifestyle along the corridor. The ensuing decade was one of renewed optimism, which can be attributed primarily to the railroad. After leaving the confines of the District of Columbia and being relieved of the heavy financial burdens of its canal, Alexandria made a bold attempt to reattain its once prominent status. The O&ARR reinstated the city as a competitive market.

Aside from the general economic improvement ushered in by the railroad, the O&ARR station on Duke Street benefitted the immediate project corridor. The O&ARR depot, shops, and offices were built upon the 1100-1200 blocks south of Duke Street. Extending from this terminus was a single track constructed along the line of Wolfe Street. A constant flow of passengers traveling the O&ARR passed through the depot and certainly boosted sales at nearby businesses. Several new establishments sprang up in West End, such as the Alexandria Water Company on Shuter's Hill (1850) and the Strauzs & Klein Brewery (1858). In addition, a number of new tenements were built particularly on the lots closer to the city (Figure 5, squares IV and V).

The Civil War put an abrupt end to Alexandria's economic progress. From late May, 1861 to mid-July, 1865, Alexandria and the adjacent countryside was made a federal military district subject to martial law. The Union occupation of Alexandria, the only one of a southern town to span the entire war, caused a complete reorganization of the city's society.

In late April 1861, Alexandria residents were already suffering the effects of President Lincoln's blockade of all Southern ports. In addition, a flotilla anchored on the Potomac River further crippled Alexandria's normally busy port. A shortage of most goods quickly prevailed and prices soared for the goods that were available (Barber 1988:7). As the threat of fighting in the area became more certain, the mayor of Alexandria recommended area residents, particularly in the outlying countryside, move to safety. Most of the families that fled Alexandria at this time, many left all their belongings behind believing the hostilities would last only a few weeks or months (Packard 1902:264-265).

Available records for specific information of the project corridor during the Civil War are sparse. Many county and city documents for these four years are missing. Valuable to this study were descriptions found in two diaries kept by local women. Isabelle Emerson, who lived at 1300 Duke Street just west of the USMRR complex, wrote about her

experiences (Miller 1987b). The other diary was written by Anne Frobelt. She lived with her sister at Wilton Hill, the Fairfax County estate near Telegraph Road built by her father, John Frobelt. Where Emerson was more objective, Frobelt was very sympathetic to the Confederate cause.

Frobelt, who lived about a mile southwest of the West End village throughout the war, described the masses leaving Alexandria in late May 1861

Such a dense crowd thronged the streets, carriages filled with people, wagons, carts, drays, wheel-barrows all packed mountain high with baggage of every sort, men, women and children streaming along to the cars, most of the women crying, almost every face we saw we recognized, and all looking as forelorn and wretched as if going to execution. I believe every body from both the town and country that could possibly get away left at this time (Lancaster 1986:1).

Nearly half the voting populace or one-third of the total population of Alexandria was absent during the war years and many businesses were abandoned (Barber 1988:8, 10; Shephard 1985:84; Netherton et al. 1978:329).

For those who remained, the military government and occupation created great hardships and fear. Under martial law, the local residents had to be off the streets by 9 pm. Passes were required of all persons desiring to leave the town and these became increasingly difficult to obtain. Picketts stationed along Duke Street demanded passes from all travellers. Several guards were constantly assigned to stand watch at the stone bridge over Hooff Run and receive passes. By the spring of 1863, local residents were waiting hours at a time just to apply for a pass, and many were ultimately denied. Unless a well-known Unionist could vouch for their loyalty, passes were not approved for Virginia citizens (Barber 1988:18; Lancaster 1986:9,125-126,131-132; Miller 1987: 232,235).

This situation became quite serious for those people living outside the city. Many staple goods could only be purchased at the shops and stores of Alexandria. Country residents who ordinarily made regular trips to the city market to restock their supply of these articles now could not go unless they obtained a valid pass. As a result, these inhabitants often had to go without important items for long periods. And when they were finally able to get to market, there was little available and that was priced very high (Lancaster 1986:16-17, 20, 184).

The general feeling of residents of both the country and city was that they were prisoners in their own homes. They watched from their locked, bolted and barred dwellings as the thousands of Union troops ravaged and rebuilt the area to such a degree that an old resident, looking about him, hardly recognizes what was once the familiar face of things (Gazette 9/17/1863; Lancaster 1986:9; Miller 1987:235).

Seven months after the first federal soldiers occupied Alexandria, the situation at West End was described in the Local News:

Shuter's Hill has been shorn of many of its attractions--a greater portion of the beautiful trees have been felled, the fences destroyed, roads made in every direction, and the hill is fortified at various points . . . Most of the vacant stores at the upper end of King Street are now occupied mostly by Blacks, who have opened eating houses, and a good business in this line is being done . . . Duke Street is now the principal thoroughfare for travel and transportation; the exceedingly rough condition of King Street rendering it difficult passage (Local News 10/16/1861).

Shuter's Hill, originally the estate of Ludwell Lee, was occupied early because of its strategic height. Fort Ellsworth, constructed on the crown of the hill, was completed May 25, 1861 (Figure 5, lot A). A battery was established just below Shuter's Hill near the distillery was built as further protection against enemy raids from the west (vicinity of lot E). In addition, a majority of trees in the area were felled for lumber as well as to limit potential hiding places for the enemy (Miller 1983-1985:90).

Aside from deforestation, vast destruction of personal property was suffered. Vacated homes were looted, livestock was stolen, barns and outbuildings were dismantled for lumber. Ann Frobels remarked in disgust that "These horrid people [the soldiers] seem to select the most beautiful and highly cultivated places to fix their camps upon, and as soon as they have completely demolished it they move to another" (Lancaster 1986:34; Netherton et al. 1978:329).

Residents of the project corridor were greatly affected by the military presence (Plate 1). The federal government seized and occupied the O&ARR depot in 1861 (squares 1-2-27-28, 29-30-53-54). This property and several squares around it, became the United States Military Railroad Station, the main Union supply depot for the first half of the war. In June 1863, a stockade was built around the USMRR station to protect it from attack. Included inside the 10-foot high barrier were several houses still occupied as civilian dwellings. A number of families were forced to live within the confines of the stockade until it was dismantled in 1865 (Merrick 1865).

Nothing is known specifically about their experiences but by 1862, many city residents opened new businesses which catered to the military. The glare and glitter of novelty shops, game rooms and eateries soon lit up the main streets (Barber 1988:26; Gazette 5/31/1864).

At West End, much the same was probably true. Although they were not confined by a 10-foot high stockade, inhabitants of West End were surrounded by several military complexes and encampments. The Slough Hospital complex was constructed just south of the old turnpike gate.

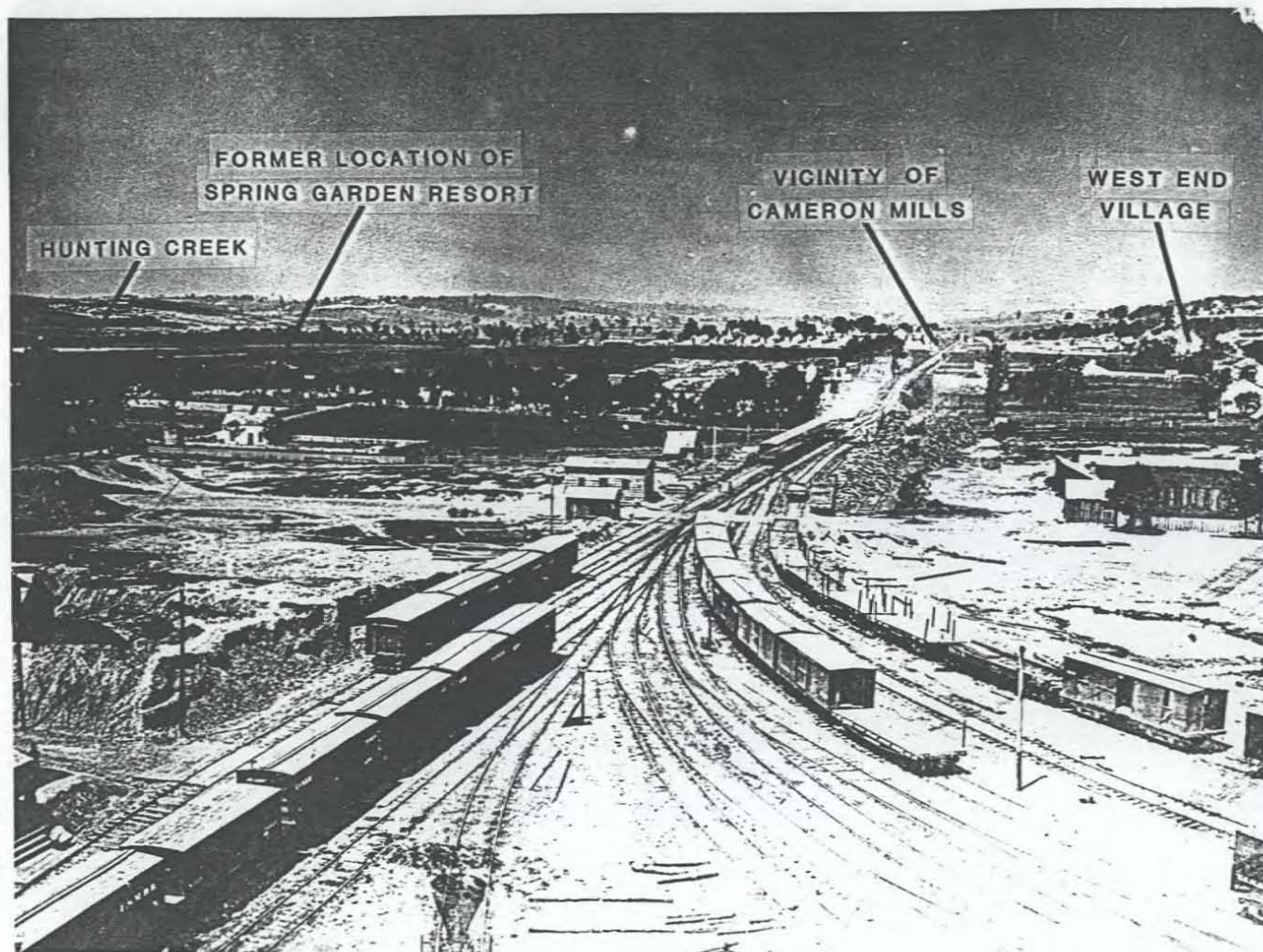


Plate 1. The USMRR complex, view from the roundhouse, view to the west. Village of West End is located in the upper right background. Photograph probably taken in the summer of 1862. (National Archives Photograph Collection) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

It was known as Camp Misery because conditions at the temporary facility were so poor. Troop encampments were established near the confluence of Hooff Run and Hunting Creek and also along the east side of Shuter's Hill. In addition, as previously mentioned, sentries were posted along Little River Turnpike at the stone bridge and near the first toll gate, and had orders to make strip searches if necessary (National Archives #B-4958; Barber 1988:36; Lancaster 1986:61).

The economic state of West End's industry during the Civil War is difficult to reestablish since many records for this period no longer exist. The government built new slaughter houses and brought cattle in by the carload to supply the Union troops. Before slaughtering, the cattle were set to graze in the fields surrounding Alexandria (Barber 1988:23; Lancaster 1986:139). Very likely, some West End butchers were contracted to help with this operation.

Another industry operating in West End by the end of the war, interestingly, was the Shuter's Hill Brewery. In an apparent violation of Alexandria's martial law prohibiting the sale of intoxicating beverages, this enterprise was producing first-rate lager beer in January, 1865 (Gazette 1/3/1865). Perhaps because the brewery was situated in Fairfax County and not Alexandria or maybe because beer was not considered an intoxicating beverage, Shuter's Hill Brewery was permitted to operate. Destitute residents were forced to peddle goods to the soldiers just to survive. In October, 1862, Anne Frobel noted that the sale of milk to the soldiers (when they don't come and take it) has been our only means of supplying ourselves with food this summer. Even more humbling, some staunch Southerners begrudgingly opened their homes to board Union officers and carpetbaggers. The latter came by the hundreds hoping to make their fortunes exploiting Alexandria's war-torn economy. Many carpetbaggers invested in confiscated property which were auctioned for a price far below their actual value (Miller 1987:230,237; Barber 1988:26,93; Lancaster 1986:5,75).

No inhabitant of the project corridor submitted a claim for damages incurred during the Federal occupation. It is important to recognize, though, that the Southern War Claims Board only considered claims submitted by those who could prove their loyalty to the Union. Another possible reason for the lack of claims submitted was that many residents abandoned their property. It is well known that many Alexandrians fled at the outset of the Federal occupation. Because of the missing records for this period, a true account cannot be ascertained.

One result of the Civil War which changed the course of history for Alexandria was the great number of slaves who took refuge in that city. Following the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, there was a great wave of southern blacks crossing the Mason-Dixon line to freedom. By early, 1865, 40,000 former slaves had moved into Washington and 8,000 more were in Alexandria. Wherever there was a space, at both the north and south ends of Alexandria, rude houses were thrown together for their shelter. Known as freedmen's villages, the Gazette reported that these black communities swarmed with a mass of men, women and children (Netherton et

al. 1978:363). Small fortunes were made by men who built these shanties and rented them to desperate blacks (Miller 1987:230).

At war's end, the military disbanded and pulled out of Alexandria, What remained was a greatly changed economy, population and country side. After the thousands of soldiers and military personnel abandoned the city, an enormous consumer void plagued the local economy. Numerous enterprises built during the war to serve the masses, quickly folded. The task of local reconstruction was in the hands of a municipality which had experienced more than a 50 percent turnover. Alexandria's black population had increased to a level that nearly equaled whites (Barber 1988:102). Through hard work and generous extensions of credit from northern merchants, Alexandria and Fairfax County residents worked to rebuild roads, bridges, and rail lines. Attempts to restore the once fertile farmland west of Alexandria, which had been stripped by the soldiers, were initially hindered by a severe drought in the summer of 1865. There may have been a glimmer of optimism in an editorial which appeared in the October 16, 1865 Gazette: "The day may come when desolated Fairfax [will] again . . . rise from the ruins and call upon her friends to settle within her borders" (Netherton et al, 1978:374).

In the years following the war, commercial and residential growth along Route 236 was very slow. Both the Spring Garden Farm area and West End village continued in much the same manner as they had before the Civil War; however, a gradual economic decline was experienced throughout the entire corridor. Conversely, during the same period, the city of Alexandria was slowly growing. In 1915, expansion finally brought the two adjoining communities--Spring Garden Farm and West End--under one jurisdiction. Over 1,300 acres from the counties of Fairfax and Alexandria, which included the village of West End, were annexed by the city of Alexandria at this time (Cheek and Zatz 1986:13).

The saving grace for Alexandria in the late nineteenth and early 20th centuries was its railroads. While the majority of Alexandria's commerce and industry was at a standstill, railroads prospered. Within the project corridor, the post-Civil War advancements made by the rail industry over other local industry was quite apparent.

The south side of Duke Street's 1100 block remained O&ARR's (or its successors') depot probably until 1905 when a new one was built at the foot of Shuter' Hill (Alexandria Deed Book 164:75). Several squares surrounding the Duke Street depot are today still occupied by the railroad. Until World War II, the only dwellings on the south side of Duke Street between Henry and West stood on the 1300 block (Hill 1924, 1932, 1934, 1950). In addition, all the land south of the original O&ARR track at West End was acquired by Southern Railway in 1897 (Fairfax County Deed Book 25:171). Six years later, Washington Southern Railway Company purchased several tracts at the old turnpike gate and along the east side of Shuter's Hill. A northern rail line to Washington was constructed through this property and in 1905, the present Union Station opened at the head of King Street (Fairfax County Deed Books N6:110, 498; P6:330; Hurd 1988:12).

Along the north side of Duke Street to its intersection with Diagonal Road, many new row houses were constructed in the late nineteenth- and early nineteenth centuries (Stephenson 1983:74, 112; Sanborn 1921; Hill 1924). These appear to have been primarily low-income dwellings. Both the north and south sides of Duke Street's 1400 block were heavily occupied by blacks. At the center of this concentration was the Shilo Baptist Church. Built between 1873 and 1877, this black church still stands on the northeast corner of Duke and West streets (Alexandria Deed Book 3:105). In 1924, there were 43 occupants on the north and south sides of Duke Street's 1400 block; 21 were black. A decade later, almost exactly the same ratio of blacks and whites occupants existed: of 44 occupants, 21 were black (Hill 1924, 1934). This was the only concentration of black occupants identified in the project corridor.

A scattering of blacks residing within the corridor were identified at different times throughout this century. Among them were Walter Hill, who from 1949 to 1958, lived with his family at 1706 Duke Street, and three employees of Southern Railway who in 1950, resided at their respective homes on Holland Lane, north of the railroad tracks (Hill 1950; Alexandria Deed Books 281:592; 477:606).

By 1960, Route 236 west to Shuter's Hill was lined with low-income tenements intermixed with railroad freight stations, auto dealerships, gas stations, a shopping center, and several various small businesses and shops (Hill 1960).

Flour Mills and Trade

In the second half of the eighteenth century, grain production in northern Virginia increased and eventually surpassed the long-standing leading cash crop, tobacco. Soil exhaustion and changing foreign markets caused tobacco planters to gradually shift to cultivating grains, particularly wheat and corn. As more and more producers of the new staple appeared, the milling industry assumed a much greater role.

The first merchant mills in the vicinity of Alexandria appeared soon after the Centreville Turnpike was opened in 1785. Unfortunately, early Fairfax County mills are not well documented. Authorization was needed from the county court to establish a milling operation but Fairfax County Court records show only four in existence during the 1780s: Amos Fox on Difficult Run 1786, Thomas Pollard on Grants Castle Branch, 1787, Thomas Herbert on Holmes Run, 1788, and Hepburn & Dundas on Backlick 1788 (Netherton et al. 1978:136). A deed search for the project area identified two more but there certainly were others in the county for Alexandria to have been ranked among leading flour exporters in the nation.

Before 1790, William Bird purchased an eight-acre tract of Thomas West's Cameron Plantation (Figure 5, lot E2) (Fairfax County Deed Book X:55; W2:13). He built or took over operation of an existing water

grist mill on the property, which became known as Bird's Mill (Fairfax County Deed Book W2:13). On May, 16, 1790, Bird granted half interest of his lot to John Stump of Harford County, Maryland and John Thomas Ricketts of Fairfax County (The two partners did not obtain full title to Bird's lot until 1825). Two years later Stump & Ricketts purchased the adjoining 22-acre lot from Thomas West subject to a mortgage with Hepburn & Dundas. The mortgage was extinguished by Stump & Ricketts in 1793 (Figure 5, lot E3). Fairfax County Deed Book W:303). Stump & Ricketts constructed a larger mill on this site (Fairfax County Deed Book W2:13). John Thomas Ricketts supervised the everyday operation of the two mills while Stump remained in Maryland, apparently as a financial partner.

By 1810, Stump & Ricketts had purchased the several remaining parcels of West's plantation east of the Colchester Road, totaling about 130 acres. Appropriately the area became known as Cameron Mills, although it was sometimes called Ricketts Mill (Fairfax County Deed Book Z:180; E2:442, 462; G2:8,39,46; W2:13). Cameron Mills were the closest known merchant mills to Alexandria and the only ones situated within the project corridor.

For the first twenty years of Stump & Ricketts partnership, exports from Alexandria continued to soar. European demand for flour, wheat and corn made milling for larger establishments like Cameron Mills a very lucrative business. In the four year period beginning in 1791, the value of Alexandria's exports (all products) increased from \$381,000 to \$948,000. Over the same span, Georgetown's exports decreased from \$315,000 to \$197,000 (Peterson 1932:105).

From 1801 to 1815, the port of Alexandria exported to foreign countries 1,154,778 barrels of flour. Comparatively, only 323,920 bushels of wheat and 592,954 bushels of corn were shipped to foreign ports for that 15 year period. Individually though, yearly totals changed dramatically due to trade interruptions. In 1803, Alexandria exported 97,971 barrels of flour to foreign markets. The great production of this article contributed the most to pushing the total value of all products exported from Alexandria to foreign ports to \$1,202,669 (Gazette 1/30/1804). By the next year it was stated that Alexandria inspected 1/5 of all flour exported from the United States (Gazette 8/11/1804).

In 1808-1809, Jefferson's Embargo and the Non-Intercourse Act crippled all U.S. exportation. Two years later, however, Alexandria exported a record 187,550 barrels of flour. Trade was cut short again in 1813 by the British blockade of the Chesapeake Bay. Vessels with over 40,000 barrels of flour were stranded in Alexandria's port. There was little improvement in the following year when the blockade prevented all but \$2500 worth of goods from being exported from Alexandria (Peterson 1932:105).

Stump & Ricketts experienced the same ups and downs during this period. Their prosperity is evidenced by the many tracts of land they

acquired. In 1815, the millers owned 231 acres (Fairfax County Land Tax 1815). Conversely, a notice which appeared in January 1807 illustrated a low point. Because of the late destruction to the winter grain and hedging by some trespasser, Stump & Ricketts had posted several armed men with fierce dogs to worry and cripple all unseasonable intruders found within their milling compound. To take such extreme measures, the damages must have been extensive. Before 1807, John Thomas Ricketts had conveyed his interest in Cameron Mills to David Ricketts (Fairfax County Deed Book W2:13; Gazette 1/7/1807).

The next fifteen year period started off with record high amounts of barrels exported; however, the industry suffered a steady decline from this point on. For the year beginning June 12, 1816 and ending June 11, 1817, Alexandria inspected 209,000 barrels of flour. Two years later the total had decreased by more than 37,500 barrels while rival ports' totals were on the rise. Just for a three-month period ending September 30, 1819, Baltimore had exported 102,996 barrels of wheat flour, nearly half of Alexandria's yearly export (Gazette 10/8/1819; Peterson 1932:106). In 1820, Alexandria inspected 233,505 barrels of wheat flour which was its highest total to date. However this paled in comparison to Baltimore's 577,060 barrels inspected and when coupled with Georgetown's 107, 372 barrels exported, Alexandria's record year was not such an optimistic sign (Gazette 1/24/1824).

The gap widened as Baltimore and Georgetown took strides to improve their transportation networks while Alexandrians sat idly, arguing over the costs of building new roads and canals. With better roads leading to Georgetown and Baltimore, many farmers of the productive western counties shifted their business to those markets. In addition, the five harvests between 1819-1824 yielded about 30 percent less produce than the average (Gazette 2/10/1824). To compensate their losses, some desperate flour merchants in Alexandria resorted to dishonest practices. Prior to exportation, a lower grade flour was often discreetly substituted for the superior article (Gazette 1/28-1/31, 4/13/1820; 1/31/1824).

These underhanded deeds did not go unnoticed for long. And once exposed, the reputation of Alexandria flour was greatly injured. Domestic and foreign markets began to boycott Alexandria exports (Gazette 1/31/1824). Over the four year period beginning in 1820, the ports of Baltimore, Georgetown and Alexandria experienced a steady decline in the amount of flour inspected but Alexandria suffered the greatest deficit. Baltimore's 2,021,545 barrels alone were almost three times the number inspected at Alexandria (Gazette 1/24/1824).

In desperation, the Common Council of Alexandria passed an ordinance to regulate the inspection and shipment of flour in the summer of 1824 (Gazette 8/12/1824). Attempts by anxious citizens of Alexandria to reestablish their economic staple's good name may have succeeded but the larger ports of Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York had made too great an advance for Alexandria to recover its rival status. These port cities had invested in the unknown future of rail transport while

Alexandria chose the tried and true canal system. Hindsight shows that Alexandria made a grave mistake. The canal, completed in 1843, initially pulled Alexandria's economy from a 25-year malaise; however, within three years, the city was heavily in debt from financing the project and the rapid progress of railroads were leaving behind the nation's canal system as a relic of the past (Peterson 1932:108-111).

By the 1840s, the flour and grain industry, to a great extent had shifted to the mid-western states, striking a further blow to Alexandria's economy. Operations like Cameron Mills shifted to serving primarily domestic markets (Netherton et al, 1978:178). The decline of merchant milling in Alexandria is well illustrated by falling value of Cameron Mills. In 1820, just as its apex of prosperity was starting to wane, Stump & Ricketts property was valued at \$31,195, which included a \$22,750 value for the mills and other buildings. Five years later the total value of the property had increased slightly but the value of the buildings had dropped almost \$6,000. It remained at this level through 1830. In January of that year David Ricketts gave his half interest in the Cameron Mills complex, which included Ricketts' residence, to his son John Thomas Ricketts (Fairfax County Deed Book 2:6, 179; Fairfax County Land Tax 1820-1830).

John Stump having recently died, his heirs desired to sell the mills. In January, 1832, an advertisement from Herman Stump of Harford County, Maryland offered "those valuable and extensive merchant mills known as Cameron Mills" for sale or rent. The notice confirmed that there were still only two mills on the site. The larger one was said to make 50 barrels of flour a day while the second smaller mill was capable of a very extensive grinding business for the town and adjacent country (Gazette 1/20/1832).

A sale of the mills did not take place at this time so probably it was leased to local millers. This had been the case in earlier years. In 1823 James Cloud and Jonathan Janney declined business at their establishment called the Phoenix Mill (this was William Hartshorne's former mill on the Strawberry Hill estate), in order to take on the more extensive business of Cameron Mills. Janney had a year lease for Cameron again in 1831 (Gazette 6/19/1819; 7/26/1823; 1/10/1831).

In 1834, Richard Windsor of Alexandria purchased half interest to the mills, which included the Ricketts' home, from John Thomas Ricketts II. Windsor, who almost certainly supervised the operation of the mills after this transaction, paid \$5,500 for the property (Fairfax County Deed Book B3:109). Three years later, Windsor paid the Stump heirs \$6,250 for the remaining part of Cameron Mills (Fairfax County Deed Book D3:215). So combined, Windsor paid only \$11,750 for those "valuable and extensive merchant mills," which a decade earlier had been worth almost three times that price. By 1841, the milling complex comprising 221 acres, had increased in value to \$13,370 with a building value of \$8250 but this again falls significantly short of its 1820 appraisal (Fairfax County Land Tax 1841).

Seven years later, Windsor now a resident of Fairfax County, sold the mills and 146 acres to Reuben and Robert F. Roberts also of the county, for \$21,526.32. In that same year, Edmund Hunt moved down from Philadelphia and formed a partnership with R F Roberts (Fairfax County Deed Book M3:215; Fairfax County Archives n.d.). Roberts & Hunt remained at Cameron during the Civil War, although it was not determined whether milling continued during that four year period. The mills survived the federal occupation without extensive damages. Its 1867 property value was the same as its 1861 level, \$13,146 including \$6,000 worth of buildings (Fairfax County Land Tax 1861, 1867).

The duration of Roberts & Hunt's partnership was undetermined; however, their mill was noted on Hopkins' 1878 Atlas of 15 Miles Around Washington. On September 20, 1884, Robert F. Roberts was killed in a railroad collision at the age of 68 (Bureau of Vital Stats:Fairfax County Deaths 1884). Edmund Hunt was still residing at Cameron in the early 1890s, although whether he was still milling is not known. In 1908, John A. Fairfax, who owned the distillery adjoining Cameron Mills, made reference to the old Cameron Run Mill, Wheat's Mill and Roberts' Mill (Fairfax County Archives n.d.). An aerial photograph of Alexandria taken April 30, 1937, clearly shows structures standing along a mill race at the site of Stump & Ricketts' original mill.

Butchers and Tanners

Being adjacent to town, and situated on a run, the butchers who supplied the market, had their slaughter houses in the southern end of the village, where most of them are situated. Formerly the drovers bringing their cattle to market, stopped here, and sold their beeves, sheep and hogs, on the hoof (Gazette 9/28/1868).

Within the project corridor, tanneries, slaughter houses, and tanneries were established to serve the country farmers bringing their livestock from distant counties to the city market (Figures 6 and 7). A majority of drovers leading their herds to Alexandria's market came by way of the Colchester Road (Telegraph Road) from the south or the Turnpike Road from the west, making West End an ideal location for slaughtering operations. This area also offered plenty of open space in which to hold livestock before slaughtering. Butchers and tanners who lacked suitable pastures were forced to lease from area landowners. Advertisements occasionally appeared offering pasturage for drovers and butchers to hold their livestock. "Drovers and Graziers, excellent pasturage may be had at Arlington . . . more than 1500 fat cattle having been bought and sold at this farm in the course of the last 12 months, it has become a very general resort both for the drovers and the butchers of the district (Gazette 10/2/1817; 7/29/1809).

Most livestock herded to Alexandria was raised in the outlying counties. Certain graziers gained such a good reputation for the large

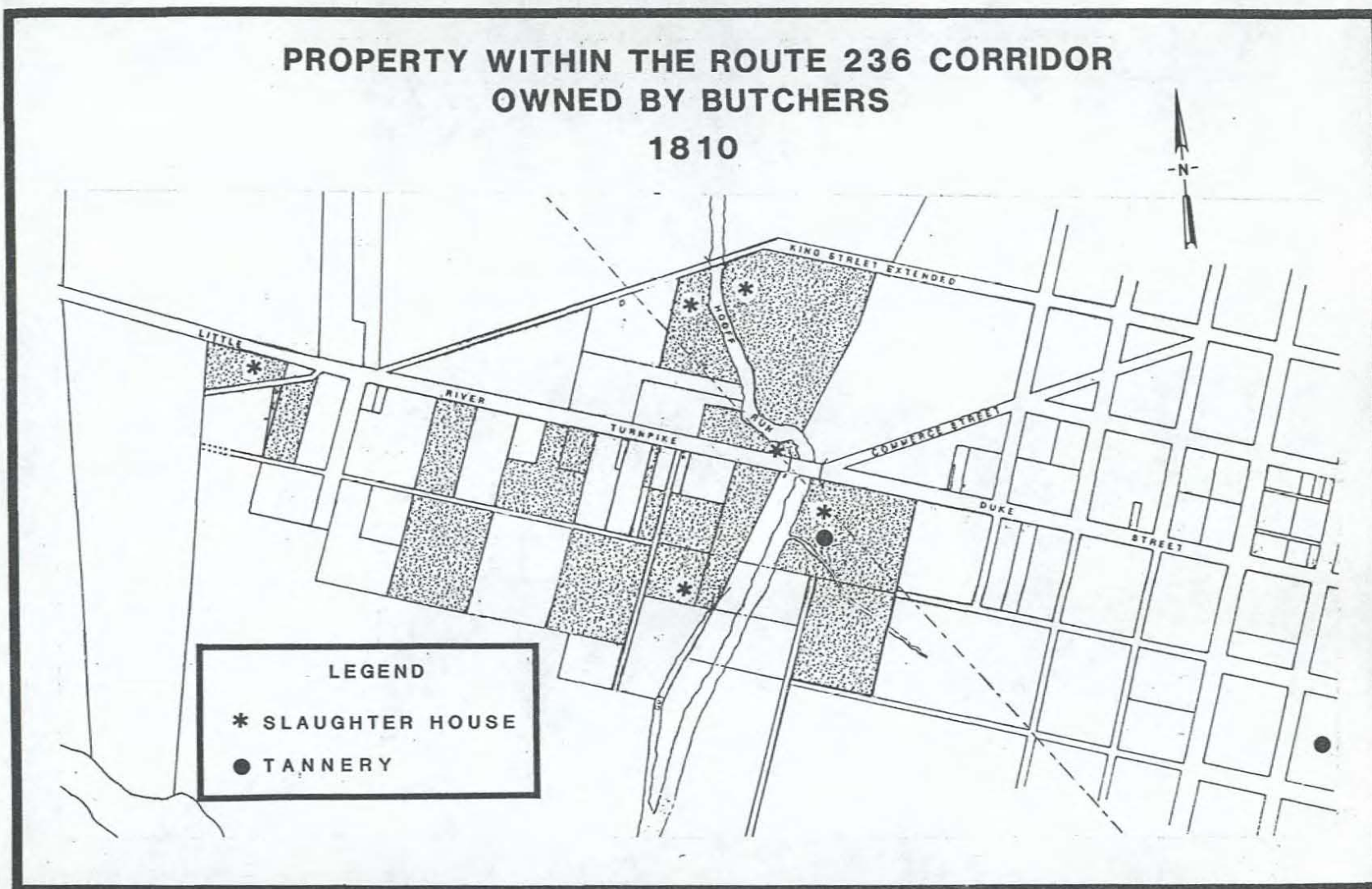


Figure 6. Detail of Route 236 project corridor showing the location of property owned by butchers in 1810 including slaughter houses and tanneries.

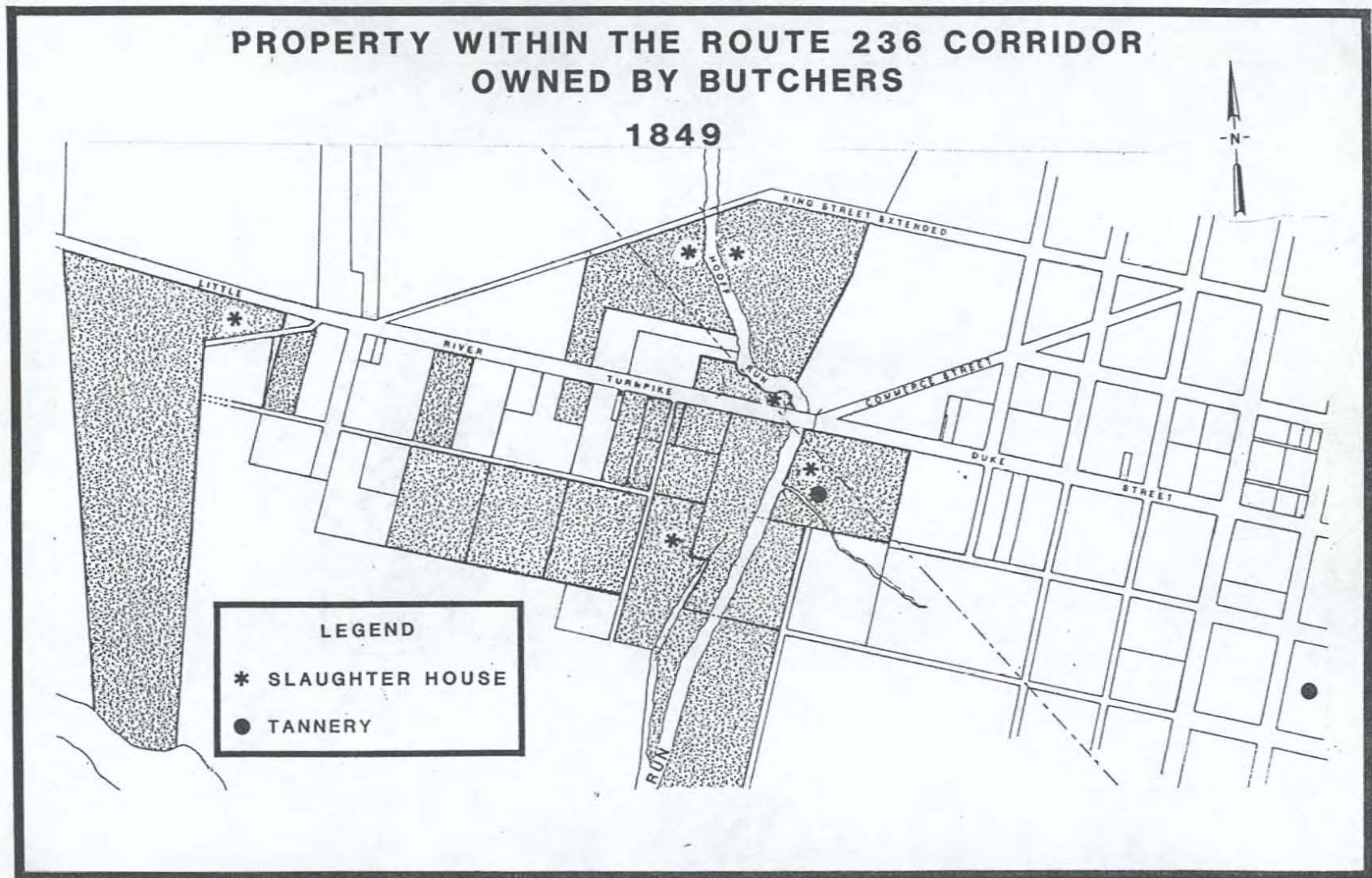


Figure 7. Detail of Route 236 project corridor showing the location of property owned by butchers in 1849 including slaughter houses and tanneries.

and healthy state of their animals that butchers often mentioned their supplier's name in local advertising. Sometimes just a few prize animals were selected by local butchers for slaughtering and other times entire droves were purchased, depending on the market.

Beef and pork were the two meats most in demand at the Alexandria market. This is evidenced by the frequency of their mention in local advertisements. A previous study sampled advertisements in the Gazette between 1800 and 1850. The sample, which examined one issue per season, found an average ratio of three-to-one between advertisements of pork and beef (Cressey 1985:310-311). When uncommon meats such as oxen and bear were available, special notices were inserted in the local newspapers (Gazette 4/4/1817; 3/25/1823; 1/6/1826; 12/23/1831).

On occasion, prize stock was paraded through the city streets as a method of advertising. One notice clearly illustrates this point:

The undersigned beg leave to inform the citizens of Alexandria, that they have purchased those FAT CATTLE which were exhibited through the streets on Saturday, and intend offering the beef for sale at their respective shambles. These cattle were raised by the celebrated grazier, John G. Harness on the South Branch of the Potomac.

William B. Richards

Harrison Emmerson

Laurence Hooff, Jr.

John H. Zimmerman

(Gazette 4/10/1832; see also 3/25/1823; 1/15, 3/20/1824; 4/10/1832).

The economic progression of the slaughtering and tanning industry of early Alexandria is not well documented. In the early 1820s, the city's beef market was in a lower class than those of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, but there was hope that Alexandria might soon rival its competitors (Gazette 3/25/1823).

Regardless of outside competition, the continual operation of numerous slaughter and tanning establishments at West End from 1792 through 1900 suggests at least a stable market. West End butchers and tanners were not wealthy citizens but some did acquire extensive real estate holdings during their lifetimes. All documentation indicates that West End's slaughter house owners and master butchers were White. Of the many subordinates under these men, not much is known. Only one source mentioned anything about black butchers working in the area. In 1822, an advertisement for a 23-year old runaway black, who was a butcher, offered a \$50 reward for his capture (Gazette 10/15/1822).

Tanneries

Alexandria is known to have had three tanneries by 1810. The earliest was built along a small stream at the southeast corner of Washington and Wilkes street and known as Lutz' Tannery. The first found mention of this operation was in 1798 when Catherine Lutz offered a tanyard for rent. The property consisted of "16 vats . . . a good shop and slaughter house, a good bark and mill house" and a running stream (Note: this advertisement described the location of the tanyard as being on Wolfe Street. The possibility exists that Lutz initially owned an unidentified tannery previous to the one on Wilkes Street or that Lutz held some claim to Ezra Kinsey's tanyard on Wolfe Street. Most likely, though, a mistake was made and the advertisement should have read Wilkes instead of Wolfe Street (Gazette 2/10/1798)).

Another mention was made of Lutz' tanyard in 1810, stating that it was located on the square bounded by Wilkes, St. Asaph, Gibbon and Washington streets, near Yost's Pump (Gazette 5/15/1810). G.P. Strum's map of Alexandria, published in 1900 shows this tannery fronting the entire length of Wilkes Street between St Asaph and Washington (Stephenson 1983:115).

Ezra Kinsey & Company established a tannery on the same stream as Lutz. It was situated on the west side of Alfred Street between Wolfe and Wilkes streets. Kinsey first advertised in 1803; however, he had leased (and eventually bought) the property in 1794, suggesting the tannery was opened prior to 1803. The location of Kinsey's tanyard on the outskirts of town represented the extent to which the city's row houses had been extended westward (Alexandria land tax 1810). The tannery buildings were confined within the USMRR complex during the Civil War and were probably used by carpenters who erected a large workshop on the square. One of the buildings of the original tannery was taken down in 1864 (Merrick 1865; USMRR map).

Duke Street Tannery: 1794-1853

The third tannery, situated partly in Alexandria, D. C. and partly in Fairfax County, probably was most used by West End butchers. In 1796, Peter Wise purchased a five-acre lot, bounded north by Duke Street and west by Hooff's Run, from a tanner named John Wise (Fairfax County Deed Book A2:69, 216; Miller 1989 [Montgomery County Deed Book A:40, August 1777]). After two years, Peter Wise wanted to either rent or sell the property or take a partner in his business. He advertised the lot as containing a two-story bark and tan house with 30 vats and 20 more in frame, a dwelling house and a good spring, all enclosed within a three-acre lot. Included in the conveyance would be 400 hides and 60 cords of bark (Gazette 2/27/1798). In response to the advertisement, Jacob Geiger of Alexandria bought a moiety of the three-acre lot and the tannery, apparently forming a partnership with Wise (Fairfax County Deed

Book B2:285). Wise & Geiger bought out the L40.10S annuity to the property from John Wise in 1803 (Alexandria Deed Book K:180).

Wise & Geiger's partnership continued until the spring of 1804. At this time, the business and property were sold to another Alexandria tanner named Robert Kirk for \$2,833 (Alexandria Deed Book H:121). This conveyance did not include Wise's homelot, which had been constructed on the easternmost parcel (Figure 5, lot 95-96). The following year though, Wise sold his dwelling for \$1,000 to John Cohagen. Cohagen was a local brickmaker who probably worked in the neighboring brickyards (Alexandria Deed Book K:180; Lloyd House Library n.d.a).

By 1808, Archibald McClean of Alexandria rented the Cohagen houselot and had acquired a lease from Kirk on the adjacent tanyard. In February, 1808, McClean offered sublets of both properties (Gazette 2/6/1808). A month later, Cohagen sold the dwelling house and one acre lot to McClean (Alexandria Deed Book R:268). That November, perhaps with the intention of securing debts, McClean advertised several valuable building lots on the western extremity of town fronting Duke Street available on ground rent forever (Gazette 11/15/1808). These parcels were never divided. Instead, on July 25, 1809, McClean sold the entire one acre lot to Elisha Talbott and Peter Saunders for \$2,000 (Alex R:268). The two partners mortgaged the same to Jonah Isabelle for \$1750 (Alex R:269).

Six months previous to this sale, Talbott & Saunders had commenced a tanning and currying business. They obtained a lease of the Duke Street tanyard from Kirk, and established a currying shop on King Street (Gazette:1/21/1809). Talbott & Saunders were residents of Alexandria and probably relatives. Elisha Talbott had married Sarah Saunders in 1806 (Gazette:10/3/1806).

On October 25, 1810, Robert Kirk, now a tanner in Germantown, PA, agreed to sell the tanyard to Talbott & Saunders in six installments. The grantors were to pay Kirk \$213.33 a year from 1810 to 1815 with a lump sum of \$2,566.33 due November 1, 1815, at which time he would transfer the title to them (Alexandria Deed Book U:229). The total amount Talbott & Saunders agreed to pay Kirk for the three-acre tanyard was just under \$2,850, essentially what Kirk had paid six years earlier.

Not much is known concerning the operation of Talbott & Saunders' tannery; however, the partnership apparently was not successful. None of the mortgage due Isabelle on the houselot was repaid and further trusts were made on the tanyard. Actually, the partnership may have been very short-lived; from 1813 to 1825, tax records list the owners of the tanyard as Wilson, Talbott & Co. (Fairfax County Land Tax 1813). The Wilson of this firm was not identified.

For the five years between 1813 and 1817, Talbott occupied a valuable new house on the South side of Prince Street between Patrick and Henry. The house was owned by Benjamin Baden until 1814, when Baden sold it to an Alexandrian merchant named Daniel McPherson (Alexandria

land tax 1813-1817). By the spring of 1816, McPherson had purchased interest in the tanyard. At this time, Talbott & McPherson borrowed \$4,000 from a prosperous city merchant named Mordecai Miller. Miller also endorsed a \$2500 note for McPherson's mercantile firm, John McPherson & Son. To secure payment of these notes, the tanyard and houselot were conveyed in trust to Phineas Janney (Alexandria K2:65; Fairfax County Deed Book R2:23; Gazette 8/3/1825).

The new year, 1817, did not improve the fortunes for Talbott and McPherson. In February, two tanning apprentices ran away from the Duke Street establishment. Talbott only offered 25 cents for the return of both. This small reward suggests the two apprentices were not that valuable to the business or more likely, Talbott could not afford to pay a more substantial reward. One of the runaway apprentices was 18-year old William Curtin, whose father had built the house east of the tanyard (Figure 5, lot 93-94. William Curtin inherited his late father's house in 1819--probably after reaching legal age Gazette 2/10/1817; Alexandria Deed Book K2:318). Soon after this, Talbott left the tanyard's management to McPherson and acquired a lumberyard at the lower end of Duke Street (Gazette 2/10/1817; 3/23/1819).

In the spring of 1817, realizing that they would not be able to pay their debts, John McPherson & Son offered the tannery and dwelling house for sale. Proclaimed the most desireable in the district, it consisted of the dwelling, a beam and bark house, 100 laying away vats, liners bates and handlers in proportion, with fountain pumps, mills and all the stock in trade. Other enticements hoping to lure potential buyers were mentioned in McPherson's advertisement: the contemplated canal linking Goose Creek to Hunting Creek (which was never built), was proposed to pass directly through the property, opening the tanyard to greater markets. Also, McPherson pointed out, the property was one of the most desireable situations for establishing flour stores in Alexandria (Gazette 3/18/1817).

Although well advertised, the tannery was not sold and remained in the possession of Talbott & McPherson's creditors; however, McPherson was able to sell his Prince Street tenement. It was acquired by John McIver in 1817 (Alexandria Land Tax 1818). Whether the tanning establishment itself failed or McPherson just found himself too deep in debt is unclear; however, he declared himself an insolvent debtor in May, 1819. His estate was assigned to Nathan Lupton (Gazette 5/12/1819).

From April 21 to November 11, 1819, three notices appeared in the Gazette, advertising the sale of the tanyard. One was placed by Isabelle, another by Lupton and the last by Janney--all trustees of the property. The three notices described the tanyard as "commodious and handsomely situated . . . very valuable" and "perhaps few situations more eligible for the tanning business can be selected in the United States." Isabelle requested that his ad be inserted in Washington and Winchester newspapers (Gazette:4/21, 6/18, 11/11/1819). A Public auction was held the first of the year to sell the tannery (excluding

the houselot), where Thomas Howland made the highest bid at \$6,040 in addition to paying \$48 still owed to Lupton (Alexandria Deed Book I2:115; K2:65). Three days after the signing of Howland's deed, the Alexandria man sold the property to Mordecai Miller for the same price (Alexandria Deed Book K2:71). Miller was the same man who had advanced credit to the former proprietors three years earlier. He did not acquire the adjoining houselot from Isabelle until 1824. Miller paid \$335 at public auction for Peter Wise's old dwelling house (Figure 5, lot 95-96. Alexandria Deed Book O2:218).

Miller died in April, 1832 and the tannery lot was devised to his son Joseph H. Miller. By 1839, Joseph had fallen deep into debt through other business ventures. He drew certain notes from the Bank of Alexandria which were endorsed by his brother Robert H. Miller. To secure these notes, Joseph conveyed the tannery and other lots in trust to his other brother William H. Miller (Fairfax County Deed Book E3:451). Two years later, Joseph Miller made a new trust with his brother Robert using the same property as collateral to provide additional security (Alexandria Deed Book F3:23; Fairfax County Deed Book G3:85). Robert was forced to sell the tanyard when Joseph did not satisfy the trust.

In spring of 1844, the Duke Street tanyard was sold at public auction to John S. Miller, the brother of Joseph. John Miller's acquisition was described as containing "the water from a never failing spring in Spring Garden lot . . . a substantial brick beam house, two stories high, with four vats, a brick house for breaking hides; a brick stable; a brick bark house, with one of frame adjoining 250 cords of bark; two pools with a head of water constantly flowing into them; 87 lay-away vats; 4 limes; 10 leaches; 14 handlers, the last, all or nearly all, under cover; one steam engine of 6-horse power for grinding bark." Also included was a brick tenement next to the stone bridge and a frame slaughter house bounded on the west by Hooff's Run (Miller 1989:16-17 [Gazette:3/22/1844]; Fairfax County Deed Book I3:320).

Nine years later, while under the ownership of Samuel Miller (possibly the same Samuel who was brother to Robert, William, Joseph and John Miller), the tannery burned. The building was vacant at the time and the loss was therefore not considered great (Miller 7/14/1889 [Gazette:12/10/1853]).

Slaughter Houses and Butchers

In December of 1803, the Common Council of Alexandria passed a law for the prevention and removal of nuisances, which provided a legal precedent for butchers to move their business to West End. Section 4 of the act stated that "no person shall keep or make use of any slaughter house within the limits of the town . . . and no person exercising the trade of a butcher, shall slaughter any animal within the said limits, for the purpose of being exposed to sale" under penalty of law (Gazette

12/22/1803). This ordinance stemmed from the petition by city clerk Edmund Lee circa 1802. Lee requested the removal of a slaughter house situated near his home at Oronoko and Washington streets (Miller 1989).

Two further regulations affecting city butchers were passed by the Alexandria Common Council. The first, regulating market hours, appeared in June of 1804. During market hours--until 10 a.m. from April 1 to October 1 and until 11 a.m. from October 1 to April 1--no meat or produce could be sold at any place within the corporation except at the market house. Also, meat could not be sold on Sundays between October 1 and May 1 (Gazette 6/22/1804).

June 20, 1809, the Common Council passed a law prohibiting any person from keeping swine within the limits of the corporation. The superintendent of police was empowered to "seize, kill and destroy" any swine found at large within the corporation (Gazette 11/21/1817).

Such restriction prompted residents and merchants of West End to establish their own market house. Its location and dates of operation is not known; however, an advertisement of November 9, 1816 announced that the new market house at West End" was again open, where meat would regularly be sold "today and for some time in the future (Gazette 11/9/1816). It was probably not open for long since most of the known butchers in West End rented stalls in the Alexandria market house. There was no mention of any competition in the Alexandria market clerk's notice of butcher stalls for lease at the city market house (Note: In 1900, a meat market was situated at 1441 Duke Street. Cheek and Zatz, 1986:27; Gazette 2/19/1799, 11/9/1809, 1/22/1810, 5/9/1817; Fairfax County Deed Book L4:191; Fairfax County Court Order Record #28e). One possible site of the West End Market House was the so-called public lot reserved by John West from his subdivision in 1796.

The first butchers in West End chose that site for its natural advantages rather than legal restrictions. Although butcher shops were scattered throughout the village of West End, the slaughtering operations were contained within two areas. The earliest was along Hooff Run, north and south of Duke Street. The second area developed at the old turnpike gate (Figure 5, lot G).

In 1792, eleven years prior to the city ordinance prohibiting butchers within the corporation, Lawrence Hooff moved from Alexandria. Hooff, who had commenced the butcher's trade at least 15 years earlier, acquired the near seven-acre lot east of Gladden's Run (Figure 5, lot D) (Fairfax County Deed Books M:70; X:548). He built a slaughter house probably near the creek which was renamed Hooff Run. The remainder of the property was likely used for stockyards. On several occasions the property was referred to as Hooff's meadow (Gazette 8/3/1801; 5/30/1805).

In 1793, Jacob Heineman, also an Alexandria butcher, purchased land on the west side of the run, opposite Hooff (Figure 5, lot Cl). Within three years he built both a dwelling house and a slaughter house on the

one-acre lot. The latter was situated where the run intersected Duke Street (Gilpin's Plat 1796; Fairfax County Deed Books Y:533; E5:449).

Heineman commenced his business prior to 1786. At this time a butcher's apprentice was bound to him by the Fairfax County Court (Fairfax County Minute Book 1783:201). In that same year, a third Alexandria butcher, Beal Howard had a butcher's apprentice bound to him (Fairfax County Minute Book 1783:314).

Although Howard did not move from Alexandria until 1807, he purchased some West End property around 1803, when the city ordinance prohibiting slaughter houses was passed (Figure A:1, lot C6). On this land, which was situated north of Heineman's and west of Hooff's, he raised a brick slaughter house and a frame dwelling house (Gazette 1/4/1831; Fairfax County Deed Book D2:200 missing, reference in Arlington County Court Judgements 4/1826:368). All three butchers, Hooff, Heineman and Howard, each owned larger tracts (6 to 25 acres) along the western periphery of Alexandria (Alexandria Deed Book N:521; Fairfax County Deed Book Z:272; Arlington County Court Judgements 4/1826:368).

Around 1800, William Richards, apparently a butcher, leased a half-acre lot in West End (Figure 5, lot W). (Fairfax County Deed Book C2:33 missing, reference U2:422). This was situated very near a branch of Hooff Run, south of Duke Street, and bordered over 30 acres of open land. Eleven years earlier a young apprentice was bound to Richards to learn an unidentified trade (Fairfax County Minute Book 1788:83).

Richards died in 1802 leaving his widow Elizabeth and two infant children (Fairfax County Deed Book U2:422). By year's end, Richard's widow had married a local butcher named John Zimmerman. On December 11, 1802, she, as executrix of her late husband's estate, offered for sale "all the stock of horses, cattle and household goods of the deceased (Gazette 12/11/1802)." Elizabeth retained the West End lot, on which her late husband had built a dwelling house, by right of dower.

Elizabeth Richards Zimmerman and her newlywed husband were made legal guardians of her two youngest children, William Burton Richards and Ann Richards, in December, 1802 (Fairfax County Court Order Book 1802:41; U2:422; Fairfax County Tax records 1813-1825). John and Elizabeth eventually had five more children (Fairfax County Deed Book O3:113). Together they all lived in what must have been a sizable house built on the half-acre lot.

If Richards had not previously built a slaughter house on the half-acre lot, then Zimmerman certainly did. This brings the total number of slaughterhouses built along Hooff Run to four. A fifth was raised on the tanyard lot sometime before 1844.

At the other site of slaughtering operations, a large shamble was built just west of the original toll gate on the south side of the turnpike road (Figure 5, lot G). It was first identified in a deed

dated March 12, 1804, as the property of Thomas Wigham. This deed was a conveyance from Beal Fowler to Wigham consisting of the dwelling and business which adjoined the slaughter house. The nature of Fowler's business is not known. In 1811, the Wigham lot (which included Fowler's former property) was described as containing a dwelling house, store house and slaughter house (Fairfax County Deed Book E2:155; Gazette 10/15/1802; 6/14/1811).

The slaughter house may have been erected as early as 1795 by Joseph Fagan, who purchased the original lot from John West (Fairfax County Deed Books Z:383; B2:185). Nothing is known about Joseph Fagan except that he resided in Fairfax County when he purchased the lot from West, and that he died before March 12, 1804 (Fairfax County Deed Book Z:383; E2:155). In addition to the slaughter house owners, several of West End's earliest residents were butchers and tanners. These men worked at the tannery or the various slaughter houses either in cooperation with or under the direction of the previously mentioned owners.

By 1805, several West End butchers and tanners were employed at the neighboring slaughterhouses and tanyards: Joseph Fulmore lived opposite the Little River Turnpike gate; Frederick Tridle acquired a 1/3-acre lot on the 1800 block of Duke Street (Figure 5, lot 3) (John Smith and William Miller) (Fairfax County Deed Book Y:403, 503; B2:214; Gazette 2/19/1799; 11/9/1808).

Two additional butchers established by this date were Moses Kenny and Henry Zimmerman. In 1799, Kenny purchased a half-acre house lot at the corner of Duke and John streets (Figure 5, lot 0). The property remained in the occupation of Giles Baker, who had built the house two years earlier. Kenny probably lived with Baker's family; he eventually married Baker's daughter, Elizabeth. The vocation of Giles Baker was never determined but there is a strong likelihood that he too, was a butcher, and therefore, the original relationship of Baker to Kenny was probably one of master and apprentice (Fairfax County Deed Books L2:408; Z2:299).

Henry Zimmerman bought a half acre-lot in two parcels, adjoining the turnpike gate. The first was acquired in 1801, the second by 1807. Records indicate that this property was never improved with buildings. Perhaps Zimmerman enclosed the lot, which adjoined Wigham's slaughterhouse, for a stockyard (Figure 5, lot J-K) (Fairfax County Deed Books E2:126; R2:198; Fairfax County Will Book J:145; Fairfax County Land Tax 1820; Gazette 2/26/1818). During this same period, Zimmerman bought a one-acre lot fronting Duke Street and the two-acre square immediately to the south (Figure 5, lots 6-11, 19-20-27-28). Alexandria Deed Book B:411; Fairfax County Deed Book F2:260 missing, reference in R2:198).

Upon Zimmerman's Duke Street lot stood the Blacksmith shop and another small house built by Thomas White. Zimmerman almost certainly converted the former to a butcher shop and used the latter for his

family's dwelling (Gazette 4/24/1802; Mutual Assurance 1797:147). The adjoining square never had buildings constructed upon it (Fairfax County Land Tax 1820; Gazette 2/26/1818). Zimmerman died in 1807 and his real estate, passed to his widow Eliza (Alexandria Will Book B:408; Fairfax County Deed Book P2:294).

A significant part of the butchering industry was perpetuated by the children of the original West End butchers. Familiar names such as Zimmerman, Richards, Hooff, Smith, Tridle, Miller and Fulmore were among the second generation of butchers and tanners to operate at West End.

Following their father's death in 1807, John and George Zimmerman continued the butcher's trade on their own (Fairfax County Archives Drawer X: "George Varnon"). The first mention of John Zimmerman practicing the butcher's trade came in 1810. Zimmerman, Lawrence Hooff and Jacob Heineman were selling the largest and fattest beef ever to be offered in the Alexandria Market (Gazette 11/22/1810). Five years later, John was occupying the two small Duke Street houses purchased by his father in 1802. They were appraised at this time at \$1,000 (Mutual Assurance 1815:1905). In 1819, Eliza Zimmerman released her claim to the property and the remaining heirs sold the land to John Zimmerman for \$1,112.50 (Fairfax County Deed Book R2:120). By 1823, George Zimmerman and another known butcher named John Bright occupied the two small 1-story buildings, which were valued at \$400 each (Bright later moved to a large tract near the first Little River Turnpike gate on the north side of the road. Fairfax County Deed Book 03:280. Mutual Assurance, 1823:5006).

Shortly before John Zimmerman's death in December, 1823, he conveyed his homelot (the former Richards' house) to his step-children, William B. Richards and Ann (now the wife of James English. Fairfax County Deed Book U2:422). William B. Richards purchased his sister's interest to the houselot in 1826 and also took over operation of the property's slaughter house (Fairfax County Deed Book U2:218; Gazette 1/15/1824; 4/10/1832). Between 1826 and 1840, Richards purchased several properties along the project corridor including a new dwelling on the 1100 block of Duke Street (southwest corner of square IV). He did not sell his former residence until 1853 when it was purchased by George A. Bossart (Alexandria Deed Book U2:169; Fairfax County Deed Book S3:324). Bossart operated the slaughter house on the site through the Civil War (Gazette 5/19/1865; National Archives ca. 1865 photograph of Soldier's Cemetery c.1865; Fairfax County Deed Book L4:191).

At an undetermined date, Lawrence Hooff's son continued his business. Laurence Hooff, Jr. (as his name was written), was the most visible and perhaps, prosperous butcher of the 1820s and early 1830s. His frequent advertisements in the Gazette commonly announced his purchase of the finest stock which would be sold at his stall (Gazette 3/25/1823; 1/15, 3/20/1824; 2/1/1825; 1/4, 1/6/1826; 12/28/1831; 4/10/1832).

Many butchers new to the area also began working at the West End tannery and slaughterhouses. Most of these probably served apprenticeships to the older tradesmen of the community.

On January 29, 1808, George Varnold purchased a houselot on the east side of John Street (Figure 5, lot Q). (Fairfax County Deed Book B3:101). Varnold was newly married and had probably just completed his butcher's apprenticeship. Beal Howard had been a bondsman for Varnold's marriage to Sally Purkis, which indicates the two men were at least friends; however, Varnold may have learned his trade from the established butcher (Miller 1987a). In November, Varnold had commenced business for himself (Gazette 11/9/1808).

Two years later, on February 26, 1810, Varnold purchased a part of Moses Kenny's lot on Duke and John streets (Figure 5, lot O). (Fairfax County Deed Book L2:408). This conveyance comprised of two quadrants--the northwest and the southeast. Neither parcel had buildings on them at the time of purchase but Varnold soon raised a small structure. Since the southeast quadrant faced Varnold's houselot, the building may have been built there out of convenience (Fairfax County Land Tax 1810-1835).

George Varnold died in 1818 and his property was devised to his widow and only child. By 1831, both heirs had moved from West End and undoubtedly leased the two lots (Fairfax County Will Book L:206; Fairfax County Deed Book A3:51).

A butcher who may have worked for George Varnold, was Thomas Watkins. On June 16, 1815, Watkins, a 26-year old native of Wales, purchased a one-acre lot (Figure 5, lot P) near Hooff's Run. A week later he purchased Wigham's former dwelling, storehouse, and slaughter house near the old turnpike gate, although he had previously taken occupancy (Figure 5, lot G) (Fairfax County Deed Book 02:8, 362). Watkins had lived in Fairfax County since 1813 by which time he was associated with the West End butcher George Varnold (Watkins witnessed a deed of Varnold's in 1813 and later was named to appraise Varnold's estate) (Fairfax County Deed Book M2:385; Fairfax County Will Book L:206; Gazette 1/7/1820).

The property Watkins acquired near Hooff Run was probably a shop; the building was valued at only \$200 in 1820. The other property near the tollgate had several tenements valued at \$3,600 in 1820, one of which was his dwelling (Fairfax County Tax Book 1820). The description and high value given by the tax list for Wigham's former property suggests two things. First, it was a large operation and second, housing for employees was apparently provided on the site.

Watkins increased his landholdings in 1819. He purchased the one-acre lot adjoining his slaughter house lot on the east (Figure 5, lots J, K), as well as a nearby two-acre square (Figure 5, lots 19, 20, 27 and 28). Both lots previously belonged to Henry Zimmerman and were bought from his heirs (Fairfax County Deed Book R2:198). No buildings

were present on either of these tracts in 1820, so they probably served as pasture or stockyards (Fairfax County Tax Book 1820).

January 6, 1820, Watkins died but his West End real estate remained in the Watkins family until the next century. Several of Thomas Watkins' descendants were butchers and no doubt utilized the old slaughter house which stood until 1903 (Fairfax County Deed Books N6:498-511; 04:51; Gazette 1/7/1820).

Other West End butchers, working prior to 1825 were Peter Williams, who probably lived at the corner of Duke and John streets opposite the Kenny property (parcel of lot P); Thomas and Francis Simpson, both of whom were probably descendants of William Simpson (Figure 5, lot B) (William Simpson had a son named Thomas and a grandson named Francis H., the son of John Simpson); John Harrison and James Wilson (Wilson was the only identified black butcher to work at West End) (Gazette 11/9/1808; 10/15/1822; Fairfax County Deed Book A2:226; E2:109; M2:79; B3:101; S2:1; Fairfax County Will Book N:277; Fairfax County Land Tax 1812-1851; Fairfax County Circuit Court, November 1857 Judgements: Rotchford v Gates; Fairfax County Circuit Court Minute Book 1:236).

In the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, many of the original butchers of West End died. Beal Howard and Jacob Heineman both died in 1821. In both cases, the deceased's property was devised to heirs and later sold to a younger butcher. (Gazette 1/4/1831; Alexandria Will Book 2:403; Arlington County Court Judgements 4/1826:368).

William R. Beirs took over Heineman's establishment. He purchased a brick tenement previously occupied by Heineman's three daughters, in 1821. Jacob Heineman's widow continued to live in the main residence until 1828. At this time, Beirs purchased the remainder of Heineman's original one-acre lot (Fairfax County Deed Books W2:10; Y2:114; D4:404; Gazette 1/6/1821). Heineman's will mentions his niece Mary Bears [Beirs] suggesting William R. Beirs was related to the deceased (Fairfax County Will Book M:170). Beirs remained active as a butcher until his death in 1872 (Fairfax County Will Book C2:28).

Between 1830-1831, the heirs of Beal Howard sold his former slaughter house and tenements in two conveyances to David Betzold and Adam Diez. Betzold & Diez paid \$1,255 for the two adjoining parcels (Figure A:1, lot C6) (Alexandria Deed Book S2:570, 713; Gazette 1/4, 4/9/1830; 3/9/1832).

The firm of Betzold & Diez had been operating since 1818. Initially, the two partners acquired a two acre house lot on Center Street (Diagonal Road). This property was situated immediately to the west of Howard's slaughter house lot (Figure 5, lot C4) (Gazette 8/3/1801; Fairfax County Deed Book U2:230). They did not obtain full title to the two-acres until they attained U.S. citizenship in 1823 (Alexandria Deed Book M2:367).

On April 25, 1823, the day before they obtained title to the two-acre house lot, Betzold & Diez purchased a small lot fronting Duke Street, just south of the Center Street property (wets half of lot C3. Fairfax County Deed Book U2:233). Records show that no building stood on this lot between 1823 and 1856. Most likely this land served as part of their stockyard (Fairfax County Land Tax 1825-1867; Stephenson, 1983:93).

The only advertisement found for this company stated that Betzold & Diez of West End, had for sale 2500 lbs of first quality bacon made from Loudoun and Shenandoah pork (Gazette 7/8/1825). This not only described the specific business of the firm but also reveals where some of the prime beef brought to the West End butchers was raised.

Adam Diez died between 1831 and 1832. In March, 1832, Betzold and Diez' widow offered the old Howard lot with slaughter house for rent (Gazette 3/9/1832). David Betzold retained the property until his death in 1856 and until 1902 it stayed in his daughter's possession (Fairfax County Court Order Record 60g; Fairfax County Deed Book K6:484).

George Bontz was a butcher at West End for at least 50 years. He moved to Fairfax County from Alexandria sometime between 1820 and 1825 (Federal Census:1820; Fairfax County property tax 1825). On March 21, 1826, Bontz purchased a 100'x 20' lot on the west line of Peyton Street to hold in trust for Catherine Fox. Upon her death, sometime after 1830, the lot was left to Bontz (Alexandria Deed Books P2:264; S2:460).

Five years after George Bontz was made trustee of the Fox property, he purchased the former Kenny lot from George Varnold's heirs (Figure 5, lot O) (Fairfax County Deed Book A3:51). Although Varnold had been dead several years by this time, an earlier relationship with the Bontz family may have prompted George Bontz' move to West End (Varnold was a bondsman at the marriage of Ann Bontz to Wesley Benter in 1816. Two years later George Bontz married Mary Benter. Wesley Benter was a butcher by January, 1826 and advertised with George Bontz, the sale of superior beef on that date) (Gazette 1/4/1826; Miller 1987a).

Bontz made several improvements to this property and possibly operated a shop on the site. In 1840, he purchased the ground rent charge and title to the remaining half of the Kenny lot. This property was still subject to the lease of Giles Baker (Fairfax County Deed Book F3:232). His son Henry was also a butcher. Until 1836, Henry Bontz probably lived at the Duke Street home of his father. In that year he bought a house lot on West Street near King. By 1850, a fellow butcher, George Benter and his family were living with Henry Bontz (Fairfax County Court Order Record 91:Brown v Johnson, 1901; Federal Census 1850:Alexandria County).

In 1849, Henry Bontz purchased the two-acre square immediately south of his father's Duke street lot, perhaps as a convenient stockyard to Richards' slaughter house (Figure 5, lots T-U-V). Fairfax County Deed Book 03:113, 237). The unimproved square was bought by the O&ARR

the following year when the right-of-way for the new track along Wolfe Street was acquired (Fairfax County Deed Book P3:28). About this time, Henry bought the Terrett Farm, which he renamed Fair View. It was situated a few miles west of Alexandria near the theological seminary. Henry was last identified as a butcher by the 1860 city census (U.S. Federal Census of Fairfax County 1860). He died a farmer in 1892 (Fairfax County Deaths 1892:1).

George Bontz remained a butcher at least until age 81 in 1873. On June 14, 1880, six months before his death, George Bontz sold the Peyton Street lot to Townsend Baggott for only \$150 (Alexandria Deed Book 9:83). For what purpose he had retained this lot for over 50 years was not determined. Bontz and his second wife Margaret resided at the Duke Street property until their deaths in 1880 (Avery n.d.). After his death, the West End property was devised to his heirs who leased the houses to various tenants (Alexandria City Directory 1873; Avery n.d.: 132, 134; Fairfax County Land Tax 1851).

The house adjoining Bontz' on the west (Figure 5, lot N), was purchased in 1830 by the butcher named Harrison Emmerson from the heirs of Matthew Robinson (Fairfax County Deed Book 22:250). Emmerson was born in Maryland in 1796 (Federal Census Fairfax County 1850). He was a Fairfax County resident at the time of his marriage to Jane Watson in 1820; however, by the end of the year he and his wife were renting the house on the northeast corner of Duke and Henry streets (Gazette 1/14/1820; Federal Census Alexandria/DC:1820; Alexandria Land Tax Record 1821).

By the 1850s, Emmerson began acquiring real estate in West End comprising about 35 acres. In 1854, the O&ARR sold Emmerson the square formerly owned by Henry Bontz for \$1,000, \$300 more than what that company had paid for it. The 1861 county land tax charged Emmerson for a building on the property valued at \$100 (photograph taken ca. 1862 clearly shows a two-story house on this square. Fairfax County Deed Book T3:417; Fairfax County Land Tax 1861, 1867; Civil War photograph from Roundhouse looking west). These records indicate that the railroad company built the house before selling the square to Emmerson. Emmerson also acquired the former house lot of George Varnold on John Street (Holland Lane) which by 1851 only contained a stable (Figure 5, lot Q) (Fairfax County Deedbooks B3:101; Q3:496; T3:417; A4:216). Harrison Emmerson was an active butcher until his death June 30, 1879 (Fairfax County Court Order Record 28e: Emerson v Emerson 1879).

KNOWN WEST END BUTCHERS
1850-1860

1850

William R Beirs, age 51
George Benter (lived with Henry Bontz), 34
George Bontz, 58
Henry Bontz (lived on West Street), 31
John Bright (lived near first toll gate, LRT), 52
William Bright, 28
Charles F. Brown, 26
Harrison Emmerson, 54
Harrison Emmerson, Jr, 24
John W. Ferguson (lived near Brights), 30
George Tyler (lived with Emmersons), 15
David G. Watkins, 37
James M. Watkins, 32
John H. Watkins, 35
Thomas J. Watkins, 35

1860

William R. Beirs
John W. Benton, 32
George Bontz, 68
Henry Bontz, 41
George Bossart, 38
John Bright, 62
William Bright, 42
Charles F. Brown, 35
Joseph E. Chancy, 24
John Cox, 13
James Coxen, 27
Harrison Emmerson, 64
Harrison Emmerson, Jr, 33
John P. Emmerson
William R Emmerson
William Eppler, 30
William Hult, 17
Andrew Miller, 32
Caleb Ruchner, 24
Sam Sutton, 25
John Tridle, 30
Francis Thomas, 27
David G. Watkins, 47
John H. Watkins, 45
William H Zimmerman

(Federal Census Fairfax County, VA 1850, 1860; Boyd's Washington and Georgetown Directory 1860).

The situation of the butchers was certainly adversely affected by the Civil War. The four-year federal occupation of Alexandria altered all industry and commerce in the vicinity. Unfortunately little

documentary evidence exists to illustrate the experience of West End. The Gazette was discontinued for a time and Fairfax County land tax records are missing for the years 1862-1866 and partially for 1861. One aspect of this period which was well documented was the constant theft and plundering by soldiers.

Thousands of troops were detailed, housed or encamped in and around West End. In addition to the USMRR complex and Soldier's Rest immediately east of the village of West End, Civil War photographs show the Slough hospital was situated just south of the Wigham-Watkins slaughter house near the old turnpike gate, and a troop encampment was set up just south of the Bossart slaughter house on Hooff's Run. Unless contracts were made with the Union Army, West End butchers must have faced great hardships. Although no such contracts were found, the presence of extensive government slaughter operations suggest employment of local butchers may have been practiced.

By late 1861, after the first battle at Manassas, Alexandria's role as supplier to the Union armies was increased dramatically. One source stated that at this time, the government constructed slaughter houses in the city (Barber 1988:23). In addition, great numbers of cattle were brought in to graze in local fields before slaughtering. On May 23, 1863, over 1700 heads of Government Cattle were herded to Alexandria and driven about to graze, first on one farm and then another (Barber 1988:23; Lancaster 1986:139).

One butcher, John H. Watkins left the area during the war, but returned when martial law was lifted (deposition of J.H. Watkins:Bloxham v Kent [Fairfax County Court Order Record #8n]). Many of his fellow residents likely did the same. The 1867 land tax included longstanding butchers William Beirs, George Bontz, George Bossart, John Bright, Joseph Chancy, Harrison Emmerson and David Watkins.

A large number of the identifiable West End butchers of the second half of the nineteenth century bear the same names as those of the 1820s. In fact William Beirs, George Bontz, and Harrison Emmerson were still working into the 1870s. Three slaughter houses were operating following the Civil War: Beirs', Bossart's and Watkins' (Figure 5, lots C1, W, G respectively). A fourth, owned by the estate of the late Samuel Catts, was occupied from 1868-1872 by Catts' son John E. Catts. The location of Cat's slaughter house was not determined. Before his death in 1863, Samuel Catts acquired land extending from his tavern on the Little River Turnpike north to the Leesburg Turnpike (Route 7). (Fairfax Chancery Records; Gazette 7/29/1863).

WEST END BUTCHERS, 1870

William R. Beirs, age 71
George Bontz, 78
Harrison Emmerson, 74
William J. Holland (bought out Bossart's business)
David G. Watkins, 57
John H. Watkins, 55

(Fairfax County Deed Book L4:191; Alexandria City Direcotry 1870; Fairfax Chancery Court Record:16f; 28e; in; Fairfax Will Book B2:214).

William J. Holland purchased Bossart's operation in 1870 for \$7,000, for which a full mortgage was made. Included in this sale was a stall in the Alexandria market house (Alexandria Deed Book 1:150, 173; Fairfax County Deed Book L4:191). Holland sold the property 13 years later to George W. Keys, having paid only \$850 of the \$7,000 mortgage (Fairfax County Deed Book C5:366).

Two years later, in 1885, the late William Beirs' slaughter house was sold to Magnus Shuler. Shuler continued the butcher's trade into the 1890s. By 1900, a "meat market" was operating at 1441 Duke Street, just east of Shuler's business (Fairfax County Deed Book E5:449; Gazette 9/25/1896; Cheek and Zatz 1986:27).

As the new century approached, the city of Alexandria slowly encroached upon West End. The open lands of the hundred-year old suburb were claimed by the long line of row houses extending from the core of the city (Fairfax County and Alexandria Land Tax Record 180-1930; Hill 1924). Virtually all remaining large tracts of open land were purchased between 1895 and 1903 by Southern Railway for their vast railyard and lines (Fairfax County Deed Books V5:170 [plat]; Z5:171; N6:498). This marked the close of the butchering industry in West End.

Taverns

Several notable and longstanding ordinaries and taverns were located within the Route 236 corridor. They attracted travellers of both east-west and north-south routes, as well as farmers and traders coming to the Alexandria market. One particular group that frequented these taverns were drovers bringing livestock to the West End butchers and tanners. After leaving their herds in the stockyards, drovers could find convenient lodging.

The earliest mentioned tavern was Cameron's Ordinary (Figure 8). Aside from its appearance on a 1755 map of Virginia, nothing else is known about this establishment (Stephenson 1983:25). Its situation at the main crossroads at Cameron certainly would seem an opportune spot.

The second tavern established in the corridor was the celebrated Spring Garden resort. In 1786, Abel Willis opened the pleasure retreat on the four-acre square bounded by Wolfe, Payne, Wilkes and Hamilton streets where tea and other entertainments were provided in addition to the natural spring water found just a few feet from the building (Miller 1989:2-3). The presence of a tavern at this spot is interesting to note because those who frequented the establishment after about 1798 would have had to meander past the neighboring brickyards and tolerate the stench of the adjoining tannery. Such drawbacks (by today's standards) obviously did not concern the citizens of that day, as evidenced by the popularity enjoyed by Willis' successors.

After seven years, Willis added a billiard table to his facility while still offering the best liquors. He emphasized that he catered to all tastes by furnishing private parties with "tea, coffee, relishes . . . and a variety of other amusements" (Miller 1989:3).

The property was leased to Willis by the Alexander family until 1794. At that time William T. Alexander sold the lot along with the surrounding 78 acres to John Wise (Fairfax County Deed Book A2:216). Wise sold the same to the firm of Hamilton & Bowne the following year. At this time Henry Wilbar took over management of the Spring Garden from Willis. By the end of the year however, Wilbar was already trying to get out of the lease (Gazette 10/5/1795).

Unable to dispose of the lease, Wilbar reopened Spring Garden in January, 1796 (Gazette 1/23/1796). Within a few months, after much prompting from city residents, Wilbar commenced a water delivery service. Water supplies in Alexandria often could not be used for drinking or washing due to its hard, unpleasant taste and high iron content (Local News 1/4/1862). As the spring at Spring Garden was considered one of the best water supplies in the area, residents were eager to tap that source (Gazette 6/21/1798). Wilbar's notice of May 5, 1796 established the provisions of his service:

TAVERNS LOCATED WITHIN THE ROUTE 236 CORRIDOR 1786-1896

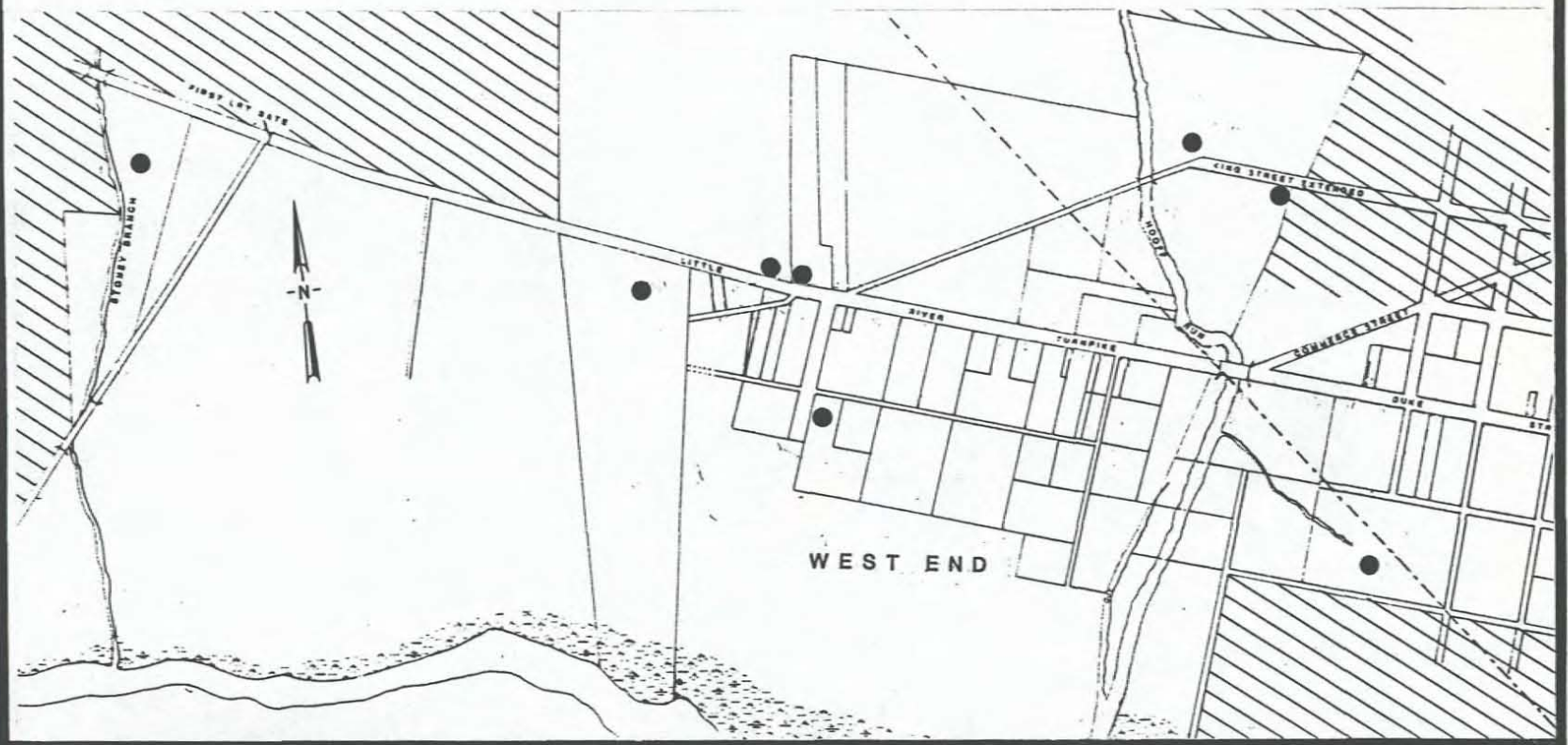


Figure 8. Detail of Route 236 project corridor, Alexandria, Virginia, showing the location of taverns.

Henry Wilbar, being solicited by several gentlemen to bring water from Spring Gardens to Alexandria, begs leave to submit the following propositions to its inhabitants, that he will engage to do it on the following terms:-Every Gallon subscribed for, not less than three per day, to pay three dollars till the first of November. As soon as 300 gallons are subscribed for and the money collected, he will begin to deliver. A book for subscriptions is now open at Spring Gardens (Gazette 5/5/1796).

The success or longevity of this venture was not learned; however, similar water delivery service became very popular in Alexandria during the early nineteenth century (Local News 1/4/1862).

Wilbar continued to call for a suitable replacement to manage Spring Garden, which would free him "to follow his own profession, for the sake of educating his own unfortunate family (Gazette 6/18/1796)." This statement suggests that Wilbar was not turning much of a profit from the Spring Garden establishment. To the contrary though, he described the situation as being truly advantageous. There was "a good house, a large room for a billiard table, bath coolers, and an excellent Spring House," in addition to a rich soil that was "uncommonly manured and well cropped (Gazette 6/18/1796)." Wilbar could not convince anyone to assume the two years remaining on his lease and therefore was obliged to respectfully solicit the city residents for a "continuance of their favors, so as to enable him to support his unfortunate family (Mirror:9/15/1796)." Although Wilbar's efforts to sublet failed, the situation did attract a buyer for the property.

In the spring of 1796, Jesse Simms acquired the Spring Garden lot together with the surrounding 78-acres comprising Spring Garden Farm, in from John Wise (Gazette 6/30/1796; Miller 1989:Appendix [Fairfax County Deed Book Y:403]). Within two months, Simms sold the tavern and lot (together with four 1/2-acre lots of the Spring Garden Farm subdivision) to John Mandeville of the firm of Mandeville and Sutton, for 1740 British pounds (Miller 1989:2-3).

Under the ownership of Mandeville, Spring Garden reached its height of popularity. Following the termination of Wilbar's lease in mid May, 1798, Mandeville hired John Hubball to manage the retreat. Hubball announced the reopening of Spring Garden, referring to the establishment as a House of Entertainment. Private parties were invited to enjoy tea, liquor and "the finest water in the vicinity of the town . . . without any probability of disagreeable interruption." Hubball also provided beds and breakfast for gentlemen desiring to use the bath (Gazette 6/21/1798).

Two weeks later, Spring Garden played a significant role in the greatest 4th of July celebration Alexandria had ever seen. The guest of honor was the former president, General George Washington, recently commissioned Commander-in-Chief of all United States armies. Washington

reviewed a battle reenactment in the city's streets and then attended a reception at Spring Garden (Miller 1989:5-6).

Claypole's American Daily Advertiser recounted the event in its July 19 edition:

The 23d Anniversary of American Independence was celebrated by the inhabitants of this town, on Wednesday last, with the greatest harmony and conviviality. Everything conspired to render the business of the day a varied scene of patriotism and social joy; and the dignified presence of the beloved WASHINGTON, our illustrious neighbor, gave such a high colouring to the tout ensemble--that nothing was wanting to complete the picture . . . The different corps were reviewed in King Street by the General Washington, and Col. Little, who expressed the highest satisfaction at their appearance and manoeuvring . . .

A dinner was prepared at Spring Gardens by Mr. John Stavely [who was contracted to cater the event]; which, considering the number of citizens and military that partook of it (between 4 and 500) was conducted with the greatest propriety and decorum . . . (Miller 1989:6-7).

A similar, albeit less grandiose, reception took place on July 4, 1801 (Miller 1989:10)

In the years following the expiration of Hubball's lease in 1800, to 1808, several different gentlemen managed the illustrious tavern, including Abraham Faw, John Bogue and James Lingan (Miller 1989:9-10). For the latter part of this period, theater became an added attraction at Spring Garden. Conducted upon the adjoining land to the west (now a cemetery), travelling productions such as the Philadelphia Company's The Marriage of Figaro were presented (Gazette 9/8/1805; Miller 1989:10-11). The Spring Garden Theatre was short-lived however, and in June, 1807, the lumber from the theater house was sold at auction (Gazette 6/2/1807).

Four months later, Spring Garden's owner, John Mandeville, was involved in a Superior Court suit against his partner John Sutton. The court decreed that the property owned by the late firm of Mandeville & Sutton be sold at public auction. At this time Spring Garden was purchased by Philip Godhelp Marsteller for \$460 (Gazette 11/2/1807; Miller 1989:12).

Marsteller, a successful vendue master who lived two squares east of Spring Garden, suffered many financial hardships as a result of this purchase (Alexandria Deed Books B:132; Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1836; Gazette [Marsteller had constant advertisements for his vendue business as early as 1796]). The first years were prosperous for Marsteller. A new leasee, Christian Piles, optimistically announced his reopening of the "house of entertainment" in March, 1808 (Miller 1989:12).

On the night of January 2, 1814, fire consumed the property, destroying the nearly 30-year old tavern (Gazette 1/4/1814). This loss compounded Marsteller's financial problems stemming from unpaid loans totaling \$5,500. Before the fire, Marsteller conveyed in trust several properties including Spring Garden, to James Keith as security for the money owed (Miller 1989:13). Marsteller never recovered his losses and the trust was not fulfilled. He was brought to court in 1823 and it was decreed that the entrusted property be sold (Miller 1989:14).

In the years leading up to the court suit, Marsteller seems to have limited public patronage of Spring Garden. Summers were probably the only time the retreat was open to the public. For the rest of the year, the lot was rented as a private residence. When the lease was offered for sale or rent in the Winter of 1819-1820, the property included a brick tenement and every other out house necessary for the accommodation of a family. In addition several summer houses were situated in the extensive garden, providing a pleasant resort for the gentlemen of this town during the summer season (Gazette 11/26/1819; 2/17/1820).

In 1826, Spring Garden was sold by virtue of the decree against Marsteller. After this time, it is doubtful that the once famous pleasure glade was ever again opened to the public. By the Civil War, no sign of Spring Garden's past glory was visible. A small frame tenement with an enclosed lot was all that occupied the lot (National Archives:photograph collection). Just prior to the war, two long-time residents met at the site and discussed its present state:

We leaned over the fence of a market garden and looked at what used to be Spring Garden. Its theatre, its ball alley--its shuffle boards--its bower over one of the finest springs I ever saw--were all gone. I believe the spring is there yet--but I would not look at it or drink its water! (Local News:10/19/1861).

Similar in style to Spring Garden but less celebrated, was Purkis Garden. What apparently began as Thomas Purkis' extensive garden plot, eventually developed into a public resort where dinners were served (Gazette 7/5/1808). It was situated on an eight acre lot, which lay opposite Lawrence Hooff's land, on the north side of King Street (Appendix , lot VIII). The land was part of a larger tract jointly purchased by John Potts and William Wilson from Richard Arell in 1795. The first mention of Purkis' occupation came in 1802 (Fairfax County Deed Book Z:458; Gazette 4/1/1802). Two years later, Potts desired to sell his interest to several lots including the parcel under lease to Purkis, which was in a high state of improvement as a garden (Gazette 7/17/1804).

In 1807, William Wilson was sued in the District of Columbia Circuit Court. The court decreed that Wilson's 26 acres bounded south by Hooff's property and west by the lands of Charles Lee and Benjamin Dulany, be sold at auction. Included in this sale was the eight acre garden leased to Purkis and Workman (Between 1811 and 1818, John Workman

was contracted to cultivate the garden property of Thomas Preston. Square VII. Alexandria Deed Book Q:384; Alexandria Land Tax 1811-1818; Gazette 6/3/1807).

On July 4, 1808, Purkis Garden was the scene of a reception reminiscent of Spring Garden's earlier Independence Day celebrations. An account of the event stated that a company of Volunteer Blues and private citizens retired to Purkis Garden following the celebration where a handsome dinner was provided (Gazette 7/5/1808).

Purkis Garden was closed to the public in 1811:

WARNING

The enclosure known by the name of Purkis Garden and spring, at the head of King Street and adjoining the properties of Col. Peyton and Mr. Hooff, is no longer to be considered as a place of public resort (Gazette 4/30/1811).

This announcement probably coincided with Beal Howard's purchase of the garden. Howard, a West End butcher and apparently a friend of Purkis, lived on an adjoining lot and was certainly aware of the virtue of the property and its proprietor (Both Purkis and Howard were bondsmen for the wedding of Sally Purkis and George Varnold, July 23, 1807 (Miller 1987a).

Subsequently Howard leased his two-acre square in the Spring Garden Farm subdivision to Purkis undoubtedly for a garden (square 33-34-49-50). The lease was to run from April 1, 1810 to April 1, 1818 at a yearly rent of \$40 (Alexandria Deed Book R:378). Following Beal Howard's death in 1821, the former Purkis Garden property was divided amongst his heirs. In May, 1823, John A. Longdon, Howard's son-in-law, offered his one-fourth interest for sale. It was described at this time as being nearly three acres in a high state of cultivation, containing a small dwelling, a well, and several fruit trees (Gazette 5/15/1823).

Neighboring Purkis Garden, "precisely at the head of King Street" was the Eagle Tavern (Gazette 6/19/1823). Built on Francis Peyton's land, Eagle Tavern was managed by Eli Legg, who also operated an extensive wagon yard on the site. In February, 1818, the establishment commonly known as Legg's Tavern, was described as a "large and convenient" house with "extensive stables." The wagon yard was enclosed by a 10- foot-high fence and easily accommodated 300 wagons and teams (Gazette 11/13/1817; 2/3/1818). In April, 1818, Legg left this situation and moved further east on King Street, near its intersection with Commerce Street, to manage the Bell Tavern (Gazette 4/27/1818). After an absence of a few years, Legg returned to the recently renovated Eagle Hotel. Here he remained until the end of 1825. In November of that year he had decided to move to the country and wished to sell the tavern with all of its furnishings (Gazette 11/25/1824).

Within three months, John W. Smith had purchased the tavern and on February 15, 1825, announced its reopening. Smith offered special attention to "the gentlemen of the southern country," at his establishment which he renamed the Southern Hotel. As a service of the hotel, visiting guests were provided with "security and support of their servants" (Gazette 2/15/1825).

Smith also provided a forum for the slave trade. Visiting slave dealers transacted their business at his hotel. Advance notice placed in the Gazette by these dealers called for area residents to bring their slaves to the Southern Hotel, where they would be paid in cash. This practice was established by Legg and was commonplace at various other Alexandria taverns (Gazette 2/3, 8/17, 11/23/1824; 2/12, 2/15, 4/5/1825). No additional information was found on this establishment.

The four remaining taverns were all located in West End and catered primarily to drovers who constantly traveling to that village bringing livestock to the market. The first establishment, excepting Cameron's Ordinary, was William Ward's Tavern. As mentioned in an earlier section, it was situated on the west side of the present Telegraph Road. Ward purchased a near 10 acre parcel of the old Cameron Plantation from Thomas West in 1791 (Fairfax County Deed Book R2:101). The tavern was well known by 1807 (Gazette 10/29/1807). Jacob Fortney acquired this property about this time. A decade later, he sold it to John Zimmerman (Fairfax County Land Tax 1818). Zimmerman had purchased a neighboring 20-acre tract, formerly a wagon yard, six years earlier (Fairfax County Deed Book L2:246).

In January 1819, Zimmerman sold Ward's Tavern and the 9 3/4 acres to Peter Tresler for \$1500 (Fairfax County Deed Book R2:101). The following year the buildings were valued at only a \$340; however, within five years it had increased to \$1022 (Fairfax County Land Tax 1820-1825). Whether the property was maintained as an ordinary by Fortney, Zimmerman and Tresler was undetermined. Clearly, though, the buildings Zimmerman conveyed to Tresler were worth substantially less than subsequent improvements made to the property. It should be noted that both Zimmerman and Tresler were West End butchers. The old Ward Tavern might have served as lodging for their employees.

Drover's Rest was the most famous and longstanding establishment of any kind at West End. For over three quarters of a century, this regionally known establishment stood at the original turnpike gate where the old Colchester Road crossed the turnpike.

In 1803, the tavern was first opened by Elizabeth Simpson, widow of William Simpson (although there is a possibility that William Simpson commenced the operation before his death in 1800 (Fairfax County Deed Book WB H:144; Gazette 3/3/1803). Known as Simpson's or Gooding's Tavern, it was managed by John Gooding who also resided on the premises (Gazette 11/15/1808). Early community and county meetings including the Little River Turnpike Company annual meetings, were held here, as well

as a meeting of Fairfax County citizens held in at the tavern (Gazette 8/3/1804; 10/29/1804; 11/6/1805; 11/15/1808).

In 1815, 25-year old Samuel Catts, took over management of Simpson's Tavern (Gazette 6/10/1803; 7/29/1863). Catts purchased the tavern lot from the Simpson heirs in 1820 (Fairfax County Deed Book S2:1; A3:48,303, 374, 377; B3:49, 52; E3:238; F3:144). After two apparently successful years, Catts acquired a 1 7/10 acre lot immediately to the west, from Eliza Dulany (Fairfax County Land Tax:1825; Fairfax County Chancery Records #16f). On this lot he built a larger hotel which served as an inn, meeting hall and auction house for the next 75 years. Catts died in 1863 but the tavern was continued by his son Rozier D. Catts (Gazette:7/29/1863; Fairfax County Chancery Records #16f). The building burned the night of September 24, 1896 and the property was purchased seven years later by the Washington Southern Railway Company to make room for a new rail line (Gazette 9/25/1896; Fairfax County Deed Book N6:110).

Another village ordinary was West End Tavern, which probably operated for only a few years. Built, owned, and operated by Charles Jones, this establishment was situated on the corner of Wolfe and Elizabeth streets. Jones purchased this half-acre lot in 1796 from John West (Figure 5, lot 17) Fairfax County Deed Book Z:195). Charles Jones was a coachmaker who set up his business by 1797 on seven adjoining lots in John West's subdivision. Amidst the coachmaker's workshops, he established West End Tavern, which was also was his residence (Gazette 3/23/1797; 2/27/1798).

In 1799, Jones decided, in the best interest of his business, to move back to Alexandria. In August of that year he offered for rent his residence known by the name of West End Tavern. He described the property as very eligible for a tavern or store (Gazette 8/22/1799). If he found a leasee is unknown, but Jones maintained ownership of the property until about 1804 when James Sheehy bought the entire four-acre tract (Fairfax County Deed Book F2:91, 97 missing; reference in Fairfax County Deed Book O2:146; Fairfax County Land Tax 1812). Sheehy converted the coachmaking workshops into a soap and candle manufactory, and probably kept the old tavern as a private residence (Gazette 11/24/1814).

The last known ordinary along this corridor was operated by John H. Zimmerman from 1841 to 1849. Known as Zimmerman's Tavern, this building stood on a lot purchased by the proprietor's father, John Zimmerman (Figure 5, lot F) (Fairfax County Deed Book L2:246; Fairfax County Court Order Books 1835:313,377; 1842:65, 144, 215, 282; 1846:44, 115, 184). John Korn's wagon yard originally operated on this site by 1795 (Fairfax County Deed Book Z:383). When Korn sold the 20-acre lot to Zimmerman in 1811, a "good dwelling house with necessary outhouse and garden" were included (Gazette 11/21/1808; 3/13/1811). Zimmerman and his family resided closer to Alexandria until 1841, and to that date it is unknown how this property was used. Most likely, it was rented to employees of the nearby mills or slaughter house.

In 1849, the lot and buildings were sold at public auction to David G. Watkins (Fairfax County Deed Book 03:356). The Watkins family owned this lot into the twentieth century. Most likely, they used it as a tenement or private residence.

Brickmakers and Brickyards

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the economy of Alexandria was booming. It was a time of great expansion and the town was said to have been "alive with carpenters and bricklayers" (Netherton et al. 1978:127; Gazette 5/19/1796; 3/18/1797). By the late 1790s, the project corridor was one of the fastest developing sections of the thriving port town. Brick and stone masons purchased or leased unimproved land on the 1000-1300 blocks of Duke Street. Here, they were at the fringe of the ongoing construction. As these lots were gradually developed, operations moved further west to, as yet, unimproved land. By 1810, extensive brickmaking was carried out on at least three squares where water and clays were naturally plentiful (Figure 9). The Duke Street brickyards operated well into the 1840s (Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1850).

In 1794, William Thorton Alexander began selling or farmletting property along Duke Street east of Hooff Run. Within five years, he had conveyed all but two lots comprising 1 1/2 acres (Fairfax County Deed Book X:542; A2:216, 530; Alexandria Deed Book M:228; K2:326; R2:85). At least five of the 10 squares acquired at this time were utilized, to some degree, for the brick or stone industry.

One of the squares leased on ground rent in 1794 by Alexandria was the 900 block, bounded by Prince, Alfred, Duke and Patrick streets. Although this lay just east of the project corridor, its method of development was probably employed on squares further west. A little over a year after George Coryell acquired the 900 block, he made an agreement with Robert Brockett and Patrick Burnes (sometimes spelled Byrnes) for its improvement. The vocation of Burnes is unknown but Brockett was an established brickmason by this date, having practiced the trade since at least 1785. Coryell, who owned several other tracts in the area, might himself have been a brickmaker. An advertisement of 1800 mentioned Coryell had employed four slaves for that year, including an excellent brick moulder and two brickmakers (Alexandria Deed Books F:205; G:164; Alexandria Business and Industry (Lloyd House Library n.d.(a); Gazette 10/20/1796; 12/22/1800).

ROUTE 236 CORRIDOR BRICKYARDS AND MARKET GARDENS 1796-1840

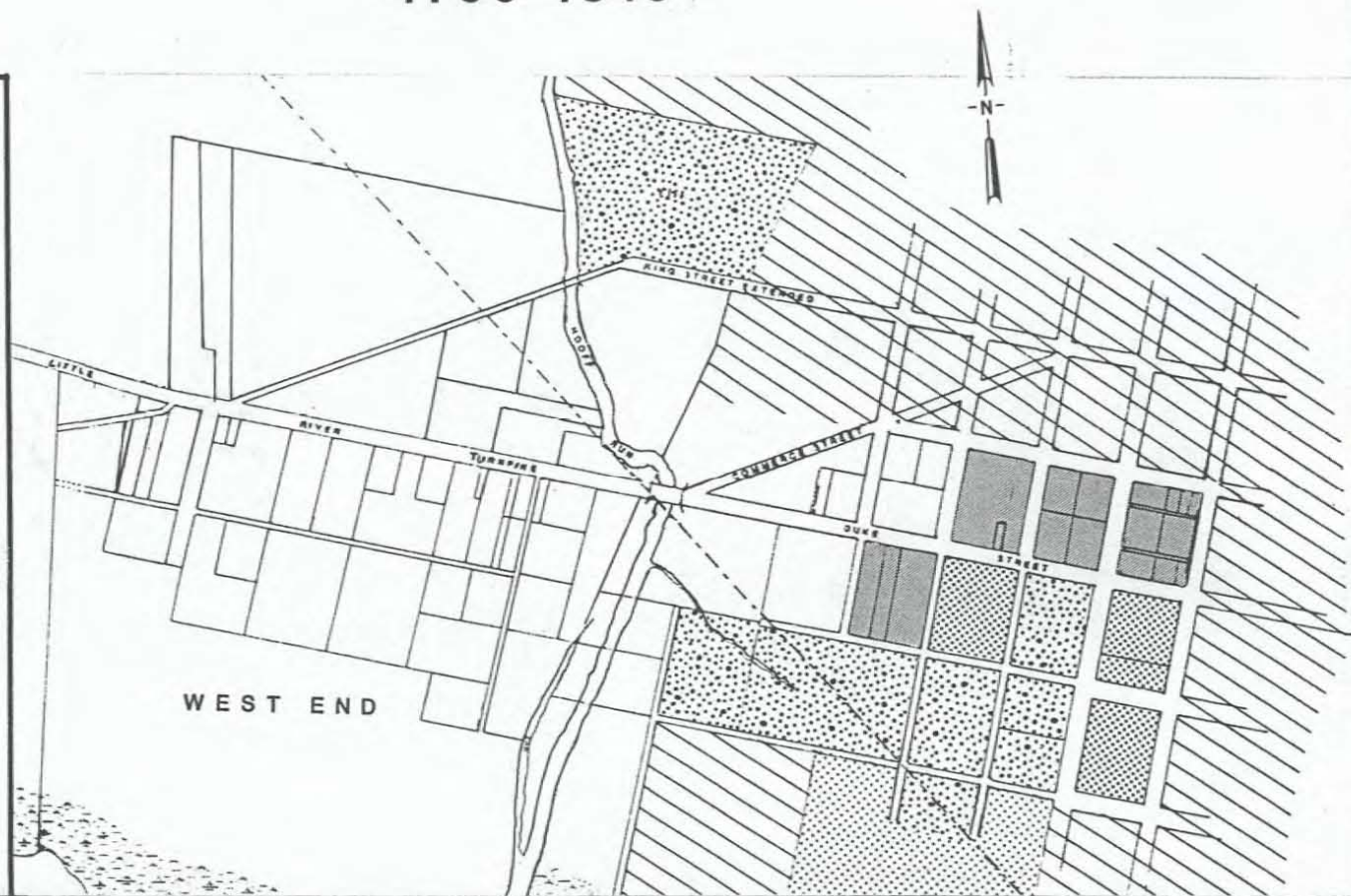
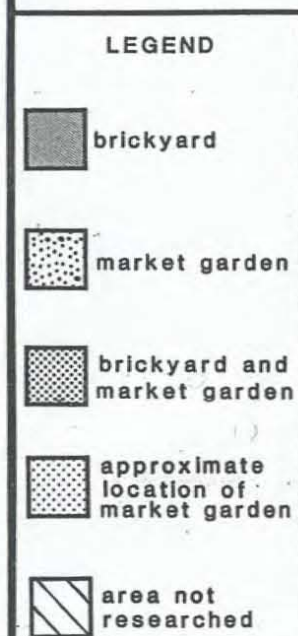


Figure 9. Detail of Route 236 project corridor, Alexandria, Virginia, showing the location of brickyards and market gardens.

The articles of Agreement made March 16, 1796, between Coryell on the first part and Brockett and Burnes as tenants-in-common, on the second part, were a conditional lease for the two-acre square. They stated that Brockett and Burnes shall pay Coryell certain annual rents and make several improvements to the square; in return the two leasees shall receive part of the property. It was agreed that Brockett and Burnes would erect brick dwelling houses, at least two-stories high, and lay off alleys across the square. When three dwellings were completed on each of the four 1/4-acre lots, a well was to be sunk in the center for the common use of the residents of the square. It was further agreed that when six dwellings were built on each quarter lot, the alleys would be paved (Alexandria Deed Books G:164; I:392).

Still subject to the stipulations of the agreement, Burnes transferred his interest in the square six months later to William Wright (Alexandria Deed Book I:392). Wright, also a brick and stone mason, was now responsible for improving approximately half of the square (Lloyd House Library n.d.[a]). The square was quickly developed and by 1810, several tenements had been built (Alexandria Land Tax 1810).

Brockett and Burnes joined together again in 1798, this time without Coryell, and bought the 1100 block from William Alexander (square IV. Alexandria Deed Book M:228). In 1804, brickmaker Alexander Veitch bought out Patrick Burnes' interest (Alexandria Deed Book M:228). Meanwhile, William Wright had purchased the eastern half of the 1000 block from James Kenner (square V. Alexandria Deed Book N:256; Lloyd House Library n.d.(a)). The western half of Kenner's square was purchased around 1799 by a soapmaker named Alexander Perry (Gazette 5/3/1800; Veloz n.d.). By 1815, Perry had divided his one-acre parcel into eight lots and within five years, three more had been sold (Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1820).

Both of the 1000 and 1100 blocks had several tenements constructed on them by 1805; however, a significant amount of the land was left open until the 1830s (Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1850). In the spring of 1809, Alexander Veitch made a call for four brickmoulders to work his brickyard for the season (Gazette 5/26/1809). The location of this brickyard is unknown; however, it may have been on Brockett and Veitch's square. These two men continued in the industry until the early 1820s (Lloyd House Library n.d.(a); Gazette 3/29/1823).

By 1810, extensive brickmaking operations were identified on the 1200-1300 blocks. The eastern lots gradually shifted from industrial to residential use, housing the seasonal brickyard laborers, as well as other transient boarders (Lloyd House Library n.d.(a); Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1850. See also Alexandria Deed Book E2:459; Gazette 4/13/1812; 7/29/1820; 1/15/1821).

Local legislation affecting the Duke Street brickmakers was passed in 1813. It ordered that no kiln located within the Alexandria corporate limits shall be operated unless it stood 150 feet from any

building. There was an immediate protest from the local brickmakers. They petitioned the Common Council for relief from the ordinance. Six months later, in January, 1814, an amendment was passed (Gazette 7/12, 8/10, 10/7/1813).

The amended law required only a 50 foot distance between the kilns and other buildings; however, it further stipulated that no kiln situated between Wilkes, Henry and Oronoko streets and the Potomac River, shall be burned between May 1 and November 1 of each year. This boundary passed between the 1000 and 1100 blocks of Duke Street. In addition, no kiln located anywhere in Alexandria could operate between May 1 and November 1 without an inspection and written permission from the mayor and superintendent of police (Gazette 1/22/1814).

Documentation reveals that after 1813, brickyards within the project area were situated west of the boundary established by the 1814 legislation. Although brickmakers would clearly want to avoid the requisite six month lay-off, the western shift was probably necessitated by the rapid development of the squares east of the 1100 block.

The squares of James Keith and William Hartshorne (Figure 5, squares III and 29-30-53-54, respectively), which were situated on opposite sides of Duke Street, were used for brickmaking by 1810 and possibly earlier. Hartshorne raised a two-story frame tenement on the northwest corner of his square by 1797 (Gazette 3/11/1797). In January, 1805, he offered the same for sale or rent, noting that upon the two-acre square "a large quantity bricks" could be conveniently made (Gazette 1/9/1805). Such a statement suggests that brickmaking was previously done on the property or at least in the area. Perhaps not so coincidentally, a local brickmaker named John Krebs announced in October that he was leaving Alexandria. Desiring to close his Duke Street business, Krebs offered his tools, improvements and 200,000 good merchantable bricks for sale (Gazette 10/1/1805). Krebs operation most likely was at the western end of Duke Street, so if not Hartshorne's square, then he had leased some neighboring lot (No "Krebs" or "Crebs" appear in either Fairfax County or Alexandria land records).

The Brickyards of Nevitt and Preston & Anderson

Charles Lecount Nevitt did acquire a lease from Hartshorne for the house and two-acre square, although the date is uncertain. In May, 1809, Nevitt purchased a 26 ft x 100 ft lot on the front of James Keith's square, with the provision that he would build a two-story brick dwelling house (Figure 5, square III) (Gazette 4/11/1810); Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1811; Alexandria Deed Book R:305). By this date, Nevitt was in partnership with Benjamin Baden, who together occupied Thomas Preston's flour warehouse on King Street, indicating they were flour merchants (Gazette 4/5, 10/19/1809). In June, 1809, Nevitt & Baden made an agreement with Richard Lewis, a brickmaker, whereby Lewis conveyed a

tenement on King and Washington streets to Baden from which the rents were to be paid Nevitt (Alexandria Deed Book S:139; Gazette 3/11/1806). Although this deed made no mention of it, perhaps at this time Nevitt commenced brickmaking.

The partnership of Nevitt & Baden was dissolved July 3, 1810 (by 1816, Baden also was engaged in brickmaking. Gazette 7/3/1810). A week before the dissolution was announced, Nevitt drew \$2800 in two notes which were endorsed by Thomas Preston. To secure Preston, Nevitt conveyed in trust to James Keith several lots including his newly acquired lot on Keith's square (Alexandria Deed Book T:81). Very likely Nevitt used this money to finance the initial costs of entering brick manufacturing. Besides the necessary tools and materials, he needed workers. The Alexandria City Directory of 1810 listed Nevitt as having in his employ, 12 whites, 2 free blacks and 16 slaves. Slave brickmakers did not come cheaply (Alexander Veitch sold two brickmaker slaves, aged 19 and 28, to Hugh Carolin in 1818 for \$800 each. Alexandria Deed Book E2:459). Charles Nevitt's venture, however, was not successful and within five years he was forced to sell.

Nevitt's new brick dwelling on Keith's square was not completed by 1810. Tax records listed the property as vacant with a \$1000 value in 1810 and the following year as occupied by Nevitt with a \$2500 value (Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1811). However, three sources stated that in 1810 and 1811, Nevitt occupied William Hartshorne's frame house and two-acre square which stood opposite Keith's property. Nevitt apparently lived in Hartshorne's house until his brick dwelling was completed, then used the former as a business office or tenement for his workers (Gazette 4/11/1810; Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1811; Alexandria City Directory, 1810).

In an advertisement dated February 12, 1812, William Hartshorne described his square, the 1200 block, as being where "C. L. Nevitt has a brickyard" (Gazette 2/19/1812). Tax records for 1812, however, listed the Hartshorne square as occupied by "Arch. Hews, Wm Grigsby and Levie Lewis," presumably the new tenants. Clearly, at some point during the year, before the tax was charged, Nevitt had left the brickyard.

From 1812 to 1813, Thomas Preston, perhaps in a move to buy out Nevitt's business, purchased or leased three neighboring lots (Note: In the 1807 Alexandria Land Tax list, William Hartshorne was charged for a house at an unidentified location, occupied as "Preston's Brick shop," which could mean Thomas Preston was operating a brickmaking business by that date). Preston acquired two of the lots with James Anderson as tenants-in-common. The first was a 120 ft x 130 ft parcel of Hartshorne's square with Anderson; the second was the eastern half of the square to the west of Hartshorne's (Figure 5, lots 55-56); and third was a 69 ft x 100 ft parcel of Keith's square, also with Anderson. The last-mentioned parcel adjoined Nevitt's brick house on the east (Alexandria Deed Book W:386; Alexandria Land Tax 1812-1813). The 1813 Land Tax listed all three of these properties as brickyards, noting that brick kilns were operated on James Keith's block (Alexandria Land

Tax 1812-1813). Keith had provided easy access to the kilns by constructing two 10 ft alleys across the square from Fayette to Prince streets which were joined perpendicularly by a central 47 ft alley (Alexandria Deed Book B2:472).

With Preston & Anderson leasing the north west quarter of his square, Hartshorne advertised in April, 1813 that he desired to find an occupant for the northeast part. He called attention to the clay and sand on the property, making it an ideal situation for a brickyard (Gazette 4/2/1813).

By 1814, it became clear that Nevitt could not fulfill his four-year old trust to Keith; therefore, Keith exposed the entrusted property for sale at public auction. The brick house and lot did not sell and for the remainder of this year and the next, both Keith and Nevitt tried in vain to find a buyer (Gazette 3/16, 4/6/1815). Preston & Anderson eventually took possession of the house/lot, probably in lieu of payment on the defaulted trust; no deed was recorded (Alexandria Land Tax 1816-1847; Gazette 12/17/1819).

The firm of Preston & Anderson had probably assumed management of Nevitt's brickyards in 1812. Unlike their predecessor, Preston & Anderson probably did not rely on slave labor. Preston was a founding member of the Benevolent Society in Alexandria which offered assistance to freed slaves (Netherton et al. 1978:238). Clearly possessing adverse feelings toward the institution of slavery, Preston probably employed only wage labor for his brickyard.

Thomas Preston was likely the actual supervisor of the brickyard operations, while Anderson served as business manager or merely a financial partner. Before 1797, Preston was running a lumber yard on Duke and Union streets; in 1801, he and Philip Wanton offered a kiln of bricks for sale, as well as sand, lime and house frames; in 1810, Preston was listed in the city directory as a joiner. He was still a practicing carpenter in 1815 (Gazette 3/9/1797; 9/18/1801; 5/5/1807; 5/23/1815; Alexandria City Directory 1810).

James Anderson was more apt to have managed the finances. He had previously been in a partnership with a Mr. Perry. In 1805, Anderson & Perry were the proprietors of a King Street grocery store (Gazette 10/1/1805; 1/23/1806). Two years later, Anderson started another mercantile business in the firm of Anderson, Nutt & Company (Alexandria Deed Book Q:222). Mark Butts left the firm in 1809 to form his own company with Grafton Cawood (Gazette 3/13/1809). Anderson & Nutt continued the flour and grocery business until 1813 when the partnership dissolved. Anderson continued as sole proprietor until 1816 when he sold out to James English and John Poe (Gazette 9/11/1813; 10/9/1816). Within a few days of making this announcement, Anderson also informed the public of his dissolution from his partnership with Richard Slade in a hardware store at King and Henry streets (Gazette 10/21/1816). If all these partnerships involved the same James Anderson, and it is probable

they did, then he would not have had much time to devote to managing a brickyard.

Financial problems befell Anderson around 1815 and his abandoning the two businesses in 1816 may be viewed as an attempt to stabilize his situation. About this time, the widow of James Nutt initiated a suit against Anderson for money still owed her deceased husband from the late firm of Anderson & Nutt (Gazette 1/28/1817). By 1817, the three Duke Street properties jointly owned by Preston & Anderson were listed in the Land Tax records under just Preston's name. Although, Anderson did not release his claim to these lots until 1819, it seems apparent that Thomas Preston had control of them before then.

1819 was probably the year when Preston ceased his involvement with the brickyards. Anderson was declared an insolvent debtor in May, 1819 and his moieties to the three Duke Street lots--Nevitt's old houselot, the adjoining lot (on which a house with two tenements was built in 1817) and the houselot on the Hartshorne square--were repossessed. Although Anderson's half-interest in these properties were exposed for sale, records indicate that Preston retained his former partner's share (Gazette 5/24, 12/17/1819; Alexandria Land Tax 1817-1818).

In December, 1819, Preston offered the old Hartshorne houselot for rent, which included a large garden. The following year, for the first time, the brick house and smaller tenement on Keith's quare, and the frame tenement on Hartshorne's, were all occupied by female tenants (Alexandria Land Tax 1820). There is no evidence of brickmaking on either of these two squares again until 1828.

Baden's Brickyard

Benjamin Baden, the former mercantile partner of Charles L. Nevitt, commenced brickmaking in 1816 (Lloyd House Library n.d.(a)). On August 6, 1818, Baden's brick manufacturing partnership with Hugh Carolin, was dissolved (Gazette 8/14/1818). From 1820 to 1828, Baden may very well have been operating the sole brickyard in the project area.

Benjamin Baden first bought land in the area in 1802. In May of that year, William Wright sold the Alexandria resident a small building lot on the south side of Prince Street between Patrick and Henry for \$510 (Figure 5, square V) (Alexandria Deed Book N:256). Not until 1811 and 1812 did Baden raise a house on this lot. The 1812 city tax appraised the house and lot at \$2750, a high value for contemporary houses in this area. Elisha Talbott, who operated the Duke Street tannery, occupied the house between 1813 and 1817; however, Baden sold the property to Daniel McPherson late in 1814 (McPherson and Talbott formed a partnership around 1816. Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1820).

On June 19, 1822, the Alexandria Common Council resolved that Benjamin Baden shall use "the clay on Payne Street for the purpose of

brickmaking." This permission was again granted by the council for the next two years (Gazette 4/17/1823; 5/4/1824). It is not clear whether Baden was removing clay actually from Payne street or from the properties along side of it. It is clear, though, that Baden was engaged in the manufacture of bricks, probably on one of Duke Street brickyards, at least through 1824. Baden died soon before March, 1831 (Gazette 3/1/1831).

Evans and Staunton

In 1828, the heirs of James Keith (who had died at the age of 90 five years earlier (Gazette 10/19/1824), sold a 40'x 100' lot fronting Prince Street to James Evans (square III). Evans was a free black brickmaker (Alexandria Deed Book R2:85; Alexandria Land Tax 1828-1850; 1834 Directory of Alexandria). By the following year, Evans built a small house on the property. The house, which was eventually converted into two tenements, was almost exclusively occupied by free blacks and slaves (Alexandria Land Tax 1829-1850).

Evans place of employment was undetermined but he probably worked either at the brickyard at 1300 Duke Street, which was reorganized by 1830 or on the remainder of Keith's square. The majority of the 1200 block on the north side of Duke Street was open ground through 1850. Although it was never labeled as such, this property may well have been used by Evans and others for brickmaking, many years after Preston & Anderson's occupation.

In 1829, a trustee for Thomas Preston sold the east half of the 1300 block to another Alexandria brickmaker named Richard Staunton (Figure 5, lot 55-56). Alexandria Deed Book S2:1). Staunton had been in the trade at least since 1810 when he entered a partnership with William Phillips (Gazette 11/9/1810). In 1818, Staunton had purchased a small building lot from Alexander Perry which fronted Prince Street. Within two years the house and lot had been improved to the value of \$2700, which was significantly high for this area (square V. Alexandria Land Tax 1818-1820). Three years later he purchased a \$2000 tenement on the corner of Prince and Henry, (Figure 5, square V) (Alexandria Deed Book N2:180; Alexandria Land Tax 1824). Clearly, by the time Staunton acquired Preston's former one-acre brickyard, he had already accumulated some wealth.

In 1830, Staunton purchased the half acre houselot which adjoined the brickyard to the west (The tenement house on this lot was gone by 1835. Alexandria Land Tax 1830-1835; Alexandria Deed Book S2:440). In the first two years Staunton owned the brickyard, its value increased from \$600 to \$1,000 (Alexandria Land Tax 1830-1831).

Within four years of Staunton's initial purchase, another brick mason, Harrison Taylor, purchased the remaining portion of the square (Figure 5, lot 73-74) (Alexandria Land Tax 1833). Between Taylor and

Staunton's operations, the entire square remained a brickyard until 1844 when Staunton sold his two lots to John P. Emmerson of Fairfax County (Alexandria Deed Book F3:67). Emmerson built a large dwelling house over the old brickyard (Alexandria Land Tax 1845-1850).

These are the only sites positively identified as brickyards; however, there were two lots on the 1000 block of Duke and Wolfe streets that also may have been involved in that industry. George Coryell owned the 1 1/4 acre lot fronting the 1000 block of Duke Street (square VI). Considering his previously discussed connection with early brickmason Robert Brockett and the advertisement referring to his employment of brickmaking slaves, Coryell may have been operating a brickyard on this lot. By 1810, Coryell was one of Alexandria's tax assessor (Veloz; Gazette 3/27/1810). Until 1818 tax records listed the property as just a lot but with a value of \$1000. Beginning in 1818, Coryell's Duke Street lot was labeled a garden (Alexandria Land Tax 1818-1822).

On the back lot of this square, James Black had a "pot house" or pottery kiln at least for the years 1831-1833 (Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1850). Further south, on an old Spring Garden Farm lot, John B. Swann established a large stone-ware manufactory by 1815 (Powell 1928:305; Gazette 2/9/1815).

Philip Wanton purchased the 2-acre square south of Coryell and Black's from William T. Alexander in 1798 (Alexandria Deed Book E:74). He intended to divide the square and sell separate parcels as building lots in 1800 (Gazette 7/1/1800). For whatever reason, this was not done and as was previously mentioned, the next year Wanton and Thomas Preston advertised a kiln of bricks for sale. By 1804, however, Wanton had planted a garden on the square. In that year, he desired to rent the same which included "several hundred feet of excellent asparagus" (Gazette 1/17/1804).

Wanton and his wife Mary (the mother of Peter Saunders; Fairfax County Deed Book R2:212), lost the square when they could not repay a trust made with James Keith and John C. Herbert (Gazette 9/17/1807). The property was purchased by Thomas Preston and he sold a small parcel fronting Patrick Street, to Wanton's mother-in-law, Sarah Pancoast in 1808 (Alexandria Deed Book G2:68; Fairfax County Deed Book R2:212; Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1820). Pancoast sold the small lot with a house, to William H. Phillips--Richard Staunton's partner in bricklaying (Alexandria Deed Book G2:68; Gazette 11/9/1810). The remainder of the square, Preston maintained as a large garden into the 1820s and tax records list it as just a lot as late as 1837 (Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1850; see also Gazette 1/28/1808; 4/5/1809; 11/5/1814; 4/27/1815; 5/3/1820). If this property ever was used as a brickyard, it would have been in the years before 1804 which was the first mention of it being a garden.

Known Brick Masons and Brickmakers
In the Vicinity of the Project Corridor

<u>Name</u>	<u>Identifiable Dates of Involvement</u>
Benjamin Baden	1816-1824
John Ball	1834
William Ball	1834
Robert Brockett	1785-1829
Hugh Carolin	-1818
John Cohagen	1800-1825
John F. Cohagen	1834
Edward Goodwin	1834
Peter Henderson	1834
John Krebs	-1805
Richard Lewis	1806
William Myers	1806
Charles L. Nevitt	1809-1812
Thomas Preston	1810-1819
Richard Staunton	1810-1844
Harrison Taylor	1834
Alexander Veitch	1809-1821
Nicholas Voss	1796
William Wright	1785-1797

(Lloyd House Library n.d.(a); Alexandria Directories 1810, 1834; Veloz n.d.; Gazette 5/19/1796; 10/1/1805; 3/11/1806; 5/26/1809; 11/9/1810; 8/14/1818; 5/4/1824; Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1850; Alexandria Deed Book K:48)

Market Gardens

Agriculture remained a profitable venture for many residents of Alexandria and Fairfax County throughout the nineteenth century. Whereas large scale farming of grains and other produce were obviously limited to open lands outside the city, inhabitants of Alexandria and its suburbs efficiently utilized available lots to cultivate fruits, vegetables, herbs and flowers. These market gardens were distinct from subsistence gardens because produce was sold and not grown just for personal consumption. By the 1870s, market gardening was the most profitable type of farming in Fairfax County (Maury 1878:29-30).

In many instances entire two-acre squares were employed as market gardens. The land was primarily owned by middle class to wealthy residents, often in addition to their home lots. The money arising from these gardens mostly seem to have supplemented the landowners' income. In every instance studied, landowners were employed in a vocation other than gardening. Frequently, squares were leased to professional gardeners for a term of years, to cultivate as a market garden. Eventually certain gardeners became much in demand. Depending on their agreement, a garden's profits were divided between the gardener and owner.

One particularly common spot for market gardens was the Spring Garden Farm subdivision. Here was a plentiful supply of good water--something not found in many areas of the city--as well as unimproved lots of a manageable size. In addition, produce was easily transported to the nearby city market.

Of the 18 city blocks contained within Duke, Patrick, Gibbon and Mandeville streets, 10 are known to have been employed as market gardens between 1796 and 1868. Two others were probably gardens and documentation does not eliminate the remaining six in that capacity. The earliest identified garden was the four-acre parcel called Spring Gardens, which predates the subdivision.

Established in 1786 as a public retreat, Spring Gardens apparently included an extensive garden--as its name implies--from its beginning. By 1796, the property was well cropped and boasted a soil that was rich by nature and uncommonly manured (Gazette 6/18/1796). There seems little doubt that a vegetable- and not just a formal garden was on the premises by this date. Nearly twenty-five years later, descriptions of Spring Garden stated that the crop in the ground was in a high state of cultivation (Gazette 11/26/1819).

Three squares perennially occupied by extensive market gardens were situated in the northwest part of the Spring Garden Farm subdivision (Figure 5, lots 1-2-27-28, 33-34-49-50, VI and VII). The first of these, the 1100 block of Duke Street, was purchased at a commissioner's sale in 1809 by Thomas Swann (Alexandria Deed Book Q:479). Swann, a

city attorney, kept the two-acre square unimproved except for a garden until he sold it in 1837 (Veloz n.d.; Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1837). He paid \$750 for it in 1809 but within eight years its value had increased to \$2,200. Over the next nine years it maintained a value between \$2,000 and \$2,200 (Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1837). After 1826, the square was either a grass lot or vacant with a value of \$1,200 or less. Its subsequent owner, a butcher named William B. Richards, kept the property open until 1850, when it was purchased by the Orange & Alexandria Railroad Company for \$1,500 (Alexandria Deed Book L3:145; Alexandria Land Tax 1838-1850). Richards lived directly across Duke Street from this square and perhaps kept a smaller family garden on this lot. He acquired several neighboring squares prior to the Civil War.

The next square east contained two parcels, both of which included large gardens for many years. The northern two-thirds of the block was owned by George Coryell, an Alexandria tax collector (Gazette 3/27/1810; Alexandria Land Tax 1810). His parcel, which may previously have been a brickyard, was not identified as a garden until 1818. The lot's value, though, from 1810 to 1818, consistently ranged between \$1,000-1,200, suggesting its use did not change during this period (Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1818). In 1826, the value of Coryell's garden dropped significantly (Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1827). Over the next 24 years, the lot remained open and its value hovered between \$500 and \$700 (Alexandria Land Tax 1827-1850).

The back third of this square, fronting Wolfe Street, was owned by David Black. A sea captain and longtime Alexandria resident, Black built a small tenement on the lot in 1810. This he leased to both black and white tenants (Gazette 8/1/1810; Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1850). In 1814, he advertised the property for sale or rent, describing it as "a well improved garden called by friends Amsterdam . . . on which is a small tenement, which with a little expense might be made very convenient for a small family; this place is well adapted for the use of an industrious gardner" (Gazette 11/1/1814). Tax records listed Black's property as a garden for the years 1817, 1819 and 1821 with a value alternating between \$400 and \$600 (Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1850).

Immediately to the south of Black's property was the best documented market garden of the area. The square was purchased in 1798 by Philip Wanton (Alexandria Deed Book E:74). Wanton was a hardware merchant who later become a school teacher (Gazette 7/1/1800; Veloz n.d.). His two-acre square (Figure 5, square VII), like its northern neighbor, may also have been an early brickyard. By 1804, though, it was a large market garden. In January 1804, Wanton offered his garden on reasonable terms to any industrious person wishing to take occupancy. Wanton noted that several hundred feet of excellent asparagus and young roots were planted on a portion of the property (Gazette 1/17/1804).

Wanton's square was acquired by Thomas Preston in 1807 (Alexandria Deed Book Q:384). Preston was a carpenter and also managed a brick- and lumberyard. He built a small tenement on the east side of the square, which he sold to Wanton's mother-in-law in 1808 (Alexandria Deed Book

G2:68; Fairfax County Deed Book R2:212; Gazette 1/28/1808; 4/5/1809; 9/26/1810; Alexandria Land Tax 1813). Preston maintained the remainder of the square as a garden (Gazette 1/28/1808). In 1810, the garden lot was occupied by two black men, Abraham Afty and John Hayson, and valued at \$1350 (Alexandria Land Tax 1810).

The following year, Preston made a seven year agreement with an established gardner named John Workman. Workman had previously worked at the celebrated Purkis Garden, situated at the head of King Street (Gazette 6/3/1807). Workman agreed to pay Preston \$83.33 per year for the seven-year term and Preston agreed to keep the fences in good repair and to supply the gardner with ten pounds of manure (Alexandria Deed Book V:152). Workman stayed only three years; in the fall of 1814, Preston sought a new gardener (Gazette 11/5/1814). A man named Denman managed the garden in 1815 but the next four years--comprising the remainder of Workman's term, John Wilcox occupied the property (Gazette 4/27/1815; Alexandria Land Tax 1816-1818). For those seven years, 1811-1818, the garden portion of the square was valued between \$1300-1500 (Alexandria Land Tax 1811-1818).

From 1819 to 1823 four different tenants occupied the Preston square. During this period a second tenement was erected on the property and its tenure as a market garden apparently ended (Alexandria Land Tax 1819-1850).

Neighboring the Preston garden was the square of Beal Howard (Figure 5, square 33-34-49-50). Bounded on the northwest by Spring Garden, this property was purchased by the West End butcher in 1802 (Alexandria Deed Book R:378). In 1807, Howard desired to sell his elegant square which was handsomely enclosed but no conveyance was made (Gazette 2/3, 11/19/1807). Two years later, Howard leased the two-acre square to Thomas Purkis. The two men were neighbors and probably friends. Howard's dwelling and slaughter house lot adjoined Purkis' public garden at the head of King Street (Miller 1987a).

Beal Howard must have been impressed with his neighbor's horticulture skills, for about the time the celebrated King Street Garden was closed, Purkis signed a lease to work Howard's two-acre garden on Wilkes Street (Gazette 6/3/1807; 7/5/1808; 4/30/1811). The lease ran from 1810 to 1818 for which Purkis was to pay \$40 per year (Alexandria Deed Book R:378). Tax records are confusing for this property because the district boundary bisected the square. The northeastern half was taxed by Alexandria while the southwestern half was taxed by Fairfax County. In 1813, Alexandria charged Howard for one-third of a square in the occupancy of Perquis (Purkis) valued at \$200. The 1820 county tax (the first year in which building values were recorded) listed a \$400 building on the south western half of the square.

Howard died in 1821 and the Spring Garden Farm property was devised to his four daughters. One of the four, Catherine, sold her share for \$100 to Dennis Walker in 1834 (Alexandria Deed Book V2:43). Walker sold

the same to John H. Baggott between 1842 and 1851. At the last date there was a \$200 building on the property (Fairfax County Land Tax 1835-1867). The remaining quarter square, situated in Fairfax County, remained in the Howard family through the Civil War holding a value of less than \$50 (Fairfax County Land Tax 1825-1867).

In 1807, three gardens owned by A. McKenzie and Captain Cartwright and James Patton bordered Beal Howard's square (Gazette 2/3/1807). Additional information was found only for the Patton's square. James Patton, a wealthy city merchant, bought the square immediately east of the Spring Garden lot and north of Howard's property (Figure 5, square 33-34-49-50). He purchased this along with two additional two-acre blocks at the initial subdivision of Spring Garden Farms in 1796 (Gilpin 1796). In 1800, Patton desired to sell all three squares as he was planning to move to the country. One was enclosed by a post and rail fence while the other two were very desirable to build on (Gazette 5/31/1800).

Patton did not sell the square north of Beal Howard's, in fact it was not sold until many years after his death in 1824 (Gazette 4/27/1824). Under Patton's ownership, the property always appeared in Alexandria tax records as a vacant lot valued between \$600 to \$1000 (Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1838). After its sale to William B. Richards in 1839, the stables were built on the lot (Alexandria Deed Book Z2:292; Alexandria Land Tax 1839-1850).

The last full square which probably contained a market garden was originally bought by Jesse Green in 1796 (Figure 5, square 97-98-110-111; Gilpin 1796). Before 1803, the square, which adjoined the Spring Garden on the west, had been resold three times (Fairfax County Deed Book J2:196). The last third grantee was Frederick Tridle, a West End butcher or tanner, who paid 150 British pounds for the square (Fairfax County Deed Book J2:196).

Records indicate that no buildings were ever constructed on the property; however, in the summer of 1807, Tridle very adamantly warned all persons from trespassing through his land (Gazette 9/27/1807). Clearly something of value was kept on the lot. Tridle died in 1810 but the open lot remained in the family until 1821. The previous year, the lot was valued at \$525. By 1825, this square was part of the Methodist Protestant cemetery (Gazette 11/8/1825; Fairfax County Will Book J:312; Fairfax County Land Tax 1810-1822).

At least three house lots in this eastern section of the project corridor, had large gardens contained within them. These are believed to have been market gardens as well. The first two were initially owned jointly by Charles Page and Philip G. Marsteller. Purchased in 1801, Page and Marsteller partitioned their interests eight year later. The resulting two lots formed one two-acre square (Figure 5, square 3-4-25-26). By 1810, both Page and Marsteller had constructed dwelling houses on their now distinct parcels (Alexandria Deed Books B:132; Miller 1989).

Charles Page's garden was first described in 1815 as being a well enclosed one-acre plot which "may be made very productive" (Gazette 6/26/1815). Within two years, it had indeed been cultivated as it was described as large and productive (Gazette 12/30/1817). In 1823, Marsteller's property included an extensive garden and lots, now in fine order (Gazette 3/29/1820). No further mention was found about gardens on this square.

By 1801, William Hartshorne's square on the south side of the 1200 block of Duke Street contained a large garden in addition to a frame dwelling house (Figure 5, square 29-30-53-54. Gazette 12/22/1801). Three years later, the existing garden was abandoned and the square served as a brickyard for the next 15 years (Gazette 1/3/1804; Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1820). In 1819, on at least one-quarter of the square, a large garden once again was cultivated alongside the house lot (Gazette 12/17/1819). Between 1820 and 1850, the majority of the two-acres was listed as an open lot with a value averaging \$900 (Alexandria Land Tax 1820-1850). In the 1830s, new brickyards were established on the next square to the west so there is a distinct possibility that industry was resumed on the Hartshorne square around that time.

Market Gardening continued on some of the Spring Garden Farm squares even during the Civil War. The following passage was written by an old Alexandria resident upon returning to the site of the old Spring Garden resort:

Returning from a visit to the graveyard, I met an aged man, whom I had known in other days. The lapse of time had not obliterated his recollection of my features. How cordially we grasped each other's hands! Let us, said I, cross over to the Spring Garden. Ah, sir, said he, there is no such garden now. We leaned over the fence of a MARKET GARDEN and looked at what used to be Spring Garden . . . (Local News:10/19/1861).

Little is known about market gardens outside of the Spring Garden Farm subdivision. The largest garden of the corridor, however, was Thomas Purkis' eight-acre garden at the head of King Street (square VIII). Unlike the Spring Garden resort, Purkis Garden probably was exclusively a formal garden (Note: a further description of Purkis Garden appears in the Tavern section Gazette 4/30/1811).

Unfortunately, no information was found about similar gardens in West End. No doubt, there were some market gardens in that place, though probably less than at Spring Garden Farm. A majority of landowners at West End possessed parcels of one acre or less and on almost all of these, houses were quickly built. In addition, extensive research of West End suggests that any large unimproved tracts were used by the community butchers for pasture or stockyards. There was one exception. The 50 acres that lay south of the West End subdivision and north of Hunting Creek comprised John West's farm (Gazette 12/10/1806).

It was sold by West's heirs to Bartholomew Rotchford, who maintained it as a farm until his death in 1857 (Alexandria Will Book 7:196).

The 2000 Block of Duke and Wolfe Streets

The four acres of ground bounded by Duke, Sarah, Elizabeth and Wilkes streets has the most diversified history of any property in the village of West End. In just over sixty years, from its first occupancy in 1796 to the Civil War, at least six distinct industries were established within its bounds: a coach manufactory, a tavern, a soap and candle manufactory, a farm, a brewery and a grocery store. The first of these was an extensive coach manufactory.

On October 21, 1796, John West sold seven adjoining lots (7,8,9,10, 17,25,26) on ground rent to Patrick Byrnes (sometimes spelled Burnes), Thomas White and Charles Jones. The eighth lot (18) was reserved as a public lot, and may have been the site of the West End market house. One stipulation of John West's conveyances was that a house must be raised on each lot within two years or the land would be reclaimed (Fairfax County Deed Book Z:186,195,197,199,201).

The following year on June 10, Byrnes and White sold their leases to Jones, who accepted responsibility for building the necessary houses by the 1798 deadline. Neither Byrnes nor White had built on their lots (Fairfax County Deed Book A2:85, 88,92). Three months earlier, on March 23, Jones announced that he had moved his four-year Alexandria coachmaking business to West End (Gazette 3/23/1797; 5/14/1799; Netherton et al. 1978:141). Because no buildings had yet been constructed on Byrnes or White's lots, Jones' workshops were definitely situated on the lots he originally acquired (Figure 5, lots 7,10,17). More specifically, the coach manufactory almost certainly was built on the front lots facing Duke Street. By March 1797, the coachmaker was occupying a blacksmith shop built by Thomas White on the front of the 1900 block (Figure 5, lot 6) (Mutual Assurance:147; Gazette 4/24/1802). This strongly suggests that the remainder of Jones' coachmaking shops also fronted Duke Street and that White, who was a blacksmith, worked for Jones. An idea of the buildings needed for coachmaking was gathered from a description of Jones' later manufactory in Alexandria. In 1803, Jones' occupied a 26 ft x 123 ft town lot with two large sheds and a blacksmith shop suitable for coachmaking (Gazette 1/17/1803).

Between June, 1797 and March, 1798, Jones moved his residence from Alexandria to Fairfax County. His newly built residence, situated on lot 17, was West End Tavern. (Gazette 9/22/1799).

By February, 1798, Jones had employed a number of steady workmen in the different branches, and all kinds of materials for carrying on his business extensively. He also boasted that as he has engaged a painter of the first eminence, and erected suitable workshops, he is enabled to finish his work equal to any on the continent (Gazette 2/27/1798). A

month later, Jones sublet two small parcels from the northwest corner of the 200 block (Figure 5, lot 8). The first, a 50'x 100' lot at the corner of Duke and Elizabeth streets, was leased by John Simpson. Jones had previously started building a two-story frame house on the parcel, which Simpson agreed to finish by May 9, 1800 (Fairfax County Deed Book A2:404).

The other parcel, which extended 36 feet east from Simpson's line, was sublet to Daniel Mandell. Mandell agreed to build a house on it by September 1799 (Fairfax County Deed Book A2:401). No other mention of this lot or of Mandell was found. Apparently Mandell did not satisfy the lease and the property returned to Jones.

The coachmaker decided he could operate a more extensive business in Alexandria. On May 14, 1799, Jones announced that his new workshops on Royal Street between Cameron and Queen, were open for business (Gazette 5/14/1799; 2/2/1801; 5/28/1803). He apparently vacated the West End property. Three months later, West End Tavern--Jones' dwelling--was offered for rent at any term of years (Gazette 8/22/1799).

Charles Jones remained in the coachmaking business until January 1803. At that time the workshops and lot on Royal Street lately occupied by Jones were offered for sale or rent (Gazette 1/17/1803). Two Philadelphia coach and harness makers, Stedecorn & Peck, took over the premises in May (Gazette 5/28/1803).

Also in 1803, Jones probably sold the West End lots to James Sheehy (Sheehy's occupation of the four-acre lot has been reconstructed with the best available sources. Many pertinent records, including all deeds, are not extant. Fairfax County Deed Book F2:91, 97 missing; reference in Fairfax County 02:146; Fairfax County Land Tax 1812). Sheehy converted Jones former coachmaking shops into a soap and candle manufactory (Note: The previous year, Thomas White had moved his blacksmithing business from the 1900 block at West End into the city. Gazette 4/24/1802; 11/24/1814). Apparently included in Sheehy's acquisition, were the former West End Tavern and John Simpson's house lot (Gazette 3/7/1815).

By establishing his business in West End, Sheehy was able to work closer to several fellow Irish natives. Strong friendships formed between the families of Michael O'Mara, John Limmerick, Matthew Robinson and Sheehy, if they did not previously exist (Alexandria Will Book 1:301, 326; 3:362A; Alexandria Deed Book G:188, 192). By 1807, Sheehy had apparently taken a partner into his soap and candle business. In late October, Sheehy & Murphy offered a reward for a runaway slave who was a soap boiler and Chandler by trade (Gazette 10/22/1807). Little else is known about Sheehy's business except that he had a surplus of hogs lard in the winter of 1811-1812 which he offered for sale on moderate terms. This was a common ingredient for both soap and candles (Gazette 1/1/1812).

James Sheehy was a resident of Alexandria when he died November 14, 1814. His will, written two days earlier, devised his several lots with the improvements thereon, in Fairfax County to the executors of his estate. They were directed to sell the property when they deemed proper and the proceeds were to be sent to the deceased's son Edward, in Tipperary, Ireland (Alexandria Will Book 1:301). Although his will did not state the nature of the property in question, this was answered by subsequent newspaper notices. On November 24, 1814, a notice announced the public sale of Sheehy's former soap and candle manufactory, with all the working utensils on the premises belonging to the establishment, and a colored man who has worked at the business 10 years (Gazette 11/24/1814).

The business was put at auction in November, 1814. The land itself, though, could not be sold by Sheehy's executors because James Sheehy had only purchased a lease for the two-acre square fronting Duke Street from Charles Jones. John West's heirs still possessed the ground rent charge to this property (Figure 5 lots 7,8,9,10). Sheehy, though, had bought the ground rent charge from John West for the three back lots on Elizabeth and Wolfe Streets (Figure 5, lots 17, 25, 26). This 1 1/2-acre parcel was the only real estate Sheehy owned in fee simple, in either Alexandria or Fairfax County (Fairfax County Deed Books F2:91, 97, missing; reference in W2:1; Gazette 1/13/1824).

As directed by his will, James Sheehy's executors sold the three half-acre lots at public auction May 12, 1815 (lots 17, 25, 26). Richard Libby, an established Alexandria hardware merchant, paid \$1350 for the land and buildings (Fairfax County Deed Book 02:146; Gazette 8/4/1804; 10/22/1807; 4/7/1812; 8/3/1818).

What Libby did with the property is not known. Unfortunately, a number of his deeds are also not extant. By 1820, however, there were no buildings on the 1 1/2-acre parcel and the land was valued at only \$300. Perhaps a fire destroyed Jones' West End tavern before this date. In 1817, Sheehy's executors sold Libby the lease of the two-acre square fronting Duke Street which included Simpson's house lot and former soap and candle manufactory. Whether the latter was still in operation at this time is not known (Fairfax County Deed Book Q2:126 missing; reference in Fairfax County Land Tax 1819, 1820).

The following year, Libby was party to a Fairfax County deed with Bartholomew Rotchford (Fairfax County Deed Book Q2:124 missing, reference in general index to deeds). Tax records of 1819 show that Rotchford had purchased two acres in West End from Libby (Fairfax County Land Tax 1819). This property was undoubtedly the lease which Libby had recently acquired of Sheehy's executors. Just prior to Rotchford's purchase of Libby, he left a partnership with Lewis Hipkins in an Alexandria hardware business (Gazette 7/1/1818). Richard Libby continued to operate his hardware store on Fairfax Street (Alexandria Will Book 3:28; Fairfax County 02:146; W2:1).

Libby and Rotchford, both of whom remained residents of Alexandria, probably formed a partnership. Together they may have used the old workshops at the West End property for some kind of hardware manufactory. Tax records for 1820 substantiate this theory: Libby had one entry for 1 1/2 acres at West End, noted as having been acquired from Shehee. No building stood on the parcel which was valued at \$375. Rotchford's one entry for 2 acres at West End was noted as having been acquired from Libby. The two acres were taxed for the value of \$1,900, \$1,400 of which represented the building's value. A remark was added to Rotchford's entry, which read supposed to be the [illegible] lots of Shehees (Fairfax County Land Tax 1820).

Richard Libby died in 1821 (His will was presented November 6, 1821. Alexandria Will Book 3:28). At the November court of the District of Columbia, county of Alexandria, a suit was brought against the executor and devisees of Libby's estate. The suit identified Lewis Hipkins, Rotchford's former partner, as executor, and Rotchford and William Carne, the latter being a former partner of Libby's, as devisees (Gazette 1/13/1824). Perhaps by virtue of the court's decree, the 1 1/2-acre West End lot was conveyed by direction to Rotchford in 1835 (lots 17, 25, 26. Fairfax Land Tax 1835). A decade earlier, the heirs of John West had sold Rotchford the ground rent charge to the two-acre square and the public lot for \$681.48 (Figure 5, lots 7,8,9,10 and 18 respectively. Fairfax County Deed Book W2:1, 116).

Between 1830 and 1835, the value of buildings on the two-acre square fronting Duke Street declined from \$1,400 to \$400. Presumably this referred to the workshops formerly managed by Libby and Rotchford and originally built by Charles Jones for his coach manufactory (Fairfax County Land Tax 1820-1851). By 1841, all of the buildings on this square were gone. By this date, Bartholomew Rotchford possessed a 50-acre farm adjoining the West End subdivision on the south. Around 1840, Rotchford apparently included the entire four acres comprising the original 2000 blocks on Duke and Wolfe streets in the farm land. By 1851, a barn stood at the corner of Duke and Sarah Streets (Alexandria Land Tax 1841; Alexandria Will Book 7:196; Fairfax County Deed Book S3:119).

Rotchford managed the farm, appropriately called West End, until his death in 1857. In his will, presented April 7, 1857, the farm and other West End properties were devised to his son Richard (Alexandria Will Book 7:196). In 1858, Richard Rotchford sold or leased to various parties, a majority of his father's bequest including a 105'x102' lot fronting Duke Street. This parcel, which extended east from the old Simpson house lot, was leased by Alexander Strausz of Washington DC and John Klein of Fairfax County. Strausz & Klein signed a five year lease at a yearly rent of \$60 with the option of buying out the lease at any time for \$1,000. The two partners established a brewery on the site of the old coach manufactory and had already started digging a deep Lager Bier Cellar at the time of conveyance (Fairfax County Deed Book A4:347).

By 1860, Strausz & Klein had built an extensive operation. An inventory of the two year-old enterprise consisted of:

1 Large Copper Kettle	7 Hogsheads (1 Barrel Capacity)
1 Small Copper Still	3 Half Barrels
1 Mash-tub (25 Barrel Capacity)	5 Five Gallon Kegs
1 Mash-tub (10 Gallon Capacity)	170 Eight Gallon Kegs
1 Copper Second Bottom	80 Four Gallon Kegs
1 Iron Second Bottom	2 Coolers
18 Hogsheads (18 Barrel Capacity)	4 Brass Spigots
8 Hogsheads (9 Barrel Capacity)	1 Horse, 1 Wagon
10 Hogsheads (2 Barrel Capacity)	6 Fermenting Tuns of 14 Barrel Capacity)
	1 Transportation Hogshead with hose
	4 Hogsheads (6 Barrels Capacity)

(Barbush 1985:3)

In May, 1860, Strausz, desiring to leave the firm, accepted \$2000 from his partner for just his half interest in the business (Fairfax County Deed Book C4:129).

Rechristened the Shuter's Hill Brewery, Klein, as sole proprietor, was to face some hard times during the forthcoming war (Gazette 5/1/1861). Richard L. Rotchford was among several Southern loyalists in the Alexandria area labeled a Rebel engaged in armed rebellion against the Government of the United States (Barbush 1985:4). October 3, 1863, the Virginia State Journal announced the seizure of Rotchford's property for condemnation under the United States Confiscation Act of 1862 (Barbush 1985:4). At the end of June, 1864, the U.S. District Court decreed that the rebel's land be condemned. A public auction of the property took place on July 19. Thomas Dwyer made the highest bid at \$800 for Rotchford's 20-acre West End tract which included the Shuter's Hill Brewery (Fairfax County Deed Book E4:311; Gazette 6/27/1864).

Whether the brewery operated to this point is unknown. Klein continued to pay rent to the U.S. Marshall and renewed his lease in November, 1863. After Dwyer acquired the confiscated property, the marshall turned over to him a pro-rated amount of Klein's rent (Barbush 1985:4). By January, 1865, Shuter's Hill Brewery was certainly active, illustrating the leniency of Alexandria's military governor toward production and sale of alcohol. In fact, because of the brewery's close proximity to the United States Military Railroad Station, the Soldiers Rest and several troop encampments, a significant percentage of Klein's business most likely came from the military.

A notice placed by Klein in the January 1, 1865 issue of the Gazette suggested that his brewery had recently been closed for renovations. The brewer announced that by considerable expense he had enlarged the establishment in preparation of making first rate lager beer (Gazette 1/3/1865). Six months later, after municipal government was restored, Rotchford was able to buy back the brewery lot from Dwyer

for \$300. Ten days later, on July 17, Rotchford sold the same to Klein for \$1000 (Fairfax County Deed Book E4:380; Barbush 1985:4-5).

Ironically, John Klein enjoyed full title for only twenty-one days. He died unexpectedly August 7. His untimely death left Catherine Klein, his widow, faced with unsurmountable debts. In 1860, when the partnership of Klein & Strausz dissolved, Klein had made a trust with Francis Denmead, a Baltimore brewer, for a loan of \$4000, using the brewery as collateral (Fairfax County Deed Book C4:131). After July 26, 1861, Klein had failed to make any payments of the trust, which suggests the years of federal occupation were indeed lean ones (Fairfax County Deed Book F4:188).

Klein's widow had no alternative but to auction her late husband's business. At \$7,875, Denmead's bid was the highest and shortly the Maryland brewer took possession of the West End establishment (Fairfax County Deed Book F4:188). Denmead probably left the immediate supervision of brewing operations to Henry Englehardt. Englehardt had been in the employ of John Klein since at least 1860. Eventually, Englehardt bought the brewery from Denmead for \$5000, secured by a promissory note to the latter (Barbush 1985:6-7, 10).

Although records suggest the brewery prospered under Englehardt, the new owner did not repay any part of the promissory note due Denmead. The result was a forced sale of the 34-year-old establishment in July, 1892. A Washington resident named Christopher Dickson paid Englehardt \$1200 for the property (Fairfax County Deed Book B6:250; Barbush 1985:10). Dickson retained the property for only six years. He sold it to Mrs. Harry V. Landsdale, also of Washington, August 30, 1898 (Fairfax County B6:250). The date when the brewery was closed is not known.

An interesting side note concerning Englehardt is that he operated a saloon or restaurant for possibly as long as 25 years, beginning in 1869. Alexandria directories listed the establishment as being on Duke Street Extended but no specific address was given. Because Englehardt only owned one other lot--a house at 1500 Duke Street (Figure 5, lot 95,96,112,113,114,115)--in addition to the brewery, the saloon's location cannot be identified with any certainty (Barbush 1985:7-8,10; Fairfax County A5:52).

The Fairfax County Court first granted the brewer a license to operate an ordinary in 1869 and two years later, the city directory listed Englehardt's restaurant on Duke Street Extended. Englehardt, however, did not purchase the brewery until 1872 nor the house lot until 1880 (the latter was described solely as his residence in 1882). These facts indicate that Englehardt leased a space for the saloon or restaurant. The city directory for 1895-96, three years after the brewery was sold, still listed Englehardt's saloon on Duke Street Extended (Barbush 1985:7-8, 10).

The last feature of the four acre tract not yet discussed was a store. Established at an uncertain date, the store on John Simpson's

lot at the corner of Duke and Elizabeth streets, served the area under different management for at least 35 years.

John Simpson sold the lease of his 24-year old house lot to Ann Simpson April 3, 1822, for \$450 (Fairfax County Deed Book U2:68). Ann Simpson conveyed the same to James Carroll at an unknown date. Carroll sold his interest in the house lot to Joseph Grigg probably sometime in the mid-1840s. In 1847 a part of the two-story house was converted to a grocery store. The remainder of the building was kept as a dwelling (Gazette 9/25/1865). Joseph Grigg also owned a two-story brick grocery warehouse at the corner of King and West streets for at least the years 1844-1853. He likely supplied his Duke Street store with merchandise kept in this warehouse (Mutual Assurance:11677, 17685).

Grigg sold the West End storelot to James Grigg before 1855. The property was still subject to a yearly ground rent payable to Bartholomew Rotchford. (Note: no deeds were made for the conveyances of Simpson to Carroll, Carroll to Grigg, and Grigg to Grigg (Fairfax County Deed Book W3:368). The store was valued at \$350 in 1861 (Fairfax County Land Tax 1861). Four years later, Grigg desired to sell the store which he boasted had done an excellent business for 18 years past, and affords facilities for an extensive trade with the town and country (Gazette 9/25/1865).

The store was not sold; instead it remained in Grigg's hands for another five years. On May 3, 1870, he sold his interest in the storelot to Charles H. and William Cowling for \$1100 (Fairfax County Deed Book A5:176). Cowling's store appears on Hopkins map of West End village in 1878. Early twentieth-century city directories and tax maps show single family dwellings on this site (Hill 1924, 1932, 1934; Real Property Survey ca. 1938).

By 1902, Ponnet's extensive gardening operation was located on Duke Street's 2000 block. Ponnet's complex was listed by insurance maps as containing greenhouses and a mushroom house. By World War II the buildings had fallen into a dilapidated state and probably were no longer in use (Sanborn 1902, 1907, 1912, 1921 and 1941). Over the first decades of the twentieth century, several tenements were constructed on the west side of the four acre lot along both Duke and Elizabeth streets. During the Depression, the northeastern part of the lot was occupied by a grocery store and the West Gate filling Station--both owned by Richard McCracken (Hill 1932, 1934). During the 1960s, the tenements were replaced by warehouses and office buildings, which stand today.

Commercial Development

Several stores were identified along the corridor. Some were small retail establishments while others were larger wholesale businesses which catered to regional producers and consumers. In some instances, a

firm's storehouse was located outside the corridor but their warehouse was situated within the project area. Because Duke Street was initially the primary inlet to Alexandria, such a location for stores was very convenient for country residents carting their goods to city merchants.

Beal Fowler ran the first known store along Duke Street Extended. He established the business next to his home at the old turnpike gate where the original Colchester Road passed. Fowler purchased the lot from Joseph Fagan in 1798 (Figure 5, lot G) (Fairfax County Deed Book B2:185). The precise date and nature of Fowler's store was not determined; however, on October 15, 1802, he announced that he was moving his business to Alexandria (Gazette 10/15/1802). The previous month, Fagan had leased to Thomas Wigham on ground rent forever, a small adjoining lot. Wigham, who built a slaughter house on the rented lot, purchased Fowler's store lot in 1804. Quite possibly, Wigham leased Fowler's store the two years previous to his buying it (William Bloxham, however, was occupying Fowler's former dwelling at the time Wigham acquired the property. Fairfax County Deed Book E2:155,362).

Following Wigham's death in 1808, the property remained in the hands of the estate's executors for seven years. During that period, attempts to sell the lot, as directed by Wigham's will, did not succeed. At this time, the lot contained a dwelling house, storehouse and slaughter house (Gazette 8/19/1809; 6/14/1811). Finally in 1815, the property was sold to Thomas Watkins, who had taken occupancy at some earlier date (Fairfax County Deed Book 02:362). Although Watkins died five years later, his descendants retained the houses and lot until 1903 (Alexandria Will Book 2:350; Fairfax County Deed Book N6:498-511). Because Watkins was also a butcher, it seems likely that the store house was probably converted to a butcher's shop during his ownership if not earlier. No further mention of a store on this site was found.

The next identified store was established before 1810 and remained operational through the Civil War, making it one of the longest surviving businesses in the corridor. James Peel Bowie purchased a small lot at the corner of Duke and Patrick streets in 1806 (Figure 5, southeast corner square V). He built a brick dwelling with a store fronting 20 feet on Duke Street. The following year he bought an additional 20 feet immediately to the west and built a two-story brick dwelling house on that. By 1810, the two properties combined were valued at \$1,250 (Alexandria Deed Book P:17; Alexandria Land Tax 1810; Gazette 6/28/1811; 1/10/1824).

Under a cloud of financial difficulties, Peel, in July, 1809 had put his store and dwelling up as collateral to secure certain debts. After two years time he was not able to recover from the financial burden. He still owed his trustees nearly \$700 with only \$245 equity in the Duke Street property. In the last week of June, 1811, Bowie's trustees proceeded to expose the store and dwelling for sale at public auction. The highest bid was \$943.45--the exact amount due on the trust and the amount of Peel's equity--made by the firm of Anderson & Nutt (Alexandria Deed Book W:16; Gazette 6/28/1811).

James Anderson was an established city merchant. Over his career he was a member of several mercantile firms. In 1806, he was partners with Mr. Perry. Anderson & Perry sold buckwheat meal (and likely assorted other goods) at their upper King Street store (Gazette 1/23/1806). At this time James Nutt also had a grocery store on King Street (Gazette 10/27). James Nutt & Co continued until September, 1807, when Anderson, Nutt and Mark Butts formed a partnership as Anderson, Nutt & Co. (Alexandria Deed Book Q:222). This firm lasted only 18 months. On March 13, 1809, Butts announced that he was leaving the company but that the remaining partners would continue the business as Anderson & Nutt (Gazette 3/13/1809). Mark Butts later formed an ill-fated partnership with Grafton Cawood.

When Anderson & Nutt took over Bowie's Duke Street store, they brought years of experience with them. The two partners surely felt confident that they could succeed where Bowie had failed. Prosperity, indeed, seemed to come quickly to Anderson & Nutt. Within one year, the store lot saw a significant increase in value. Tax records for 1812 listed John Lomax, a shopkeeper, Gilbert Church, who possessed a tavern license and Peter Piles as the occupants of the property's two buildings (Alexandria Land Tax 1812). This suggests that Anderson & Nutt did not run the daily operations of the store. Expanding this point, the partners were probably supervising at least one other similar establishment in Alexandria. Although there was no conclusive evidence found to support this, the firm did exist for over two years (over three years when the term with Butts is included) prior to its purchase of Bowie's store. Assuming their earlier operation was still extant, it seems unlikely that such an established firm would leave its previous situation for the relatively small Duke Street store.

The partnership of Anderson & Nutt was dissolved by mutual consent in September 1813. Because James Nutt died in September of the following year, perhaps the dissolution was prompted by that partner's failing health. In any event, the business was continued under the sole proprietorship of James Anderson (Gazette 9/11/1813; 9/22/1814). Seemingly contradictory to this, the Duke Street property was listed in the ensuing tax records as the James Nutt Estate. This lends support to the belief that other establishments had been part of the Anderson & Nutt company. Apparently, James Nutt's heirs retained the 40-foot lot and building on Duke Street and Anderson continued the grocery business at some other facility. Anderson did operate a flour and grocery business at the upper end of King Street until October, 1816. Perhaps he had previously operated this establishment with his late partner (Gazette 10/9/1816).

Although the firm of Anderson & Nutt officially ceased September 11, 1813, its accounts remained unsettled for years. The D.C. Circuit Court appointed a trustee to settle its debts and effects four years after the firm dissolved. In fact, Nutt's widow brought suit against Anderson in 1817 to apparently retain money owed her late husband (Gazette 1/28/1817).

During these unstable years, the store at Duke and Patrick streets seems to have remained open and also continued a steady business. From 1814 to 1816, George Parks, who was granted a tavern license, was its consistent occupant. After Park's tenancy, a shopkeeper named William Skinner occupied the property over the next five years. During this period, the value of the 40 foot lot and buildings remained at \$1,600 (Alexandria Land Tax 1812-1821).

The store was probably under the capable supervision of William D. Nutt. Nutt was undoubtedly a relation of James Nutt and probably his son. William D. Nutt was an auctioneer in Alexandria by the 1820s and eventually retained ownership of the old store (William D. Nutt constantly advertised in the Gazette as auctioneer beginning in the mid-1820s). In the first month of 1824, he offered the dwelling house adjoining the store for rent; seven years later he desired to rent the store, which he described as a comfortable brick dwelling with a store in front (Gazette 1/10/1824).

Between 1822 and 1833 the property had over fifteen different occupants, none of whom were identified as shopkeepers. In 1829, a third building was raised on the lot, presumably as another tenement, raising the total value of the property to \$1800 (Alexandria Land Tax 1822-1833).

Prior to 1839, John Henderson commenced a liquor business at the corner store. He continued the same until 1844, by which time he had built his dwelling around the corner on Patrick Street. In 1844, blacks first occupied the Nutt tenements. The value of the entire property had decreased 30%, to \$1,200 (Alexandria Land Tax 1839-1844). Blacks continued to occupy the tenements for the next four years while Wesley Avery apparently operated the store. The property value continued to drop over this period until in 1848 when it bottomed at \$900.

In 1849--the first year that tax records did not list the property as the James Nutt Estate but instead as William D. Nutt--the value jumped back to \$1200. The occupants were Robert and William Hunt (Alexandria Land Tax 1849). The appearance of the Orange & Alexandria Railroad (O&ARR) depot in 1850 undoubtedly had a beneficial effect on Nutt's business. The train's passengers and employees merely had to walk across the street to make their desired purchases (Alexandria L3:145, 196, 333, 421; Alexandria Land Tax 1851).

Sometime prior to the Civil War, the store was acquired by George McBirney. Under his ownership, the store managed to remain operational through at least part of Alexandria's Federal occupation. Possibly its location opposite the O&ARR depot, which was seized and converted to the United States Military Railroad Station very early in the war, increased business. In the first days of July, 1862, however, McBirney's store fell prey to a burglar, which probably became an all-to-familiar occurrence during the war years (Gazette 7/11/1862). The seventy-year

old store was identified as McBirney's on Hopkins' 1877 City Atlas of Alexandria (Stephenson 1983:78).

There is not much documentation for other stores in the corridor, aside from for brief mentions and scant deed references. The one remaining establishment which does have more than minimal information was Grigg's store which stood on the corner of Duke and Elizabeth streets. Its history was discussed in the section entitled the 2000 Block of Duke and Wolfe Streets.

Moving westward from the Bowie store, the next such known business was near the stone bridge across Hooff Run. On July 20, 1820, a notice appeared announcing that William Clarke's property was to be sold to satisfy certain debts. Included in this sale were his "shop goods and stock of every description" (Gazette 7/20/1820). Unfortunately, the only deeds of Clarke's found at either Alexandria or Fairfax County are not extant (Fairfax Deed Book D2:60, 64 missing reference in general index of deeds). Clarke could have been a butcher, which would change the meaning of "stock of every description" to mean livestock. Nothing further was found concerning Clarke but a study of the properties surrounding the Duke Street bridge at that time suggested one possible site of the store.

A young butcher named Thomas Watkins purchased a half acre lot near the stone bridge in 1815 (east half of lot P). By his death in 1820, a small building, valued at only \$200, stood on the property. Watkins died seized of extensive land holdings totaling nearly 150 acres. On his other property were built several tenements, a store house, and slaughter house with a combined value of \$3800. The point is that with such valuable real estate and buildings, Watkins would not have lived in a \$200 house (Fairfax County Land Tax 1820). If the building by the bridge was not his dwelling nor his slaughter house, it must have been a tenement or shop of some type. Thus, Clarke may well have been leasing Watkin's building for his business. Tax records show that this building was gone by 1841 (Fairfax County Land Tax 1820-1867).

Across Duke Street, on the north side, was a building owned by the firm of Butts & Cawood which probably served as a store and dwelling (east part of lot C3). Mark Butts and Grafton Cawood were partners in an ill-fated Alexandria mercantile business which specialized in flour sales. Butts had previously been in a partnership with successful merchants James Nutt and James Anderson, which dissolved in March, 1809 (Gazette 3/13/1809).

The two partners formed their scandal-ridden partnership sometime before 1814. In September of that year, an announcement was made that the firm of Butts & Cawood was dissolved by mutual consent and would hereafter be carried on by Mark Butts, assisted by Grafton Cawood until the business of Butts & Cawood is closed (Gazette 9/23/1814). This closing apparently was never made because the firm of Butts & Cawood continued. Frequent advertisements appeared by 1816 for such articles as first quality butter, coffee, oranges and even hardware, available at

their store on the northwest corner of King and Henry streets (Gazette 10/12/, 11/19/1816; 1/28/, 4/19/1817; 4/5/1825).

On July 13, 1819, John Gird sold to Butts & Cawood a near half-acre lot for \$1,500. The West End property contained a building which almost certainly was the house built by Richard Weightman around 1795 (Fairfax County Deed Book R2:112). Unfortunately, very little information was found concerning this firm's use of the house lot. In December, 1819, a \$20 reward was offered for a round iron bar belonging to Thomas Preston that was taken from the property of Butts & Cawood at West End. There is no doubt that this notice referred to the above mentioned lot but little about the nature of the property can be ascertained from its wording (Gazette 12/17/1819). Advertisements printed in the years immediately following Butts & Cawood's purchase of the Gird lot, clearly stated that the produce and grocery stand of that firm was still operating on King Street. One such advertisement further stated that the King Street stand was where farmers carting flour to the market should call (Gazette 1/26/1820; 4/5/1825).

Another clue comes from an obituary published January 10, 1821. Mrs. Betty Cawood died at the age of 54 at her late residence at West End. No other Cawood owned land in West End, so unless Mrs. Cawood had leased her dwelling, she probably lived at the house sold to Butts & Cawood (Gazette 1/10/1821). This suggests that, similar to several West End houses fronting Duke Street, this structure contained both a store and a dwelling.

Soon after Butts & Cawood's acquisition of the West End property, they were exposed in the Alexandria Gazette as having tampered with their plaster scales. Upon investigation, a 60 pound discrepancy was found in addition to a greater inequality created by altering the length of the scale's beam. By order of the mayor of Alexandria, the beam and scales were destroyed and Butts & Cawood were subsequently fined for their dishonest practices (Gazette 1/25, 1/26, 1/28, 1/31, 4/13/1820).

Certainly as word spread of their misconduct, business for Butts & Cawood must have been crippled. Somehow, though, the firm salvaged their reputation and continued operations until the next scandal was uncovered five years later. In the last months of 1824, anonymous letters began to circulate across the state guarding the public against fraudulent practices by Alexandria merchants. It was also written that most of the principal businesses and banks of that city were on the verge of bankruptcy. Although these claims were completely false, many of their readers--farmers in the distant counties--took the warning seriously. A sudden shift of produce to markets outside of Alexandria was the result (Gazette 2/3/1825).

On January 20, the Gazette declared Grafton Cawood to be the author of those scandalous letters. The very next day, the partnership of Butts & Cawood was dissolved (Gazette 1/20, 1/21/1825). What possible motive Cawood might have had in spreading such injurious rumors can only be speculated. Ensuing articles said that Cawood, the assassin of

public credit" would be justly punished and that the farmers of the outlying counties had been reassured that Alexandria merchants stand as high as they ever did (Gazette 2/3/1825). Interestingly, Mark Butts was not tainted by his partner's erratic behavior. The newspapers cleared Butts, speaking of him "in the most respectful terms" (Gazette 2/3/1825).

The only other information found concerning Butts & Cawood or their West End property came eight years later. By that time, Grafton Cawood had died. On January 23, 1833, Mark Butts and the heirs of Cawood sold the half-acre lot to David Betzold for \$750. This amount was half what Butts & Cawood had paid 14 years earlier (Fairfax County Deed Book A3:369, 379). Two years later, the property was taxed at the value of \$852.50 which included buildings worth \$740 (Fairfax County Land Tax 1835). Butts & Cawood had never been taxed for this lot.

Betzold may have converted the house into a butcher shop for his slaughtering business. Although he died in 1857, the property remained in Betzold's family throughout the nineteenth century. It was sold in 1902 to Walter and James W. Roberts (Fairfax County Deed Book K6:484).

Across Duke Street and a little further west, stood an acre lot that certainly contained a store by 1850 and possibly earlier. In 1849, John H. Zimmerman purchased the lot, which had contained butcher shops belonging to his father, from a commissioner's sale for \$555 (Figure 5, lots 6-11) (Fairfax County Deed Book P3:138). Originally the property contained two small one-story frame shops built by 1797. Immediately after his acquisition, however, Zimmerman built a brick house on the lot. This became his dwelling and store house (Fairfax County Deed Book P3:382; Fairfax County Chancery Record:83y; Mutual Assurance, 1797:147, 1823:5005).

Zimmerman died October 25, 1854, and the store and dwelling were devised to his widow Elizabeth. The property appears on Hopkins map of 1878 as owned by Elizabeth Zimmerman although there was no indication of a store being on the lot (Fairfax County Will Book X:372, 379; Hopkins, 1878). Further history of Zimmerman's store was not found.

There were five early-20th century grocery stores identified along the project corridor. The first three were identified in 1900 as being located at 1123 and 1807 Duke Street and at the corner of Duke and Commerce streets (Cheek & Zatz, 1986:28). A fourth grocery store was located in the frame tenement at the corner of Duke and Holland streets (Figure 5, lot 0).

Although the first year it can certainly be labeled a grocery store was 1924, it probably was opened at least nine years prior to that date. Richard E. Thompson was listed as the proprietor in the 1924 Alexandria directory but as Thompson had occupied the building since at least 1915, the business was probably about a decade old by 1924 (Hill, 1924; Alexandria Land Tax 1915-1924).

Thompson retained occupancy of the building until the early 1930s. In 1932, the city directory listed Samuel M. Armstrong as the new proprietor of the grocery store at 1700 Duke Street. The store had closed by 1934. The building was razed in 1959 to make room for the present shopping center (Hill 1932).

Vincent Santullo was operating a grocery store at 1456 Duke Street by 1924 (Hill 1924). The market remained in business, under the same family's management until 1988. The widening of Duke Street required a condemnation of the more than 60-year old establishment.

Other Various Industry

One of the earliest commercial ventures at West End, which probably predated John West's 1796 subdivision, was the oyster trade. There is one reference to Hooff Run being a passage way for flat-bottomed boats, hauling oysters to the stone bridge across Duke Street (Miller, Fireside Sentinel, 1989). In fact, before 1798, there was a point on the run called Oysters Kill Landing. It was situated on the west side of a branch of Hooff Run, just south of Wilkes Street proposed (Fairfax County Deed Book A2:527). Unfortunately, no other mention of West End oysters was found.

Another early West End enterprise was a bake house (bakery) established on the south side of Duke Street's 1700 block (Figure 5, lot M). The lot was first improved in 1798 by John Limerick of Alexandria (Fairfax County Deed Book A2:324). By 1803 there were a two-story frame dwelling and a brick bake house. An 1806 advertisement makes it clear that the bake house was a separate and distinct structure from the kitchen. In addition, the bake house was almost twice the size of the kitchen (28 ft x 12 ft compared to 16 ft x 12 ft. Gazette 1/25/1806).

Limerick, still an Alexandria resident sold the West End property with the bake house to a fellow-Irishman and friend, Michael O'Meara on November 12, 1803. On the same day O'Meara farmllet his "old fruit store" at the northwest corner of Prince and Union streets to Limerick (Note: O'Meara did not operate the Alexandria fruit store; it had been leased to Thomas Simms. Alexandria Deed Book G:188, 192; Gazette 11/28/1803).

O'Meara resided at the West End houselot until his death in 1814. From that date until 1847, the property remained in the possession of his heirs. No further information was found about the bake house (Alexandria Will Book 1:326; Fairfax County Will Book U:433).

Another enterprise was situated on John Limerick's original West End lot. In 1798, Limerick sold a 24 ft x 120 ft unimproved parcel from the northeast corner of his lot to Presley Jacobs. Jacobs, a Fairfax County resident, sold the small lot four years later to John Riggs (Fairfax County Deed Books B2:93; J2:106). Under the ownership of

Riggs, a house was first identified on the small lot (Riggs desired to sell a small frame house with a 24 ft x 120 ft lot at West End. Gazette 6/28/1804). The probability that Jacobs had built this house seems high.

In 1802, the same year that Presley Jacobs sold the West End lot to Riggs, Jacobs opened a tailor shop on Royal Street in Alexandria. After 17 years, Jacobs was still in the tailoring business but had moved his shop to King Street (Gazette 1/12/1802; 11/11/1803; 7/25/1815; 5/8/1819). With this information, it seems likely that prior to 1802, Jacobs had commenced the trade at his West End property.

Another tailor shop was probably established by Richard Weightman on the lot directly across Duke Street from Jacob's lot (Figure 5, lot C3). Weightman, of Alexandria, purchased the unimproved lot in 1795 (Fairfax County Deed Book X:617). Just prior to his death, Weightman relinquished his business and offered for rent, the ground floor of the house which he now occupies which was well calculated for a store room and counting house (Gazette 1/14/1812). This notice possibly refers to Weightman's dwelling on Prince Street. He continued to reside in the city until his death in 1812 at the age of 52 (Gazette 1/14, 3/3/, 3/12/1812).

An advertisement published eight months after his death, however, revealed that the late Weightman had been a tailor for at least four years prior to his passing (Gazette 11/3/1812). Perhaps the West End property contained his tailor shop.

Although no documentation revealed with any certainty that Richard Weightman constructed the buildings on the east part of the lot, there is every indication that he did. Weightman's heirs sold the West End lot in 1817 to John Gird, an Alexandria merchant. Gird sold the eastern half to the firm of Butts & Cawood, Alexandria flour and grocery merchants, two years later (Alexandria Deed Book F2:114; Fairfax Deed Book R2:112). Butts & Cawood paid Gird \$1,500 for the east half of the Weightman lot, while a second party, at the same date, paid Gird only \$600 for the western half (Fairfax County Deed Book R2:110, 112; Fairfax County Land Tax 1820, 1825). Clearly there were valuable improvements on the east half of the property.

In 1820, John Gird was taxed for 3 1/2 acres valued at \$3,290 of which \$2,240 represented the property's building value. At this date, Gird was still being taxed for a two-acre lot above Weightman's which was known to contain a dwelling house; however, this house was only valued at \$200 five years later (Figure A:1, lot C5). This indicates that a majority of Gird's 1820 appraisal probably represented the improvements on the 1 1/2 acre-Weightman lot.

Other identified businesses along the project corridor were: Thomas White's blacksmith shop, 1797-1802 (Figure 5, lots 6-11); Andrew Jamaison's blacksmith shop, circa 1872 through at least 1878 (Figure 5, lot C4); Bowie/Snyder paint shop, circa 1817-1849 (Prince Street,

square V); the Alexandria Water Company, 1850 to present (Figure A:2, lot IX); Fairfax/Fegan/Mahoney Distillery, after 1845 through at least 1894 (adjoined Cameron Mills on the west).

During the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, many small businesses began to appear along Duke Street. By 1881, a confectioner at the northwest corner of Duke and Fayette, an oyster dealer and a restaurant on the northwest corner of Duke and Henry, a shoemaker on Duke and West, and a market house at 1871 Duke Street. A decade later two saloons were located at 1101 and 1201 Duke. The Virginia Glass Company's bottle factory was operating by 1902 on the back lots of the south side of Duke Street's 1800 block. This enterprise remained functional at least through 1912. By that date, Emerson's Steam Pump Company had erected a machine shop on the east line of Diagonal Road midway between Duke and King streets.

By 1960, the project corridor was interspersed with low-income row houses, shopping centers, gas stations, warehouses and railway offices (Fairfax County Deed Book Z:189; Q3:391; P4:89; Mutual Assurance 1797:147; Gazette 4/24/1802; 3/30/1815; 3/26/1817; Hopkins 1878; Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1850; Sanborn 1902, 1907, 1912, 1921,; Cheek and Zatz 1986:26-28; Stephenson 1983:45, 112; Hill 1924, 1932, 1934, 1950, 1960).

Slave Pens and Dealers

The most infamous feature of the project corridor was an extensive slave trade. By 1844, there were two slave dealers operating on the north side of Duke Street, one on the 1300 block, the other on the 1700 block. Prior to their establishment, slave trading was done at various taverns in the area, two of which were located in the project area. To place this notorious institution in context, a brief history of blacks and their existence in the area follows.

Over the second half of the eighteenth century black population in Alexandria increased dramatically. In 1782, Fairfax County--which included Alexandria at that time--had a total population of 8,763, of which 5,154 were white. Although whites were still in the majority, concern among white citizens began to rise. The percentage of blacks in the county's total population had risen from 28 percent in 1749 to 41 percent in 1782 (Netherton et al. 1978:35). This was not just a local concern, though, as evidenced by state legislation passed in 1793 which restricted the migration of free blacks and mulattos into Virginia (Gazette 2/28/1806).

Restrictions did little to curb the great flow of black migration to Alexandria. In 1810, the ratio of blacks to whites in Fairfax County, now separate from Alexandria, was just about even. Alexandria's population had a slightly higher percentage of whites (Netherton et al. 1978:153).

Because Alexandria was a town of the Upper-South and from 1801 to 1846 was under rule of the federal district, a large free black community developed there as early as the 1790s. In 1805, there were 527 free blacks in Alexandria. Thirteen years earlier, there had been only 52 (Shephard 1985:77-79). In February 1806, a threatened community prompted the Common Council to pass a bill requiring city police to enquire after all free negroes and mullatoes who have migrated or been brought into Alexandria contrary to the act of the Virginia General Assembly passed December 12, 1793. All such illegal inhabitants were to be brought before the mayor and dealt with according to the law (Gazette 2/19/1806; 2/28/1806).

Two months later, the General Assembly passed a new law making it illegal for freed slaves to remain within the state more than 12 months (Netherton et al. 1978:157). This legislation stood until the Civil War although it was amended in 1815 and 1837. These two amendments gave legal residency to only those free blacks who had performed some act of extraordinary merit or to those who were of good character and sober, peaceable, orderly and industrious. And after 1836, those who met these qualifications still had to obtain the county court's permission (Netherton et al. 1978:212, 273).

Although these laws were very strict, they apparently were not enforced with such severity. Alexandria land tax records show that many

blacks--both free and slave--lived within the corporation prior to the Civil War (Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1850).

One of the greatest obstacles facing free blacks was finding a job. There were not many positions open to them. Over the years, certain occupations became associated with blacks because there was not much else available to them. These jobs included carpenters, mechanics, bricklayers, tanners, and gardeners. When these positions were not offered, most blacks labored on roads and bridges (Netherton et al. 1978:217). In 1827, Thomas Preston, Presley Jacobs and several other concerned citizens organized the Benevolent Society. The function of this group was to aide freed slaves in finding homes and jobs. They were openly active until the Nat Turner Rebellion in 1831 (Netherton et al. 1978:238). Preston's involvement in the society perhaps explains the frequent black tenants occupying his Duke Street houses on the 1200 block (Alexandria Land Tax 1810-1850).

When jobs could not be secured or financial responsibilities were not met, free blacks chose or were forced to be hired out for the year. From 1816 to the Civil War, the largest hiring out of the year occurred on the first of the year at Catts' Tavern in West End:

On New Year's Day, West End is waked up--it becomes an institution. [There are] congregated all the hiring hands in the adjacent country; men, women and children, mechanics, field hands, dinning room servants . . . of every color from the Octoron . . . all decked out in their new suits of full cloths and linsey woolseys--(for in the bond which each hirer gives the owner, is stipulated, besides good treatment and full fare, two suits of clothes . . .) eating drinking fiddling and dancing; all their own masters, so far as having the privilege of selecting their homes for the next year goes . . . Commingled with the contractor seeking his complement of force, the small farmer [looking for] three or four able bodied fellows, the citizen of the town hunting his porter or house servants, and the spinster or childless widow looking for a girl (Fireside Sentinel Jan 1889 vol 3, number 1; Gazette 9/25/1896; 6/10/1903. See also Gazette 12/28/1829).

Although West End staged the largest of such events, Alexandria had one of its own at the market square, also on the first of January (Gazette 12/29/1819).

Black slavery has a long and profitable history in Alexandria. As a regional market center, Alexandria was where farmers and merchants from the outlying counties came to trade. For this reason, slave dealers were able to trade with slaveholders who ordinarily lived at vast distances across northern Virginia. Initially, slave dealers were mobile. They traveled from centers like Alexandria, announcing ahead of time when and where they would be trading. Up until the late 1820s, slave trading in Alexandria was primarily done at the local taverns.

Advertisements frequently appeared in the city newspaper offering the highest price, in cash, for likely negroes.

Two taverns which frequently provided a forum for slave traders were Catts' Tavern, which was discussed earlier, and Eli Legg's King Street establishment. Beginning in the second decade of the 19th century, Eli Legg managed the Eagle Hotel, which was situated precisely at the head of King Street (Gazette 6/19/1823). Commonly called Legg's tavern, this establishment also included extensive stables and wagon yard capable of holding 300 teams and wagons, all of which was surrounded by fence 10 feet high (Gazette 2/3/1818). In 1818, Legg left the Eagle hotel to manage the Bell tavern also on King Street near Commerce (Gazette 4/27/1818). Five years later however, Legg returned to the former tavern, which had undergone considerable repair (Gazette 6/19/1823).

As early as 1817, dealers such as Matthew Hobson, Samuel C. Hunt and Austin Woolfolk, used Legg's tavern as a meeting place to buy and sell slaves (Gazette 11/13/1817; 2/3, 8/17, 11/23/1824). Later advertisements suggest that Legg may have provided slave pens on the premise. Most of these agents called for an average of 30-40 slaves at a time.

In November, 1824, Eli Legg offered the tavern with all its furnishings for sale because he intended to move to the country. Acquired by John W. Smith, the King Street establishment reopened in February, 1825 as the Southrn Hotel. Smith continued to allow slave trading on the premises. In fact, special treatment was provided for the gentlemen of the Southern Country and for the security and support of their servants (Gazette 11/25/1824; 2/15/1825).

At the end of 1820s, a house and lot on the 1300 block of Duke Street was leased for the sole purpose of holding and trading black slaves (an archeological investigation was conducted on this site by Janice G. Artemel et al. A detailed report of their findings, entitled Archeology of Urban Captivity, was written in 1987). On the heels of its success, another, distinct slave pen was established four blocks to the west. Both seem to have prospered until the Civil War.

In 1829, Isaac Franklin and John Armfield leased a three-story brick dwelling and one acre lot fronting Duke Street between West and Payne (square II. Alex Land Tax 1829). The commodious house was built by General Robert Young in 1813 and served as his dwelling during the early 1820s (Gazette 8/4/1818, 4/20/1820; Alex Land Tax 1810-1830). Its value of \$3000 in 1828, increased to \$3600 after Franklin & Armfield took occupation. Five years later the property was worth \$4600, and increased further to \$7000 in 1836 (Alex Land Tax 1828-1836).

Based on property value, the additions made by Franklin & Armfield were quite extensive. Photographs and maps of the slave pen made during the Civil War show a sprawling complex connecting to Young's original

building (Plate 2). The structure occupied almost the entire one acre lot (Merrick 1865).

Franklin & Armfield constantly advertised in the Gazette. Almost continuous notices appeared in the Gazette from 1829 to 1832. The earliest found was the following:

CASH FOR NEGROES

We wish to purchase 100 likely negroes of both sexes from 12 to 25 years of age, field hands, also mechanics of every description. Persons wishing to sell would do well to give us a call, as we are determined to give higher prices for slaves than any other purchaser who is now or may be hereafter in this market . . . We can at all times be found at our residence, west end of Duke Street, Alexandria DC

Franklin & Armfield (Gazette 10/15/1829)

The following summer, they were calling for 150 slaves, and by November, 1832, they increased their request to 200. Franklin & Armfield were reportedly shipping 100 or more slaves every two weeks to New Orleans. Isaac Franklin managed the wholesale operation in Alexandria while in New Orleans, John Armfield supervised the retail sales (Gazette 6/1/1830; 11/20/1832; Cheek and Zatz 1986:24-25).

By 1835, Franklin & Armfield was the largest slave brokerage in the county (Cheek and Zatz 1986:25). In this year, after six years of leasing, the slave dealers bought the houselot on the 1300 block. The ensuing deed, dated April 16, 1835, also conveyed to Franklin & Armfield two additional lots. These also had been part of General Young's estate (southeast parcel of square I and lot 75-75). Franklin & Armfield paid \$2500 for all three lots, which comprised 2 1/2 acres (Alexandria Deed Book V2:260). Two years later, in 1837, the entire operation was leased to George Kephart (Alexandria Land Tax 1837).

For the next seven years, Kephart, an Alexandria resident, managed the slave pen. During that time he added two more neighboring lots to the complex (northwest quarter of square I. Alexandria Deed Books B3:126; E3:203). In 1844, Joseph Bruin purchased a houselot just 400 yards west of Kephart and commenced another slave pen (Plate 3; Figure 5, lot C2) (Fairfax County Deed Book K3:151). Within two weeks of his acquisition, Bruin desired to purchase immediately 50 likely young negroes for the South, and would pay good prices for all slaves aged 10 to 99 (Gazette 3/20/1844).

Apparently the slave market was large enough so that both dealers made handsome profits. There appears to have been little competition between the two establishments. In 1846, Kephart purchased the three original lots of the slave pen from Franklin & Armfield--who were now residents of Louisiana and Tennessee respectively--for \$9000. He left its management to Richard Windsor and moved to Frederick County Maryland (Alexandria Land Tax 1843-1846; Alexandria Deed Book G3:328). Tax



Plate 2. The slave trading facility at 1315 Duke Street (Russell 1982:Plate 99) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).



Plate 3. Hooff Realty, view to the north (previously Bruin's Slave Prison) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

records for this year listed the slave pen property as owned by Kephart & Harbin (Alexandria Land Tax 1846-1849).

Although Kephart was now a Maryland resident, he continued to buy additional lots surrounding the slave pen. In 1847, he owned nearly five acres of land laying on both the north and south sides of Duke Street and several tenements (Alexandria Deed Books H3:328, 331; J3:149 missing, reference in Q3:311; Alex Land Tax 1846-1850). Included in this property was the entire two-acre square on which the slave pen stood (square II) and the old Nevitt house lot on the square to the east (on square III). In 1848, Robert B. Brashier occupied the slave pen; the following year Martin was listed as its occupant. Robert Windsor, however, still occupied Kephart's tenement on the 1200 block (Alex Land Tax 1848-1850). George Kephart's Duke Street properties were valued at \$9300 in 1849 (Alexandria Land Tax 1849).

Bruin's dwelling house and slave prison complex, meanwhile, was appraised at \$5,500 in 1849. The slave pen complex was situated on the western portion of the two-acre lot. It consisted of two brick buildings, a two-story jail, 42 ft x 31 ft and a 1 1/2 story wash house, 15 ft x 13 ft (Mutual Assurance:294A). Bruin's dwelling house, situated on the eastern portion of the lot with 70 ft frontage on Duke Street, was separated from the jail lot by a fence line (Note: from these records, there is no doubt that the existing brick structure at 1707 Duke Street was Bruin's slave prison (Fairfax Deed Book E4:128, 148).

Prosperity continued for both operations into the 1850s. By 1853 however, Kephart experienced financial troubles (Alexandria Deed Book 03:592). Between May 1853 and August 1854, Kephart, now a resident of Loudoun County, Virginia, sold the five lots surrounding the slave pen for over \$5,100 (Alexandria Deed Books 03:592; P3:187; Q3:311 T3:386). Finally, in May 1858, he sold the three-story brick house and jail attached to Charles M. Price of Montgomery County, MD, and John C. Cook of Washington, DC, for \$7000. Walker R. Millin was occupying the property at the time of conveyance (Alexandria Deed Books T3:353; U3:198).

During the same period, documentation indicates that while Kephart's business faltered, Bruin's improved. Joseph Bruin's property was reappraised at a \$700 increase in 1853. Three years later he purchased a neighboring one-acre lot (parcel of lot C3. Mutual Assurance:17,674; Fairfax County Land Tax 1867; Fairfax Deed Book N4:1).

The Civil War put a halt to the slave trade. By the time federal troops occupied Alexandria in April, 1861, both Bruin and Price, Birch & Company (as the establishment on the 1300 block was called just prior to the Civil War) abandoned their businesses (Barber 1988:62).

Bruin who had fled the area, was captured in late May, 1862. He was apprehended near Gum Springs in Loudoun County (Gazette 5/30/1862). On the way to the the Old Capital Prison in Washington, federal soldiers brought the prisoner through Alexandria where he was seen by several of

his fellow citizens. Bruin was held only six weeks, and by July 16, he had been released (Gazette 7/16/1862).

Both slave pens were confiscated by the U. S. Marshall and used for Federal purposes for most of the war (Gazette 10/29/1862; 3/1/1864). They were quite a novelty for northern soldiers, most of whom had never seen a slave prison (Barber 1988:62-63). For the duration of the war, the prison cells were used to hold disorderly soldiers. In addition, any vacant cells ironically were occupied by blacks who came to Alexandria by the thousands to escape their enslavement in the South (Barber, 1988:63; Gazette 9/29/1862). The old brick house on the 1200 block, built 50 years earlier by Charles Nevitt, burned October 21, 1862. At the time it was used as quarters for contrabands (Gazette 10/21/1862).

In December, 1862, Fairfax Unionists deemed it hazardous to hold court at the County courthouse in Fairfax, because of its proximity to the enemy lines (Netherton et al. 1978:348). As a result, that court's first meeting in five months was held at Joseph Bruin's confiscated house in West End (Fairfax County Minute Book:1/19/1863 [Netherton et al. 1978:349]).

By January 1864, Jonathan Roberts, the Fairfax County sheriff had moved his office into Bruin's former dwelling (Gazette 1/7/1864). On July 20, 1864, Bruin's confiscated property was sold in three parcels at public auction. Roberts purchased the eastern portion, which included the brick dwelling, John A. Sherer of Alexandria purchased the western portion with the jail house, William V. S. Wilson, of Washington, acquired the Bruin acre-lot (Fairfax Deed Book E4:128, 130, 148). Four months earlier, all or part of the Price, Birch & Company's slave pen was sold to W. A. Duncan (Gazette 3/1, 7/20/1864).

UNITED STATES MILITARY RAILROAD HISTORY

In the late 1840s, the city of Alexandria began a new era of growth and expansion with the advent of railroads. The first venture with railroads, the Alexandria and Harpers Ferry Railroad, was chartered in 1847 although this railroad proved to be a failure (Hurd 1988:6).

Three other railroads constructed during the 1850's were successful ventures. These lines were the Orange and Alexandria (O&ARR), the Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire and the Manassas Gap Railroad (AL&HRR). Each of these railroads played an important role in the economy of Alexandria during the 1850's as well as a strategic role in the upcoming war in the next decade.

Nationally, early railroad ventures were similar to other types of transportation enterprises during the nineteenth century: expensive to finance and subject to great political influence (Meyer 1948:457-459). Due to the funding base, subscribers largely dictated where the lines would run and how (or if) they would junction with other rail lines. This was quite evident by the construction of the rail lines in Alexandria.

While the O&ARR and the AL&HRR both originated in Alexandria, the lines were not connected. Similarly, the Alexandria and Washington Railroad, a short span extending from Alexandria to the western side of the Long Bridge (which connected Alexandria and the district), wasn't connected to the other two lines in town. Further, this line was stopped at the Long Bridge because Washington commercial interests would have been adversely affected by this railroad (Hurd 1988:6). Therefore, goods brought into the town by any of the rail lines would have to be transported by wagon to the other lines in town if transport was to occur to another destination besides the port of Alexandria.

Naturally, the destination for most goods at this time was the principal cities served by the rail companies; however each company wanted to gain profits from the various farm regions and cities which they ministered to. It only made good business sense to keep the rail lines separate so that all profits from a region would be gathered by the rail line linking the area to the city.

These ideas originally served the purpose for which they were intended and many railroads across the nation prospered. Unfortunately, the long range prosperity of railroads and their significance as transportation links between cities and towns across the nation could not be survive under this plan. The upcoming civil war would change and shape the use of railroads for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

As often occurs in wartime, industries are created or refined. The Civil War had a significant influence on how railroads were constructed and used. This altered the organization and the function of the

railways in the decades to follow the war. The changing role of the railroads during and following the war also greatly affected the cities that they served. While other factors certainly contributed to the decline of Alexandria during the late nineteenth century, the redefined role of railroads transportation also had a major impact into the post war economy of the town.

The Orange and Alexandria Railroad

The Orange and Alexandria Railroad was originally chartered in 1832 (Modelski 1984:20-22). Due to problems of funding, the line was not constructed for almost 20 years after the charter was granted. It is also possible that many years were spent deciding where the lines would be located. No matter what the reason, it wasn't until 1849 that the Orange and Alexandria Railroad Company expressed interest in developing a rail center at Alexandria. ✓

On January 22, 1850, the heirs of William Hartshorne sold half of the two acre 1200 block lots to the O&ARR for \$600.00 (Alexandria Deed Book L-3:196). The remainder of the lot was assessed by "five impartial men" selected by the O&ARR and was valued at \$500.00. The property was condemned and taken by the O&ARR (Alexandria Deed Book L-3:333).

The entire 1100 block south of Duke street was also purchased by the O&ARR from William B. Richards in 1850 (Alexandria Deed Book L3:145). A 50 ft right-of-way that extended westwardly along Wolfe Street (and Wolfe Street extended) from the intersection of Wilkes and Henry streets was purchased by the O&ARR late in 1850 (Alexandria City and Fairfax County Land Tax Records 1851).

Tax records for 1850 show the O&ARR paying tax for the 1100 and 1200 blocks on the south side of Duke Street, with the lots being valued at \$1100.00 each (Alexandria Land Tax Records 1850). By 1851, the 1200 block had a value of \$1400.00 and was listed as 1 square & shop. The 1100 block was listed as 1 square with an assigned value of \$1,200.00 (Alexandria Land Tax Records 1851).

The O&ARR company was developing this rail network to link Alexandria with the farmland of central and southern Virginia (Hurd 1988:6). The initial rail line included stops at Manassas Junction, Orange and Gordonsville. By the start of the Civil War, the line was extended a total of 161 miles to Lynchburg. ✓✓

Construction of the O&ARR continued throughout the 1850s and as early as 1853, the O&ARR was completed for 30 of its 98 miles (Meyer 1948:462). In 1853, capital stock on the O&ARR was \$1,037,500.00 with a state interest of \$600,000.00 (Meyer 1948:462). Only the Richmond and Petersburg Railroad had a higher value than the O&ARR.

In Alexandria, during the 1850's, a large brick roundhouse was constructed on the 1100 block of Duke Street and this became the depot for the O&ARR company. A shop was constructed on the 1200 block of Duke ✓

Street, railroad offices were built on the south side of the 1200 block of Wolfe Street and machine and engine shops were constructed on the south side of the 1000 block of Wolfe Street (Merrick, 1865). A total of eleven railway buildings were constructed by the O&ARR prior to the start of war in 1861 (Figure 10; Plates 4 and 5).

The presence of the roundhouse and machine shops in Alexandria suggest a operation of significant size prior to the war, however, only a single line of track extended beyond Alexandria towards Manassas Junction and terminated in Lynchburg. Like most early rail lines, the O&ARR was fortunate to have this line, particularly as long as this line had become. No tracks were placed in Alexandria which connected the O&ARR with the other two rail lines in the town.

As mentioned, the O&ARR initially extended to Gordonsville via Manassas. At Manassas Junction, the Manassas Gap Railroad extended westward to Front Royal. The Manassas Gap Railroad was proposed to be 103 miles long (extending to Mt. Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley) but in 1853, no construction had taken place. The Manassas Gap line connected with the O&ARR at Manassas Junction and this rail line had track rights over the O&ARR from Alexandria to Manassas (Hurd 1988:6). In addition, this railroad may have had its own track or at least a spur in Alexandria by 1855. Certain records indicate there was a Manassas Gap Railroad track running east-west in line with Jefferson Street between its supposed intersections with Hamilton and Mandeville lanes (Fairfax Deed Books W3:40, 290).

The Alexandria Loudoun and Hampshire Railroad extended from Alexandria northwest towards the Baltimore and Ohio railroad at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. The line was completed to Leesburg by 1861; however, further work was stopped due to the outset of war.

The Civil War

With the threat of war building during 1860 into the Spring of 1861, the strategic role of the railroads was considered by military leaders (Black 1952:56-57). The railroads leading to Alexandria were of great importance to the south, however, General R. E. Lee realized that these lines and the depots in Alexandria couldn't be held if attacked due to the proximity of the town to the Northern capital.

Unlike most of his Union counterparts prior to the war, Lee realized the significance of the railroads to his army. The problem facing Lee was that the southern railroads were in worse condition than those in the north. None of the rail lines connected and many of them served small localities. The south also lacked many of the industries needed for production of rails, locomotives and cars as well as the raw materials to use in rail and locomotive manufacture (Turner 1953:64-65).

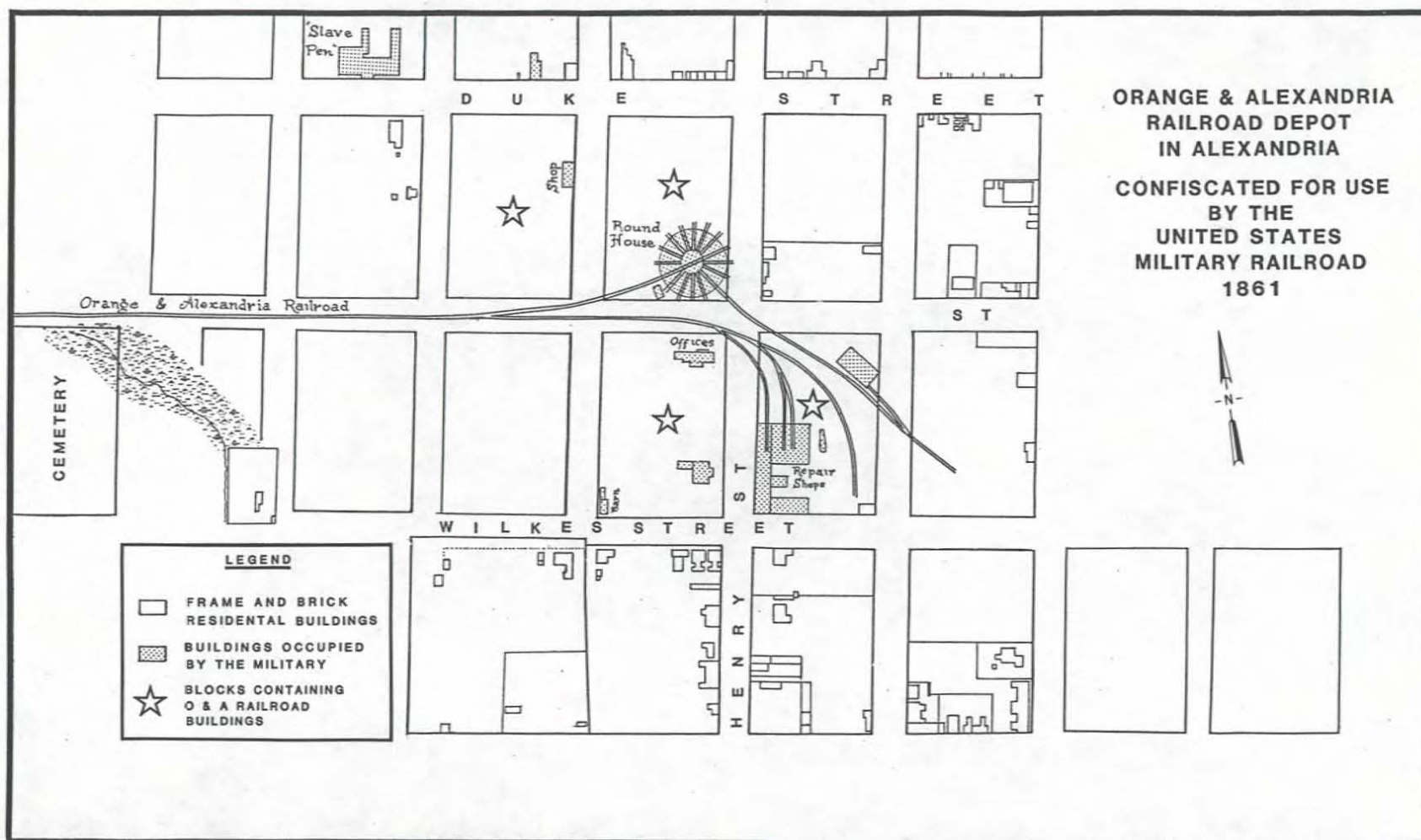


Figure 10. The O&ARR station occupied and operated as the USMRR by the Union Army in 1861 (detail of USMRR Station Map).

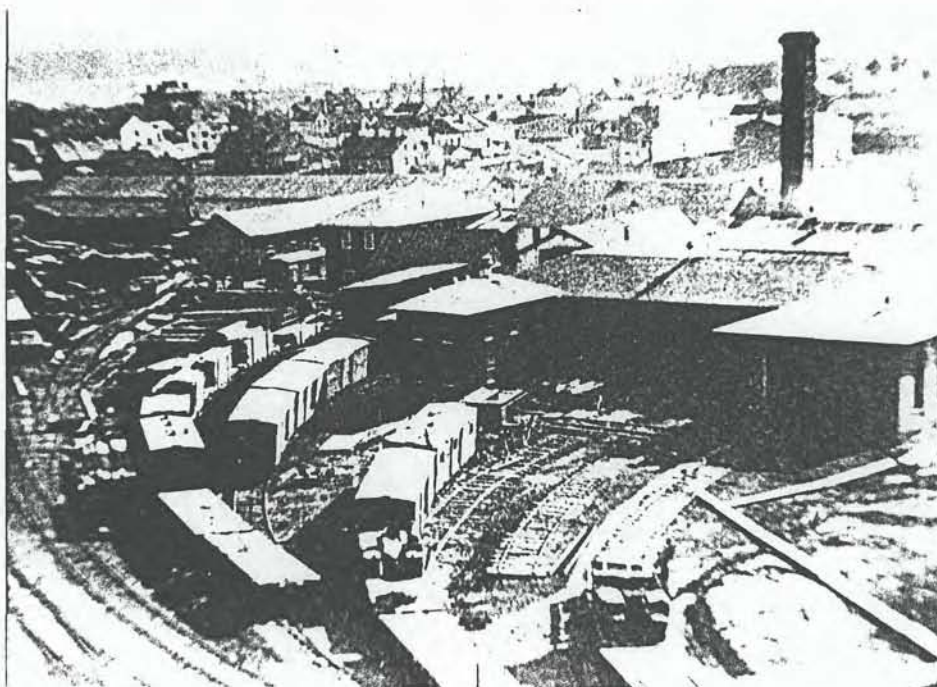


Plate 4. View to the southeast showing the expansive machine shops of the USMRR (Civil War Railroads and Models by Edwin P. Alexander, 1977:

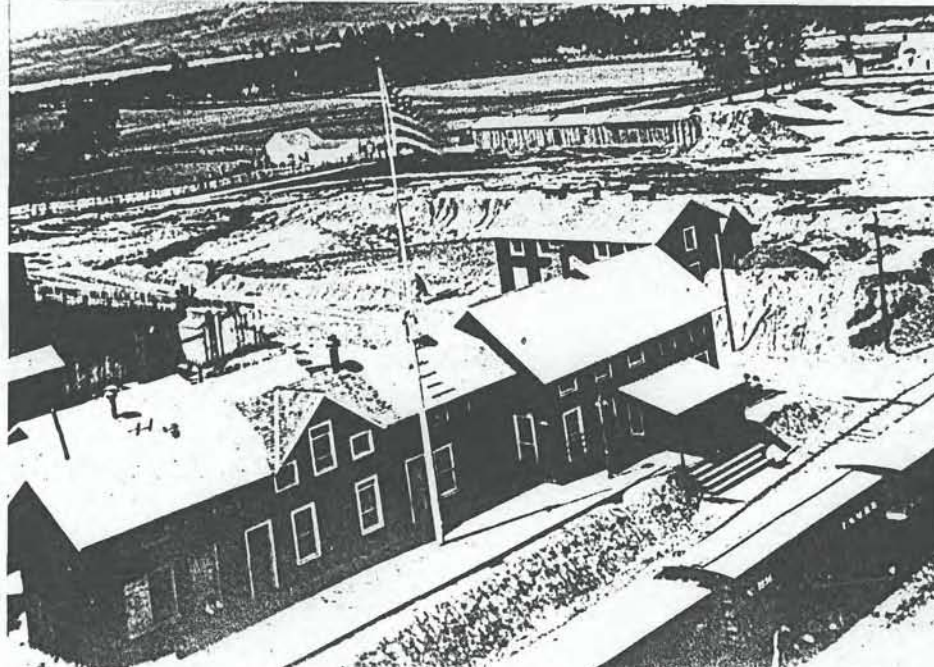


Plate 5. The USMRR offices, view to the southwest (The Guns of '62: vol. II by William C. Davis, 1982: 436) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

Furthermore, rail connections between the southern states east and west of the Mississippi were nonexistent.

Due to a shortage of militia to guard the railroads, each of the railroad companies had to muster their own defenders. In Alexandria, the safety of the O&ARR was tenuous, but the future of the Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire railroad was hopeless (Black 1952:57). Realizing the inevitable occupation of Alexandria by Union forces, the Confederates began to move locomotives, rolling stock, equipment and supplies out of town to Manassas Junction (Johnston 1961:25). Tons of flour, railway iron and other goods were moved away from the imminent Union occupation of Alexandria. ✓

Only five days prior to the federal occupation of Alexandria, Lee ordered a connector track to link the depot of the Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire and the O&ARR (Johnston 1961:25). Whatever equipment that couldn't be transferred south was burned and destroyed prior to the Union occupation. Considering the limited resources of the confederacy, it is surprising that these two lines were connected and that any equipment was moved.

Almost all (16 of 20) locomotives and rolling stock of the O&ARR were moved south to Manassas Junction prior to May 24, 1861 (Johnston 1961:25). Eleven hundred tons of quality rails, intended for the extension of the Manassas Gap Railroad, had to be left behind and would be seized by the Union. These rails were vital to the Confederate cause but due to the poor organization of the rail systems, the rails could not be removed in time. ✓✓

USMRR Operations (Eastern Theatre)

1861

When Alexandria was occupied on May 24, 1861, the Union troops occupied the railroads and defended them against attack, although at this time, the war planners were unsure of just what to do with the railroads. The invention of locomotives and railroads had occurred earlier in the 19th century, but the railroads were privately owned and very little significance had been placed on using railroads for military use (Davis 1982:399).

Military strategies during the mid-nineteenth century expected armies to be mobile and the railroads tended to keep the army focused on certain areas where the rail lines ran. Military leaders on both sides (but particularly in the north) felt that this inhibited the movement of the armies. Major exceptions to this thinking were Union Generals Grant and McClellan and Confederate Generals Lee and Jackson.

The standard locomotive during the war was steam powered and of the 4-4-0 classification. The 4-4-0 included two sets of four wheels at the front and center of the locomotive with none under the cab. The box cars and passenger cars were very similar to cars in use until the 20th

century except they were slightly shorter than modern cars (Westwood 1980:18). The size of the track varied somewhat between different companies and varied considerably on railroads in the south. The variation in track size meant that the trains could only run on track of a certain size. If the tracks varied too greatly, trains couldn't be switched between railroads.

At the outset of the war, the Union owned over 21,000 miles of rails compared to the south's 9,000 miles. Further, the majority of the locomotives and track were manufactured in the north (Davis 1982:401). The north also had the facilities to maintain and repair existing lines as well as construct new ones (Plate 6). At the start of the war, only a few facilities existed in the south to construct locomotives. Finally, if the south did have the facilities to improve their rail lines, very few quality railroad engineers lived in the south who could improve the situation (Turner 1953:42-43).

Even though these advantages existed for the north, the military authorities were naive as to the administration of railroads at the outset of the war (Davis 1982:402). Secondly and as important, politics played a significant role in shaping the early organization and use of the railroads. Particularly at the outset of war, political thinking seemingly impaired the better judgement of key leaders.

Despite confusion over rail use, once war was declared, Lincoln sent word to the state Governors of the North to mobilize their militia and to send them to Washington by rail (Turner 1953:46). Immediately, troops were mobilized and the trains began transporting them towards the capitol. A serious problem quickly became apparent as only one rail line (of the 21,000 northern miles) extended from Baltimore to the capitol. This immediately caused a bottleneck effect and the trains quickly slowed to a halt. This problem was further complicated as Maryland was a neutral state in the brewing conflict and the Union had to be careful not to offend this state.

As complicated as the situation was, northern politics, as often the case, further compounded the predicament. Secretary of War Cameron was a railroad man who had interest in the lines and apparently was in no hurry to provide business for the rival Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (Turner 1953:45-61). The B&O owned the single rail line that reached the capitol and was needed to supply troops. Only after a series of threatening letters and considerable embarrassment to many railroad executives and political leaders, was this situation corrected and the rail lines opened to Washington. Conflict of interest such as this by Cameron coupled with the rivalries between the various northern railroad companies kept the railroads from operating at their potential throughout 1861.

Because of these problems with the B&O the organization of the United States Military Railroads was created (Westwood 1980:37-38). During May, 1861, the War Department took possession of the B&O between Washington and Annapolis Junction. By occupying this line, the USMRR



Plate 6. Stock pile of rails at the western extension of the USMRR (Lord 1969:127) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

was officially started. Again politics caused difficulty as Cameron appointed a friend to manage this line rather than B&O personnel who would have been more familiar with the line (Westwood 1980:38).

The problems of politics inhibiting military operations continued throughout the war. Fortunately for the north, the case of politics governing rail operations would be addressed through legislation passed in 1862. From that time forward, the organization of the railroads rapidly improved and these railroads would ultimately play a significant role in Union victory.

It was quickly becoming apparent to the Union that the capacities of the railroads for transport of men and supplies was worth the limitations of where the rail lines were situated. Unfortunately, early efforts to run the lines were mishandled by military men trying to tell railway men how the system should work. Despite the early faults, the Union's efforts to organize the railroads were far superior to the Confederacy and the organizational differences between northern and southern railroad management would increase significantly as the war progressed.

The early war rail system was organized and directed under the Quartermaster's Department (Weber 1952:37). R. N. Morley became the first superintendent of the USMRR. While the position was filled in title, little was accomplished in directing the concerted efforts of the Union's rail lines. Throughout the war, the Quartermaster's Department was officially operating the railroads although in practice, civilian railroad engineers maintained the railroads operating efficiency.

Organizational problems existed throughout the USMRR system. During the first year of the war, military officials muddled through, relying on the quartermaster's department to handle the movement of men and supplies. This system was inadequate and only served as a temporary solution to the problem of how to use the railroads to the best advantage of the military (Lloyd House Library 1865).

1862

Due to the conflict of interest under Cameron's administration coupled with difficulties in gaining cooperation of the rail companies, Lincoln took action. Cameron was replaced as secretary of War by Edwin Stanton. Furthermore, a bill was passed by the Federal government in January, 1862 that required cooperation of rail companies (Turner 1952:104). This "railroad" bill stated that any railroads (northern or southern) could be confiscated by the military for the transport of troops or supplies and would be used under military authority, not the railroad company (Library of Congress 1866).

Section 2 of the bill stated that anyone attempting to interfere with the government use of the property was subject to court-martial and full punishment including the death penalty. The significance of this bill was that the government began to realize the importance of the

railroads in rapidly transporting troops and supplies in a orderly fashion. The government was also planning to strictly enforce this as shown in section 2. This legislation represents strategic decision making by the government that allowed railroads to positively influence the outcome of the war.

While this law was passed, it apparently was used more to scare the railway companies into helping the war effort than to actually follow through with the penalties. Only confederate railroads were taken under this legislation during the war. Whatever the tactic, it worked as the northern railway companies always provided the assistance needed without major conflict throughout the duration of the war.

In February, Secretary Stanton made use of this new bill. He sent word that the newly appointed military director and superintendent of all USMRR, D. C. McCallum, had authority to enter and take possession of "all railroads, engines, cars, locomotives, equipments, appendages, and appurtenances" necessary to maintain the army (Library of Congress 1866).

The only railroad held by the government at this time was the seven mile stretch between Washington and Alexandria. Tracks were laid in Alexandria to form a junction between this line and the O&ARR. This was the main rail connector between Washington and Alexandria throughout the war and this line ran continuously for the duration of the war (Library of Congress 1866).

Unfortunately, Alexandria and the government controlled A1&HRR and O&ARR were part of a poorly organized Union war operation. The town was becoming a major supply and hospital center and yet, continual changes in the Union high command and in the local government caused confusion. The railroads were still in much the same shape as when they were occupied almost a year earlier and supplies were stockpiled in the town while only minimal efforts were made to forward these supplies to the front.

An example of problems at the USMRR depot in Alexandria was noted on a report from General McCallum to his superiors in 1862. The report indicates that water had to be carried from nearby streams to fill the locomotive engine tanks. This caused great delays and backups. Other problems included untrained engineers and a "lack of promptness in loading troops" (War of the Rebellion Series I, Vol 12:333).

While McCallum had taken control of the military railroads and supervised the war effort of the railroad, it was quite apparent that efforts would be needed by subordinates to actually carry out orders particularly in the field. By late April, Herman Haupt, a resourceful railroad engineer was called to Alexandria by Secretary of War Stanton to direct all military rail operations. On May 28, 1862, Haupt and Stanton agreed to the terms of employment and Haupt took the job at the rank of Colonel (Lord 1969:55).

Haupt immediately began to upgrade the existing rail system and started to construct new track and rail buildings. It was Haupt that organized the fundamental principles of the USMRR. The USMRR was divided into a construction corp and transportation corps. The construction corps managed directly by Haupt himself while his trusted assistant J. H. Devereux managed the transportation corps (Davis 1982:405).

Haupt's early efforts involved the transport of the army back from the Shenandoah Valley across rails and bridges that had recently been rebuilt by his newly formed construction corps (Haupt 1981:64). Initially, the construction corps consisted of soldiers who were assigned the duty. This system proved to be inadequate and soon Haupt was hiring contraband and civilian railway men. In time the construction corps in the eastern theatre numbered over 300 men (Lloyd House Library 1865). The total construction corps for both theatres was over 10,000 men by wars end.

In June, 1862, Haupt was named the director of the USMRR construction corp and J. H. Devereux was listed as the superintendent of the USMRR station in Alexandria (Lloyd House Library 1865). Other officers included E. L. Wentz, J. J. Moore and A. Anderson, all engineers of repairs for the USMRR station.

While McCallum was the superintendent of the USMRR, Haupt was given control over several lines that were also under McCallum's direction (Weber 1952:142). This could have proven disastrous, however, Haupt and McCallum apparently worked around these problems. By late June, Haupt was given orders from the President of the United States that outlined not only his duties, but those of the Construction and Transportation corps that soon would be developed. The order read:

You are authorized to do whatever you may deem expedient to open for use in the shortest possible time all military railroads now or hereafter required in said Department; to use the same for transportation under such rules and regulations as you may prescribe; to appoint such assistants and employees as you may deem necessary, define their duties and fix their compensation; to make requisitions upon any of the military authorities, with the approval of the Commanding General, for such temporary or permanent details of men as may be required for the construction or protection of lines of communication; to use such Government steamers and transports as you may deem necessary; to pass free of charge in such steamers and transports, and on other military roads, all persons whose services may be required in construction or transportation; to purchase all such machinery, rolling stock and supplies as the proper use and operation of the said railroads may require, and certify the same to the Quartermaster General, who shall make payment therefor.

You are also authorized to form a permanent corps of artificers, organized, officered and equipped in such manner as you may

prescribe; to supply said corps with rations, transportation , tools and implements by requisitions upon the proper departments; to employ civilians and foremen and assistants, under such rules and rates of compensation as you may deem expedient; to make such additions to ordinary rations when actually at work as you may deem necessary.

You are also authorized to take possession of and use all railroads, engines, cars, machinery and appurtenances within the geographical limits of the Department of the Rappahannock, and all authority granted or instructions heretofore given to other parties which may in any way conflict with the instructions herein contained are and will be without force or effect in the said Department of the Rappahannock from and after this date (Turner 1953:156-157).

During May, 1862, Haupt realized that rail lines could not function using the telegraph as the communication system (Weber 1952:145). Too often, telegraph lines were cut and trains would be operating on a single line without communication. This left little control over what the trains did and often trains would be stalled for hours or days waiting for other locomotives to move on.

During the early summer of 1862, the O&ARR had been extended by the USMRR to Warrenton, 39 miles southwest of Alexandria (House Exec documents Vol.4#1251). Bridges were rebuilt and new track laid extending USMRR operations near the military front. Haupt worked feverishly to improve the system, particularly with regard to organizing the rail use. A serious problem facing Haupt was that many officers would take over rail lines to move men and equipment for their individual needs. Haupt did much to stamp this out during the late spring of 1862 (Turner 1953:159).

Haupt solved this by implementing a schedule that all lines would follow. Under no circumstances were the trains to break this schedule. The engineers and superintendents at the various rail yards became quite adept at keeping the trains on schedule. Using this format, train activity on a single line increased from an average of three trains a day to 15 or more trains a day (Weber 1952:145-156).

Once the problem of scheduling was solved, Haupt began to reorganize how the supplies would be forwarded to the army. The basic organization had the USMRR transporting supplies while the Quartermaster's Department loaded and unloaded the equipment. This was efficient, however, military officers would often interfere and cause delays in the unloading process. This greatly reduced the efficiency of the supply process (Lord 1969:108-111).

Haupt laid down three basic principles for railroad movement of supplies. First, supplies wouldn't be sent forward unless they were needed. Second, railway cars were to be promptly unloaded and returned from the front. Third, no trains were to be delayed beyond the normal

time fixed for starting the trains (Lord 1969:110). While this helped the situation, problems continued to persist due to military officer's interference.

In late June, despite all that Haupt accomplished, General Pope, the new commander of the Army of the Potomac, decided that the railroads should not have independent direction (Turner 1953:161). Pope felt that railroads weren't important to military operations and that if used, the operation should be under his direct command.

It should be noted that Haupt was a difficult man to get along with and in this situation, Pope felt that Haupt had overstepped his bounds in managing the rail lines (Turner 1952:140). Haupt resigned in protest of this decision; however, due to his expertise, certainly not his personality, he was urgently recalled by Secretary Stanton in early August. The message said "cannot get along without you, not a wheel moving on any of the roads" (Haupt 1981:65).

While this problem occurred with Pope, Haupt also had problems with the other military commanders. He was impatient with McClellan, insubordinate with Burnside, and constantly pestered Commander-in-Chief Halleck because Haupt wanted things done his way (Weber 1952:140-141). Haupt also had a bad habit of speaking out on issues that weren't his concern. Furthermore, he often put his thoughts in writing thereby causing embarrassment due to letters that he sent to the War and Navy Departments (Lord 1969:247-253).

Due to his extraordinary skills and importance to the operation of the USMRR, Haupt finally did get the overall control that he was seeking. Following the battle of Cedar Mountain in August, 1862, a message was relayed by Pope stating that all railroads, particularly the O&ARR would be placed under Haupt's direct control. All requisitions for travel, construction, or repair were to be sent directly to Haupt (Haupt 1981:70). Haupt established his headquarters at the USMRR station in Alexandria. All subsequent operations were administered from this station.

Haupt delighted in finding how badly the railroads had been managed during his absence so that he could fix it (Turner 1952:147). In spite of his personal faults, Haupt was responsible for developing general principles of railway supply lines and detailed methods of railway construction and destruction. More than any other person, Haupt was responsible for shaping the USMRR and providing supplies for the Army of the Potomac. Haupt's principles of organization were applied later in the war on a much larger scale by USMRR personnel in support of Sherman's Georgia campaign in 1864-1865 (Turner 1952:141).

By August 24 1862, Haupt sent word that the railroads could, under favorable conditions transport 20,000 men a day. On August 26, General McClellan returned from his lost Peninsula campaign. General Pope already had been appointed to command the army and McClellan was resentful of losing his command (Barber 1988:33).

McClellan's immediate task was to determine why supplies weren't being forwarded to Pope's army near Manassas. Instead McClellan decided to wait and let Pope take care of matters himself. Meanwhile, the confederates had cut off Pope's communication lines and the railroad bridges. Mass quantities of supplies were in Alexandria without a way to be transported to the front.

At this time, Haupt developed a priority system for the use by the USMRR stations at Alexandria and submitted this report on August 2, 1862. The transportation was to be furnished for: 1) subsistence for the men in the field, 2) forage for horses, 3) ammunition 4) hospital stores 5) infantry regiments that have seen service 6) raw troops and 7) batteries (artillery) (Haupt 1981:89). In the upcoming days this prioritizing was invaluable in speeding the transport of supplies to the Second Battle of Manassas.

McClellan took his time inspecting the situation in Alexandria choosing to let Pope and the army "tow his own line" (Barber 1988:33). The lack of cooperation was, in part a contributing factor in the upcoming loss of the Second Battle of Manassas.

Haupt realized that his construction corps could repair the destroyed rail bridges and rapidly resupply Pope's army. To do this, he needed the approval of McClellan. McClellan balked at the idea and realizing that time was short, Haupt went along with his plan without approval. Haupt reported to General-in-Chief Henry Halleck on the night of August 28 that he had repaired the bridge across Pohick Creek (Barber 1988:34).

During the crucial two days of battle, Haupt supplied ammunition, food and surgeons to the battlefield and transported wounded back to Alexandria. Haupt also was careful to keep President Lincoln informed about what was happening at the front (Lord 1969:132-135). Of the 90,000 men stationed in and around the defenses of Washington, Haupt succeeded in transporting 20,500 men to Pope's army (Turner 1952:147). While the battle was still lost, the proper usage of the railroads had kept the loss from being disastrous. Haupt was recognized by Secretary Stanton for the significance of his contribution in saving the army from further disaster.

Lessons learned from the failed Second Manassas campaign would be applied in September for the battle of Antietam. Supplies were promptly shipped on the AL&HRR and the army was well organized for the ensuing battle (Turner 1952:153).

Another valuable lesson learned by the Union during 1862 was the proper use of railroads for ambulatory service. During the early battles of the war, wounded were normally loaded onto box cars covered with straw on the floor. The transport of wounded in this manner cost many lives due to the rough travel (Westwood 1980:32).

Ambulance cars were developed which could carry more men and also carry them in stretchers. This greatly improved the chances of survival from the battlefields to the hospitals in Alexandria. The ambulance cars were developed from ordinary passenger cars which had seats removed and berths added. The berths had hair mattresses, pillows and blankets (Turner 1952:225). These cars had 12 berths, 6 per side and had seating for 18 additional "walking wounded".

As time passed, entire trains were devoted to the transport of wounded troops. These trains were marked to identify them as carrying wounded. One such train operated regularly on the O&ARR between the fronts and the hospitals in Alexandria and Washington (Pratt 1916:88).

During the fall of 1862, Haupt began a series of experiments involving the destruction and repair of railroads and rail bridges. One such experiment was a torpedo that Haupt developed that could destroy a standard Howe Truss bridge (Turner 1952:155). Other experiments included a "U" shaped gadget that could quickly and easily destroy rails by twisting them (Lord 1969:265).

Track laying and repair also became a science worked out in detail by Haupt at the USMRR station in Alexandria. Here he and his engineers developed new faster ways to lay track and repair track destroyed during the constant confederate raids along the lines.

During the fall of 1862, Haupts also developed other helpful experiments in bridge construction. New methods of bridge construction were experimentally designed at the USMRR station. Pre-assembled bridge trestles were made in mass to be transported on boxcars to the areas where bridges needed repair or replacement (Turner 1952:225). This new design provided rapid and sturdy replacements for bridges destroyed in confederate raids.

By the fall of 1862, Haupt's construction corps was largely made up of contraband and civilian carpenters. While Haupt praised the supervisors, he noted that the 1,000 or so contraband who had worked for him did their tasks with enthusiasm, and each gang worked to exceed the others (Haupt 1981:319). Haupt went on to say that this humble corps, found no historian to do them honor and that "no other class of men would have exhibited so much patience and endurance under days and nights of continued and sleepless labor" (Haupt 1981:319). *Contraband*

Even though extraordinary accomplishments were made during the months that Haupt and the other railroad men had organized the rail system, complaints were made and most of these complaints were directed at Haupt (Pratt 1916:49-50). Officers were taking over trains to transport themselves and their men and Haupt would not allow it. Therefore, these men filed complaints saying that the railroad wasn't organized and needed to be under military control.

This time, Haupt was supported by military leaders and a letter from the Secretary of War dated November 10, 1862, let it be known the

railroads would remain under Haupt and his men. Further, the officers duty at rail stops was to guard the trains and water towers while the railroad men handled the unloading of troops (Pratt 1916:50). By this time, the importance of an organized rail system was quite clear to the high command and they were determined not to allow interference.

In December, the battle at Fredericksburg was fought and the railway served the dual role of supplier and transporter of wounded (Barber 1988:42). By this time, the operation was being handled by seasoned railway men and this expedited the arrival of supplies to the front, as well as helped to bring wounded troops back to Alexandria in a timely manner.

Following the Fredericksburg campaign, the armies encamped for the winter. Lee, fearing a possible flanking maneuver by Burnside, decided to send his cavalry northward to destroy supply and telegraph lines. Jubal Early, commander of this detachment moved his raiders to within 9 miles of the USMRR station. He took over a telegraph office at Burke Station (Johnston 1961:120). Before abandoning the station, Early used the captured telegraph to relay a message to the Quartermaster General in Alexandria stating that he was unhappy with the "poor quality of the mules being furnished to the Confederacy" by the Union (Johnston 1961:121).

1863

Early's raid was the first of many threats to the USMRR station that would occur in the upcoming spring. The closeness of the Confederate cavalry and the ease with which they penetrated the defense network of the capitol caused quite a stir to the high command. During the summer of 1863, Haupt had a stockade built around the USMRR depot to protect against confederate attack (Plate 7).

Following the confederate defeat at Gettysburg in July, a letter was sent from the USMRR station that railroads were being reconstructed from Alexandria to Warrenton and that 530 loaded (supplies) boxcars were forwarded to the Army of the Potomac (Haupt 1981:252). It was a never ending process for the USMRR staff to be rebuilding bridges and track in northern Virginia following raids by the confederates.

In the annual report for 1863, McCallum discussed the importance of the railroad during and following the battle of Gettysburg (Lloyd House Library 1865). The railroads from Hanover Junction to Gettysburg were taken over by the USMRR and were staffed by personnel from the USMRR in Alexandria. Until early August, the men, equipment, engines and cars were supplied by the Alexandria station. During this period they helped to evacuate wounded and supply the army.

In August, Haupt sent word to his superiors that his railway workers needed more protection. Noting that the military couldn't always spare men, he suggested that the construction corps be "self

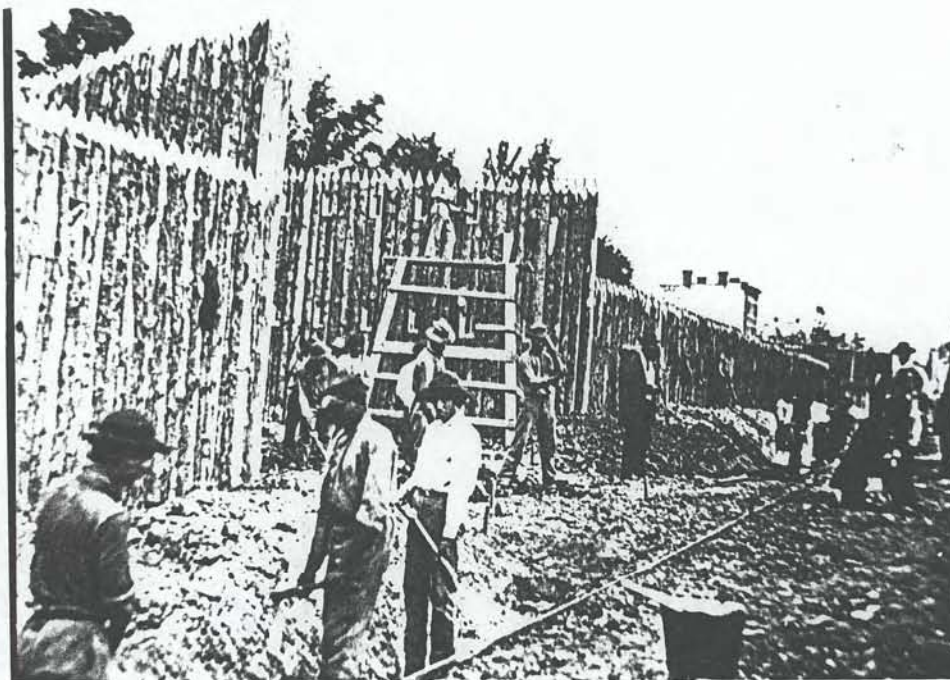


Plate 7. Construction of the stockade around the USMRR complex, summer 1863. (Civil War Photographs 116 Prints by Andrew J. Russell, 1982:Plate 106) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

protected" (Haupt 1981:258). He proposed to have the men drill and be armed and was asking for the arms and munitions from the military.

Haupt always felt that he should remain with the USMRR only as long as he was useful. He had said from the outset that if his services weren't needed, he wanted to return to civilian life (Haupt 1981:264). Unfortunately, Haupt left the USMRR position due to political pressures that were of no benefit to the government or Haupt. Officially, on September 14, 1863, Haupt was relieved of his position and Col. D. C. McCallum took over the position.

This situation however needs some explanation. From the outset of his military career, Haupt had stated he had many interests back in Massachusetts. Haupt would have preferred to pursue these interests as he was losing money and prestige by not being able to defend himself on the Hoosac Tunnel Railroad project he had started prior to his military service (Lord 1969:252-257). However, Haupt had come to Washington at the request of Secretary Stanton to help in the war effort. It had been agreed for Haupt to serve, but only if he could leave if necessary to defend his Hoosac Tunnel interests.

During the fall of 1862, Haupt had received a promotion to Brigadier General although he never formally accepted this position. In 1863, Massachusetts Governor Andrew came to Washington for a series of meetings with Secretary Stanton (Lord 1969:252-257). The two men devised a plan that would force Haupt to accept the commission (for brigadier General) and this would keep him from returning home to protect his interest in the Hoosac Tunnel project. Naturally, Haupt and Governor Andrews were on opposite sides of the tunnel issue.

Stanton called Haupt to his office and told him that if he didn't accept the commission, he would not receive his pay. Haupt responded that he didn't care about the pay and reiterated the fact that if he wasn't needed, he would resign. Haupt made it clear that he would not accept the commission, which would have kept him from returning to Massachusetts to protect his interest. To this response, Stanton exploded "I will relieve you at once, sir" (Weber 1952:168). Following and exchange of formal letters, Haupt officially was relieved of his duties on September 14, 1863, and he returned home (Lord 1969:253).

Throughout the fall of 1863 and into the spring of 1864, the Army of the Potomac was supplied at Culpeper, Virginia, by the USMRR station in Alexandria (Turner 1952:169). The supply was to continue into the Spring Campaign. This operation was one of the last in supplying the army that was undertaken by the USMRR station at Alexandria.

1864-1865

The new Union strategy for the spring campaign of 1864 was under the direction of General Grant. Unlike the earlier commanders of the army of the Potomac, Grant determined that a continuous series of attacks and flanking maneuvers would keep the pressure on Lee. Grant

also knew that the supplies and resources of the north could support his campaign while Lee couldn't be so easily resupplied. This war of attrition would cost the Union dearly in soldiers, but ultimately this strategy did win the war. Throughout his campaigns in the west, Grant had realized the importance of rail lines for supply and troop movement.

A integral part of his strategy was to destroy Lee's supply lines (railroads) and therefore starve the Confederate army into surrendering. Within a year from the start of the campaign, the confederate army would lose their last supply line. The army was surrounded at Appomattox, near a rail junction that Lee was trying to reach his only remaining supply line. Grant had accomplished his task of cutting off supply lines and Lee surrendered on April 9, 1865.

USMRR Station at Alexandria

1861

On May 24, 1861, the city of Alexandria was occupied by the Union army. Colonel Orlando B. Wilcox reported on the evening of May 24 that "Alexandria is ours" (Barber 1988:15). The town was placed under martial law and the railroads and telegraphs were seized. This was the beginning of four years of unending occupation and martial law for the town.

By occupying the O&ARR depot at Alexandria, the Union confiscated the extensive repair shops (Johnston 1961:25). This not only provided the Union with a first rate rail depot at their front lines, but denied the confederacy of the important repair shops that they were in desperate need of.

Once the excitement of the initial occupation died down, the task of preparing defenses began. Washington and its surrounding suburbs, including Alexandria, needed to be protected from confederate attack. Strategic military objectives such as the rail lines and the two turnpikes entering town were placed under guard (Lancaster 1986:20). Citizens were being arrested for minor offenses by bored military personnel which could have been serving in more significant capacities.

General William R. Montgomery was named the military governor in Alexandria and served from May, 1861, till February of 1862. Montgomery helped to improve the situation between soldiers and civilians. It was during this period that the development of the military governor was initiated. While trial and error apparently represented the organization of the military district, the situation between soldiers and civilians did improve during the occupation.

The occupation of Alexandria created the first USMRR occupation of enemy rail lines including the O&ARR and AL&HRR (Figure 10). Including the rail lines and the depot captured in the city of Alexandria, the Union occupied 1,673 miles of Virginia track (including the Baltimore

and Ohio in Western Virginia), while the confederates maintained 1,345 miles of rail lines in Virginia (Johnston 1961:4).

During the early months of the war, Union leaders in Alexandria were unsure of what to expect. Most strategists from the Union and the Confederacy felt that one battle would decide the outcome of the war. Naturally each side felt the battle would go their way.

In Alexandria, barricades were placed along many of the main thoroughfares to protect against confederate raids. Numerous military camps were located outside the city limits. The slave pens on Duke Street were being used as a prison for disorderly soldiers and civilians (Plate 2).

Following the battle of First Manassas, it became evident that this conflict would continue indefinitely and Alexandria became a major supplier for the military (Barber 1988:23). Stockpiles of military supplies were accumulated during this period. Unfortunately, limited efforts had been placed on moving these supplies to the front for the soldiers.

The USMRR began to expand on the newly acquired railroad facilities during 1861. The USMRR depot was being fitted up with gas during the fall and trains were reported to constantly be running from the depot (Local News Oct 16, 1861). A report in November showed that the army operated nine miles of the O&ARR and eleven miles of the AL&HRR (Weber 1952:38). Both of these lines originated in Alexandria and the lines were supplying all troops stationed near them.

In Alexandria, the machine shops taken over by the USMRR were in full operation repairing rolling stock and fabricating ironwork for bridge construction. Connector track was constructed to link the three rail lines in town with each other and with the wharves and warehouses. The connection and operation between these lines, centered around the O&ARR depot on Duke and Henry Streets provided the groundwork for the elaborate organization of the USMRR in the next year (Weber 1952:38-39).

Defenses were constructed around Washington following the First Manassas. These defenses included fortifications and barricades. Forts were placed on strategic hills while the barricades were placed across major roads. The construction of fortifications around Washington would continue throughout the war. In the area of Alexandria, the top of Shuter's Hill was turned into Fort Ellsworth.

1862

In February of 1862, General Montgomery resigned as military governor of Alexandria and was replaced by Col. Egbert Viele, who failed miserably at the position. He was quickly replaced by Col. Edgar M. Gregory (Barber 1988:24).

By April 1862, troops were leaving Alexandria by sea, headed for Hampton Roads and the Peninsula Campaign. Businesses shut down and Alexandria became a quiet town while most of the troops were fighting near Richmond. This phenomena occurred throughout the war in Alexandria. When troops were brought to town for upcoming campaigns, the town bustled with activity and the economy would improve. Just as quickly, when the men left for battles away from Alexandria, the economy would plummet.

The buildup of the USMRR station was centered around the roundhouse and utilize all buildings previously owned by the O&ARR. The establishment of the USMRR station at Alexandria initiated expansion on existing buildings and the new construction of railroad shops, engine houses, a commissary department and new rail spurs (Plate 8).

The USMRR station encompassed 12 city blocks between the intersections of Duke/Payne, Duke/Alfred, Gibbon/Alfred and Gibbon/Payne. An additional two block area, located adjacent to the southeastern edge of the complex, contained carpenters quarters. By the end of the war, the station would include over 75 buildings built by the USMRR construction corps as well as numerous other buildings that were confiscated when the railroad was seized (Figure 11).

In the spring of 1862, Herman Haupt was appointed as the director of the newly formed construction corps of the USMRR. Haupt brought about many changes in how the railroads would be used during the war. He refined the system and organized the railroads to efficiently transport troops and supplies. Haupt and his assistants immediately began to transform the small O&ARR rail station into a highly functional military rail complex (Barber 1988:33-34).

The men hired to work in the construction corps were initially soldiers, but it was soon discovered that civilians who knew about railroads provided a better service. Efforts were made to train these civilians in military practices but after a time, this idea was abandoned as impractical (Lloyd House Library 1865). In May, 1862, a statement was released showing that 775 men were working for the USMRR in Alexandria (Lloyd House Library 1865). This reflects how large the operation had become during the first year of the war.

In June, the machine shops and car works of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad (O&ARR) were under the management of C. Chency who had about 100 workmen employed (Gazette 6/3/62). Col. J. H. Devereux became the superintendent of the USMRR station in late June. Devereux sent a letter to General D. McCallum, director of all USMRR's asking for a "tip top" mechanic that could serve as the foreman in the USMRR station roundhouse (Lloyd House Library 1865).

Devereux served quite capably as superintendent for the Alexandria Depot. Haupt was quite impressed with Devereux's performance in his duties and later wrote that Devereux was reliable and a very capable organizer (Haupt 1981:294). Devereux held the post of transportation

WEST END VILLAGE

FORT ELLSWORTH

PRICE, BIRCH & CO.
SLAVE PEN

RUINS OF BRICK DWELLING
BUILT BY CHARLES NEVITT, 1810



TRANSPORTATION
MESS HALL

Plate 8. USMRR showing the commissary buildings, view from the roundhouse. Note brick structure (right center) gutted by fire (photo taken in the spring 1863) (Alexandria, 1977:253) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

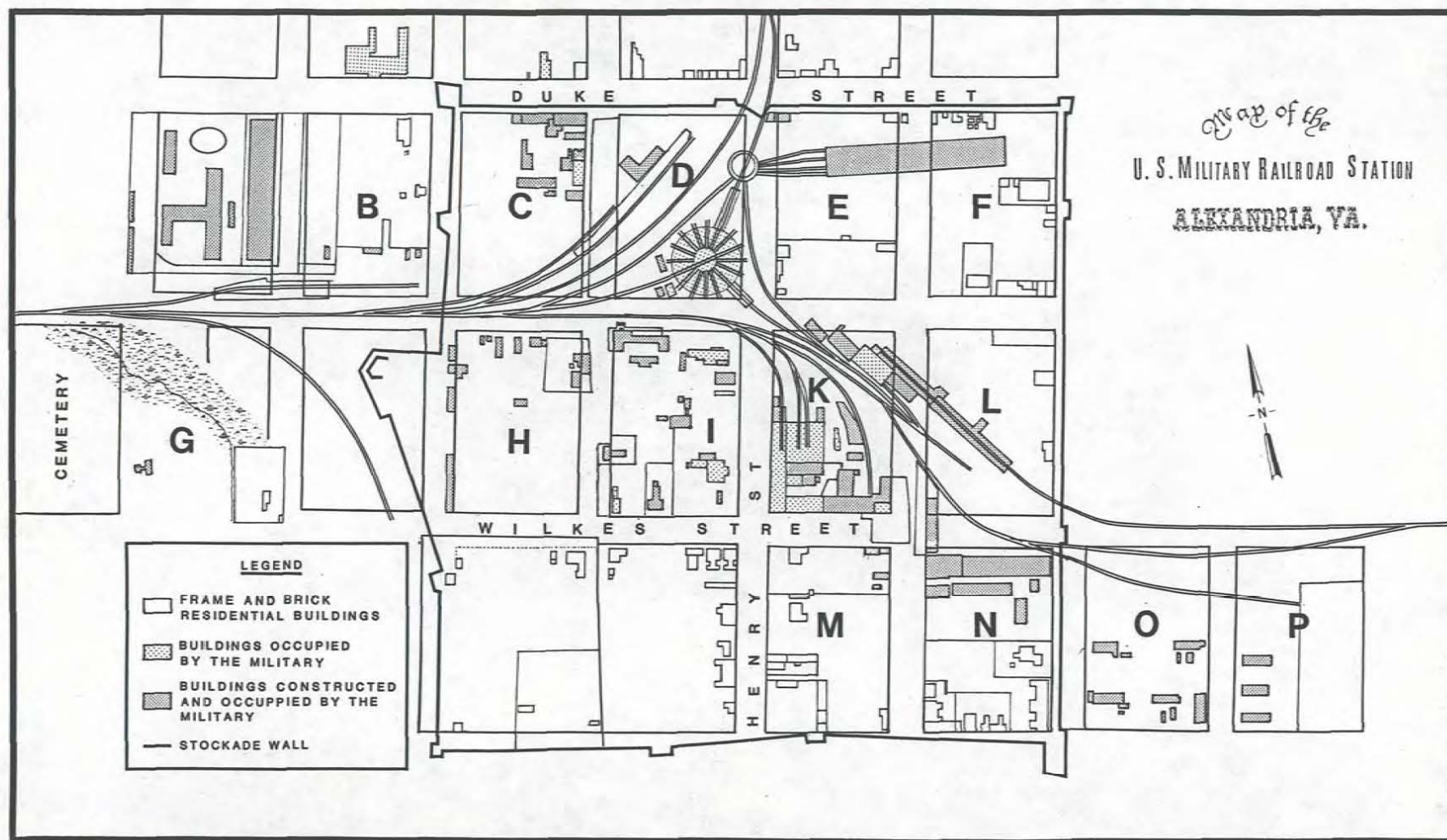


Figure 11. USMRR station in 1865 showing all improvements to the facility.

Schedule to Accompany Map of the USMRR at Alexandria, VA.
(Records of the Quartermaster General at Alexandria, VA, Civil War Era).

Letter of Square	Number of Building	Dimensions of Building	Dimensions of Wings	Description
A	1	15 x 20	11 x 12	Tool House
B	1	14 x 16		Wood Saw Engine House
	2	10 x 17		Wood Yard Quarters
	3	10 x 22		
	4	12 x 40		
C	1	24 x 65	7 x 7	Commissary Department
	2	21 x 52	10 x 10	Commissary Department
	3	20 x 20	11	Commissary Department
	4	23 x 23	11 x 12	Commissary Department
			10 x 12	Commissary Department
	5	15 x 42		Commissary Department
	6	17 x 23	5 x 9 & 6 x 9	Commissary Department
	7	25 x 25	8 x 16	Commissary Department
	8	24 x 30	12 x 28	Commissary Department
	9	20 x 79		Commissary Department
	10	11 x 15	6 x 9	Commissary Department
	11	20 x 38		Commissary Department
D	1	17 X 75		Round House Extension
	2	22 x 54		Round House Extension
	3	14 x 16		Round House Office
	4	12 x 14		Round House Office
	5	10 x 13		Sand House Extension
	6	15 x 29		Baggage Room
E & F	1	20 x 32		Ticket Office
	2	66 x 358		Long Engine House
	3	17 x 32		Quarters
G	1	15 x 30	10 x 13	Quarters (Old Small Pox Hospital)
H	1	20 x 40	15 x 15 & 7 x 10	Quarters
	2	16 x 34		Quarters
	3	10 x 10		Quarters
	4	15 x 25		Magazine
	5	11 x 15		Shed
	6	16 x 24		Transportation Office

Schedule to Accompany Map of the USMRR at Alexandria, VA.
(Records of the Quartermaster General at Alexandria, VA, Civil War Era).
(continued)

Letter of Square	Number of Building	Dimensions of Building	Dimensions of Wings	Description
H	7	15 x 32		Lamp Room
	8	16 x 40		Car Repair
	9	12 x 14		Quarters
	10	10 x 16		Quarters
	11	10 x 10		Switch House
	12	15 x 30		Telegraph Storehouse
	13	18 x 40	9 x 14	Quarters
	14	18 x 50		Quarters
	15	15 x 115		Quarters
I	1	20 x 36	13 x 71	Head Quarters USMRR Office
			17 x 18	Head Quarters USMRR Office
			18 x 20	Head Quarters USMRR Office
	2	14 x 56	7 x 25	Quarters
	3	11 x 37		Shed
	4	17 Diam		Octagon
	5	8 x 23		Hospital Office
	6	24 x 40		Hospital Office
	7	10 x 40		Hospital Office
	8	9 x 12		Quarters
	9	12 x 20		Quarters
	10	24 x 43		Quarters
	11	10 x 22		Quarters
	12	14 x 28		Quarters
	13	15 x 33		Photograph Room
	14	9 x 24		Photograph Room
	15	19 x 32		Quarters
K	1	20 x 48		Open Coal Bin
	3	15 x 15		Extension Manassas Gap R.R. Repair Shop
	4	24 x 24		Ex. Man. Gap R.R. Repair Shop
	5	24 x 26		Ex. Man. Gap R.R. Repair Shop
	6	14 x 24		Ex. Man. Gap R.R. Repair Shop
	7	13 x 20		Machine Shop=(Office)
	8	32 x 30		Machine Shop Exten.(Brick)
	9	17 x 20		Car Shop-Office
	10	25 x 87		Open Coal Bin
	11	24 x 76		Machine Shop Extension
	12	20 x 26		Machine Shop Boiler Room
	13	16 x 31		Iron Rack
	14	31 x 83		Boiler Shop

Schedule to Accompany Map of the USMRR at Alexandria, VA.
(Records of the Quartermaster General at Alexandria, VA, Civil War Era).
(continued)

Letter of Square	Number of Building	Dimensions of Building	Dimensions of Wings	Description
	15	31 x 43		Machine Shop Extension
	16	25 x 31		Machine Shop Extension
	17	31 x 36		Copper Shop
	18	24 x 51	14 x 17	Storehouse-Trans.
L	1	27 x 200	15 x 25	Car Repair
	2	24 x 116		Storehouse-Construction
M	1	12 x 31	5 x 7	Storehouse-Construction
	2	10 x 20		Storehouse-Construction
	3	13 x 24		R.R. Guard's Barracks
M	4	10 x 18		R.R. Guard's Barracks
N	1	40 x 250		Carpenter's Shop
	2	24 x 50		
	3	24 x 120		Tool House
	4	18 x 24		Office
	5	24 x 50		Arsenal
O	1	20 x 50	10 x 10	Carpenter's Quarters
	2	10 x 22		Carpenter's Quarters
	3	15 x 42	8 x 12	Carpenter's Quarters
	4	9 x 20		Carpenter's Quarters
	5	15 x 22		Carpenter's Quarters
	6	21 x 61		Carpenter's Quarters
	7	10 x 22		Carpenter's Quarters
	8	8 x 22		Carpenter's Quarters
	9	7 x 14		Carpenter's Quarters
	10	16 x 53	6 x 10	Carpenter's Quarters
	11	9 x 21		Carpenter's Quarters
	12	11 x 24		Carpenter's Quarters
	13	32 x 57		Carpenter's Quarters
P	1	22 x 61		Carpenter's Quarters
	2	22 x 56		Carpenter's Quarters
	3	19 x 60		Carpenter's Quarters

director of the USMRR station at Alexandria for the remainder of the war.

Throughout 1862, it was reported that "the U. S. government continues to make improvements on the O&ARR depot" (Gazette 6/27/62). Platforms were being built between the tracks, new switches were constructed and the engine house was being repaired. In late June, 1862, Devereux had to lay off many of the rail workers due to a shortage of business. In early July, a new track was being constructed along Henry Street between Wilkes and Duke streets (Gazette 7/7/62).

General John P. Slough became the military governor of Alexandria during August 1862. He maintained this post throughout the remainder of the war and was a very capable governor (Barber 1988:69). It was Slough's duty to maintain control over the town and the soldiers stationed there. At the same time, he tried to let the officers to control their own men. Difficulties occurred at times when Slough would have to discipline men whose officer's allowed them to take to many liberties in the town (Barber 1988:69-70).

During August 1862, Haupt was responsible for supplying General Pope in the second battle of Manassas. It was during this time that Haupt, Devereux and the other employees at the USMRR station at Alexandria were taxed to the limit. During the last week of August, over 20,000 men were transported to the front for this battle. Despite many difficulties caused by interference from military personnel, Haupt helped keep the defeat from becoming disastrous for the Union.

Along with supplying troops and equipment to the front, the railroads also transported wounded back from battle. The Gazette reported that trains had brought approximately 200 wounded soldiers from General Pope's army (Gazette 8/25/62). Again, if military interference hadn't been disruptive, many more troops could have been forwarded to battle and more wounded quickly transported back to the hospitals in Alexandria.

During the fall of 1862, the War Department assigned photographers to cover the operations of the USMRR. Photographs were made of numerous experiments to help explain them to other military personnel on other fronts. Photographs were also taken of the USMRR station and the surrounding area (Haupt 1981:187). The photographs taken of the USMRR complex show numerous buildings at various times between 1862 and 1865 and often help to date when buildings were constructed. These photos were used to document the activities of the military railroads as well as the armies that were transported by them (Plate 1).

In late October 1862, a brick dwelling on the north side of the 1200 block, (still standing) which housed some of the contraband, was gutted by fire (Gazette 10/21/1862). The interior and roof were destroyed in the fire and this building is visible in photographs taken by the army Photography Corps (Plate 8).

In early November, a smallpox epidemic was spreading around the town, particularly among the contraband. A special hospital, Kolorama, was built to the west of the USMRR station to care for these people (Figure 11) (Gazette 11/1/62).

During the fall, the town of Alexandria began to overflow from the number of wounded soldiers coming in from various campaigns. Several churches and numerous large residences were turned into hospitals, and a total of 14 hospitals were in operation during the waning months of 1862 (Barber 1988:35).

A serious problem facing the military (and townspeople) was the number of stragglers, convalescents, and deserters who wandered the streets. The town was becoming unsafe and General Slough was having difficulty in containing these men (Library of Congress 1866). Finally, these soldiers were rounded up and a camp was established just west of town to accommodate them (Barber 1988:36). This camp, Camp Convalescent, was renamed by the inhabitants as Camp Misery. The soldiers were inadequately fed, clothed and cared for. As the weather turned colder, the men had difficulties in securing wood for campfires.

The inadequate facilities may have served a good purpose however. During the fall and early winter, over 35,231 men occupied the camp and were subsequently reassigned to active duty (Barber 1988:37). Perhaps the men felt that fighting wasn't as bad as being confined to this camp.

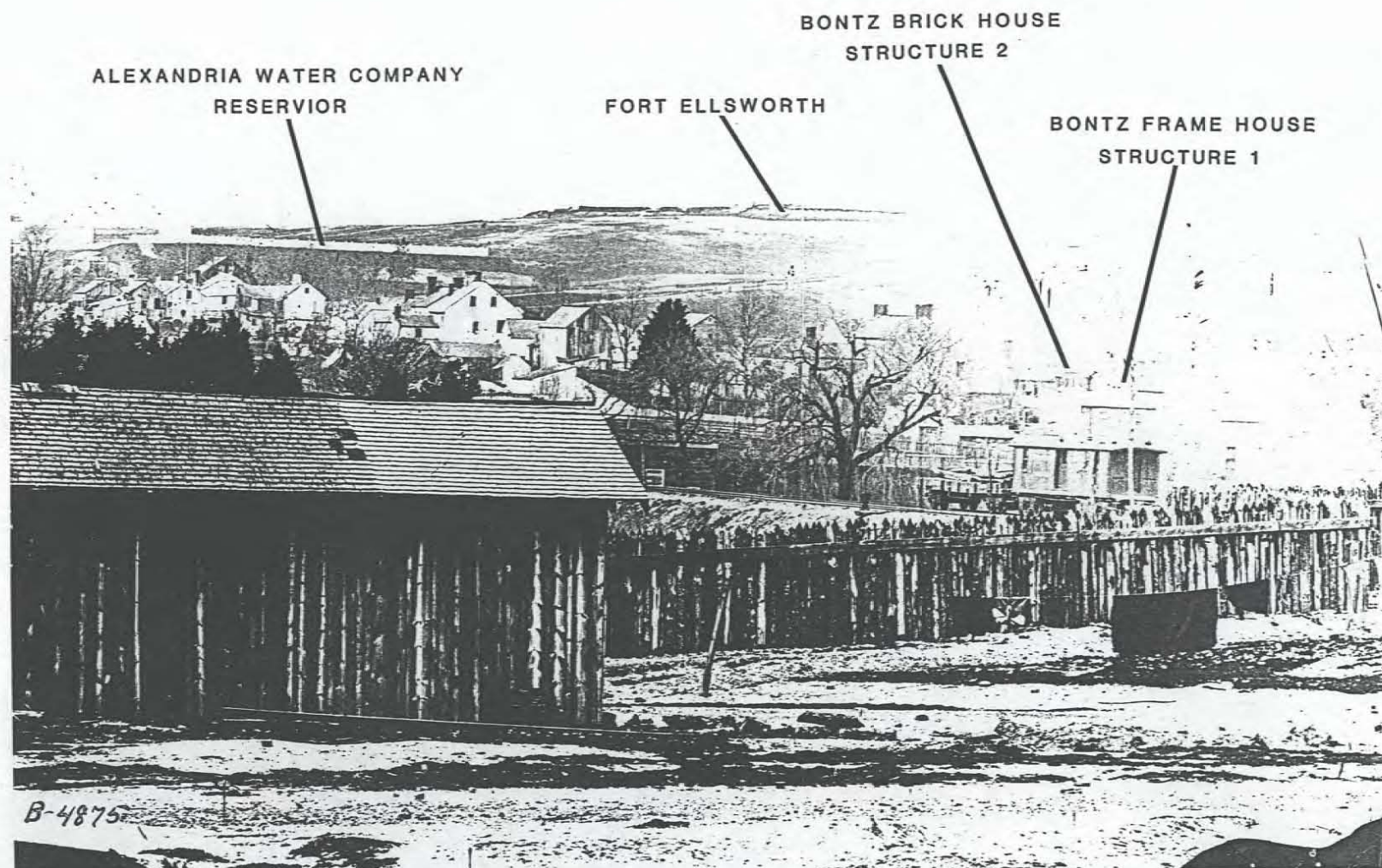
1863

In January 1863, the roof of the engine house in the USMRR station was raised and a cupola was built over the turntable to protect it from the weather (Plate 9) (Lancaster 1986:114; Gazette 1/7/63). A letter discussed how modifications were needed for the turntable in the roundhouse and that the roundhouse floor needed repairing (Lloyd House Library 1865). The letter also mentions the new turntable, presumably the one identified north of the roundhouse (Figure 11). In February, it was noted that the new engine house was large and well constructed with "the finest built roof we ever saw" (Gazette 2/12/63). By April, it was noted that the roundhouse had been extended and improved and that new tracks were located all across the square [1100 block] (Gazette 4/3/63).

During the spring of 1863, confederate raiders, under the command of Colonel John Mosby, were operating in northern Virginia. The threat of these raiders was noted by Haupt and efforts were made to secure the USMRR station. Haupt felt that a night raid by 200 to 300 cavalry could destroy buildings, shops, cars, engines and stores in one swift action. The raid by Jubal Early during the previous winter demonstrated how quickly a force could approach the inner defenses without detection. The distance between the USMRR station and the surrounding forts was such that Haupt believed little support would arrive before a raid could be completed (Haupt 1981:190). *fort*



Plate 9. USMRR roundhouse with the raised cupola, view to the west. Railway offices are located in the left center of the photo (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).



B-4875

Plate 10. The interior of the USMRR stockade, view to the west. Village of West End is in the background (photo taken fall/winter 1863; National Archives photograph collection) (Alexandria Duke Street, VA).

fort To this end, Haupt decided to erect a stockade around the USMRR stations with fence made from "straight trees, nicely pointed on top, set three or four feet in the ground, with loop holes provided at short intervals" (Plate 10) (Haupt 1981:190). The stockade was protected at each corner by bastions to allow flanking fire and at the southern end by artillery (Figure 12). All men in defense would be provided with repeating rifles to be capable of a very efficient defense (Haupt 1981:190). The construction of the stockade was done by approximately 1,000 civilians, typically contraband. As always, these workers did a timely job and the work was completed during the summer (Barber 1988:91).

A list of railway workers was compiled for the USMRR station in late June, 1863 (Lloyd House Library 1865). This list of employees does not include the construction corps working with Haupt. Within the yard, 224 contraband and 136 white civilians were employed (Table 1). The various jobs included: track workers, wood sawing and "floating gang". An additional 412 men were used in station defenses and as carpenters.

During September the Gazette mentioned that some areas of town were almost unrecognizable, particularly the area in and around the rail yard (Gazette 9/17/63). A new engine house, capable of holding 30 locomotives was constructed during September and October (Gazette 10/20/63) (Plate 11 and 12). Other unidentified buildings were being constructed and improvements to existing buildings were also mentioned in the same article.

Soldier's Rest A Soldier's Rest was constructed during the fall of 1863 to serve as support for convalescing soldiers and new troops waiting for combat (Figure 13). The Soldier's Rest was built on the south side of the 1300 and 1400 blocks of Duke Street, immediately adjacent to the USMRR complex. The Soldier's Rest was said to be the largest and most complete facility of its type constructed by the U. S. Army (Gazette 10/31/63). The facility had sleeping apartments, bath rooms, reading rooms and other features to accommodate soldiers comfortably. The cost of construction for the Soldier's Rest was estimated at \$50,000.00.

In December, 1863, the Gazette again noted that improvements and additions were being made at the USMRR complex. Tracks were said to "run two squares down, and (the squares were) covered with buildings" (Gazette 12/20/63).

The town of Alexandria, by early 1863 had lost approximately 66% of its population. In the last months of 1863, this population had been replaced and exceeded by a influx of carpetbaggers, soldiers and contraband (Gazette 8/10/63). By late fall, the population had risen to over 18,000.

By all indications, the year of 1863 marked the greatest development and growth of the USMRR complex. Construction of buildings, tracks, and the stockade occurred throughout the year. By the end of the year, the military campaigns were on hold and the armies were resting for the following spring attacks.

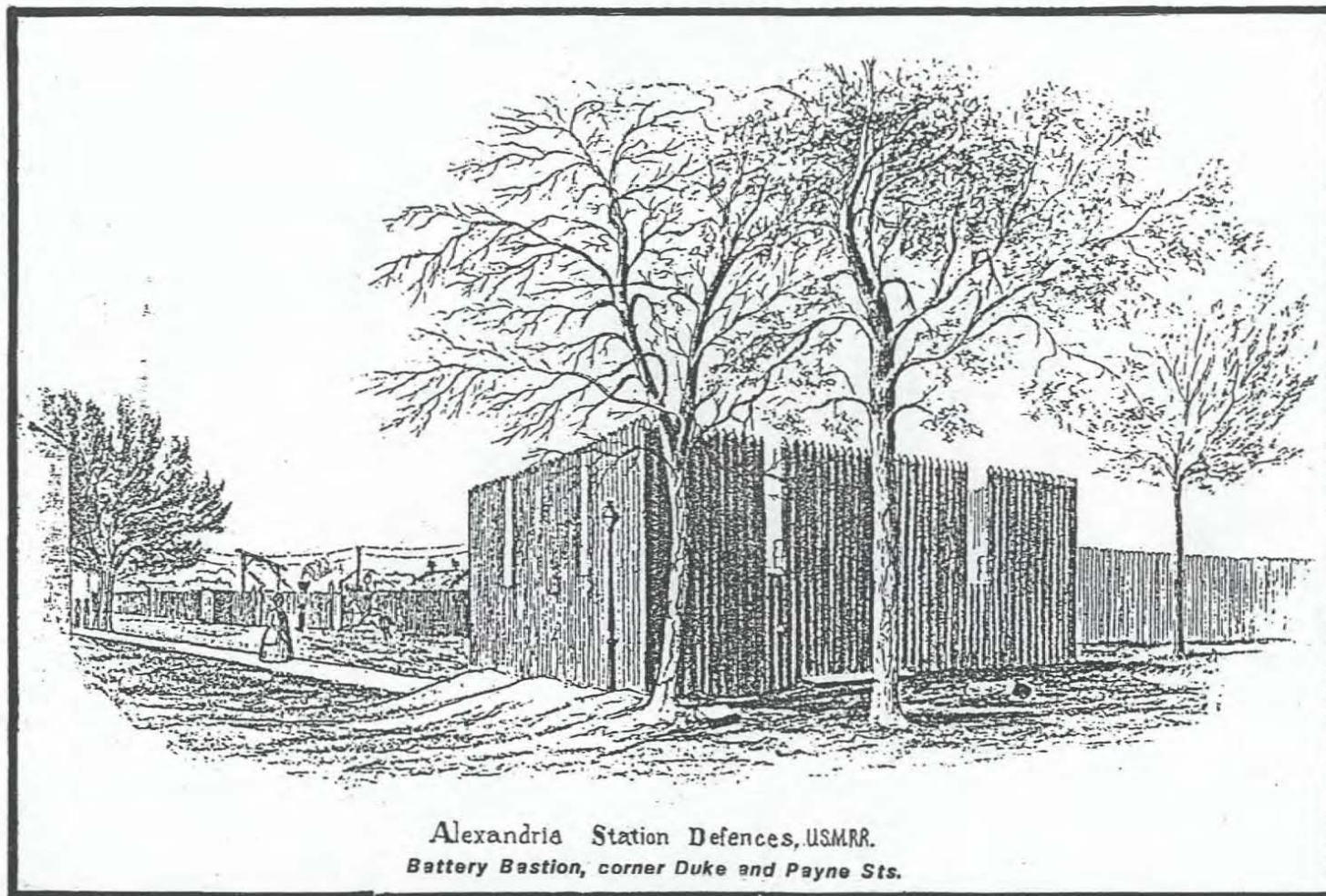
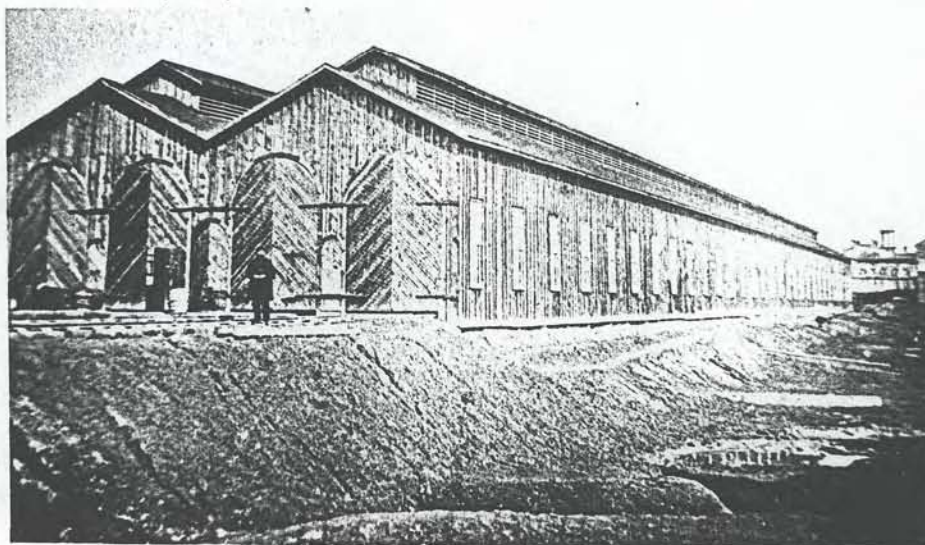


Figure 12. Illustration of Fort Clough, located in the intersection of Duke and Payne Streets (Lloyd House Library).



Plate 11. Locomotive with the President's Car, 1864 (Russell 1982:Plate 106) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).



98 Alexandria, "New Engine House, in which Sixty Engines can be stored in working order." [No. 285.]

Plate 12. The engine house of the USMRR constructed in the fall of 1863 (Russell 1982:Plate 98) (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

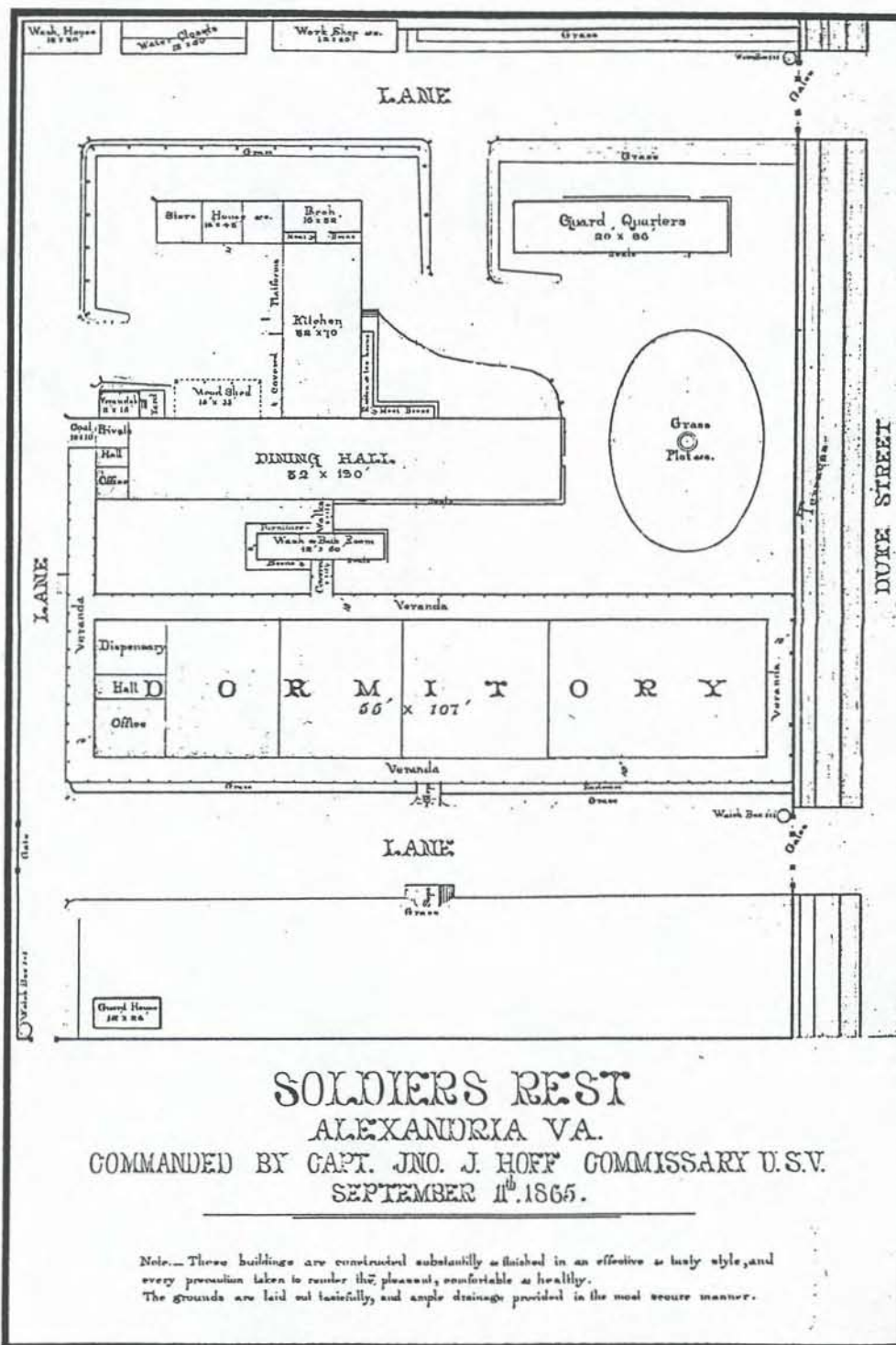


Figure 13. Plan of the Soldier's Rest located on the south side of the 1300 and 1400 blocks of Duke Street (Soldier's Rest Alexandria, Virginia [Anonymous 1865]).

Table 1. Statement of Employees of Alexandria Railroad June 30, 1863
(National Archives, RG 92, Entry #1595)

Name of Foreman	White Men	# of Contra-band (blacks)	Total	Where Employed	How Employed	Remarks
James Hartly	-	59	59	Alex Yard	Track	nec.
Friller Greves	1	55	56	Wood Yard	Sawing Wood	un.
A. E. Crucker	4	51	55	Alex Yard	Floting Gang	un.
J. W. Potter	-	37	37	Alex Yard	Floting Gang	un.
J. R. Lawrence	-	12	12	O&ARR	Union St.Alex	nec.
Wm. B. Fitzpatrick	7	2	9	A&WRR	Track	nec.
Ed O'Brien	4	2	6	A&WRR	Track	nec.
Kevin Anly	9	1	10	Annapolis	Track	nec.
John Robinson	-	5	5	A&L Rd	Track	nec.
Robert Miller	16	-	16	Alex Yard	Floting Gang	un.
T. J. Chamberlain	40	-	40	Wood Train	Frer	un.
Ed Cronan	7	-	7	O&T Rd	Track	nec.
John Larkin	4	-	4	O&T Rd	Track	un.
Tim Murphy	3	-	3	O&T Rd	Track	un.
Michael Cossner	8	-	8	L & H Rd	Track	un.
Thomas Barnes	8	-	8	L & H Rd	Track	un.
James Smith	10	-	10	L&H Rd	Track	un.
Thomas Reds	4	-	4	O&A Rd	Track	un.
Martin Lynch	3	-	3	O&A Rd	Track	un.
John Lynch	3	-	3	O&A Rd	Track	un.
L. M. Terry	5	-	5	O&A Rd	Track	un.

Total			360			
<u>1rst Div. E. C. Smead</u>				Alexandria		
H.H. Rozell	30	-	30	Station Defences	Carpenter	
W.C. Monman	28	-	28	Station Defences	Carpenter	
A.R. Moore	39	-	39	Station Defences	Carpenter	

Table 1. Statement of Employees of Alexandria Railroad June 30, 1863
(National Archives, RG 92, Entry #1595) (continued).

Name of Foreman	White Men	# of Contra- (blacks)	Total	Where Employed	How Employed band	Remakrs
<u>2nd Div. G. W. Nagle</u>						
B. Van Schloick	24	-	24	Station Defences	Carpenter	
J. Farrand	39	-	39	Station Defences	Carpenter	
J. M. Neafie	40	-	40	Station Defences	Carpenter	
F. McGovrin	40	-	40	Station Defences	Carpenter	
J. Nevins	14	-	14	Station Defences	Carpenter	
R. H. Nagle	7	-	7	Station Defences	Carpenter	
Martin Rees	5	-	5	Station Defences	Carpenter	
E. B. Churchill	8	-	8	Station Defences	Carpenter	
<u>3rd Div. H. E. Gray</u>						
Charles Warren	8	20	28	Station Defences	Laborers	
William Lemmerman	-	28	28	Station Defences	Laborers	
E. W. Carlisle	-	24	24	Station Defences	Laborers	
<u>4th Div. G. F. Speer</u>						
Samuel Fleming	25	-	25	Station Defences	Laborers	
R. Tinklepaugh	32	-	32	Station Defences	Ox Drivers	
J. Reed	1	-	1	Station Defences	Blacksmith	
133 Oxen						
Total number exclusive of foremen 412						

In January, 1864, a petition from the employees at the USMRR complex was sent to Col. MacCallum asking for pay raises (Lloyd House Library 1865). Devereux, commander of the USMRR complex agreed that the request was proper and deserved. Further, he felt that if the men weren't compensated fairly, they would leave the post for civilian railroad jobs in the north.

The men were not being paid in accordance to the importance of the work they were doing. As they served such an important role in providing rapid transportation of men, supplies and wounded, they needed just compensation (Lloyd House Library 1865). The petition revealed that the men did receive rations and lodging at the rail yard. It is unknown from the documents whether this raise was ever approved.

The town of Alexandria bustled with activity in early 1864 as troops were moving into the area in preparation for the upcoming spring campaigns. The USMRR station worked efficiently in forwarding these troops and supplies to Grant's headquarters at Culpeper.

An anonymous diary by the roundhouse dispatcher kept account of activity at the station in the months preceding Grant's campaign (Lloyd House Library 1865 #1639). Excerpts include: "... 698 sick came east today from the army ... 500 troops sent west" (March 25, 1864), 5,180 men sent to the front (March 26-27), total number of loaded cars sent from Alexandria during month of March, 4,998, carrying a total of 15,715 troops (March 31, 1864). On April 11, a "special train" came in carrying General Grant from Brandy Station, at 10 p.m. (April 11, 1864). The total number of cars forwarded to Brandy Station was 8030 carrying 16,844 troops while 8101 cars carrying 9430 troops arrived at Alexandria from the north (Lloyd House Library 1865 #1639).

During the last weeks of April and into early May, 1864, Grant moved his army southeast from Culpeper and engaged Lee in battles at the Wilderness and Spottsylvania, near Fredericksburg. Personnel from the USMRR station in Alexandria were working overtime to ship supplies and troops to the front and to bring wounded back to Alexandria. A letter from Assistant Superintendent McCrickett, at the USMRR in Alexandria, told of the "immense demands upon us (USMRR station) during the space of 13 days" (Lloyd House Library 1865:1658).

During that period, 3,326 cars traveled between the USMRR depot in Alexandria and Grant's supply depot at Culpeper. Included in these cars were: 665 cars of subsistence stores, 393 cars of cattle, 94 cars of horses, 612 cars of grain, 473 cars of hay, 454 cars of sundries, 149 cars of troops, 336 cars of wood and 150 cars of gravel. This total represent 20 loaded trains per day (Lloyd House Library 1865:1658). Wounded troops were being brought back to Alexandria on the trains returning from supplying the front.

By early May, Grant's army had moved onward and out of supply from the railroad (Lloyd House Library 1865:1641). In a anonymous diary, it was noted that on May 8, a train from Alexandria was sent to pick up 10,000 wounded troops at the Rappahannock. The train returned the following day without any wounded. Apparently, the wounded were moved by sea from the landing at Aquia Creek.

On May 23, orders were received by the USMRR station at Alexandria to return trains to Alexandria and abandon the operations between Culpeper and Manassas Junction. Grants advances had extended beyond the range of usable track for the USMRR. It was noted by Superintendent McCallum that by early June, the rail station at Alexandria was scarcely used at all (Lloyd House Library 1865:1526).

While the USMRR operations in Northern Virginia slowed during the summer of 1864, the station at Alexandria was used to continue the construction of railroad box cars (Turner 1952:170). A rail car was also being built for the use of President Lincoln (Plate 11) (Lloyd House Library 1865). Unfortunately, this car was only used once, for the President's funeral the following year. Men from the station were transferred north and west to other USMRR operations, particularly in the Western theatre of operations.

While the USMRR station at Alexandria became less important during the summer of 1864, raids against the rail lines (outside of the Washington defenses) continued. During the fall, 40 employees of the Quartermaster Depot were arrested when they refused to work on the line due to fear of confederate attack (Gazette 10/15/64). One casualty in these raids was superintendent M. J. McCrickett and four of his employees. These men were killed while inspecting the rail lines when their train plunged off a bridge that had been sabotaged.

Citizens of Alexandria were taken into custody and forced to ride on the trains in an attempt to keep the confederates from attacking trains. One of these citizens was Edgar Snowden, publisher of the Alexandria Gazette. Due to this action, the paper had to be left in the hands of his staff to maintain publication (Gazette 10/17/64).

As the focus of war continued to shift southward and centered on Richmond the role of the USMRR station at Alexandria continued to diminish. Many businesses closed due to lack of patronage and Alexandria became a quiet town again during the winter of 1864 and spring of 1865.

1865

The USMRR station at Alexandria did continue to operate and maintained a large staff. A daily report of the railroad showed that 2,234 men were employed by the railroad in February 1864, and 1806 men were still employed during February of 1865. This report presents a listing of employees and jobs held from the period of February 1864 to February 1865 (Table 2).

1.54

Date	clerks	storekeepers	superintendents	inspectors/agents	foremen	corral masters	harbor masters	wagon masters	asst. wagon masters	pilots	captains	veterinary/surgeons	carpenters	blacksmiths	wheelwrights	saddlers	painters	masons	plumbers	teamsters	roofers	engineers	cart drivers	laborers	ostlers	watchmen	messengers	cooks	firemen	sail makers	asst. superintendents	rigger	Total	
2/5/64																																		
white	46	5	23	33	25	10	1	15	20	3	7	3	92	38	25	15	11	4	5	270	5	3	43	266	74	67	7	10	3	3	2	-	1,134	
black	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	206	3	-	-	830	25		13	3	-	-	-	-	1,102	
3/5/64																																		
white	48	2	22	22	25	10	-	15	20	2	10	3	88	38	23	14	11	4	5	289	3	3	49	323	13	69	7	11	3	3	1	-	1,136	
black	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	209	3	-	-	791	25	-	12	3	-	-	-	-	1,065	
4/5/64																																		
white	47	6	21	21	22	10	1	15	20	2	-	2	81	38	22	13	10	5	7	352	2	3	52	296	77	59	8	11	3	3	1	1	1,211	
black					1									17						167	3			690	23		11	2					914	
5/5/64																																		
white	51	7	21	22	18	9	1	12	20	2	-	3	85	37	20	14	11	4	8	391	5	3	55	289	81	58	9	12	3	5	1	1	1,258	
black					1									17						145	3			697	18		11						692	
6/5/64																																		
white	47	5	21	21	15	9	1	7	14	2	-	4	94	40	19	11	9	4	6	373	7	3	61	279	78	56	9	12	3	5	1	2	1,218	
black					1									13						46	3			619	19		10						711	
7/5/64																																		
white	48	4	16	24	28	9	1	11	9	3	2	3	85	40	18	11	9	3	5	247	3	3	45	215	69	35	9	12	2	5	1	1	976	
black					1									13						51	3			619	23		8	2	deck hands (white)				2	
																												1						719
8/5/64																																		
white	52	3	16	19	29	9	1	7	5	3	2	2	67	35	18	9	7	3	4	139	2	3	47	208	60	39	9	10	3	4	1	1	817	
black					1									12						50				565	31		8	2	deck hands (white)				2	669
9/5/64																																		
white	49	3	15	18	29	9	1	7	7	3	2	2	63	35	16	9	9	2	3	165	2	3	48	208	62	43	9	8	3	4	1	1	839	
black					1									12						49				569	31		8	2	deck hands (white)				2	672
																												23	teamsters (black)	6 mule				23
10/5/64																																		
white	47	1	16	13	27	7	1	8	8	3	-	2	92	35	14	9	9	5	3	184	2	2	50	221	56	39	6	7	2	4	1	1	875	
black					1									11						40				508	33		7	2	3	armorers (white)			3	
																												58	teamsters (black)	6 mule				58

[National Archives 1863-65] continued.

155

By the end of the war, several of the hospitals operating in Alexandria were shut down. Immediately following the cessation of hostilities, the Union army began to dismantle the USMRR depot and other military outposts and fortifications in and around Alexandria. It was reported that over 2,000 employees of the USMRR station attended the funeral services of the assassinated president (Gazette 4/22/65).

In early May, barricades across several of the city streets were removed (Gazette 5/3/65). On May 16, John Barbour, president of the O&ARR, completed all requirements to have the railroad turned back over to him. This occurred while the military was still occupying sections of the rail depot.

In June, the military authorities had started to remove the stockade from around the USMRR station (Gazette 6/2/65). Later in the month, all of the churches in the city, occupied for use as hospitals, were returned to the town for their original purpose (Gazette 6/20/65). The O&ARR railroad was being rebuilt during this time and was now in service out to Manassas. Within a month, it was supposed to be completed to Richmond, via Culpeper and Fredericksburg (Gazette June 23, 1865).

By July, a message was sent to McCallum from Superintendent Moore asking for the remainder of the stockade to be removed (Lloyd House Library 1865). Moore suggested that the stockade lumber be sold at auction. The stockade was a great inconvenience to the citizens living inside. The overall size of the stockade was estimated at 1 mile.

The office of Military Governor was abolished in July (Barber 1988:101). General Slough felt that his services were no longer needed and left following this decree. Once Slough departed, the Military district of Alexandria was officially disbanded.

Because of the removal of buildings, stockades, and other military operations, large amounts of surplus materials was accumulated that the government decided to auction off. At the USMRR station, the majority of this military railroad equipment was sold to the O&ARR between June and December (Library of Congress 1866).

By the winter of 1865, evidence of the military occupation of the town was almost non-existent. The town now had to begin the process of rebuilding. Further, the war had changed the development and use of the railroads and of course slavery was no longer legal. The postwar years were difficult for Alexandria and in many ways the town never fully recovered from the four years of occupation.

Post-War Railroad

During the late 1860s, the value of the O&ARR's Duke Street property had increased dramatically from the prewar years (Alexandria Land Tax Records). The 1100 block of Duke Street was valued at

\$10,000.00 and the 1200 block was valued at \$5,000.00. The increase in value can be tied to the improvements made to the rail yard during the Union occupation of the war. The improvements also meant that the rail lines were serving in a more diversified manner than prior to the war.

This diversification of railroads in Alexandria limited the significance of Alexandria as a rail destination. The town was rapidly becoming a stopping point for the rail lines rather than a destination. As the rail traffic increasingly was diverted away from the town, Alexandria suffered from a stagnant economy (Figure 14).

In 1867, the O&ARR company merged with the Manassass Gap Railroad company, apparently to prevent both from failing. The Virginia General Assembly authorized the consolidation under two acts passed February 14 and April 29, 1867. On July 1, over \$1.5 million credit was extended to the newly formed Orange, Alexandria and Manassas Railroad (OA&MRR), payable by 1882. In the early 1870s, this mortgage was increased by \$350,000 and the term extended by nine years (Alexandria Deed Books Y3:106; 1:326; Hurd 1988:9).

In 1871, the Alexandria & Fredericksburg Railway Company (A&FRR) purchased an east-west right-of-way just north of the OA&MRR's track. The new A&FRR line joined the 10-year old Alexandria & Washington Railroad on the 1200 block of Duke Street. The original Alexandria & Washington Railroad station built by the USMRR in 1862 on the northeast corner of Cameron and Fayette streets was converted for the use of the A&FRR (Fairfax Minute Book 1869:310-312; Fairfax Deed Book 04:173; Stephenson 1983:77; Hurd 1988:9).

By 1877, the Virginia Midlands Railroad had bought out the OA&MRR. Subsequently, Virginia Midlands took possession of the depot and shops on the 1100 block of Duke Street and the 1000 block of Wolfe (Stephenson, 1983:73). Virginia Midlands and the A&FRR remained the only two lines within the project corridor until the mid-1890s. By that time, Great Southern Railway Company was absorbing several failing rail lines. In 1894, Southern acquired Virginia Midlands which included the Duke Street station (Hurd 1988:9).

Over the remainder of the 1890s, Southern Railway purchased several large tracts of land at West End along Hunting Creek. Once the site of John West's farm, this property was soon covered with a mass of tracks which served as Southern's extensive rail yard (Fairfax Deed Books V5:170; Z5:171). The A&FRR also still maintained its track north of Southern's main line.

In 1903, the Washington Southern Railway Company, a branch of Great Southern, purchased several properties near the old turnpike gate and along the east side of Shuter's Hill. Clearing away several old structures, a new track, stemming from its main east-west line, was constructed in a northerly direction to Washington (Fairfax Deed Books N6:110, 498-511; P6:330). Two years later, Union Station was built at the head of King Street alongside the new track. The opening of this

passenger depot seems to have marked the closing of the one on Duke Street (Hurd 1988:12).

By 1921, the depot, freight buildings and engine house formerly standing at 1100 Duke Street had been replaced by a Southern's new brick round house and turntable (Sanborn, 1921). These new structures were probably constructed in preparation for Word War I. About the same time, Southern built a larger round house at the center of its rail yard at West End (National Archives Photograph Collection, Aerial photo of Alexandria 1937). By this date the A&FRR had been consolidated by the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad (RF&PRR) (Sanborn 1921). Both Southern Railway and RF&PRR presently have frequent service through the project corridor and Southern still owns the properties on Duke Street and along Hunting Creek. The Duke Street roundhouse was removed in the last decade.

HISTORY OF 1200 AND 1700 BLOCKS OF DUKE STREET

1200 Block of Duke Street

The 1200 block was originally part of John Wise's 82-acre Spring Garden Farm tract. In 1795, the entire tract was subdivided into half-acre lots by Matthew Bowne & Co. The two-acre 1200 block was assigned lot numbers 29, 30, 53 and 54. The following year, Jesse Simms purchased these together with the remaining 124 lots of the subdivision (Alexandria Deed Book K:276; Gazette 1796). Simms sold the four lots later that year to a wealthy city merchant named William Hartshorne (Alexandria Deed Book U:452). Hartshorne built a two-story frame dwelling house on the northwest corner of the square, which was ready for tenancy by March 1797 (Gazette 3/11/1797).

Hartshorne, who lived on the Fairfax County estate known as Strawberry Hill, frequently advertised the Duke Street dwelling for rent. The first occupant known to have lived on the property was Widow Clegg. She lived in the frame house in 1802, when the building and land were valued at \$1,500 (Alexandria Land Tax 1802). Three years later, tax records listed the house and square, valued at \$2,000, as vacant (Alexandria Land Tax 1805). In January 1805, the property was offered for rent or sale, noting that a large quantity of bricks could be made on the site (Gazette 1/9/1805). It remained vacant through the next year; however, in 1807, the house and east half of the square was occupied by Stale. In addition, another house owned by Hartshorne at an unidentified location was occupied by Preston as a brick shop (Alexandria Land Tax 1806-1807). This marks the beginning of at least 12 years of brickmaking on the square.

The first known brickmaker to occupy Hartshorne's square was Charles Lecount Nevitt in 1810; however, John Krebs left an unidentified Duke Street brickyard five years earlier which may have been the 1200 block (Alexandria Directory 1810; Gazette 10/1/1805). One year prior to Nevitt's occupancy, William Hartshorne conveyed several pieces of real estate, including the two-acre house lot, to trustees for the security of certain debts owed (Alexandria Deed Book U:452). The trust was not satisfied and in April 1810, the house and lot, then rented by of Nevitt, were exposed for sale at public auction (Gazette 4/11/1810). A buyer was not found, so Hartshorne convinced his brothers Richard and Patterson Hartshorne, residents of New Jersey and Philadelphia respectively, to make the purchase (Alexandria U:452).

Nevitt was listed in tax records as the occupant of the 1200 block until 1812. In this year, the Hartshorne brothers leased a 120.5 ft x 130 ft lot at the northwest corner of the square to Thomas Preston and James Anderson at the rate of \$125 per year. The leasees had the option of buying the lot outright at any time for \$1,200 (Alexandria Deed Books W:386, 410). Although this parcel contained the frame house, the lease stipulated that Preston & Anderson shall build a two-story brick house, at least 20 ft x 30 ft, with fireplaces on both stories. The proposed brick house was never built. Seven years later the only building on the

square was the original a two-story frame house (From its first appearance in 1813 to 1825 Alexandria land tax records listed Preston & Anderson's house lot with a value of \$1,000 giving further evidence that no additional structure was built on the square after 1812 (Gazette 12/17/1819).

Between 1812 and 1814, Preston & Anderson bought out Nevitt's business including his dwelling and brick kilns opposite Hartshorne's square on the north side of Duke Street. They continued this brickmaking operation until about 1819. In this year, James Anderson was declared an insolvent debtor for which his property was seized and sold at public auction. Because Anderson owned the Duke Street lot jointly with Thomas Preston, only his half-interest was sold. Preston purchased his former partner's interest (or claimed it when it was not sold). Preston offered the property for rent once Anderson declared bankruptcy. It consisted of the two-story frame house and a large garden (Gazette 12/17/1819). Later tax records show that the house was rented to various tenants, many of whom were women or freed blacks (Alexandria Land Tax 1820-1850). Available records indicate that from 1819, brickmaking was no longer employed on any part of the square.

In 1822, a parcel of the Hartshorne square was occupied by a free black named Francis Seals (sometimes written Frank Sales). This could be the same Francis Sales, a female slave, who in 1815 at the age of 33, was manumitted at Alexandria (Alexandria Deed Book Z:329). Although no deed was found, tax records show that Seals had built a small house fronting Wolfe Street on the south end of the square. Seals continued to be taxed for a house and lot valued between \$150-200 until 1832 (Alexandria Land Tax 1820-1850).

From 1820 to 1850, the use of the remainder of the square was not determined. Tax records consistently labelled the property simply as lot, sometimes noting that it was vacant. From 1829-1844, the square immediately to the west was occupied as a brickyard. Because of its proximity to the new brickyard and its past history, the 1200 block may have returned to that usage but no documentation was found to support this. By 1835 both houses, Seals' and Preston's, had been removed or destroyed (Alexandria Land Tax 1820-1850).

In 1850, the entire block was sold to the O&ARR, who subsequently raised a brick shop. The following year the lot and shop were valued at \$1,400 (Alexandria Deed Books 3:196, 421; 164:75). The USMRR commandeered the O&ARR complex during the Civil War. The brick shop was converted to a kitchen for the Commissary Department. In addition, 10 shops were built on this block south of Duke Street along the eastern edge of the block which included three mess rooms, a bakery, a storeroom, a stable, a barn, an office and two unidentified buildings (Merrick 1865; Alexandria Land Tax Records 1850-1869).

The stockade built around the USMRR complex in 1863 was located along the north and west edges of the block; and one of the bastions was located near the intersection of Duke and Payne (Merrick 1865).

During the summer of 1865, all of the buildings constructed by the USMRR were removed, and year the Orange & Alexandria Railroad had bought back the site and much of their seized equipment (National Archives 1863-65). By 1869, the property included several structures valued at \$5,000 (Alexandria Land Tax Records 1869). The area contained several rail lines and numerous rail buildings.

During the late nineteenth century these buildings were apparently removed, and by the 1890s, only rail spurs were located on this block (Sanborn 1890). It remained in this state until 1940 when the northern half was purchased by Francis H. and Chester W. Fannon (Alexandria Deed Book 164:75). The Fannon Petroleum Company is currently located on the northern half of the lot and includes two buildings, one situated along the eastern third of the lot and the other located on the western edge of the block. The area to the front and sides of each building are presently used as a parking lot.

Occupants of the 1200 Block

(Table 3)

1797-1810 (The frame dwelling built by William Hartshorne was first offered for rent in March 1797; however, the first known occupant was not identified until 1802. Consistent records of occupants of this property were not found until 1810).

Date	Occupant	Value
	(*indicates a black)	
1802	Widow Clegg frame house	\$1,500
1805	vacant one square & house	\$2,000
1806	vacant one square & house	\$1,600
1807	Stale (house & 1 acre, Duke & Fayette)	\$1,300
	Preston (house only Preston's Brick Shop)	\$450
1810	Nevitt one square & house	\$1,600
1811	Nevitt one square & house	\$1,600
1812	Arch Hews, Wm Grigsby, Levie Lewis house & lot	\$1,000
1813	(In 1812, Preston & Anderson leased 120.5 ft x 130 ft lot from nw corner on which the frame house stood)	
	Simms Simpson* house & lot	\$1,000
	Brickyard (remaining 3/4 of Hartshorne's square)	\$1,000
1814	John Gilbert/Herb Allen house & lot	\$1,000
	---- lot	\$1,000
1815	Carol Allen/Jesse Hews house & lot	\$1,000
	---- lot	\$1,000
1816	Samuel Coswell house & lot	\$1,000
	---- lot	\$1,000
1817	Bartholomew Callender house & lot	\$1,000
	---- lot	\$1,000
1818	William M. Glenham house & lot	\$1,000
	---- lot	\$1,000
1819	Eliza Redman house & lot	\$1,000
	vacant lot	\$1,000
1820:	Eliz. Wright house & lot	\$1,000
	Frank Simms* lot	\$900
1821:	Betsy Bell house & lot	\$1,000
	---- lot	\$900
1822:	Betsy Bell house & lot	\$1,000
	vacant lot	900
	Francis Seals* house & lot	\$200 (this small house fronted Wolfe Street)
1823:	(Preston house lot does not appear)	
	Moses Bell lot	900
	Seals* house & lot	\$200
1824:	(Preston house lot does not appear)	
	Lewis Maniel lot	900
	Seals* house & lot	\$200
1825:	vacant house & lot	\$1,000

1827) Widow Clarke house & lot 900 (probably the Preston house; see
 Seals* house & lot \$200
 1826: (Preston house lot does not appear)
 Elizabeth Clarke 900 (probably Preston house; see 1827)
 Seals* house & lot \$200
 1827: Elizabeth Clarke house & lot \$700
 vacant lot 800
 Sales* Free Colored house & lot \$200
 1828: Elizabeth Clarke house & lot \$700
 Frank Sales lot 800
 Sales* house & lot \$200
 1829: ---- house & lot 800
 ---- lot 800
 Sales* house & lot 150
 1830: Whittington Copender* house & lot 800
 --- lot 800
 Sales* house & lot 150
 1831: Eliza Scott house & lot 800
 ---- lot 800
 Sales* house & lot 150
 1832: Mary Coxen house & lot 800
 ----- lot 800
 Sales* house & lot 150
 1833: --- house & lot \$700
 --- one square except Preston 800
 (Sales house & lot no longer appears)
 1834: --- house & lot \$700
 William Hews/Frank Saly (John Hooe) This may mean Saly was
 Hooe's slave (no value given)
 1835: vacant house & lot \$700
 vacant lot \$700
 1836: --- lot \$200 (the Preston house no longer appears)
 --- lot \$700
 1837: --- Preston & Anderson Est small lot \$200
 --- lot \$700
 1838-1843: --- lot 350
 --- lot 800
 1844-1846: --- lot 350
 --- lot \$1,000
 1847: --- lot 325
 --- lot 925
 1848-1849: --- lot 300
 --- lot 800
 1850: Railroad Company one square lot 1,100 (Hartshorne heirs
 sold entire 1200 block to the O&ARR)
 1851: Railroad Company one square & shop 1,400

 1867: OAMGRR Co. square lot 5,000
 1868: OAMGRR Co. square lot 5,000
 1869: OAMGRR Co. house & lot 6,000

Table 3. Chain of Title, USMRR Site (44AX105), Alexandria, Virginia.

Date	Grantor	Grantee	Description	Reference
1796	John Wise	Matthew F. Bowen & Theodorus J. Hamilton	Subdivision of Spring Garden Farm	Alexandria Deed Book K:276
1796	M. F. Bowen & T. J. Hamilton	Jesse Simms	Deed of Trust for Spring Garden Farm	Alexandria Deed Book K:276 Alexandria Gazette 6/30/1796
May 24, 1796	Jesse Simms	Wm. Hartshorne	2-acre block (lots 29, 30, 53, 54)	Alexandria Deed Book U:452
June 20, 1809	Wm. Hartshorne	Richard & Patterson Hartshorne	2-acre block	Alexandria Deed Book U:452
August 24, 1812	Richard & Patterson Hartshorne by Power-of-Attorney of Wm. Hartshorne	Thomas Preston & James Anderson	Ground rent lease of NW corner of 2-acre block	Alexandria Deed Book W:386
January 22 & April 24, 1850	Heirs of Richard & Patterson Hartshorne	Orange & Alexandria Railroad Company	2-acre block	Alexandria Deed Book L3:196,421
July 6, 1940	Southern Railroad Co.	Chester W. & Francis H. Fannon	North half of 2-acre block	Alexandria Deed Book 164:75

1700 Block of Duke Street

This two-acre square contained three of the original lots of John West's subdivision known as West End (Table 4). According to West's 1796 plan, the block was parceled into two 3/4-acre lots and one 1/2 acre lot. Giles Baker signed a ground rent agreement for the 1/2-acre parcel, which was situated at the southwest corner of Duke and John Street (Holland Lane), on October 21, 1796. Baker satisfied the lease by building a house within the allotted term of two years (Fairfax County Deed Books Z:505; A2:356). Documentation reveals that the house was a two-story frame structure which stood for nearly 160 years until its demolition in 1958. It was located on the northeast corner of the lot.

In 1799, Baker sold his lease on the property to a West End butcher/tanner named Moses Kenney. Two years later, Kenney purchased the ground rent charge of the half-acre lot from John West (Fairfax County Deed Books L2:408, Z2:299; Fairfax County Court Order Books 1799:493, 1801:111). February 26, 1810, Kenney married Giles Baker's daughter. In this year, he was first listed as the head of his own household. Probably Kenney lived with the Baker family prior to his marriage (Fairfax Minute Book 1807:169; Federal Census Fairfax County 1810).

In 1810, Moses Kenney divided the Duke Street lot into four equal parts and sold the northwest and southeast quadrants outright to a butcher named George Varnold (Fairfax County Deed Book L2:408; Gazette 11/9/1808). Two years earlier, Varnold had purchased the dwelling house of Hanson Thomas which stood opposite this lot on the east side of John Street (Figure 5, lot Q). Varnold died in 1818 and his real estate was devised to his wife Sarah and their only child George W. Varnold (Fairfax County Deed Book B3:101). The inventory of his personal estate, presented June 10, 1818, had a total value of \$272.25 and consisted of ordinary household furnishings (Fairfax County Will Book:L:206).

In 1817, Kenney sold to John West--a relative of the former John West--the ground rent charge of the northeast and southwest quadrants. These parcels were still occupied by Giles Baker and the annuity was payable by his heirs forever (curiously, taxes for this land were continuously charged to the Baker family even though they had not owned title to the lot since 1799; Fairfax County Deed Book Z2:299).

Giles Baker died in 1820; his will, presented November 20, 1820, requested that his West End dwelling house be rented out until his grandson, John Richard Baker reached the age of 21. The proceeds from the rent was to support and educate his grandson. Upon his grandson's 21 birthday, the house was to be sold and the proceeds divided amongst his heirs. An inventory of Baker's personal estate presented May 22, 1821, included only household articles with a combined value of \$127.66 (Fairfax County Will Book M:127, 218).

Table 4. Chain of Title, Bontz Site (44AX103), Alexandria, Virginia.

Date	Grantor	Grantee	Description	Reference
October 21, 1796	John West	Giles Baker	Ground rent lease ½-acre lot	Fairfax Co. Deed Book Z:222
1799	Giles Baker	Moses Kenney	Ground rent lease ½-acre lot	Fairfax Co. Court Order Book 99:493 Fairfax Co. Deed Book L2:408
January 23, 1801	John & Elizabeth West	Moses Kenney	Ground rent charge ½-acre lot	Fairfax Co. Deed Books L2:408; Z2:299 (C2:467 missing)
February 26, 1810	Moses & Elizabeth Kenney	George Varnold	Ground rent charge NW & SE quadrants	Fairfax Co. Deed Book L2:408
July 14, 1817	Moses Kenney & wife	John West	Ground rent charge NE & SW quadrants	Fairfax Co. Deed Book Z2:299 (P2:306 missing)
May 27, 1831	John & Sarah West	William B. Richards	Ground rent charge NE & SW quadrants	Fairfax Co. Deed Book Z2:299
January 17, 1832	George Varnold heirs	George Bontz	NW & SE quadrants	Fairfax Co. Deed Book A3:51
June 1, 1840	William B. & Pricilla Richards	George Bontz	Ground rent charge NE & SW quadrants	Fairfax Co. Deed Book F3:232
June 18, 1900	George Bontz heirs	Henry Bontz heirs & Elizabeth Johnson heirs	Division of ½-acre lot	Fairfax Co. Deed Book E6:707
1901	George Bontz heirs	Ella H. Brown	Lots 3, 4 & 5	Fairfax Co. Chancery CFF:9i Fairfax Co. Deed Book J6:110
August 2, 1902	Henry Bontz heirs	Elizabeth J. Martin	Lot 1	Fairfax Co. Deed Book N7:579
June 17, 1912	Elizabeth J. Martin	Elizabeth Martin & Lavinia Patterson	Lot 1	Fairfax Co. Deed Book N7:580
1914	Ella H. & Arthur R. Brown	John & Laura Haring	Lots 3, 4 & 5	Fairfax Co. Deed Book U7:72
July 8, 1919	Laura B. Haring	Hannie C. & Herbert A. Griffin	Lots 3, 4 & 5	Alexandria Deed Book 68:480
1925	Hannie C. Griffith	B. B. & Ida R. Ezrine	Lots 3, 4, & 5	Alexandria Deed Book 68:570
1925	B. B. & Ida R. Ezrine	Alice Moore	Lots 3, 4, & 5	Alexandria Deed Book 68:572
January 11, 1929	Martin & Patterson	E. Burnett Ale	Lot 1	Alexandria Deed Book 97:70
May 10, 1933	Carl Budwesky, Comm.	E. Burnett Ale	Lot 2	Alexandria Deed Book 113:506
March 15, 1944	Alice Moore	Edgar & Georgia Lamb	Lots 3, 4 & 5	Alexandria Deed Book 206:430
May 21, 1949*	Edgar A. Lamb	Walter J. & Maria Hill	Lots 3, 4	Alexandria Deed Book 281:592
Sept. 4, 1958	E. Burnett Ale	Builders & Developers Corp.	Lots 1, 2	Alexandria Deed Book 475:96
October 16, 1958	Walter J. Hill	Builders & Developers Corp.	Lots 3, 4	Alexandria Deed Book 477:606
1959	Builders & Developers Corp.	Ruth Baer	Lots 1, 2, 3 & 4	Alexandria Deed Book 494:530
1984	Ruth Baer	Duke Street Associates	Lots 1, 2, 3 & 4	Alexandria Deed Book 1288:1068

*Lot 5 was eventually bought by Herby's Ford Dealership and was lost in foreclosure ca. 1977.

Beginning in 1820 Fairfax County tax records included a separate listing for building values was 1920. Giles Baker's 1/4-acre lot was valued at \$350, which included a \$200 building. The value of the Varnold 1/4-acre was concealed because its entry was combined with the other West End house lot owned by the Varnold heirs. The two Varnold lots together, totaling 3/4 of an acre, were valued at \$450 and all but \$50 represented the value of the buildings (Fairfax County Land Tax 1820).

On January 17, 1831, the Varnold heirs, now residents of Washington, and Alexandria DC, sold the northwest and southeast quadrants to George Bontz of Fairfax County for \$250 (Fairfax County Deed Book A3:51). Bontz was a butcher, who was born in Alexandria in 1792. Bontz moved to Fairfax County sometime between 1820 and 1825.

Bontz Family History

Although a definite relationship was not determined, several sources indicate that George Bontz was related to John, Jacob, and Ann Bontz, who were all Alexandria residents (Miller 1987; Alexandria Deed Books Y:130; D2:449; K2:272; P2:264; Avery n.d.:134; Federal Census, D.C./Alexandria 1820; Federal Census:Fairfax County 1850; Fairfax County Property Tax 1825; Gazette 1/15/1824; 1/4/1826).

In 1820, about the time they moved to West End, the George Bontz family consisted of George, his wife Mary, a daughter Elizabeth and newborn son Henry (Federal Census 1820:Alexandria DC; Bureau of Vital Statistics: Fairfax County Deaths 1892). Mary Bontz died before her 40th birthday, sometime between 1837 and 1840 (Fairfax County Deed Book D3:322; Federal Census 1840:Fairfax County, VA).

By 1840, Henry Bontz had moved to a house on West Street but still worked with his father as a butcher. In that year, the George Bontz household consisted of George, a 15-20 year old female (probably his daughter Elizabeth), two children--one male and one female--both less than ten years old and one slave. The female child may have been a third child of George and Mary's named Mary F. Bontz, who was born ca. 1828 (Federal Census 1850:Fairfax County, VA). The two children may instead have been Elizabeth's. At some undetermined date, Elizabeth married a man named Johnson and bore five children (although maybe not all by him). The ages of the female and the two children recorded in the 1840 census do not correspond with Elizabeth and her children but the census may have been inaccurate (Fairfax Chancery Records; U.S. Census 1840, 1850: Fairfax County, VA; Fairfax personal property tax 1840).

A decade later, George Bontz had remarried. He and his new wife Margaret (who was the same age as George's son Henry) were the only occupants of Bontz's West End property. Elizabeth, who had three

children by this date apparently was living elsewhere. Henry Bontz, now a 30-year old butcher, was living at his West Street home with his wife Harriet, age 26, a 22-year old named Mary F. Bontz, who was probably his sister, and two daughters Mary C., age 8 and Ary Levinia, age 5. Also living in Henry Bontz' house was the George Benter family of six. George Benter was a 34-year old butcher and probably a cousin of Henry Bontz (Henry Bontz' father George Bontz married into the Benter family. Federal Census 1850:Fairfax County, VA).

A relationship between the Varnold and Bontz families had been established by the second decade of the 19th century. George Bontz married Mary Benter in 1818 (Miller 1987). A year and a half earlier, George Varnold had served as bondsman for the marriage of Ann Bontz to Wesley Benter (Wesley Benter and George Bontz together witnessed the signing of a deed involving John Bontz in 1817 [Miller 1987; Alexandria Deed Book D2:449]). Bontz possibly learned the butcher's trade from Varnold.

Tax records illustrate that when Bontz purchased the two quadrants from the Varnold heirs in 1831, a small building was included. The land tax of 1824-1833 show an unchanging entry for the George Varnold Estate: 3/4 of an acre worth \$50 and a value of \$400 on the buildings, making a total, for land and buildings of \$450. In 1834, the Varnold Estate entry consisted of only a half-acre lot with a \$350 building value and a total land and building value of \$400. Undoubtedly, this last entry was the former Thomas 1/4-acre house lot on the east side of John Street which the Varnold heirs did not sell until 1834 (Fairfax County Deed Book B3:101).

George Bontz' initial entry in the Fairfax County land tax records appeared in 1833. It was for the 1/4-acre lot purchased of Varnold by deed recorded. It listed a building value of \$450 and a total value for land and buildings of \$500. The next year, George Bontz again had only one entry which was for the same 1/4-acre West End lot. However, now the building value had increased to \$1,200 bringing the total to \$1,250. The value remained at this level until 1840 when it decreased slightly (Fairfax County Land Tax 1820-1840).

These figures indicate that the \$50 land value for the northwest and southeast quadrants remained constant from 1824 to 1839. The \$50 building value, however, made a dramatic increase immediately after Bontz purchased it and continued to rise until it reached \$1250 in 1834. This probably indicates the time that the two-story brick house was built.

Four months after Bontz acquired the two quadrants from the Varnold heirs, William Burton Richards purchased the ground rent charge to the northeast and southwest parcels from John West for \$100. Richards, a West End butcher, was a friend and neighbor of the Baker family. Richards' acquisition was still subject to a lease held by Giles' Baker's heirs Fairfax County Will Book M:127; Fairfax County Deed Book Z2:299; Gazette 4/10/1832). At the time Richards acquired the house lot

in 1831, it was given a building value of \$200 and a total land and building value of \$225. The tax for this property continued to be charged and paid by the Baker family (Fairfax County Land Tax 1830-1855) (F3:232; Federal Census Fairfax County, Virginia 1850).

Richards sold the ground rent charge and title of his two quadrants to George Bontz on June 1, 1840. Bontz paid \$100, the same price Richards had paid nine years earlier. The deed reconfirmed that the ground rent charge was still payable by the heirs of Giles Baker (Fairfax County Deed Book F3:232). This conveyance gave Bontz ownership of the entire half-acre lot, all four quadrants, although the northeast and southwest were still subject to the Baker lease. Just prior to the Civil War, the Baker's apparently relinquished all claim to the house lot. Fairfax County tax records are either incomplete or entirely missing for the years 1856 to 1867; however, the last found entry for Baker was in 1855.

There was very little information found concerning Bontz and his business. In 1860, John Childs, age 40, lived with George and Margaret Bontz. Childs was probably George Bontz' employee or apprentice. George Bontz' son Henry, although still a butcher, had moved outside Alexandria to a 105-acre Fairfax County farm near the theological seminary (Federal Census 1860:Fairfax County, VA; Fairfax Chancery Record 5r).

Available personal property tax records show that George Bontz was charged for the years 1861, 1862, and 1865, suggesting that Bontz remained in West End during the war. If he did stay during the four year Union occupation, he certainly would have suffered hardships. In 1860 George Bontz' personal property, which included a horse, cow, and carriage, was valued at \$350. The following year, the horse was gone and the value had decreased to \$230. By 1867, Bontz' personal property only consisted of \$100 worth of household furniture (Fairfax personal Property Tax 1861-62, 1867).

Two years after the Civil War Bontz' Duke Street lot was valued at \$2,450 which included a \$1,725 building value. This was almost two times its 1855 value, which was the last available tax record listing Bontz. There was not a general increase in neighboring properties, indicating that Bontz made improvements to his property during this period (Fairfax Land Tax 1855, 1867).

George Bontz continued his butchering trade at least until he was 81 years old in 1873 (Alexandria City Directory 1873). He and his second wife Margaret both died in 1880. The two Duke Street houses were devised to his children Henry Bontz and Elizabeth Johnson. From the time of George Bontz' death in 1880 to 1900, the Bontz heirs were charged for the yearly taxes for both houses. Documentation indicates that Elizabeth Johnson may have resided in the frame house. Elizabeth Johnson died in 1889. By her will, written eight years before her death, she bequeathed all I possess, my property in West End . . . my furniture and other effects to her three daughters Anna, Virginia and

Sallie. The Johnson heirs retained a tenement of the frame house until 1929 (Fairfax Will Book E2:623; Alexandria Corporation Court: equity #4059; Fairfax Chancery Records 9i; Fairfax land and personal property tax 1880-1897).

Following George Bontz' death in 1880, his former two houses fell into a state of disrepair. Between 1888-1889, the Bontz' estate was charged for pumping water out of the cellar, repairing the pump, repairing the house, white washing, fence construction and repairs. After Henry Bontz died in 1892, the Duke Street property apparently declined further still. By the turn of the century, the frame house needed repairs which the heirs of Henry Bontz and Elizabeth Johnson were unwilling to fund. The value of the brick house decreased over the 35 years following George Bontz' death. Appraised at \$900 in 1883, it gradually decreased to \$800 in 1915 (Fairfax Will Book F2:93-95; Fairfax County Fairfax Chancery Record; Fairfax County Deaths 1892; Fairfax Land Tax 1883-95; Alexandria Land Tax 1915).

In 1900 the heirs agreed to divide the estate into five lots for the purpose of its sale. The Henry Bontz heirs received the parcel designated lot 1, including the east half of the frame house and associated long lot extending to Wolfe Street; the Elizabeth Johnson heirs received the parcel designated lot 2, including the west half of the frame house and associated long lot; both parties retained joint custody of the remaining property designated lots 3, 4 and 5. The brick house was contained in lot 4 (Fairfax County Deed Book E6:707).

In 1901, after reaching a settlement in Fairfax County Court, the Bontz heirs agreed to sell lots 3, 4 and 5 at public auction. The three lots were purchased by Ella H. Brown, daughter of Henry Bontz and one of the heirs, for \$1007.20 (Fairfax County Chancery 9i). The value of the brick house at 1706 Duke continued to increase through the 20th century. In 1950, it was valued at \$1706 (Alexandria land tax 1915-50).

The Browns lived in the brick house at the 1706 Duke Street address until 1914. In 1914 John T. Haring purchased the property, and five years later sold it to Herbert A. Griffith. In 1925, the property was transferred twice, first to B. B. Ezrine and then to Alice Moore. Moore lived there until 1944 when she sold the property to Edgar A. Lamb. In 1949 Lamb sold lots 3 and 4 to Walter J. Hill, an employee of the American Red Cross (Fairfax County Deed Books J6:110, U7:72; Alexandria Deed Books 68:480; 81:570, 572; 206:430; 281:592; Hill 1950).

In early 1950, lot 5 was sold to Herby's Ford dealership which built an automotive paint shop on the lot. Eight years later, the Builders and Developers Corporation bought lots 3 and 4, as well as the other properties comprising the 1700 Block. In 1960 Ruth Baer purchased the 1700 Block, demolished the buildings, and built the present shopping center (Alexandria Deed Books 477:606; 494:530; Alexandria land and personal property tax 1915-1950).

By the turn of the century the old frame building on lots 1 and 2 was converted into two tenements. In 1902, the Henry Bontz heirs sold lot 1 and the eastern half of the frame structure to Elizabeth J. Martin, who had made an unsuccessful bid on lots 3, 4 and 5 the previous year. Martin rented the property to several different tenants during the 27 years of her ownership.

In 1924 and 1932, Alexandria city directories listed lot 1, 1700 Duke Street, as a grocery store. Richard E. Thompson was the proprietor in 1924. Thompson and his wife Bertha were named in tax records as occupants of 1700 Duke from 1915 to 1924. Bertha Thompson died in 1925 but Richard continued to occupy the house until 1929. After 1930, occupants were not included in the tax lists (Alexandria Land Tax 1915-1950).

Samuel M. Armstrong was operating a grocery business at 1700 Duke by 1932. Although he lived on Elizabeth Street, a carpenter named Julian Bruce resided at 1700 Duke. These facts confirm that lot 1 contained both a store and a tenement (Hill, 1924, 1932; Alexandria Land tax 1915-1935). Three years earlier Martin had sold the house lot to E. Burnette Ale, who already owned several other city tenements. Ale owned the property until 1958 when the Builders and Developers Corporation purchased the entire 1700 block (Fairfax County Deed Book N7:579, 580; Alexandria Deed Books 97:70, 475:96, 494:530; Alexandria Land and Personal Property Tax 1915-1950).

The Johnson heirs retained lot 2 and the west tenement in the frame house until 1929. Over that period, it was occupied by two different tenants. Between 1929 and 1932, property taxes charged to Sallie Johnson were not paid. Following an investigation which found that all heirs to the property were dead or untraceable, the lot was sold at public auction for delinquent taxes. The commissioner of sale reported that the winning bid of \$175 may appear small [however] in view of the present economic conditions, the location of the property and its extremely bad state of repair, the same having been abandoned and unoccupied for several years, that is the best price obtainable (author underline) (Alexandria Corporation Court:equity #4059; Alexandria Deed Book 113:506).

The dilapidated tenement was purchased by E. Burnett Ale, who had previously acquired 1700 Duke Street, the other half of the original frame house. Ale made the property tenantable again and leased it to various tenants (Alexandria Deed Books 475:96, 494:530; Alexandria Land and Personal Property Tax 1915-1950).

The value of the two tenements within the frame house, 1700 and 1702 Duke, never exceeded \$500 until 1950 (Alexandria Land tax 1915-1950). Twentieth-century occupants of the frame house reflect the modest value of the properties. They were primarily blue collar workers with jobs including Alexandria Water Company engineer, machinist, carpenter, car repairman, steel fitter and Southern Railway brakeman (Hill 1924, 1932, 1934, 1950).

METHODOLOGY

The Phase III evaluation combined historical document research with field excavations to address the project goals. The background research involved the examination of historic documents, such as maps, deeds, and tax records, as well as numerous other sources to provide information about the specific sites and to provide the historical context for each site. The field excavation procedures varied considerably, and a description of specific field methodology is provided for each site.

The historic research was conducted at various repositories including the Virginia Room at the Fairfax Public Library, the Lloyd House Library in Alexandria, the Office of City Planning in Alexandria, the National Archives in Washington D.C., the Library of Congress in Washington D.C., the National Archives Cartographic Division in Alexandria, Alexandria Archeological Research Center (AARC), the Fairfax County Courthouse, the Alexandria Courthouse, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources in Richmond, and the State Library in Richmond. In addition, Edith Sprouse and Beth Mitchell from the Fairfax County Courthouse archives provided plats and other unpublished documents.

Bontz Site (44AX103)

The Phase II investigation had identified the three upper soil layers as recent fills which were deposited in 1958 after the site was abandoned (Cromwell 1989:62). During the initial stage of the Phase III field excavation, the top three soils layers were removed by means of a Gradall. The removal of overburden facilitated excavation of preserved cultural deposits at the site.

After the overburden was removed from the site, the Phase II 5-ft interval grid system was reestablished to coordinate Phase II and III levels of investigation. A topographic map was generated from the elevation readings from individual test units.

A ca. 1900 survey plat of the site was superimposed on the site map in an effort to direct the placement of test units. The boundaries of four separate lots were marked on the base map. The artifacts from individual test units were documented by lot/unit or structure/unit provenience.

During the Phase III study, the site was excavated in three stages. The first stage of excavation concentrated on the exposure of the two house foundations. A series of 5 x 5 ft test units was placed across both structures (Figure 15). This stage of testing involved the excavation of all test units containing the house foundations.

The second stage of excavation concentrated on the rear yard areas. Thirty-two 2.5-ft square test units were placed at 10-ft intervals across the back yard areas of lots one through three. The back yard lot

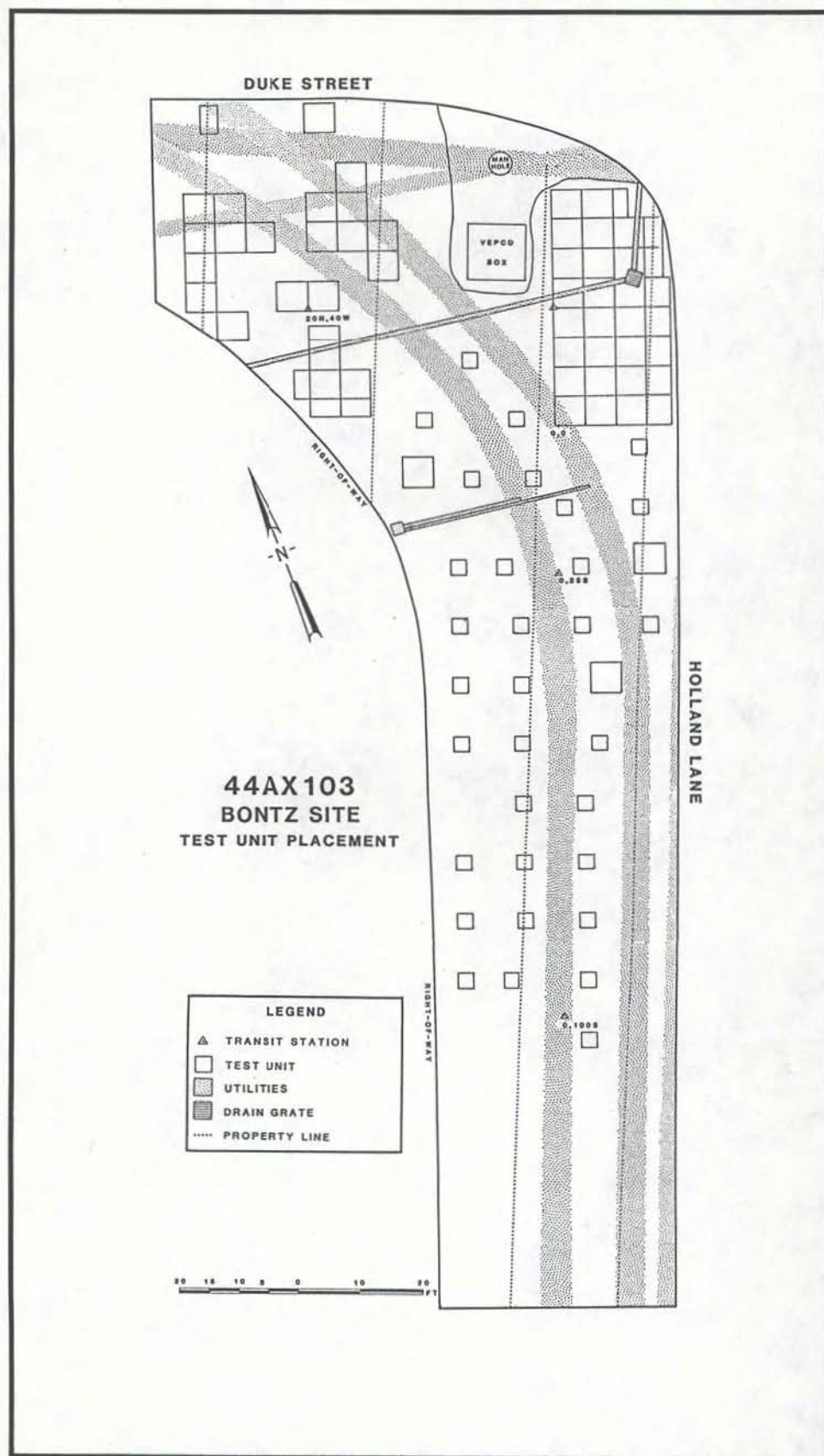


Figure 15. Bontz Site (44AX103) showing the location of test units.

(4) of structure II was located outside of the right-of-way and was excluded from the study. The sampling strategy was used to recover artifacts from the yard and to search for underlying features.

All of the test units were excavated in natural layers. If the soil layers were thick, .25-ft arbitrary levels were defined within the identified layer. A datum point was established in the southeast corner of each test unit where elevations were documented and integrated on a topographic/base map of the site. The datum readings were used to compare similar stratigraphic layers across the site while compensating for the natural topography.

Soils from the test units were removed by trowel and shovel skimming techniques and dry screened through $\frac{1}{4}$ -in. wire mesh. Field documentation on individual test units included information about soil matrix and color, types of artifacts recovered, and any disturbances observed during the investigation. To examine the stratigraphy across the site, profile maps were made of at least one wall of each unit.

The excavation of the two structural foundations was documented by the structure and lot provenience. Forty-six 5-ft-square test units were used to expose the two foundations; however, the width of the right-of-way facilitated the use of 13 smaller units along the foundations. The two foundations were completely exposed, mapped, and photo documented during the investigation. Samples of the bricks and mortar from each structure were removed for further analysis. The documentation of each structural feature (i.e. bonding patterns, evidence of renovations and additions) was made on the field forms and drafted on both the base map and detailed structural maps.

The sampling strategy of the yard included the placement of thirty-two 2.5 ft square test units at 10-ft intervals across the site. The test square placement provided a 7% sample of artifacts from the yards. A series of 463 $\frac{1}{4}$ -in. auger tests was placed at 2.5 ft intervals in an effort to locate subsurface cultural features and examine the profiles of the yard areas. The large amounts of brick, slag, and rock across the site often prevented the auger probe from reaching sterile subsoil. Consequently, only 25% of the auger tests could be used to document the stratigraphy.

The third stage of data recovery involved the removal of all top soil in the yard areas, with the use of a Gradall, to locate all of the cultural features on the site. The subsoils were troweled to search for features and anomalies. All features/anomalies included on the base map were photographed and mapped prior to excavation.

The excavation of features involved the bisection along of the long axis for each feature/anomaly. The soils were removed by trowel and shovel skimming techniques and then dry screened through $\frac{1}{4}$ -in. wire mesh. A profile map was drawn and then the other half of the feature was removed by the same process. The feature fill from the second half, however, was removed and water screened rather than dry screened. Plan

and profile illustrations of excavated postholes/post molds are in Appendix B.

All artifacts recovered during the testing were washed, sorted and cataloged at the JMUARC laboratory. Following the general cataloging, the artifacts were analyzed. While the information from the analysis is presented in this report, the completed analysis forms used to formulate the text are on file at JMUARC.

USMRR (44AX105)

The Phase II cultural resource evaluation identified several fill layers that are from the late nineteenth through mid twentieth century development of the railroad yard landscape (Cromwell 1989:48-53). The fill deposits and overlying asphalt/gravel parking lot were removed by a Gradall during the initial stage of the Phase III mitigation. These fill deposits were not associated with the railroad complex and the Phase II evaluation had indicated the deposits were not significant. Consequently, the associated artifacts were not recovered or extensively documented during the investigation.

The grid system utilized during the Phase II investigation was reestablished for the data recovery phase. The Phase II excavations were cleaned-up and then re-mapped on the site base map. The base map was continually upgraded to document the location of features, test units, utility lines, and the proposed right-of-way.

A systematic testing pattern was used to recover a sample of artifacts from the preserved cultural deposit identified in the western half of the site (Cromwell 1989:53) (Figure 16). A series of ten 5-ft-sq test units was placed at 10-ft intervals in the western half of the site. Approximately 20% of this area was sampled by this method. Thirteen additional 5-ft-sq test units were used to evaluate identified features and provide a larger artifact sample. The Phase III investigation determined the presence of preserved cultural features but no other cultural deposits.

The test units were excavated by trowel and shovel skimming techniques techniques and dry screened through ¼-in. wire mesh. The soil was removed in natural layers unless individual layers were more than 6 in., in which case they were removed in 6-in. arbitrary levels. Individual test units were documented on field forms which describe soil matrix and color, types of artifacts recovered and any disturbances. Profiles were drawn of at least one wall of each sample square to document the site's stratigraphy.

44AX105 USMRR SITE TEST PIT PLACEMENT

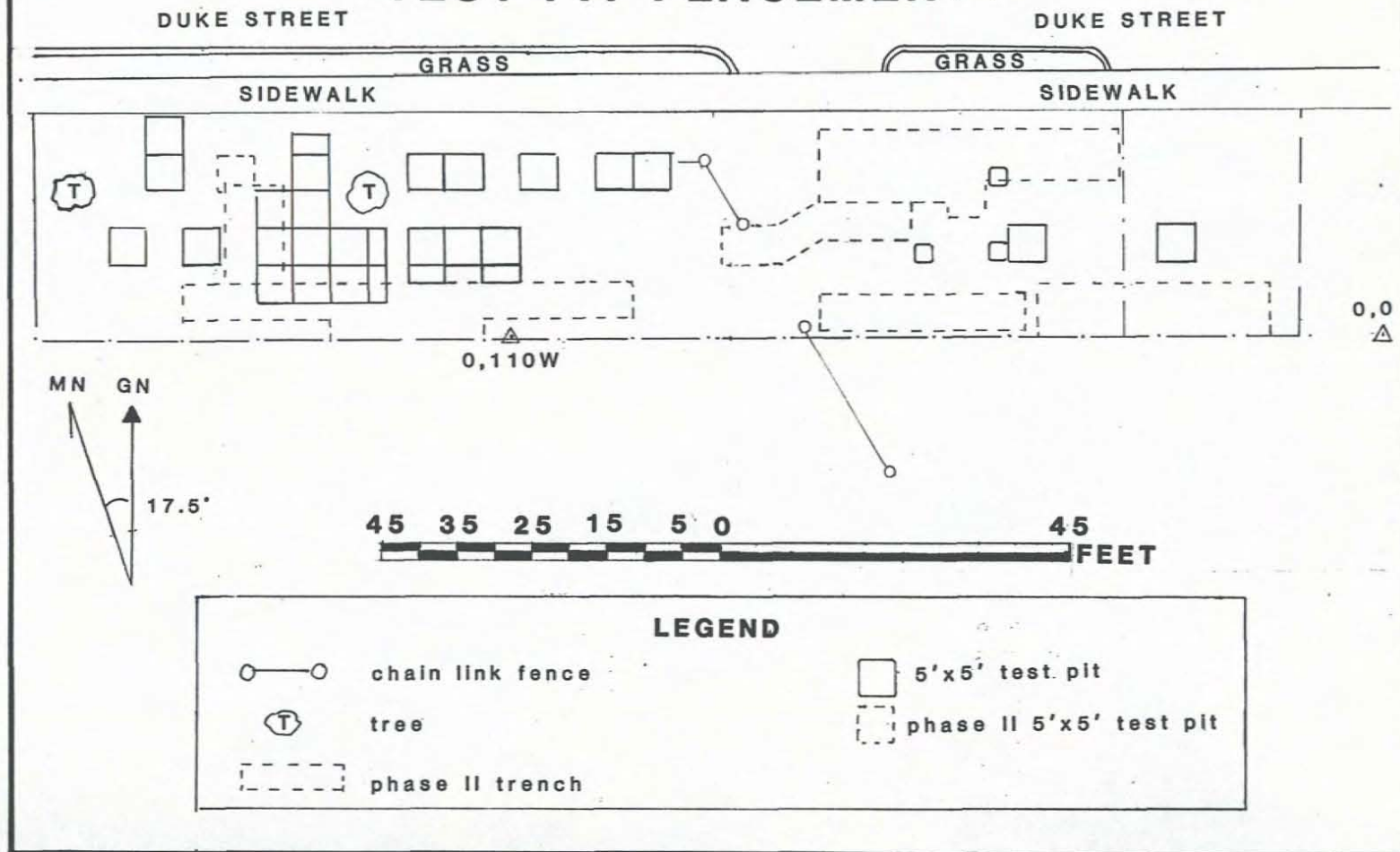


Figure 16. USMRR Site (44AX105) showing the location of test units.

A series of three 2.5 ft square test units was placed in the eastern half of the site. These test units were used to examine the cultural deposits associated with the early nineteenth century occupation of the site. The test units were placed at 10 ft intervals and the testing revealed that the fill sequences continued to the surface of culturally sterile subsoil. No preserved cultural deposits were identified.

The documentation of individual features included a plan map, a profile map and a photograph of each feature's plan view and profile. Plan and profile illustrations of excavated postholes/molds are in Appendix B. The features were bisected and the soils removed in natural layers, using trowel or shovel techniques and then the soils were dry screened through $\frac{1}{4}$ -in. wire mesh. If the soil layers were more than 6 in., they were removed in 6-in. arbitrary levels within each layer. Soil samples from each feature were taken for water screen analysis and floatation. One of the identified features, 10N-5F, encompassed an area 15 x 13 ft. Due to the size of the feature, 5 ft test squares were used to recover the feature. The soils at the bottom of the feature 25N-1F, apparently a cistern/well, were saturated and could not be dry screened. These soils were removed and were water screened through $\frac{1}{4}$ -in. wire mesh. The laboratory procedures used for the USMRR site were identical to those used for the Bontz site.

PREVIOUS WORK IN THE PROJECT VICINITY

Limited archeological excavation and documentary research have been conducted in the immediate vicinity of the project, although over 100 sites have been excavated within the city of Alexandria. The Alexandria Urban Archeology Program (AUAP), established in the late 1970s, monitors the city of Alexandria as a large archeological site. The program focuses primarily on areas that were part of the original old town; very few studies or comparisons have been conducted on the periphery or semi-periphery of Alexandria (Steven J. Shephard, City of Alexandria archeologist, personal communication 1989; Donald Crevling, City of Alexandria archeologist, personal communication 1988). The old slave pen (slave trading facility), located on the north side of Duke Street opposite the project area, was excavated by Engineering-Sciences, Inc. (Artemel et al. 1987).

The archeological excavations conducted in the project area include the Phase I survey and the Phase II evaluation of the project corridor (Cheek and Zatz 1986; Cromwell 1989). The Phase I and Phase II evaluations provided a general history of Duke Street/West End area as well as a field sample of the various cultural features located between the 1100 and 1900 blocks of Duke street. Mitigative investigations were recommended and conducted as a result of this prior evaluation.

ARCHEOLOGY

The Bontz site (44AX103) is located on the southwest corner of the intersection of Duke Street and Holland Lane. The site is located in the nineteenth century village of West End which was annexed by Alexandria in 1915. The village served as a residential, commercial and industrial suburb on the western periphery of the city.

Excavations at the Bontz site identified two early nineteenth century structures and 79 soil anomalies. Of the 79 anomalies, thirty-seven post molds/holes and 10 cultural features were identified while the remaining 32 anomalies were the result of natural processes (Figure 17).

Four lots, numbered sequentially from east to west, were identified during the historic research (Figure 17). These lots were also given street addresses from 1700 to 1706. Structure 1 was located on lots one and two (1700 and 1702) and structure 2 was situated on lot 4 (1706). Lot three (1704) was apparently vacant throughout the occupation of this site. Features are described in relation to the lots in which they were evaluated. The features were labeled according to their north-south provenience and then sequentially.

Structure 1

This structure was identified on lots 1700 and 1702 Duke Street. The structural remains of the western half of this building, a brick foundation, were located at the northeastern extreme of the site. The eastern half of the structure was located under the existing roadway (Holland Lane). The entire front wall of the structure was destroyed by recent utility construction.

The brick foundation was composed of two courses of brick laid on the ground surface with no apparent builder's trench. The foundation was 9 in. wide (two brick widths) and typically, a header course served as the base while the upper course consisted of a stretcher pattern (Figure 18).

Minimally, this building was constructed in two periods. The original house was 30 ft east-west by 25 ft north-south (Plate 13). The addition to the house was 20 ft east-west and 15 ft north-south (Plate 14). The west and south walls of the main structure were situated within the VDOT right-of-way. The east wall was under the existing roadway and the north wall was destroyed by a utility. Stretcher courses were typical for the west and south foundation walls with occasional soldier courses also identified. The soldier courses apparently represent renovations to the original structure.

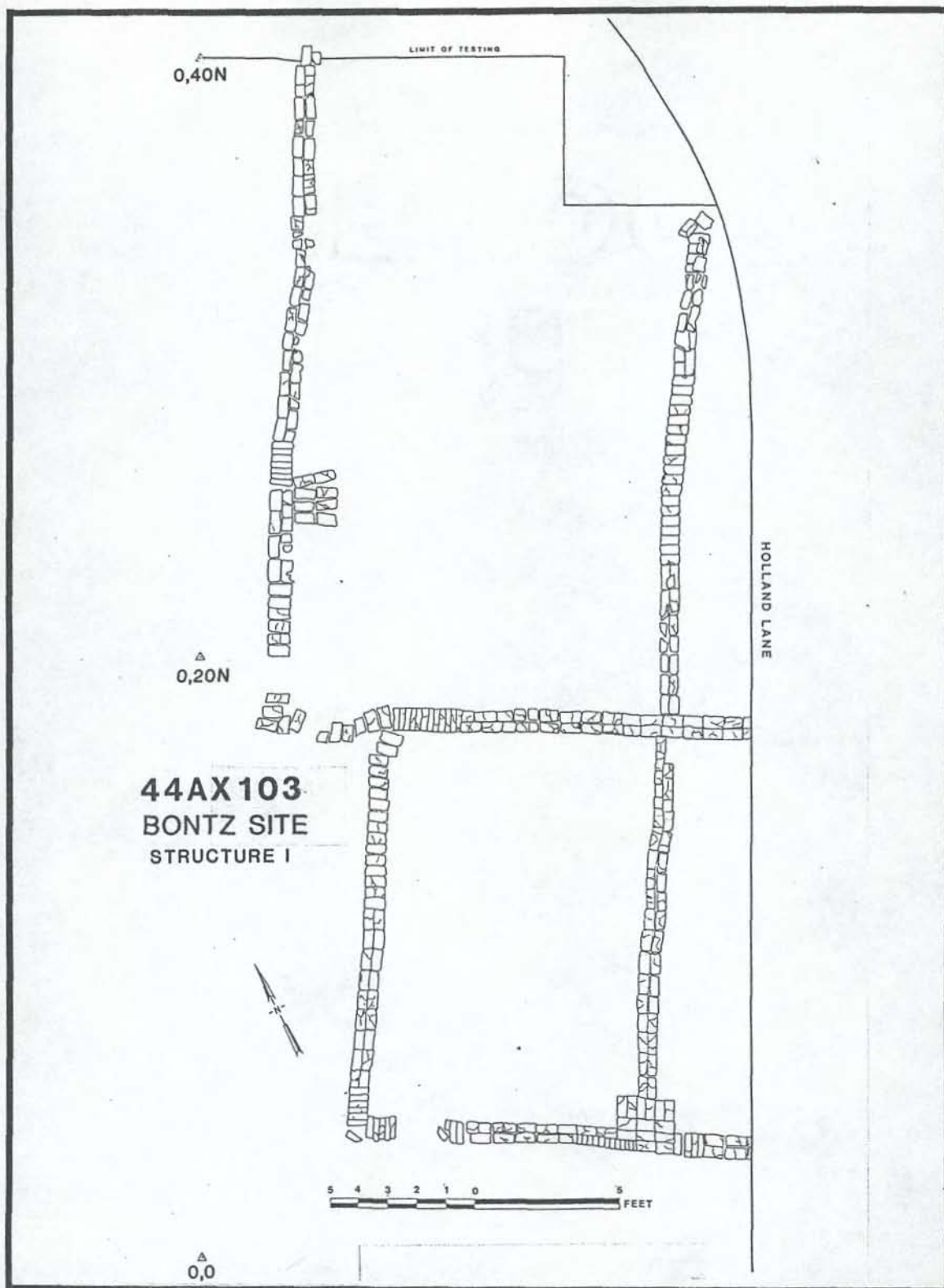


Figure 18. Structure 1 Bontz Site, foundation remains.

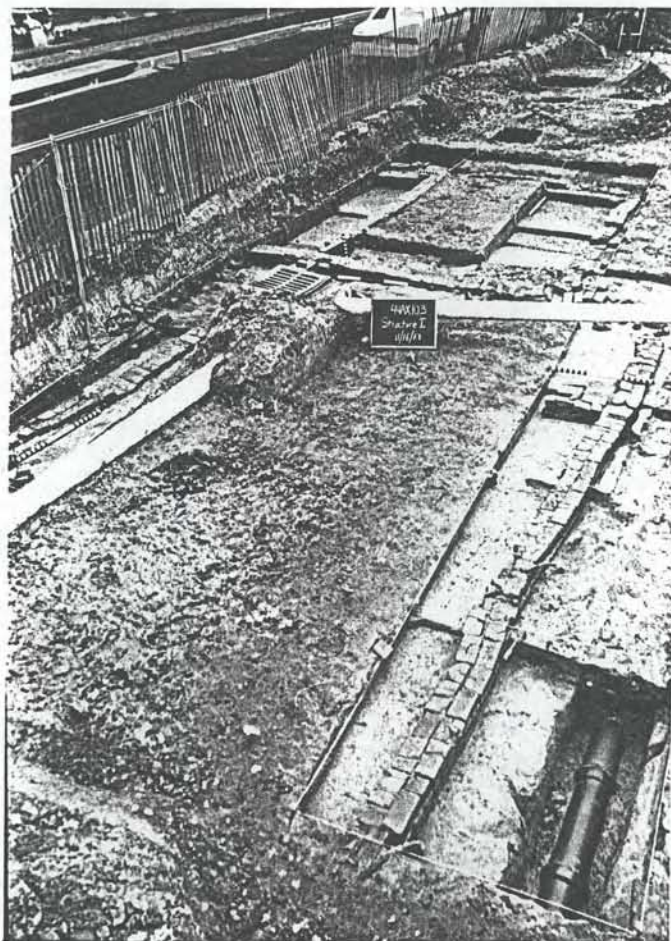


Plate 13. Structure 1, Bontz Site (44AX103)
foundation view to the south (Alexandria, Duke
Street, VA).

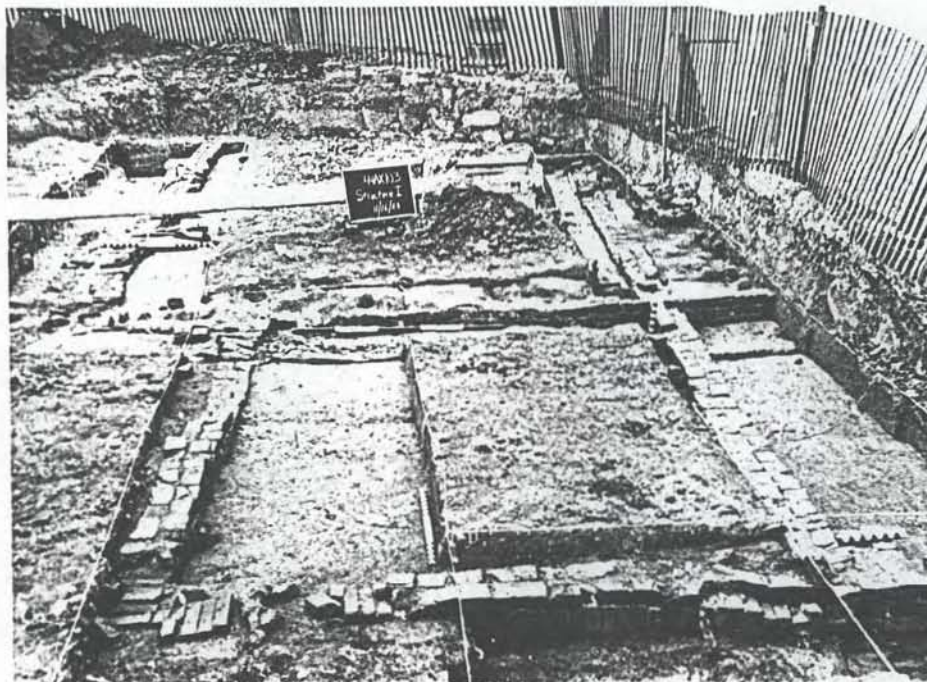


Plate 14. Structure 1, Bontz Site (44AX103)
foundation view to the north (Alexandria, Duke
Street, VA).

The west wall, when exposed, measured 23 ft north-south. Iron rods, 1 in. in diameter, were at 5-ft intervals along the west wall and were placed approximately 4 in. from the foundation wall (Plate 15). These rods may have supported wooden planks along the wall of the house in an attempt to impede erosion.

A small brick pier was located 6.3 ft north of the southwest wall of the structure. The pier was located on the interior of the structure and consisted of 8 brick laid in a header pattern. These brick were not bonded.

No evidence of a chimney was discovered during the testing. The function of the brick pier located along the west wall was not determined. Excavation of all squares inside the foundation was initiated to locate a interior chimney. These tests also proved negative and leave the possibility that any chimney(s) were located in the east half of the house.

The entire southwest corner of the structure was destroyed and only random brick from the lower course remained. Evidence of erosion was visible in the southeast corner area and may have contributed to the destruction of this corner prior to or after the structure was abandoned in 1958. Three small soil anomalies were identified along the west wall, the result of repair work and erosion.

Approximately 17 ft of the south wall was exposed; the southwest corner of this wall was destroyed. The south wall was constructed with the standard header/stretcher pattern with the exception of a 2 ft soldier course section.

The stratigraphy in the area of the original structure was consistent and the layers were thin. The .1 to .3-ft upper layer (A) consisted of a dark gray (10YR4/1) sandy clay which contained many nineteenth and twentieth century artifacts. The artifacts in this layer are from the shallow cultural floor under the floorboards of the house. This cultural floor was contaminated when the the building was destroyed in 1958.

The second layer (B), a yellowish brown (10YR5/6) clayey sand, contained few artifacts and was the transitional layer into culturally sterile subsoil. This layer averaged between .2 and .3 ft thick and often contained pockets of intrusion from layer A.

Layer C was culturally sterile subsoil. This soil was yellowish brown (10YR5/6) compact clay with some sand. Excavations continued a minimum of .3 ft into this layer to insure that no buried floor existed.

The rear addition to the original house was 20 ft east-west by 14 ft north-south. A central north-south wall divided the addition. This central wall was bonded to the south wall of the addition and abutted the original house south wall. The west and south foundations of the

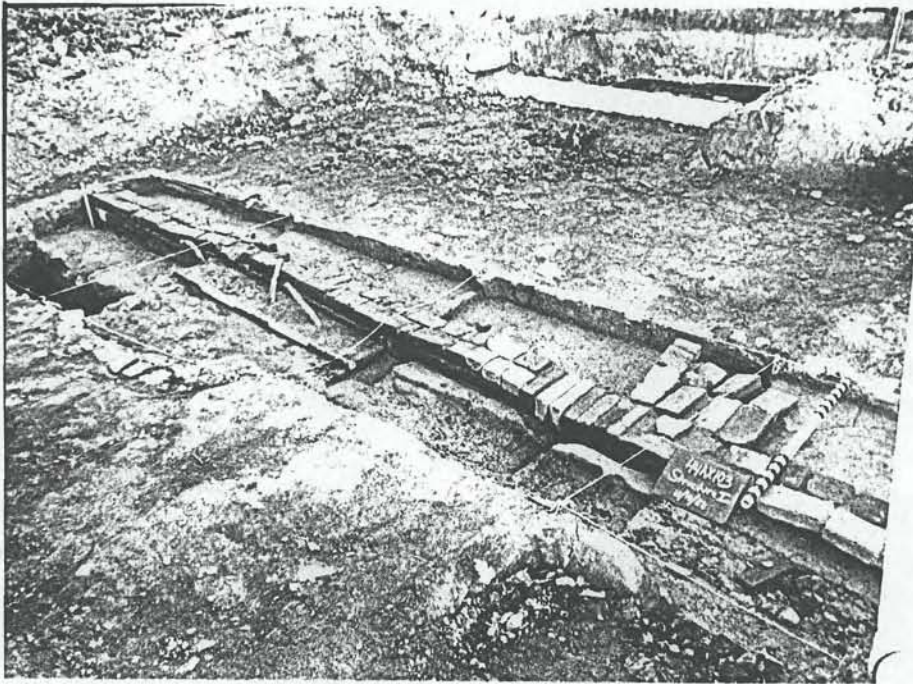


Plate 15. West wall of Structure 1, Bontz site (44AX103). Note the iron rods along the outside of the wall. Soldier course and brick pier are in the right foreground (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

addition as well as the central wall foundation of the addition were located within the right-of-way.

The addition was constructed in a similar manner to the original house. The base course of brick was in a header pattern and the upper brick were in a stretcher pattern. As with the original house, a course of soldier brick was located at the southwest corner of the building. The soldier-bond brick replaced the original brickwork which was removed for the installation of a gas line. The gas line and a sewer drain pipe are south of and parallel to the structure.

The stratigraphy within the addition was similar to the stratigraphy of the original house. The only variation was the inclusion of a layer between layer B and layer C. This layer, an olive (10Y5/4) clay with some medium sand, appeared to be a thin cultural deposit. Within this layer, early to mid nineteenth century artifacts, such as pearlwares and whitewares, were recovered. A feature was also evident in this layer. This additional cultural layer suggests a substantial period between the construction of the original house and the later addition. Tax records suggest that the addition was constructed between 1855 and 1860 (Fairfax County Land Tax Records 1870-1871).

The bricks used during the construction of the two building episodes were similar. The bricks used in the original building were handmade, had numerous air pockets, and varied considerable in color. These brick were also decayed and friable. The bricks used in the addition and in the renovations were also hand made but were more uniform in shape and color. White plaster was on the sample brick from the addition.

The documentary and excavated data suggest that the original structure consisted of a brick foundation and frame walls and was constructed before 1800. This structure was probably constructed under John West's guidelines established to govern the building methods in West End.

The addition to the structure was apparently constructed sometime between the late 1850s and 1860s. The addition doesn't appear on a map of the area in 1845 but does appear by 1877 (Ewing 1845; Hopkins 1877).

As noted in the discussion of the Bontz family history, the value of the building and lot practically doubled between the 1855 and 1867 tax assessments. As neighboring lots did not undergo such an increase, it is assumed that improvements made by George Bontz were responsible for his property's doubled value. Archeological evidence supports the later date for the addition, as it overlies a feature (15N2F) dating to the early nineteenth century.

Structure 2

Structure 2 was located on lot 1706 which was at the western extreme of the right-of-way (Figure A:3). The installation of six utility lines destroyed approximately 40% of the structural remains (Plate 16). Approximately 85% of a mid-nineteenth-century addition to the structure is located outside of the southern right-of-way boundary. The original house and both additions were constructed of brick.



Plate 16. Structure 2 foundation remains view to the west (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

The original building was 24 ft east-west and approximately 18 ft north-south (Figure 19). The north-south measurement is not definite as the north or front wall of the structure was demolished by a utility line. Remains of the structure included the southwest and southeast corners as well as a small section of the east wall. The brick remains indicate the building was constructed using American bond which consisted of five courses of stretcher brick alternating with a single course of header brick.

The remaining west wall of the structure was four feet long with a builder's trench located along the outside. Twelve feet of the south wall remained; a section eight feet long was attached to the west wall and a four-ft section remained attached to the east wall (Plate 17). No evidence of a builder's trench was found for either of the south wall sections. Six feet of the east wall remained in two sections. Three feet of the east wall was located at the southeast corner and the other three-foot section was approximately 8 ft north of the southeast corner.

The wall of an addition extended east from a point approximately 1 ft north of the southeast corner of the original structure. This extension was 3.2 ft long, one stretcher course wide, in American Bond, and abutted the east wall. The brick work in the addition was poorly finished; apparently, no attempt was made to clean the excess mortar off the brick. This mortar finish was a noticeably different from the original structure where the brick and mortar work was very neat and professionally done.

The remains of this addition were possibly a porch that was added on to the side of the house although no other evidence of this wall was found during the testing. A builder's trench was located along the exterior of this wall. No artifacts were recovered from the builder's trench.

A full cellar/basement was located within the structure. This cellar was full of debris from the demolition of the house in 1958. Apparently, when the house was demolished, the debris was pushed into the basement. The basement is discussed in the feature presentation.

Additional brick remains, possibly a cellar entrance, were approximately 22 ft north of the south wall (Plate 18). The east-west wall of this feature was 6 ft long; the two perpendicular walls were 1.8 ft in length and had been truncated by a utility line. These bricks probably extended north from the front or north side of the house. The interior of this feature was filled with the same debris found in the basement and the builder's trench along the west wall of the house.

The mortar work in the possible basement/cellar entrance feature was very similar to the poor quality work in the addition to the east of the house. A single stretcher course of brick represented the outer brickwork while the interior had brick which overlapped, creating a

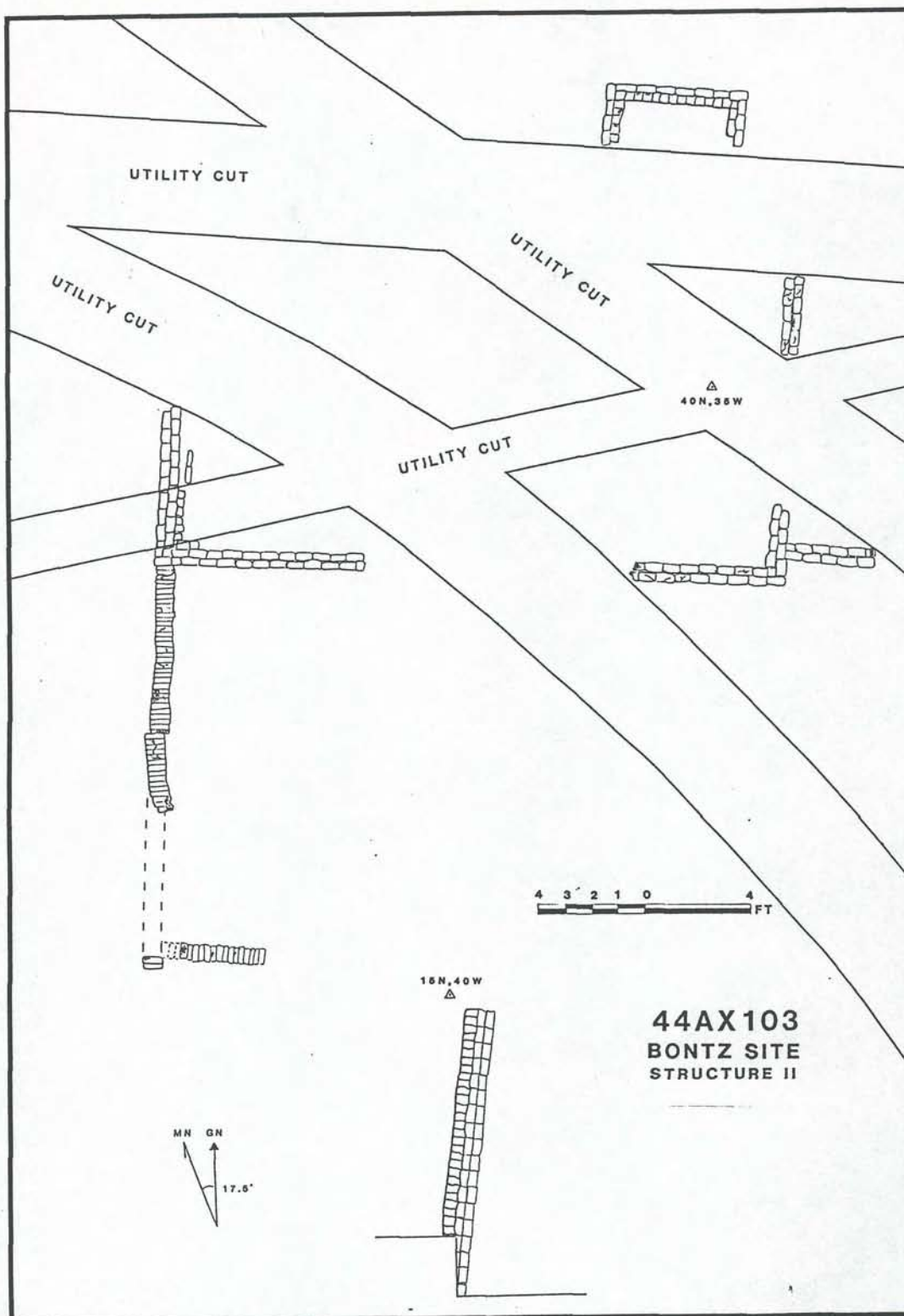


Figure 19. Bontz Site, Structure 2 foundation remains and disturbance to the area caused by utility installation.

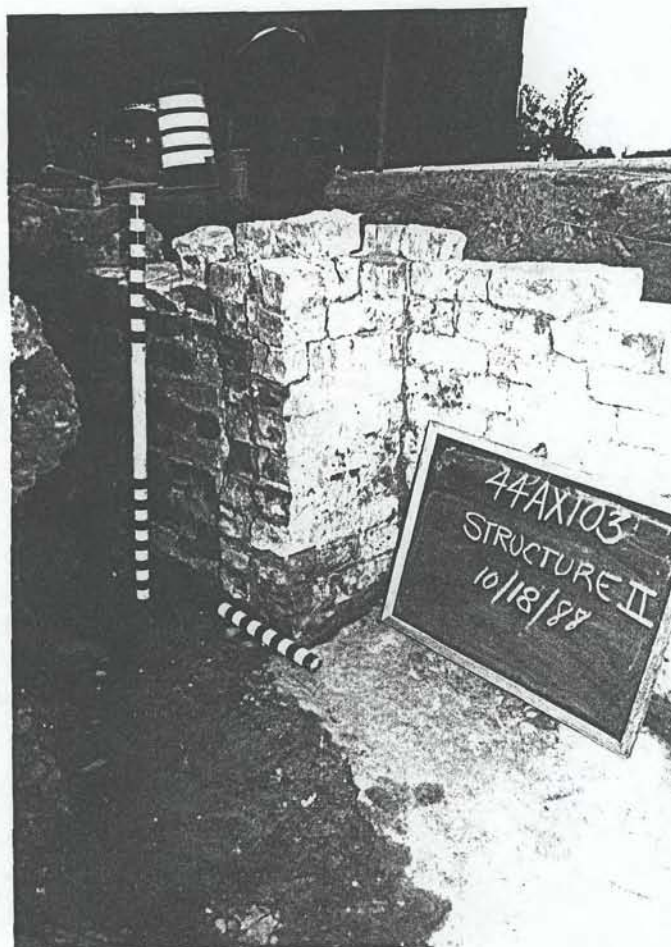


Plate 17. Interior of Structure 2, Bontz Site (44AX103), view to the southeast. Note concrete basement floor (35N-2F) and side wall addition in left background (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

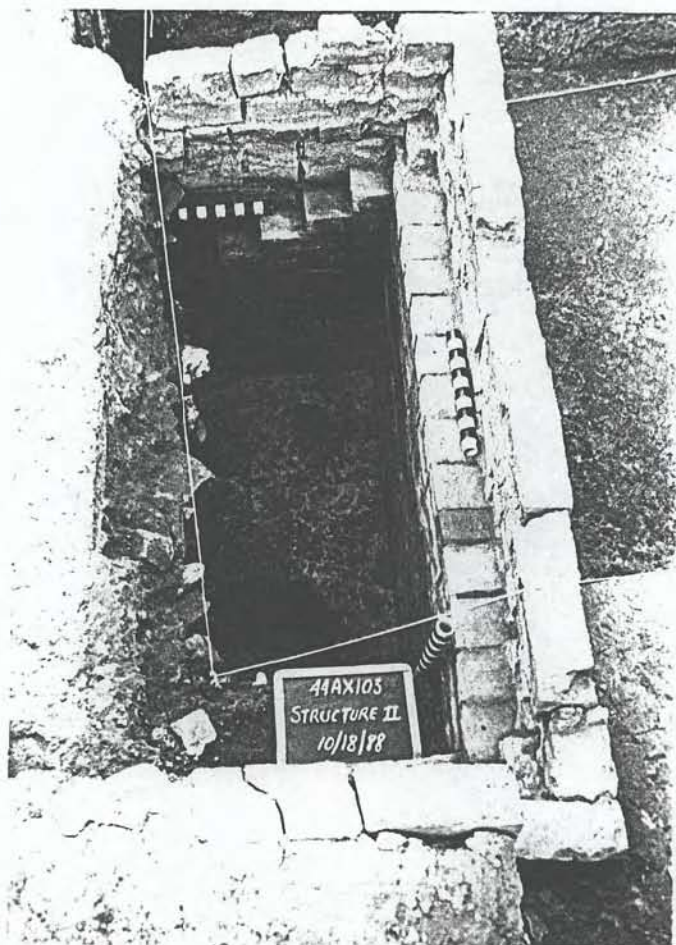


Plate 18. Excavated interior of cellar entrance at the front of Structure 2, view to the west. Note utility disturbance along left side of the photo (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

stepped pattern that descended south towards the interior of the structure.

The remains of another brick addition to the original house abutted the southwest corner. This addition was represented by a single row of bricks laid in a soldier course. This wall extended for 10 ft to the south, had a 5 ft gap, and then continued. In 1958, when the site was closed, part of the wall was destroyed. After the 5-ft gap, the wall extended for another foot before exiting the end of the excavation area and continuing out of the right-of-way. At the edge of the right-of-way, a four-ft section of an east-west wall was bonded to the north-south wall. The remainder of this wall was obliterated during the 1958 destruction of the site.

No further evidence of this part of the structure was found. Test units were placed in three areas that should have contained remnants of the foundation. It can only be speculated that the single course of brick representing this addition must have been removed during the demolition of the site.

Late nineteenth to early twentieth century maps of the area show a house with an addition (Figure A:3). Based on these maps, the addition was approximately 15 ft north-south and 15 to 18 ft east-west. The addition was constructed during the early to mid nineteenth century, probably between 1855 and 1860 (Fairfax Land Tax Records 1855-1867).

A builder's trench was on the interior of the west wall of this addition. This trench was approximately 8 in. wide and approximately 6 in. deep. All of the builder's trench was excavated to provide an artifact sample to date the time of construction. Artifacts recovered from this trench date to the first half of the nineteenth century. A second trench was adjacent to the exterior west wall of this addition. This builder's trench was approximately 1.5 ft wide and extended six ft along the addition wall and continued northward along the west wall of the original structure. The trench varied from 1.5 to 2.25 ft in depth. This trench was dug after the construction of the original building and the addition. Large chunks of frit, the partially fused conglomeration of glass, slag, and sand, were throughout this trench. Frit was found in the basement of the house. The edge of this trench, which abuts the foundations, contained vertically placed pieces of slate which extended from the ground surface to the base of the trench. Apparently, the slate was used to create a drainage system to keep water away from the house. The slate was supported by the large chunks of frit and other backfill of the trench.

Another addition to building 2 was represented by a 13 ft north-south oriented brick wall three courses deep. The bottom brick layer of this wall foundation was 13 in. wide with the interior brick course in a stretcher pattern and the exterior course in a header pattern. The upper two courses were both in a stretcher pattern and 9 in. wide. The excavation of this addition was limited to the single wall. The remainder of this addition was located outside of the right-of-way.

Maps from the early twentieth century show this addition of building 2 as approximately 20 ft east-west and 24 ft north-south. No builder's trench was adjacent to this north-south oriented addition. A utility line intruded through the foundation at the south edge of the excavation.

Bontz Site, Features
35N-2F and 35N-3F
(Structure 2)

Two features, 35N-2F and 35N-3F, are the the east and west sections of the basement of structure 2 (Figure 20). The excavation of the basement involved the removal of approximately 3 ft of debris associated with the demolition of structure 2 prior to exposing the features. Part of a concrete floor was exposed that apparently had extended across the length of the house. The majority of the concrete floor was destroyed by recent utility line construction.

A storage bin was in the northeast part of the basement. A line of mortar was along the structure wall and along the concrete floor. To the west of this line, the wall and floor were covered with coal dust. The walls of the storage bin were probably composed of wood or brick. The area 2 ft north and 1 ft south of the storage bin were destroyed by utility lines and a full evaluation was impossible.

Upon removal of the partial upper concrete floor, a second concrete floor was exposed. The concrete in the lower floor was poorly preserved and had a texture similar to mortar; it was made with a mixture of slag, glass and sand. These components were also found under the lower concrete layer.

Excavation under the concrete revealed that approximately 2 ft of frit, glass, slag and clay were deposited, apparently to prepare a level floor for pouring the concrete (Figure 21). No evidence of a builder's trench for structure 2 was found during this investigation.

In the west section of the basement, a single layer of unbonded half bricks were in a stretcher pattern along the west wall of the house. The function of this brick was not determined, and following mapping and photography, the bricks were removed to complete the evaluation of the remainder of the feature. Sterile subsoil was reached approximately .8 ft below the base of the foundation.

The artifacts recovered from below this layer of unbonded half bricks included glass, ceramics and metal. The date range for the artifacts was from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century.

Metal artifacts recovered include 14 cut nails, 10 wire nails, 76 unknown nails, 2 harmonica fragments, 7 wire fragments, 4 barrel band fragments, a railroad spike, 2 miscellaneous goods, electrical wire fragments, a bolt, a spoon, a pocket knife, 13 bottle caps, and 49 unidentified metal pieces.

44AX103
BONTZ SITE
35N-2F

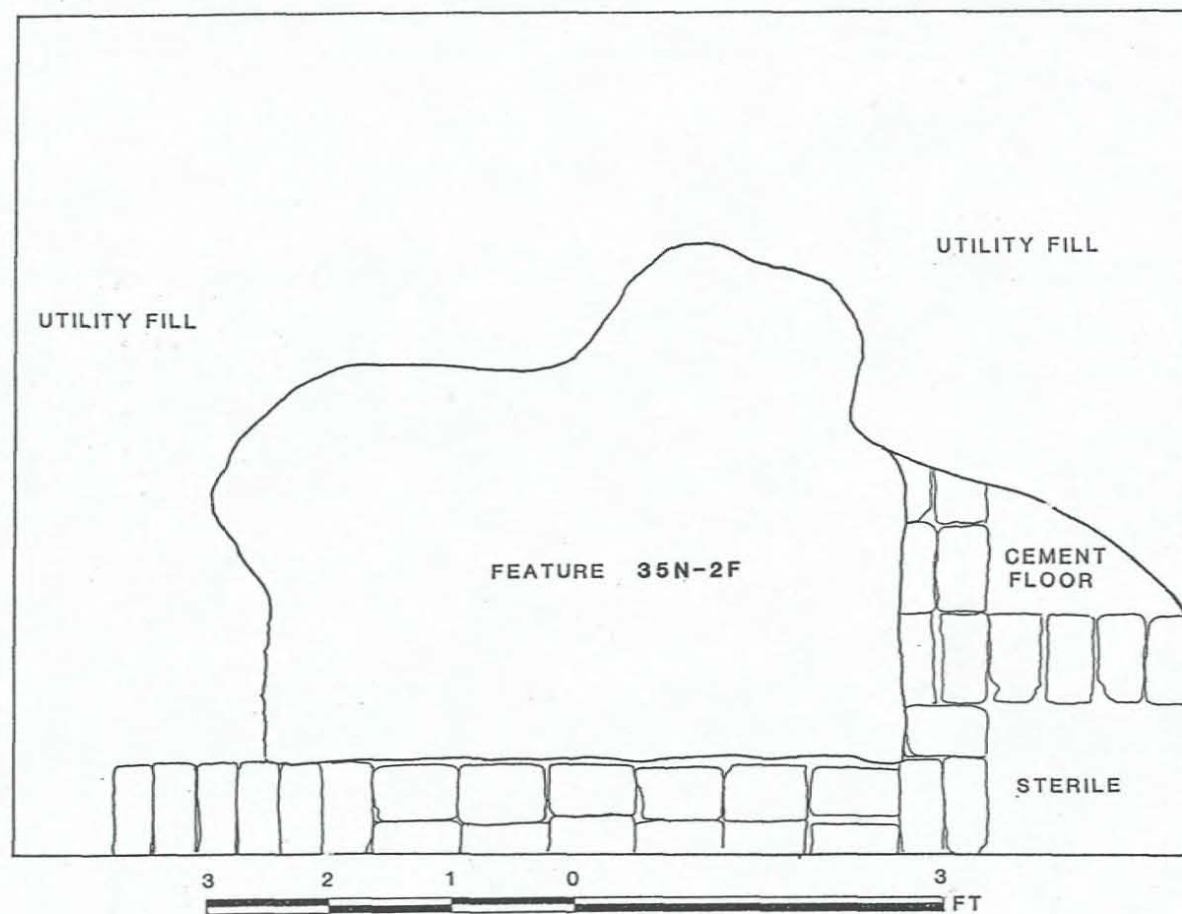
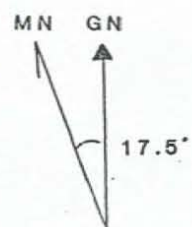
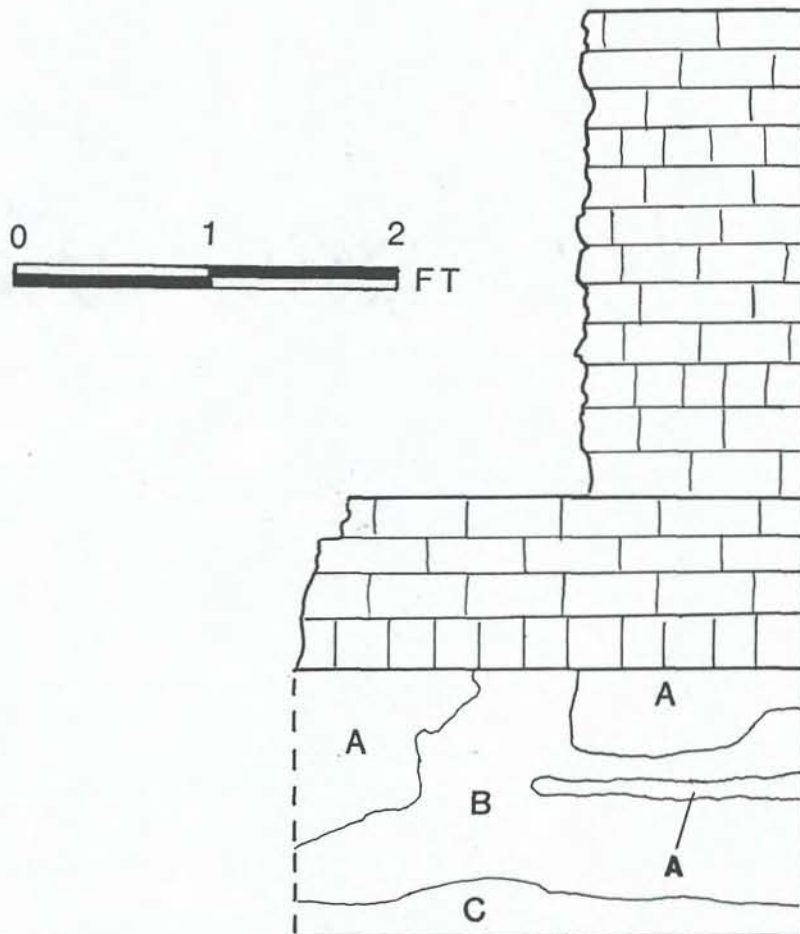


Figure 20. Plan of feature 35N-2F.

**44AX103
BONTZ SITE
35N-2F
EAST WALL PROFILE**



LEGEND	
A	dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) sand, clay and slag
B	light gray (5Y7/2) clay, mottled with reddish yellow (7.5YR6/8) sand
C	light gray (5Y7/2) clay

Figure 21. Profile of feature 35N-2F.

Glass artifacts recovered from this feature include twenty beer bottle body fragments from the Robert Portner Brewing Co., Alexandria, VA, (fourteen blue-green, four green, two clear), 14 blob finish fragments, 55 crown finishes (six brown and 49 blue-green), two blue-green patent finishes, three rounded lip finishes (one blue-green, two green), and three blue-green ring or oil finishes. Base fragments analyzed include six dark green turn- or paste-molded wine/champagne bottle fragments, one blue-green club sauce-type stopper fragment embossed LEA & PERRINS, and one dark green base with a pontil mark.

Tableware fragments recovered include one clear soda-lime fragment with a press-molded panel and hobnail pattern (Jones and Sullivan 1985:57), one clear soda-lime fragment with a press-molded diamond quilted pattern, one opaque white fragment with a press-molded basket weave pattern (Spillman 1982:417), and one opaque white jar liner fragment. In addition, tableware fragments include one clear soda-lime turn- or paste-molded tumbler fragment with a wheel engraved design, one aqua fragment with a press-molded starburst and hexagonal decoration, and one light blue and one yellow tableware fragment with a press-molded pattern. One clear whole medicine bottle with a patent lip which was formed in a two-piece vertical mold (Whitall, Tatum, & Co. 1971:14) was also recovered.

30N-1F
(Structure 2)

Feature 30N-1F, a nearly square posthole/mold, was approximately 2 ft southeast of the west corner of structure 2 in the interior of the rear addition. The posthole/mold measured approximately .9 ft square and was 1.35 ft in depth. In profile, no evidence of the post mold was identified. The post may have served as a support for the construction of the original house or the later rear addition. Artifacts recovered from the feature included brick fragments and one unidentified metal fragment.

25N-1F
(Structure 2)

Feature 25N-1F was a posthole/mold located at the base of the drainage trench along the west wall of structure 2 (test unit 25N55W). The posthole/mold was roughly square and measured .9 ft across and .4 ft deep. The feature apparently was associated with the construction of the second addition to structure 2 and was disturbed on the surface by the construction of the drainage trench. Ceramics, bone, glass, and teeth were recovered from the feature. Glass recovered includes two red tableware fragments with a contact-molded hobnail pattern.

15N-1F
(Structure 1)

Feature 15N-1F was a posthole/mold in the interior of Structure 1. This posthole/mold was located .5 ft northwest of the corner of the central wall and the original south wall. The posthole/mold was roughly square and measured 1 ft north-south and 1.1 ft east-west with a final depth of .5 ft. In profile, the post mold was .4 ft wide and a cobble was located at its base. Two metal artifacts, an unidentified nail and an unidentified metal fragment, were recovered from this feature.

15N-2F
(Structure 1)

interpretation?

Feature 15N-2F was a concentration of oyster shell in a compact clay matrix. This feature was irregular in shape, was approximately 6 ft northeast-southwest by 2 ft northwest-southeast, and between .3 and .5 feet deep. The feature was located 1 ft south of the original house wall, and the west wall of the rear addition intruded into the feature (Plate 19). This intrusion destroyed approximately 5% of the feature suggesting that the feature predated this period of construction. The east half of the feature was removed and a profile was drawn of the west wall prior to the removal of the west half of the feature. Metal artifacts recovered include 7 unknown nails and an unidentified metal fragment.

Twenty-two ceramics were recovered from this feature. These wares included 3 porcelain (2 oriental, 1 hard paste), 1 unglazed coarse earthenware, 3 undecorated creamwares, 3 blue geometric printed pearlwares, 7 hand painted, multi-colored floral pearlwares, 2 blue shell edge pearlwares, 2 undecorated pearlwares, 3 undecorated whitewares and 1 Jackfield refined earthenware. These artifacts combined with documentary evidence suggest dates the feature prior to the mid nineteenth century.

15N-3F
(Structure 1)

Feature 15N-3F was in the interior of the structure 1 approximately 4.5 ft northwest of the intersection of the original south wall and the central wall (Figure 22). The feature was a roughly circular anomaly containing clam shells and a thin layer of light brown sandy soil. The feature measured 2.25 ft east-west, 1.5 ft north-south, and was .3 feet in depth.

The artifacts recovered from the feature include 2 creamware sherds, glass, two pipe stem fragments and a 1809 penny.



Plate 19. West wall of Structure 1 rear addition, Bontz Site (44AX103). Note wall intrudes into feature 15N-2F (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

**44AX103
BONTZ SITE
15N-3F**

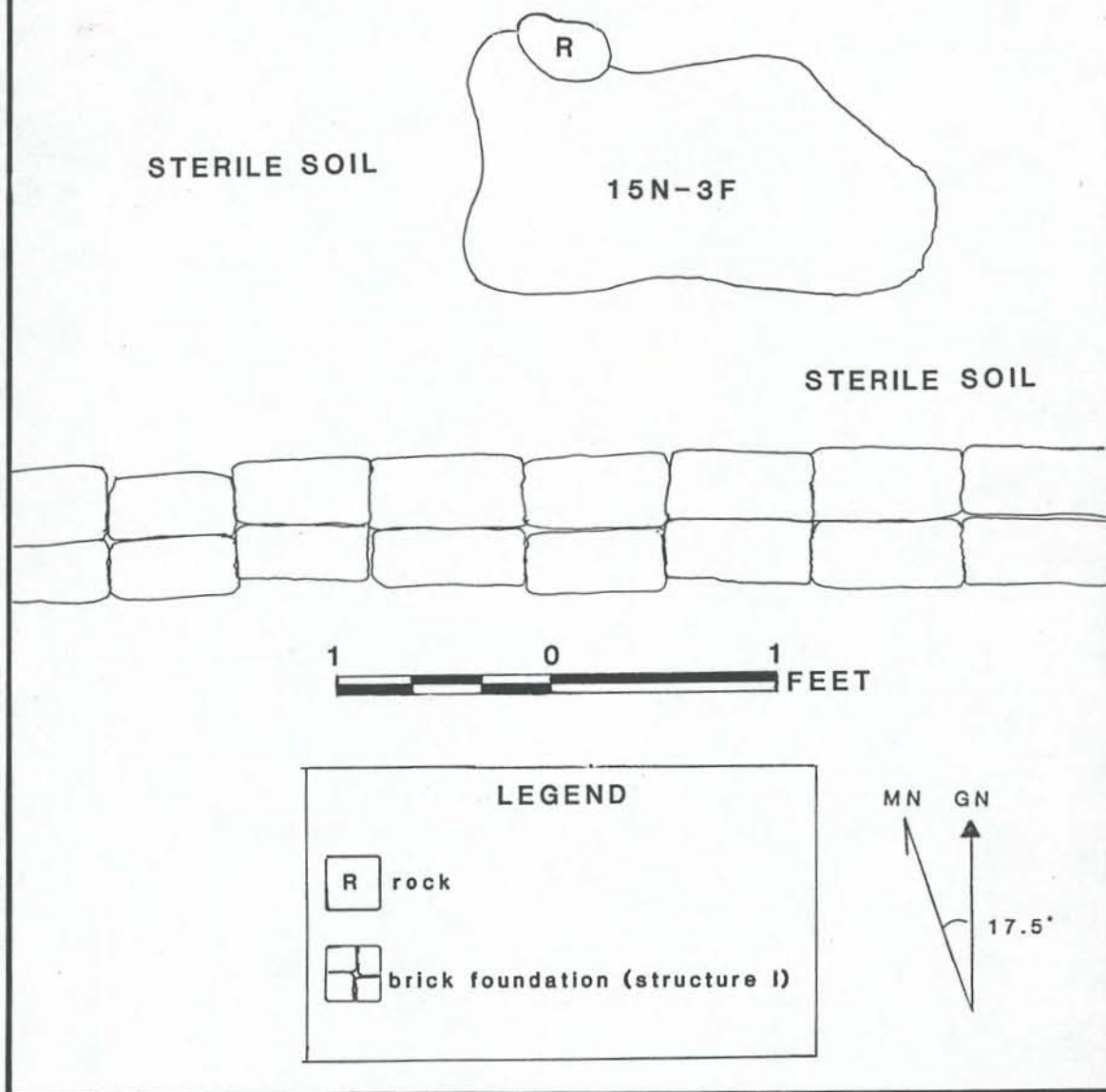


Figure 22. Plan of feature 15N-3F.

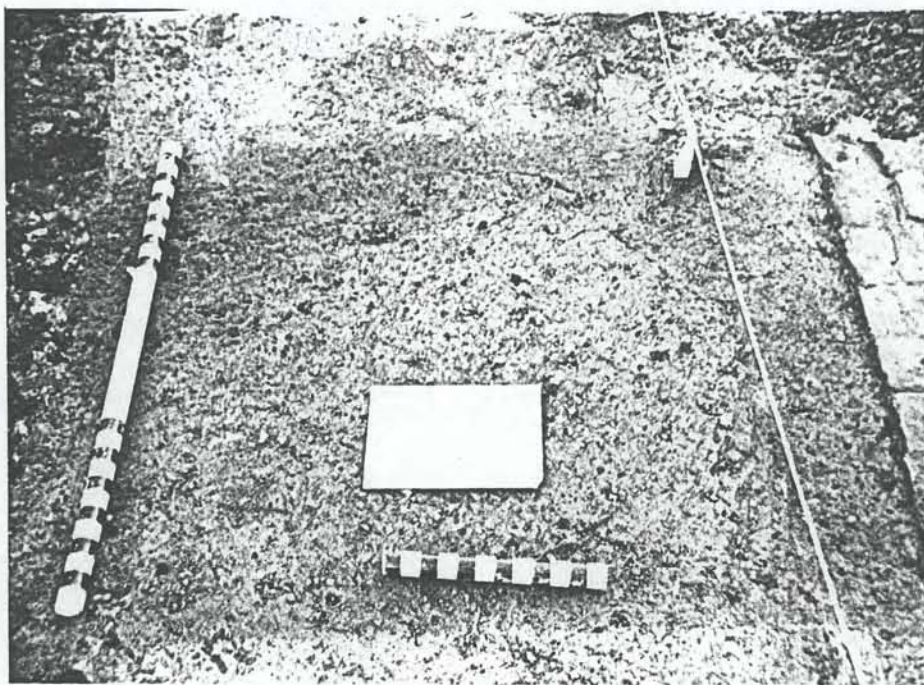


Plate 20. Feature 10N-2F, Bontz Site, 44AX103, view to the north (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

10N-2F
(Structure 1)

Feature 10N-2F was a large rectangular soil anomaly. The feature measured 4.5 ft east-west and 3.5 ft north-south. The soil within the feature, dark yellowish brown (10YR3/3) clayey sand, was quite distinct from the surrounding soils (Plate 20). The feature was bisected along a east-west axis. The southern half of the feature was subsequently removed and the north wall profiled. The north half of the feature was removed for water screening. Excavation revealed a flat base and an overall depth of .2 ft. The function of this feature was not determined.

results of
H2O
screen?

Metal artifacts from this feature include 10 cut nails, 8 unknown nails and a screw. The 110 ceramics from this feature include 6 different ware types. Porcelains recovered included 2 oriental and 4 other hard paste. Four stoneware sherds including 3 American stonewares and 1 Staffordshire Brown sherd were recovered. Six creamwares including 1 brown cats eye were recovered. The most frequently found ceramic was pearlware with 63 sherds recovered. Included in this total were 6 printed blue geometric sherds, 30 blue floral hand painted sherds, 1 brown dipped sherd and 5 blue shell edge sherds. Whiteware sherds totaled 21 and included 4 printed blue geometric sherds, 9 hand painted red, blue and green floral sherds and 1 brown dipped sherd. Other ceramics included 1 black glazed coarse earthenware, 8 unidentified refined earthenwares, and two Jackfield sherds.

0-1F, 0-2F, 0-3F, 0-4F, 0-5F, 5S-6F, 10S-2F, 10S-3F, 45S-1F,
50S-1F, 50S-2F, 60S-1F, 75S-2F, 85S-1F, 90S-1F, 100S-1F,
105S-2F, 115S-4F, 130S-1F, 140S-1F

(Lots 2/3)

Postholes/molds 0-1F, 0-2F, 0-3F, 0-4F, 0-5F, 5S-6F, 10S-2F, 10S-3F, 45S-1F, 50S-1F, 50S-2F, 60S-1F, 75S-2F, 85S-1F, 90S-1F, 100S-1F, 105S-2F, 115S-4F, 130S-1F, and 140S-1F were a fencerow. These posts holes/molds and the specific provenience designations are illustrated but are not individually discussed in the text (Appendix B). The pattern of the postholes/molds extended from the southeast part of structure 2 and ran eastward to another fencerow that divided lots two and three. The fencerow between lots two and three was perpendicular to the above posthole/mold features.

The posthole/mold features were generally spaced at 8-ft intervals and often the base of the cedar posts remained in the posthole. The post remains were generally .5 ft in diameter. The postholes averaged 1.5 ft east-west by 1.3 ft north-south with an average depth of 2.5 ft.

The fencerow apparently was a late nineteenth to early twentieth century construction associated with the division and selling of the properties by the heirs of George Bontz. Artifacts recovered from the

various posthole/molds included ceramic, glass, and nails with a date range from the early nineteenth century through the early twentieth century.

20S-2F
(Lot 2)

Feature 20S-2F, a posthole/mold, was 1 ft square and was .5 ft deep. This posthole/mold was located 1 ft northwest of grid 20S,0. A postmold measuring .4 ft wide was located in the north central part of the feature. This posthole/mold was located near, but not along, the fence row between lots 2/3. Only metal artifacts were recovered from this feature. The artifacts include an unidentified nail and a spike.

20S-3F
(Lot 2)

Feature 20S-3F, a posthole/mold, was approximately 30 ft south of structure 1 and four feet northeast of grid point 0,20S. The feature measured 1.2 ft east-west and 1.4 ft north-south with a depth of 1.6 ft. The post mold was approximately 5 inches wide. Metal artifacts recovered include 2 wire nails and 5 unknown nails. This posthole/mold did not appear to be associated with any of the other posthole/mold patterns evaluated.

25S-1F, 25S-3F and 30S-3F
(Lot 1)

Feature 25S-1F was a single course of brick in a stretcher pattern. This brick was apparently laid to construct a sidewalk/patio south of structure 1 (Figure 23). The feature was 4 ft wide and 13 ft long (Plate 21). The north and east edges of the feature were destroyed by utility line installation. Due to the utility and the right-of-way boundary, the full dimensions of this feature were not determined. The brick was not bonded and the west edge of the feature was defined by the property boundary between lots 1 and 2.

Two intact posthole/molds, (25S-3F and 30S-3F), were .4 ft in diameter and apparently marked the boundary between the lots and also supported the edge of the brick walk. These posts were driven into the ground rather than placed in a posthole.

This walkway/patio is located entirely within lot 1 and the feature overlies earlier postholes/molds (25S2F, 25S6F and 30S4F). These two facts determine the feature is related to the twentieth-century occupation of the site.

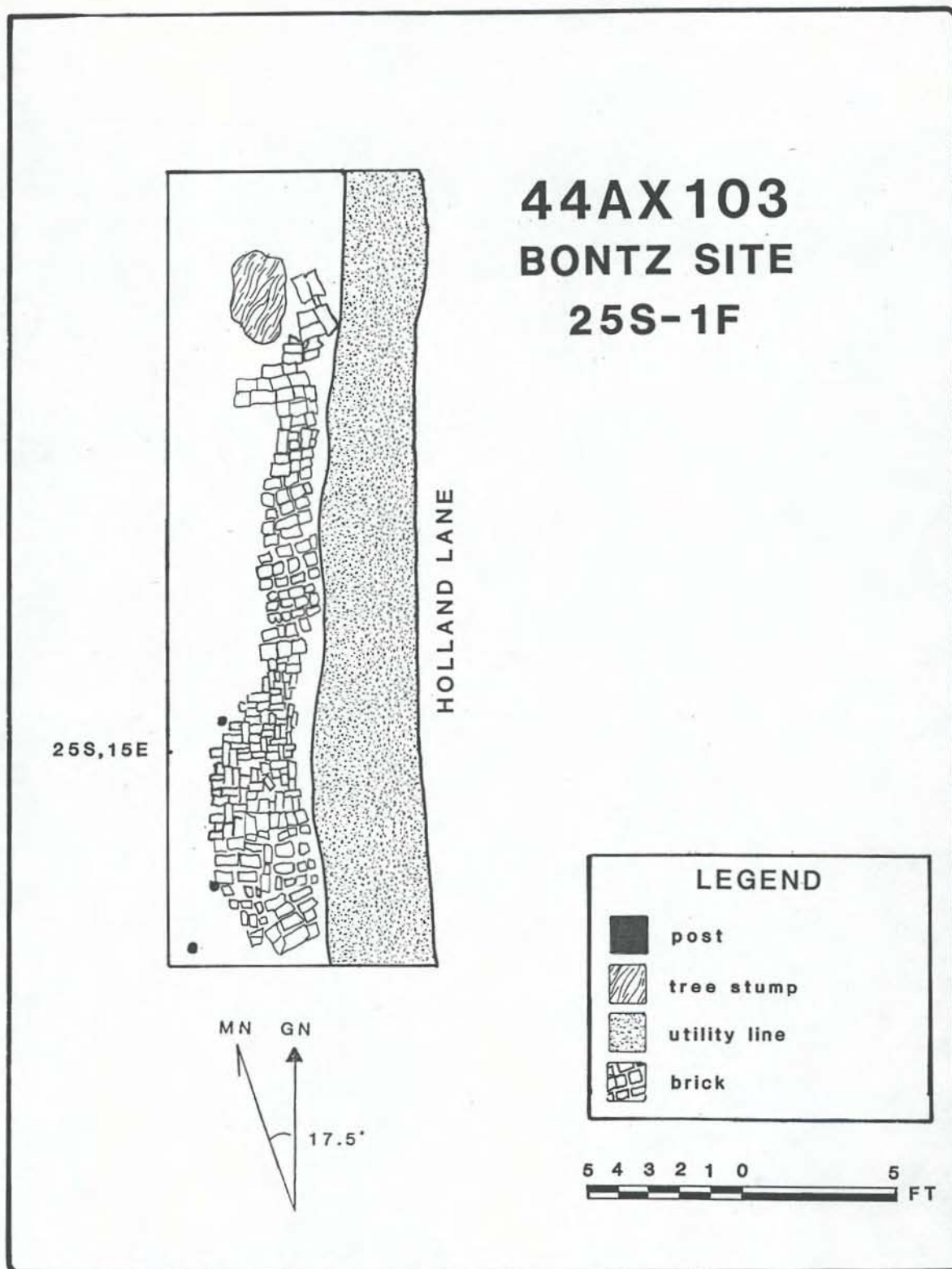


Figure 23. Plan of feature 25S-1F.

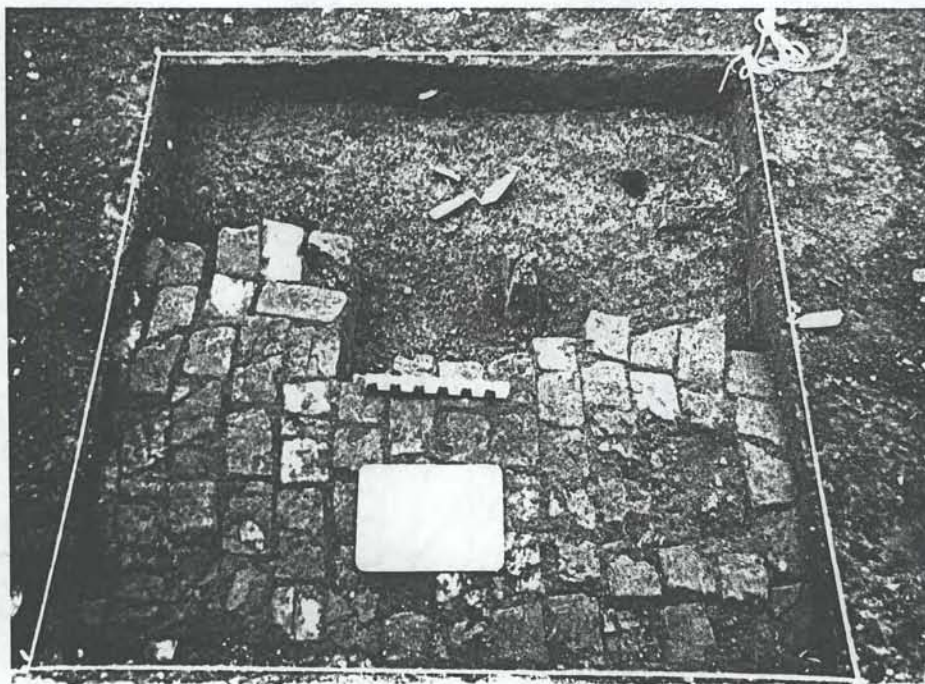


Plate 21. Feature 25S-1F, brick walkway, Bontz site, 44AX103, in Lot 1 behind Structure 1. A support post 25S-3F is in the center of the test unit (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

25S-2F
(Lot 1)

Feature 25S-2F, a posthole/mold, was located along the property line between lots 1 and 2, approximately 25 ft south of structure 1 and 1 ft southeast of grid point 20S5E. The feature measured 1.1 ft north-south by 1.3 ft east-west. The posthole and mold reached a depth of 1.3 ft and the post mold was .4 ft in diameter. This posthole/mold intruded into a soil anomaly, feature 25S-6F. Posthole/mold 25S-2F may have marked the boundary between lots 1 and 2 along with posthole/mold 30S-4F. Metal artifacts recovered include 5 unidentifiable nails.

25S-6F
(Lot 1)

Feature 25S-6F, a soil anomaly, was located approximately 25 ft south of structure 1 and was contaminated by feature 25S-2F, a posthole/mold. The feature was roughly rectangular and measured 1.9 ft east-west and 3.6 ft north-south. The feature depth was .8 ft. The soils in the feature consisted of clay and medium sand that was a mottle of black (10YR2/1) and olive (5Y5/4).

The north half of the feature was removed and a profile was drawn of the south wall. Upon removal of the south half, the base of the feature was smooth and bowl shaped. The function of this feature is unknown.

A total of seven metal artifacts were recovered. These include four unidentifiable nails and three metal fragments. Thirty-eight ceramics were recovered from this feature. Wares included: 1 black glazed coarse earthenware, 1 hand painted green floral and 2 undecorated creamwares, 4 printed blue floral and 11 undecorated pearlwares and 4 blue sponge and 15 undecorated whitewares.

One blue-green whole paneled container with an oil or ring finish which was manufactured in a 2-piece vertical mold was recovered from the north half of the feature. The bottle is embossed with J.W. BULL'S/COMPOUND PECTORAL/BALTIMORE, produced by A.C. Meyer & Co., Baltimore, Maryland. The medicine was advertised in 1876 and 1887 (Fike 1987:199, 224).

30S-2F
(Lot 2)

Feature 30S-2F was a posthole/mold located 30 ft south of structure 1 and 1.5 ft northeast of grid 30S,0. The posthole/mold measured 1.3 ft east-west and 1.2 ft north-south. The feature was approximately 1 ft deep and the post mold was .4 ft in diameter. The relationship of this posthole/mold with others on the site is unknown. Metal artifacts recovered from this feature include a machine cut nail and four unidentifiable nails.

30S-4F
(Lots 1 and 2)

Feature posthole/mold was located approximately 28 ft south of structure 1, adjacent to grid point 30S10E and was along the property line between lots 1 and 2. The post hole measured 1.1 ft east-west and 1.2 ft north-south and was 1.6 ft deep. The cedar post was intact and measured .5 ft in diameter. This posthole/mold may have served as a fence post for a dividing line between lots 1 and 2. Metal artifacts recovered include five unidentified nails.

35S-1F
(Lots 2 and 3)

This feature was located between the boundaries of lots 2 and 3 approximately 33 ft south of structure 1 and 1 ft north of grid point 35S5W. The feature was roughly oval shaped and was 2.6 ft north-south by 1.6 ft east-west. The feature was 1 ft in depth with an irregularly shaped floor.

Artifacts recovered from the feature included glass, ceramic, nails and bone. The function and age of this feature is indeterminate. Metal artifacts recovered include three wire nails and twenty unidentifiable nails. Two clear lead tableware fragments with a press-molded pattern were recovered from this feature.

35S-2F
(Lot 3)

Feature 35S-2F, a posthole/mold, was located in lot 3 and 1 ft southeast of grid point 30S15W. The posthole/mold measured 1.3 ft east-west by 1.2 ft north-south. The depth of the feature was 8 in. and the post mold was 5 in. in diameter. This posthole/mold is in a line with postholes/molds 35S-3F and 35S-4F. These posthole/mold features may be the remains of the backyard fence on lot 3 during the late nineteenth century (Figure). Metal artifacts recovered from this feature include a wire and an unidentifiable nail.

35S-3F
(Lot 3)

This posthole/mold was located in lot 3 approximately 30 ft southwest of structure 1 and 2 ft south of grid point 30S20W. The posthole measured 1.1 ft square and 1.3 ft deep. A faint post mold was identified in the south half of the feature. The mold was not identified at the surface but appeared in the profile. The post mold was approximately 4 in. in diameter. This feature may represent part of a fencerow extending across the south end of the yards for structures 1 and 2. A total of twenty-six metal artifacts were recovered from this

feature. These include 14 unidentifiable nails and 12 unknown metal fragments.

35S-5F
(Lot 1)

Feature 35S-5F was located at the west edge of lot 1 and approximately 35 ft south of structure 1. The feature was rectangular and measured 2.2 ft east-west and 1.3 ft north-south. The feature had a square profile and measured 1.4 ft deep.

Three soils layers were identified within the feature. Layer A was a .1 ft dark yellowish brown clay that capped the feature. Layer B was a black (10YR2/1) coal/slag clayey sand containing numerous artifacts and was approximately .9 ft thick. Layer C was a dark yellowish brown (10YR4/3) clay with some coal and was .3 to .7 ft thick.

Most artifacts recovered from this feature were in layer B and the appear to be a twentieth-century deposition. These artifacts include one brown whole machine-made bottle with a crown finish and a trademark of Anheuser-Busch and one brown machine-made brandy finish bottle.

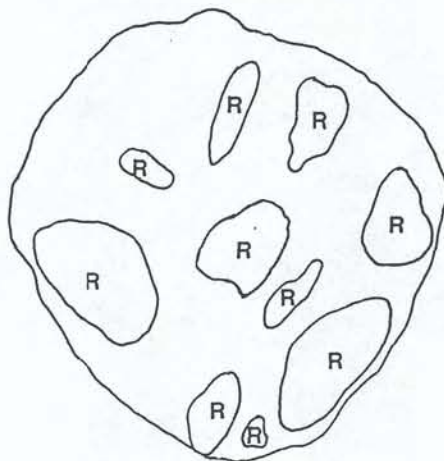
Ceramics recovered included 1 chinese porcelain sherd, 2 undecorated pearlware sherds, 2 undecorated whiteware sherds, and one unidentified sherd. Metal artifacts recovered from this feature include a machine cut nail, 4 wire nails, 34 unidentifiable nails, a washer, a clothing piece, and 36 metal fragments.

60S-2F
(Lot 3)

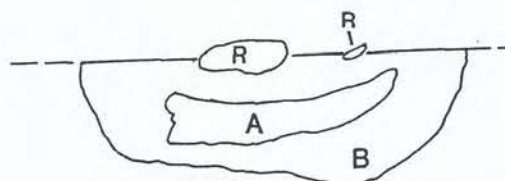
Feature 60S-2F was located in lot 3 and was approximately 65 ft south of the structures. The surface of the feature was circular and defined by a concentration of cobbles and a soil change (Figure 24). The feature measured 1.8 ft in diameter and the east half was removed first. The cobbles were situated within a olive (5Y4/3) sandy clay soil. In the center of this layer was a yellowish brown (10YR5/6) clay and a 7.5YR5/8 strong brown clay. This layer extended across the center of the feature although it was completely contained within layer A. Artifacts were recovered from both of these layers. The base of the feature terminated at .5 ft and the feature was bowl shaped to flat. Cobbles were exclusive to this feature. The function of this feature is indeterminate.

Metal artifacts recovered include two unknown nails. Four pearlware sherds were recovered from the feature. These included 2 blue sponged, 1 green shell edge and 1 undecorated sherd. The blue sponge ware suggests a date for the feature prior to 1815.

**44AX103
BONTZ SITE
60S-2F**



PLAN



PROFILE



LEGEND

- A** Mottled yellowish brown and strong brown (10YR5/6 and 7.5YR5/8) clay
- B** reddish brown (5Y4/3) sandy clay
- R** rock

Figure 24. Plan and profile of feature 60S-2F.

65S-4F
(Lot 3)

Feature 65S-4F, a soil anomaly, was located in lot 3 and was approximately 67 ft behind the structures and 2 ft northwest of grid point 65S15W. The surface of the feature was a olive (5Y4/4) sandy clay soil that was rectangular in shape (Figure 25). The feature measured 2.2 ft north-south by 3 ft east-west. The east half was removed first and revealed a shallow bowl-shaped feature .9 ft deep. Underlying layer A was a thin layer of very dark gray (5Y3/1) silty sand .1 to .2 ft deep.

The function and age of this feature are indeterminate. Artifacts were recovered only from layer A. Seventeen ceramics were recovered from this feature. Wares included 1 bone china, 2 brown stonewares, 1 black dipped and 2 undecorated creamwares, 1 brown banded, 1 hand painted blue floral and 2 undecorated pearlwares and 2 green geometric printed, 1 blue floral printed and 5 undecorated whitewares. The green-printed whiteware suggests a deposition prior to 1860. Metal artifacts recovered include 8 unidentifiable nails, a lock part, and an unidentifiable metal fragment.

70S-1F
(Lot 3)

Feature 70S-1F, a posthole/mold, was located in lot 3 approximately 73 ft south of the structures and 4 ft northwest of grid point 70S15W. This feature measured 1.3 ft north-south and 1.1 ft north-south. A cedar post was identified in the posthole and the post measured .5 ft in diameter. The depth of the feature was 1.2 ft. This posthole/mold was located outside of the identified lot fencerows and the functional association of this posthole/mold is indeterminate.

Metal artifacts recovered from this feature include ten unidentifiable nails and two wire fragments. Ceramics recovered include 1 American stoneware sherd, 1 red printed and 3 undecorated whiteware sherds, and 1 unidentifiable refined earthenware sherd.

75S-1F

Feature 75S-1F, a posthole/mold, was located in the base of test unit 75S15W during the sample testing of the site. The posthole/mold was roughly triangular and measured 1.2 ft east-west and 1.4 ft north-south with a depth of 1.2 ft. The post mold was 4 in. wide. The posthole/mold was located in the middle of lot three and did not appear to be associated with any of the other posts examined. Metal artifacts recovered from this feature included 11 unidentifiable nails. Ceramics recovered included 2 undecorated pearlware sherds and 1 blue geometric printed whiteware sherd.

**44AX103
BONTZ SITE
65S-4F**

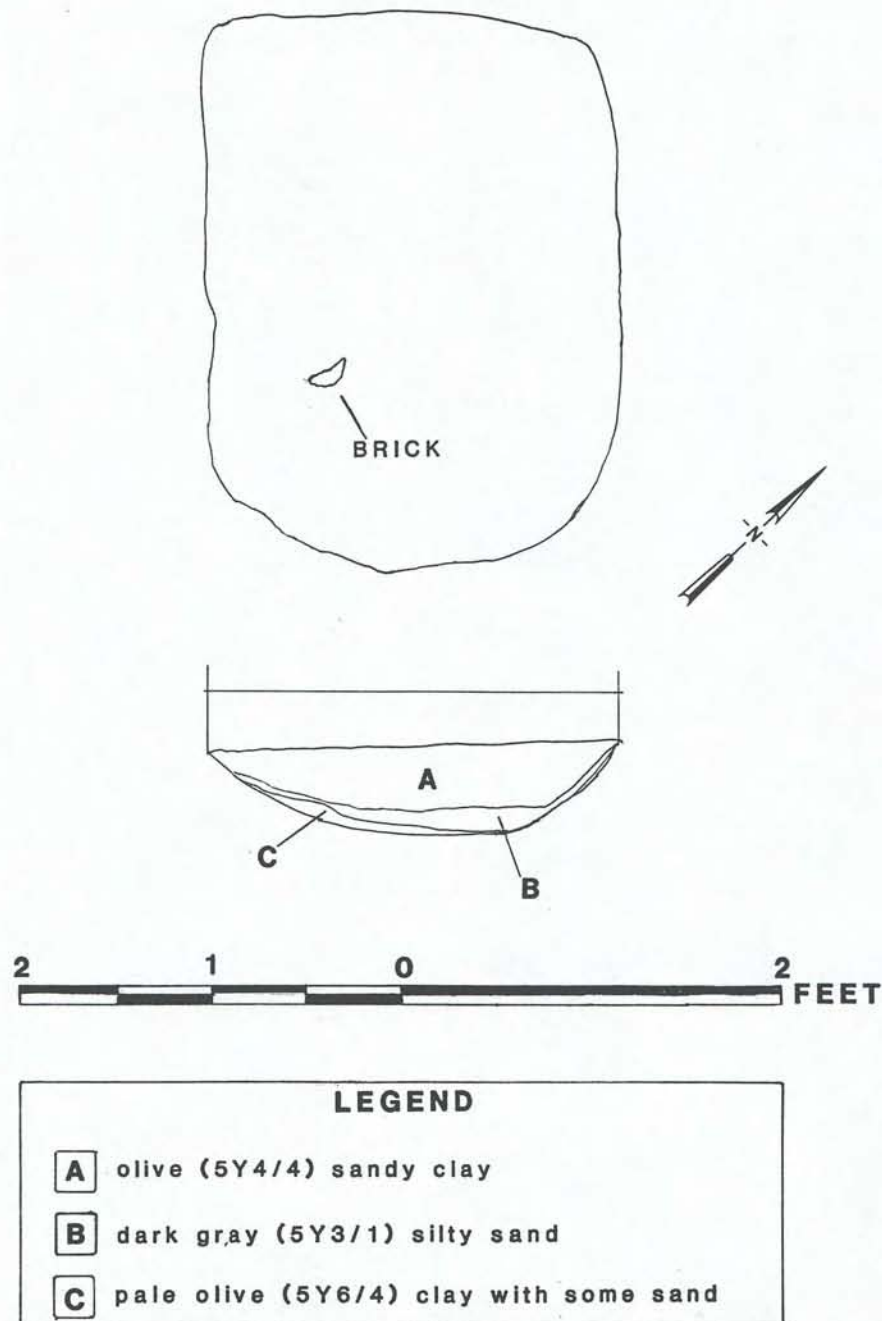


Figure 25. Plan and profile of feature 65S-4F.

USMRR Site, Features

The USMRR complex contained a roundhouse, train sheds, supply buildings and a large commissary complex.

Four of the Commissary Department buildings were located within the right-of-way. A mess hall, bakery, barn, and an unnamed building were investigated. Fourteen features were excavated that are related to the USMRR site. Four features were evaluated which date to the early nineteenth century activities, including those in a brickyard and a domestic structure, that took place on this site. One feature dated to railroad operations that postdate the military occupation.

During the excavations at the USMRR complex, thirty-one anomalies were evaluated. Of these, 19 of the anomalies were determined to be cultural features associated with either the early nineteenth century occupation or the USMRR occupation during the 1860s (Figure 26). The remaining eleven features were evaluated and determined to be of natural origin or related to modern activities, such as the installation of utility lines or poles. Illustrations of the posthole/molds are included in Appendix B.

0-1F

Feature 0-1F, discussed in the Phase II evaluation, is a posthole/mold, probably a corner post between the commissary barn and the unnamed structure. This posthole/mold was located 5 ft north of grid point 0,110W. The east half of the feature was removed during the Phase II and the west half was excavated during this Phase III mitigation. The posthole/mold was 2.5 ft east-west by 3 ft north-south. A post mold, 8 in. square, was located at the center of the posthole.

0-2F

Posthole/mold 0-2F was identified during the Phase II evaluation and the north half was excavated. The posthole/mold was located four ft north of provenience 0,150W. During the Phase III, the south half of the feature was excavated. The posthole/mold measured 2 ft east-west and 1.5 ft north-south. This posthole/mold apparently was part of the construction of the southwest corner of the commissary barn. A post mold was located in the west third of the feature and was .4 ft wide.

44AX105 USMRR SITE FEATURE MAP

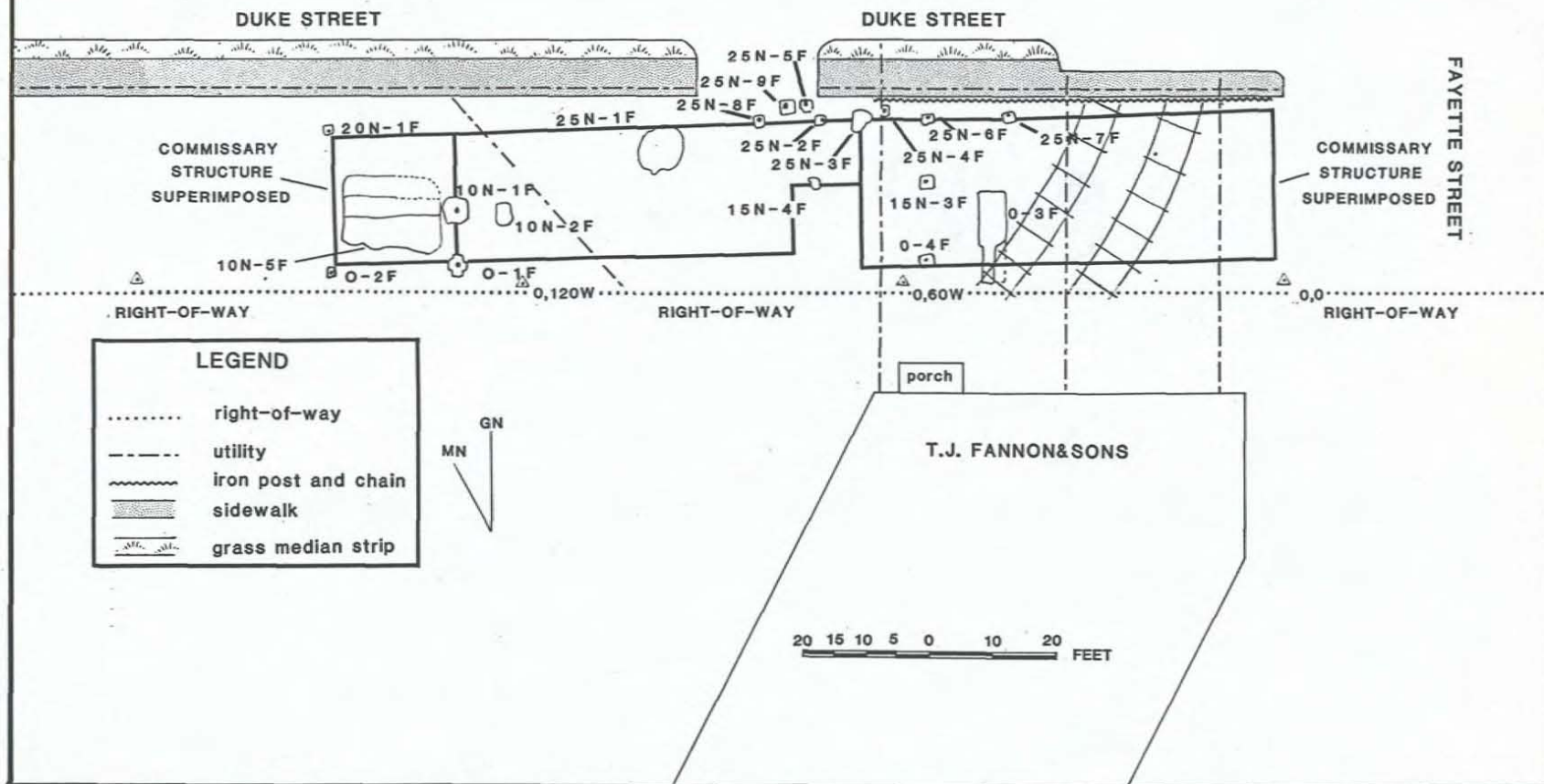


Figure 26. Base map of USMRR Site showing the placement of features and post holes/molds.

0-3F

Feature 0-3F, apparently the remains of a small switchbox or cellar, was located during the Phase II evaluation by the wood flooring exposed in trench XI. The south end of this feature was located four ft north of grid point 0,45W. The feature measured 13 ft north-south by 4.4 ft east-west. The soil anomaly defining the surface of the feature was hand excavated in natural layers.

Three distinct soil layers were documented although the types of artifacts recovered from the layers were similar (Figure 27). Numerous large metal shingles were recovered from each of these layers. Layers A and B consisted of moist clayey sand while layer C consisted mainly of sand mixed with wood debris associated with the underlying wooden floor.

The southern 75% of feature 0-3F consisted of 1 in. x 10 in. x 9 in. boards nailed to an underlying series of floor supports placed at 4 ft intervals (Plate 22). These joists were 10-in. wide and of undetermined breadth. Cut nails/spikes were used to fasten the boards together. The joists were located on the ground surface with no apparent preparation prior to the construction.

The northern $\frac{1}{4}$ of the feature had collapsed. This wood-lined cavity apparently represents a small cellar. The wooden walls were along the north, east and west edges of the feature (Plate 23). The dimensions of all boards in this area were the same as previously described. The depth of the chamber was 1.25 ft lower than the rest of the feature.

Ceramics recovered from this feature totaled 101 sherds: 35 whitewares, 25 yellowware, 15 unidentifiable refined earthenwares, 14 pearlware, 7 creamware, 6 stoneware, and 2 coarse earthenware. Seventeen sherds were decorated including 9 printed (blue geometric or floral patterns), 5 painted (multi colored floral) and 3 edge decorated (2 blue and 1 green shell edge) wares. The edge decorated wares, four of the painted wares, and three printed wares were pearlwares. The remaining painted and printed wares were whiteware.

Metal artifacts recovered include 80 machine cut nails, 2 wire nails, 161 unidentifiable nails, 43 spikes, a roofing hardware, 2 door parts, 7 bolts, 8 wire fragments, a bucket fragment, a shovel end, 3 railroad spikes, 3 washers, and 113 unidentifiable metal fragments.

Due to situation of this feature in relationship to the Civil War features and the subsequent railroad construction, an accurate date can be assigned. The Civil War occupation ended in 1866 and the railroad spurs (one cuts into the southern third of 0-3F) were in place no later than 1877. This places the date of the feature within this 11 year time frame although the function of the feature was not determined.

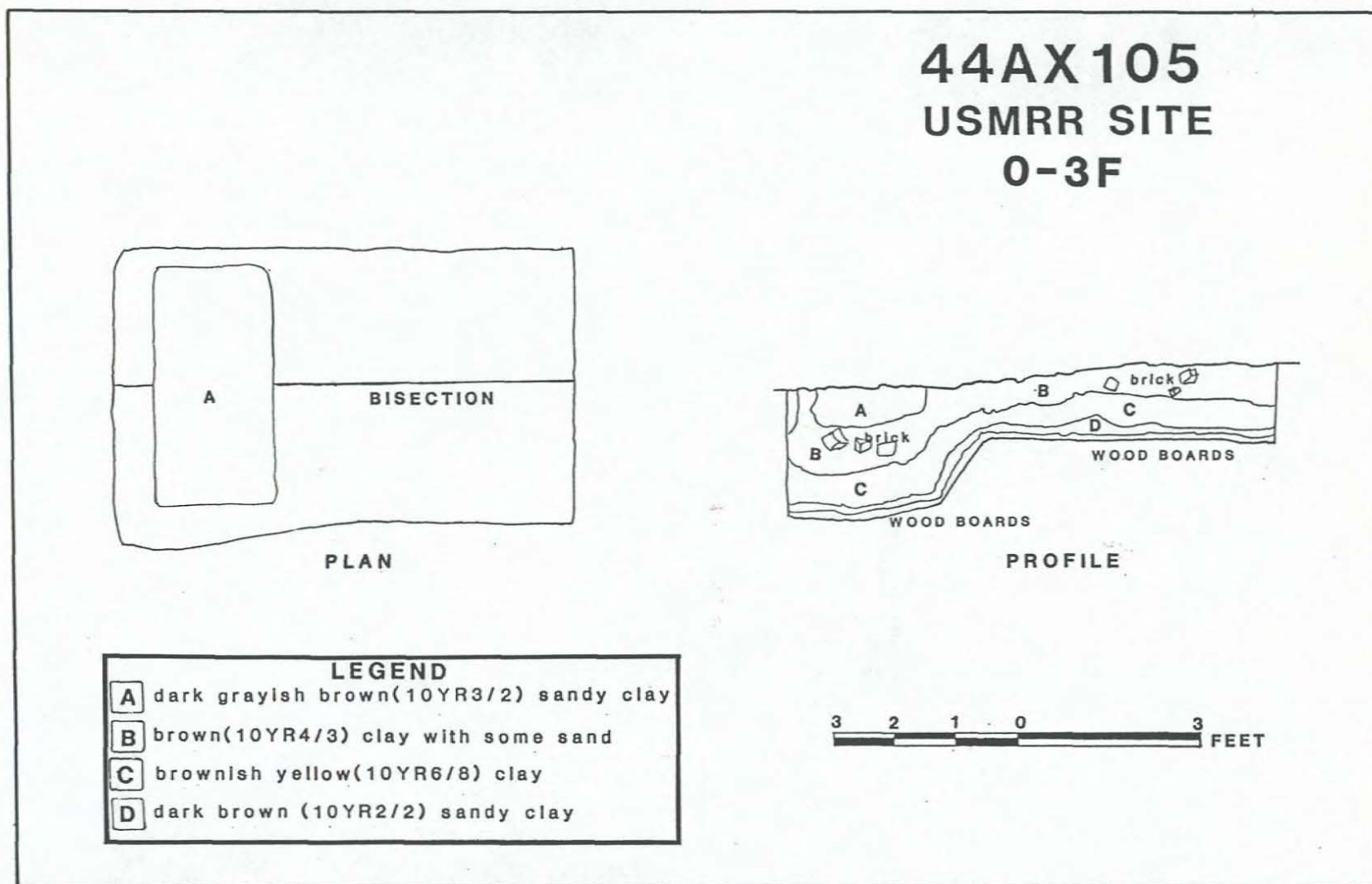


Figure 27. Plan and profile of feature 0-3F.



Plate 22. Feature 0-3F, USMRR Site, 44AX105, view to the north showing wooden planking and small cellar (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

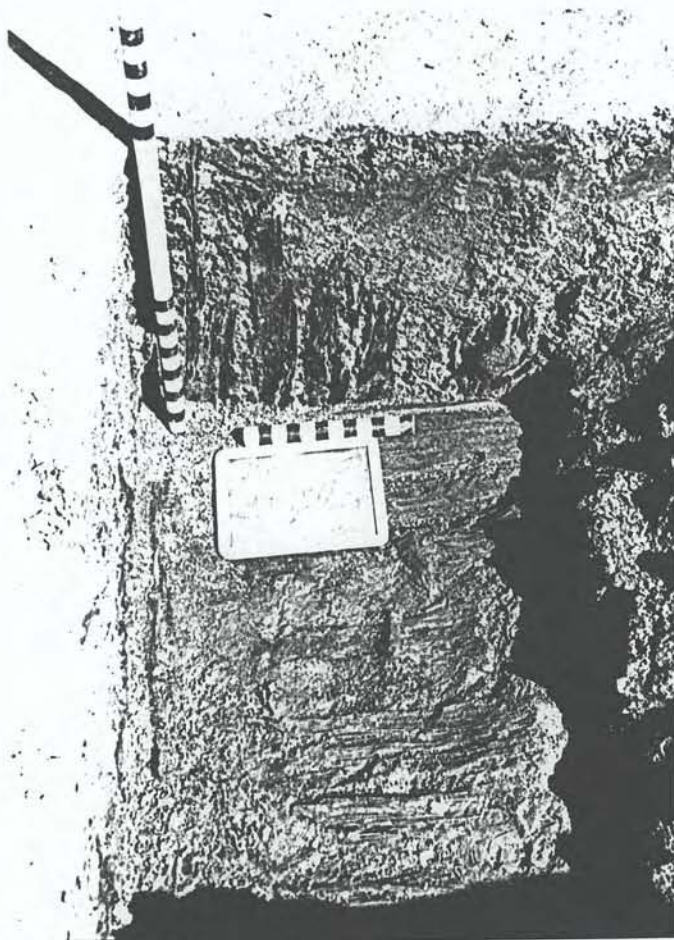


Plate 23. Feature 0-3F, USMRR Site, 44AX105, interior of cellar with wood remnants (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

The prepared floor and the shingles suggest these remains were from a small outbuilding or switchbox associated with the construction of the railroad. Once the rail spurs were under construction, the building was apparently not needed and was destroyed.

0-4F

Feature 0-4F was a posthole/mold excavated during the Phase II. This posthole/mold was located four ft north of grid 0,55W. The posthole/mold was plotted on the Phase III site map and is probably a support for the back wall of the commissary mess hall. The posthole/mold measured 2.5 ft east-west and 1.6 ft north-south. Four different post molds appeared in this posthole, all measuring 6 in. in diameter.

10N-1F

Feature 10N-1F was a posthole/mold very similar in dimensions to 0-1F. This posthole/mold was located 3 ft north of grid point 10N130W. The posthole/mold measured 4 ft east-west and 4.5 ft north-south. The post mold was 8 in. square and the base of the post mold was 1.5 ft below ground surface. This posthole/mold appears to be the remains of a support between the barn and unnamed building of the commissary.

Thirty ceramic sherds were recovered from this feature. This total includes 15 stonewares and small numbers of porcelain, coarse earthenware, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, refined redware, yellowware and Rockingham glaze ware. Only 1 sherd, a blue floral painted pearlware was decorated. Only one metal artifact was recovered, an unidentifiable nail.

10N-2F

Feature 10N-2F was defined by a soil anomaly that included a concentration of brick, rock, bone, and oyster shell on the feature surface (Figure 28). The feature was identified in the center of test unit 10N120W. The feature was roughly circular and measured 4.5 ft north-south, 3.3 ft east-west and 2.25 ft in depth.

Only one soil stratum was identified during the excavation. This layer, a 10YR5/8 yellowish brown sand, contained numerous brick fragments as well as oyster shells. Few artifacts were recovered from the feature. No evidence of a posthole/mold was identified in this feature and no function was determined. Fine lenses of sand clay were identified in the feature fill. This lensing was quite similar to that of the soak pit (Feature 10N-5F) suggesting a feature related to the brick yard.

The artifacts recovered date to the early nineteenth century. Ceramics from the feature included: 4 brown glazed american stonewares,

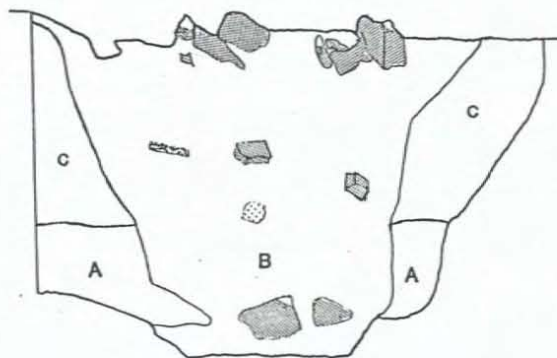
44AX105 USMRR SITE 10N-2F

1.5 0 1.5
FEET

PLAN



PROFILE



LEGEND

- A pale brown (10YR7/4) sand
- B light olive gray (5Y6/2) clay
- C yellowish brown (10YR5/8) clay

- brick
- bone
- stone
- oyster shell

Figure 28. Plan and profile of feature 10N-2F.

5 creamwares, 1 blue floral handpainted and 1 undecorated pearlware and 1 undecorated whiteware. An unidentifiable nail was the only metal artifact recovered.

10N-5F

Feature 10N-5F, a large feature relating to the early nineteenth century brick yard was in the west third of the site in the vicinity of the commissary barn structure. The southwest corner of the feature was located 3.5 ft southwest of grid point 10N130W. The feature was initially identified by several brick that appeared to have been part of a floor. Further clearing and investigation revealed a large rectangular anomaly that measured 15.3 x 10.2 ft. The edge of the feature was defined by sterile subsoil representative of the surrounding terrain. The northeastern $\frac{1}{4}$ of the feature was located underneath a large tree and was not excavated.

A series of 5 ft and 2.5 ft x 5 ft test units were used to recover the feature. As the feature was so large, the test units provided better control over the feature and recovery of artifacts. Two distinct soil layers were within the feature fill. These soils were excavated separately and .5 ft arbitrary levels were used to subdivide the excavation within each layer. The distinction between the two soil layers may mark a different function for the feature at various times or minimally, distinctive episodes of backfilling.

Fill layer A consisted of fine lenses of clays and sands as well as large amounts of brick fragments and smaller amounts of other artifacts. The soil lens was often as small as 1/8 in. in width and these lens apparently were water sorted (Plate 24). The lensing identified was very similar to soils identified at the bottom of a canal basin in Lynchburg, Virginia (Sherwood and Cromwell 1986). It was apparent that water and soils had been deposited and mixed.

The clay (10YR8/3 very pale brown) identified in this layer was not typical of the soils identified during the site excavation. The clays appear to have been imported, perhaps from other parts of this or surrounding blocks, and probably represent a raw material for the brickyard operation located on this block during the early nineteenth century.

Layer B represents soils which were derived locally. The fill of the feature is a mottling of clays, sands, and silts which were excavated out of the feature during the original construction. The soils consist of 19 different layers outside of the feature fill. Most of these soils consisted of layers of sands with some clay and silt layers. Within the fill, these soils were mixed representing where the feature was apparently dug out and then filled back in.

A deep trench was identified in the center of the feature and extended east-west following the long axis of the feature (Plate 25). This trench was approximately 4 ft in depth while the rest of the trench

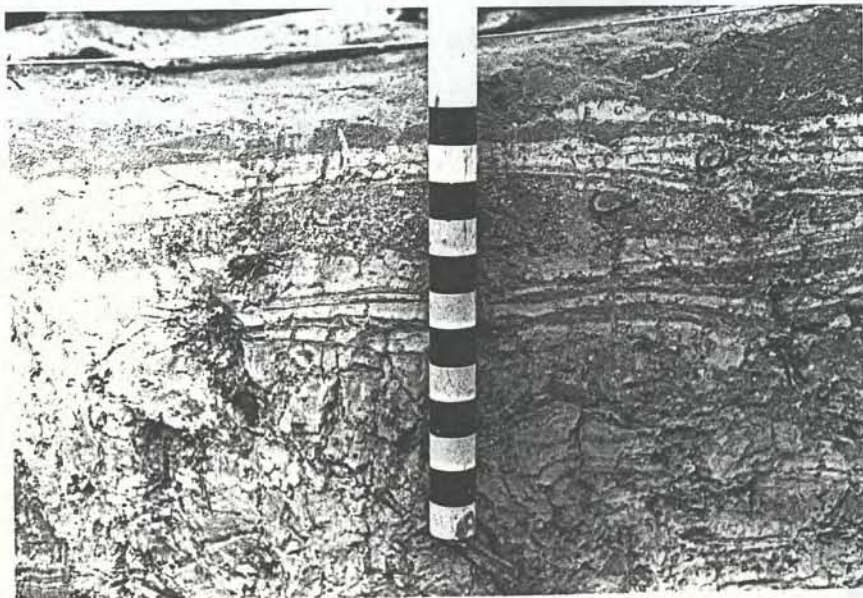


Plate 24. Detail of feature 10N-5F, USMRR Site, 44Ax105, showing the water-sorted lenses of soil (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).



Plate 25. Feature 10N-5F after excavation, USMRR Site, 44AX105 (Alexandria, Duke Street, VA).

44AX105
USMRR SITE
10N-5F
NORTH WALL PROFILE

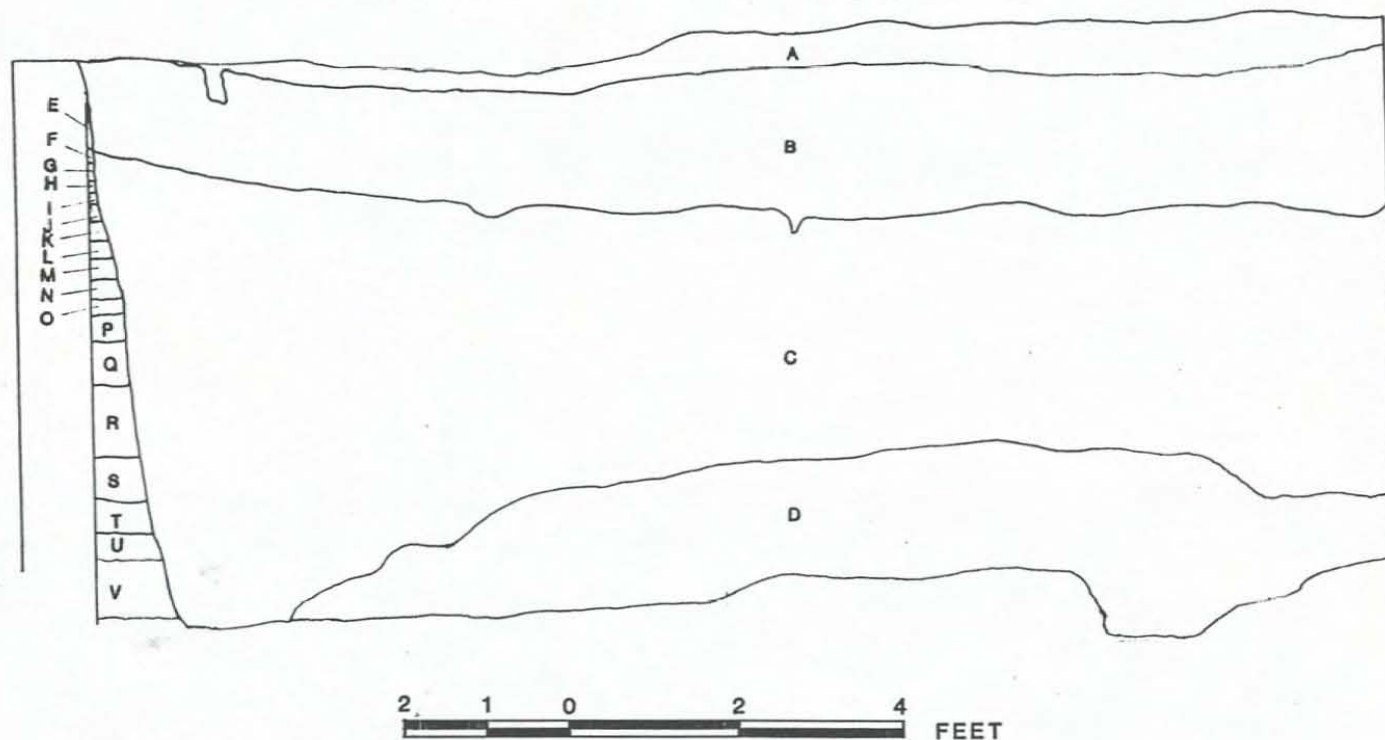


Figure 29. Profile of feature 10N-5F.

Figure 29. Legend

- A) 10YR5/6 Yellowish brown medium sand
- B) 10YR8/3 Very pale brown clay mottled with water washed yellowish brown medium sand lens
- C) Layer C is a mottled composition of Layers E through V
- D) 7.5YR5/6 Strong brown clay and medium sand
- E) 10YR7/2 Very light gray very fine sand
- F) 2.5Y7/2 Light gray silty clay
- G) 10YR5/4 Yellowish brown fine sand
- H) 10YR6/4 Light yellowish brown very fine sand and clay
- I) 10YR6/2 Light brownish gray fine sand
- J) 2.5Y6/2 Light brownish gray very fine sand
- K) 10YR6/4 Light yellowish brown medium sand
- L) 2.5Y6/2 Light brownish gray very fine sand and clay
- M) 10YR7/4 Very pale brown medium sand
- N) 2.5Y6/2 Light brownish gray silty clay
- O) 7.5YR5/4 Brown fine sand
- P) 10YR6/2 Light brownish gray very fine sand
- Q) 10YR5/6 Yellowish brown medium sand
- R) 10YR7/4 Very pale brown medium sand mottled with 7.5YR5/4 brown fine sand
- S) 10YR5/6 Yellowish brown coarse sand
- T) 2.5Y6/2 Light brownish gray silty clay
- U) 10YR5/6 Yellowish brown medium sand
- V) 7.5YR5/8 Strong brown medium sand
- W) 7.5 YR5/4 brown fine sand and clay

averaged approximately 2.5 ft in depth. The fills within this trench consisted of the soils which made up layer B (Figure 29). The trench measured approximately 2.5 ft in width and extended from the eastern to the western edges of the feature.

Artifacts recovered from the feature fill included a variety of ceramic, glass, large amounts of brick/brick fragments and a small amount of bone. The artifacts dated the feature fill from the early to mid nineteenth century.

The ceramics (442) from the feature included coarse earthenware (30.7%), creamware (25%), pearlware (20.5%), whiteware (16.3%) and small numbers of stoneware, porcelain and refined redware. Layer A contained the majority of the artifacts with 371. All of the stoneware, porcelain and 95% of the whitewares were recovered from layer A. Thirty-six creamware, 12 coarseware, 4 whitewares, 18 pearlware sherds and 1 unidentifiable sherd were recovered from layer B.

Of the 273 refined earthenwares recovered, 56 (20.5%) were at least minimally decorated. Six blue shell edge pearlwares, 8 blue geometric printed sherds (5 pearlwares, 3 whitewares) and 42 blue or multi-colored floral and geometric hand painted wares (33 pearlwares, 8 whitewares and 1 creamware) were recovered. The 44 decorated pearlwares made up 48.4% of the total pearlwares. The only metal artifact recovered was unidentifiable.

The ceramics suggest a date for the feature during the first half of the nineteenth century. The presence of the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century wares in layer B suggests this portion of the feature was backfilled during the early nineteenth century while the upper layer of the feature either continued to be used during the first half of the nineteenth century or was contaminated by later occupants.

The location of this feature directly under the barn of the commissary department initially suggested a military association. However, the date of the feature and the lack of any military artifacts suggest a different function. The presence of the clays that were not indigenous to the immediate area and the documented brickyard on this block during the early nineteenth century suggests the feature was related to the brick making process.

During the drying and tempering of soils for the manufacture of brick, the soils are sometimes placed in a rectangular or circular soak pits (Gurke 1987:7; McKee 1973:43). This pit was filled with clay, sand and water and allowed to soak. This mixture was subsequently spaded or otherwise mixed by cheap labor or by the use of livestock. This process may explain the presence of the water-washed mixture present in layer A. The deeper underlying trench cannot be explained by this theory. The trench may be where a hole was dug to determine if usable clays or sands were present locally for use in the brick manufacture. The trench also suggest a possible feature function as a sawyer's pit.

15N-3F

Feature 15N-3F, a posthole/mold was located on grid 15N50W. The posthole/mold was rectangular measuring 2.1 ft east-west and 1.5 ft north-south. The post mold was visible at the surface of the feature and the bisection was made along the east-west axis to bisect the post mold. The post mold was 8 in. wide and the base of the posthole/mold was 1.5 ft deep. This posthole/mold appears to be a central wall support for the mess hall.

Thirty-three ceramic sherds were recovered from this feature. The assemblage included 3 stonewares, 1 coarse earthenware, 15 pearlwares, 13 whitewares and 1 porcelain. Seven sherds were at least minimally decorated including, four edge decorated, two painted and 1 printed sherd.

15N-4F

Feature 15N-4F, a posthole/mold, was excavated during the Phase II evaluation and was plotted on the Phase III base map. The posthole/mold was located at grid 15N75W. The posthole/mold may represent a divider wall between the bakery and mess hall of the commissary building. The feature measured 1.8 ft east-west and 1.5 ft north-south. No evidence of the post mold was identified in this posthole.

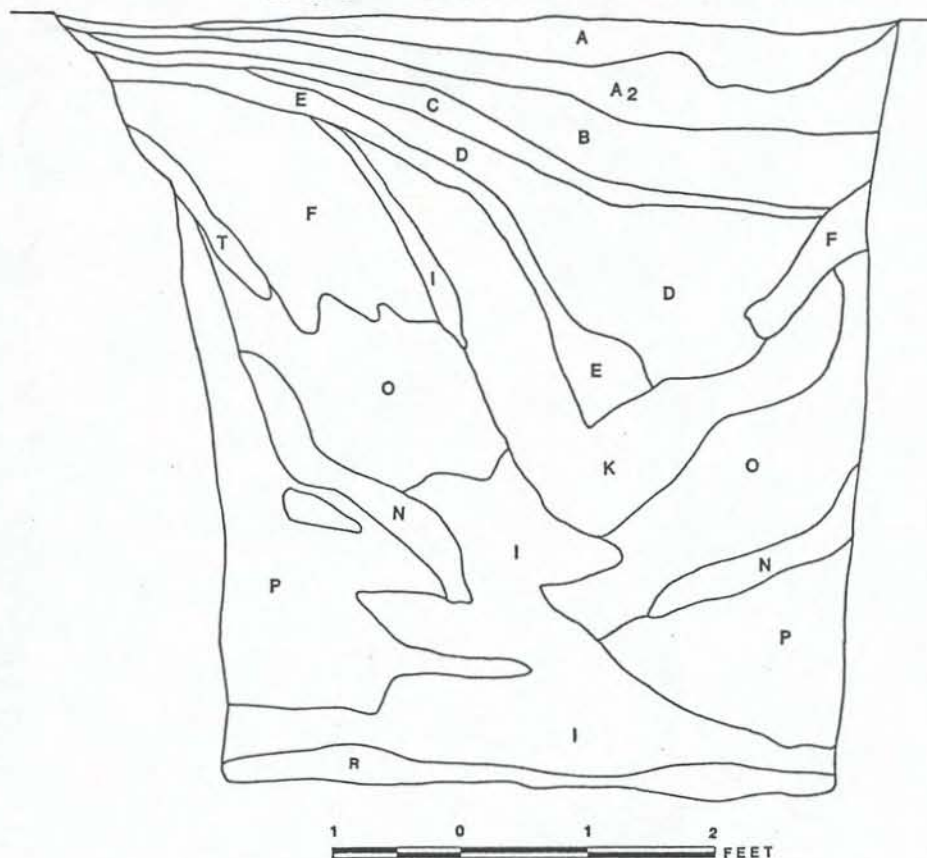
25N-1F

This posthole/mold was excavated entirely during the Phase II. The posthole/mold apparently represents the northwestern corner of the commissary barn. The feature was roughly rectangular and measured 2 ft east-west and 1.6 ft north-south with a depth of 1.2 ft. The post mold measured .4 ft in diameter. No artifacts were recovered from this feature.

25N-1F

Feature 25N-1F was defined by a dark soil anomaly that was roughly oval in shape. The feature measured approximately 6 ft north-south by 7.5 ft east-west. Two distinct soils comprised the surface of the feature. The outer edge of the feature was approximately 6 in. wide and consisted of a 2.5YR4/4 reddish brown clay. The interior of the feature consisted of a 10YR3/3 dark brown sandy loam. The feature was bisected along a east-west axis and was excavated in natural layers. In the east half, .5 ft arbitrary levels were recovered within the various layers to provide better control of the larger layers. No discernable change was identified during the process and in the excavation of the west half of the feature, entire natural layers were excavated at once. Field documents, profile maps, and photography were used to document the feature during the excavation.

44AX105 USMRR SITE 25N-1F WEST WALL PROFILE



LEGEND

- A) dark gray (5YR4/1) sandy loam
- A₂) dark yellowish brown (10YR5/6) sandy loam
- B) yellowish (10YR5/6) clay
- C) dark brown (7.5YR3/4) sandy loam
- D) dark reddish (2.5YR3/4) brown clay
- E) very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) sandy loam
- F) strong brown (7.5YR4/6) very fine sandy clay
- I) dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) very wet clayey sand
- K) pinkish gray (5Y7/2) very fine sandy clay
- N) yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sandy loam
- O) dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) clayey sand
- P) strong brown (7.5YR6/6) sandy loam
- R) yellowish brown (10YR5/6) clayey sand

Figure 30. Profile of feature 25N-1F.

No posthole/mold or constructed walls were identified during the excavation. The feature fill sloped gently towards the north wall and the base of the feature measured 4 x 5 ft in dimensions. The feature was 6.2 ft in depth.

The fill of the feature apparently represents a rapid, short-term deposition. Thirteen different fills were identified during the excavation (Figure 30). Each of these fills, with the exception of the base fill, layer I, were apparently deposited following the close of the feature during the late 1860s. The entire east half of the feature was recovered prior to the excavation of the west half. A profile was made of the west wall prior to the excavation of the west half of the feature.

Layer A was a 5Y4/1 dark gray sandy loam that included large numbers of artifacts. This layer extended across most of the feature. The fill appears to date to the late nineteenth century. Layer A2 consisted of a 10YR3/6 dark yellowish brown sandy loam and like layer A contained large numbers of artifacts dating to the late nineteenth century.

Layers B was identified as a 10YR5/6 yellowish brown clay containing large numbers of late nineteenth century. Numerous artifacts from the late nineteenth century were also recovered from layer C, a 7.5YR3/4 dark brown sandy loam.

The first four layers apparently represent a filling episode that followed the initial close of the feature. All of the underlying layers steeply slope towards the northern edge of the feature. These fills apparently settled and slumped following the backfilling of the feature and then more fill, the upper four layers, was brought in to level the ground surface.

Layer D, a 2.5YR3/4 dark reddish brown clay, appears to have originally served as a cap for the feature. This fill settled and was subsequently covered with several other layers. Numerous artifacts were recovered from this layer. The color of this clay suggested that the soil was burnt.

Layer E consists of a 10YR3/2 very dark grayish brown sandy loam that contained large amounts of artifacts. A large amount of coal was found in this layer and contributed to the darkness of the soil color. This fill was only identified on the southern half of the profile.

Layer F, a 7.5YR4/6 strong brown very fine sandy clay was identified on the north and south edges of the feature. Numerous artifacts were recovered from this layer.

Layers G and H were initially identified as small pockets of soils within the east half of the excavation. A later determination of these soils suggests that these anomalies represent minor soil changes within

larger soil layers. Layer G was subsequently grouped with layer F and layer H was included as part of layer O.

Layer I was a 10YR4/2 dark grayish brown moist clayey sand. This soil was identified in the two areas towards the center of the feature. Large amounts of charcoal was found in this layer as well as numerous artifacts. Layer I2 was originally thought to be a part of this layer. During the excavation, it was decided that increased moisture, which eliminated any textural determinations, as well as a noticeable increase in oyster shell in this layer would necessitate a different layer.

Layer I2, was determined to be the base of the feature. This soil was 10YR4/2 dark grayish brown and contained large amounts of oyster shell throughout the layer and the layer was wet. Due to the saturation of this layer, all of the soil was removed and water screened. Artifacts from this layer represent the occupation period which dates to the Civil War, 1861 through 1865.

Layer J was identified as a minor soil anomaly and was combined with layer K. Layer K, a 5Y7/2 pinkish gray sandy clay is quite similar in texture to layer F. Layer K contained brick, metal, and bone although ceramic and glass artifacts were noticeably absent from this layer.

Layer N was a 10YR5/4 yellowish brown sandy soil that contained numerous pebbles. This fill was identified in several areas of the feature. This layer was situated between layers O and P on the southern and northern parts of the bisection.

Layer O consisted of a 10YR4/4 dark yellowish brown clayey sand. Two large deposits of this soil were identified on either side of layer K. As with the other fills, this fill slumps downward toward the northern third of the feature. A large number of artifacts were recovered from this fill. The artifacts date the fill to the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

Layer P, a 7.5YR5/6 strong brown sandy loam was identified as two large deposits along the southern and northern edges of the trench. These fills immediately overlie layer I2, the functional deposition of the feature. A large number and variety of artifacts were recovered from layer P.

Layer R, a 10YR5/6 yellowish brown clayey sand, represents sterile subsoil. This layer was excavated for 3 in. and then augered for 2 ft to insure that sterile subsoil had been reached.

Of the 815 ceramics recovered, 437 (53.6%) were whiteware. Secondary categories of sherds recovered include 153 (18.8%) stoneware and 98 (12%) pearlware. Other ceramic types found include 7 creamware, 38 ironstone, 23 coarse earthenware, 16 refined earthenware, 17 porcelain, and 25 unidentifiable sherds.

Only 47 decorated sherds (5.7%) were recovered. This small percentage is probably attributable to the military function of this feature. The cheapest wares would have been purchased in volume for use by the army and the discard recovered supports this theory.

Twenty sherds of ironstone were recovered with a Walley Niagara pattern. This type ware dates from 1845 to 1867 (Godden 1964:644). These sherds were recovered from layers D and E.

Glass artifacts recovered from the east half of the feature include the following: Two red tableware fragments with a contact molded hobnail pattern, one clear patent finish fragment, one green whole bottle formed in a two-piece vertical mold with an applied blob lip in the shape typical of porter or mineral water bottles c. 1850-mid 1920s (Spillman 1983:56). The recovered assemblage also includes one green wine/champagne bottle with a push up and a cracked off lip and string rim. The bottle has no pontil mark and was formed in a dip mold, features with the earliest date of manufacture in the late 1840s (Jones 1986:86).

One blue-green blob finish was analyzed from the west half. One blue-green base with a glass-tipped pontil mark dating before c. 1870s was recovered from the west half (Jones and Sullivan 1985:45).

A total of 3,852 metal artifacts was recovered from this feature. The metal artifacts include 22 handwrought nails, 916 machine-cut nails, 7 wire nails, 1,535 unidentifiable nails, 453 spikes, 3 rivets, 80 roofing hardware pieces, 3 door parts, 6 miscellaneous structural metals, 3 tack/harness hardwares (including 1 currycomb), 38 miscellaneous hardware goods, a military good, a stable/barn good, 3 railroad spikes, a trunk part, 2 screws, a wire fragment, a washer, a miscellaneous activity good, a hinge, a buckle (U. S. box plate), an unidentifiable utensil end, a miscellaneous personal good, a gun part (butt plate to a Enfield rifle), 14 lead bullets (.54, .58 and .69 caliber) 26 can fragments, and 744 unidentifiable metal fragments.

The feature apparently was the remains of a cistern or well that was constructed, used, and backfilled during the 1860s. The feature was within the commissary complex of the USMRR and was likely constructed when the commissary structures were built in early 1862. Following the war, the feature probably remained in use at least until the USMRR rail center was dismantled and the army was disbanded late in 1865.

25N-2F

The south half of feature 25N-2F, a posthole/mold, was excavated during the Phase II. The north half was recovered during the mitigation evaluation. This posthole/mold apparently was part of the front wall of the commissary mess hall. The feature was rectangular, 1.7 ft east-west and 1.4 ft north-south. The Gradall removed much of the feature surface and therefore the feature was only 4 in. deep. Ceramics recovered from

the feature include 2 black glazed coarse red earthenwares and 2 creamware sherds.

25N-3F

Feature 25N-3F, a soil anomaly, excavated entirely during the Phase II, was defined by a concentration of brick rubble, oyster shell and ceramics (all creamware). The feature was irregularly shaped and was approximately 6 ft east-west and 4 ft north-south. Once these artifacts were recovered, no evidence of the feature remained and its function could not be determined. The ceramic artifacts suggest the feature dates from the late eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century.

25N-4F

Feature 25N-4F, a posthole/mold, was partially excavated during the Phase II evaluation. The south half of the posthole/mold was removed during the Phase II and the north half was excavated during the Phase III. The feature measured 1.7 ft east-west and 1.5 ft north-south. The post mold was 8 in. wide. This posthole/mold is probably not a part of the commissary department buildings. Its association or function could not be determined. Two undecorated creamware sherds and 1 undecorated pearlware sherd were recovered from this feature. Five unidentified nails were the only metal artifacts recovered.

25N-5F

This feature was identified as a posthole/mold. The feature was located north of the commissary wall and was not associated with this building. The posthole/mold measured 1.3 east-west, 1.6 ft north/south and 1.4 ft in depth. One unidentifiable metal fragment was from this feature. The functional association of this feature is not known.

25N-6F

This east half of feature 25N-6F, a posthole/mold, was recovered during the Phase II evaluation. The west half was excavated during the mitigation. The overall feature measured 1.6 ft north-south and 1.5 ft east-west. The post mold was 6 in. square and the depth of the feature was 8 in.. This posthole/mold apparently was a support for the front wall of the commissary mess hall. One whiteware sherd was recovered during the excavation of this feature.

25N-7F

Feature 25N-7F, a posthole/mold, was partially excavated during the Phase II evaluation. The west half was removed during the Phase III evaluation. The posthole measured 1.5 ft north-south and 1.4 ft east-west and the post mold was 6 in. square. This posthole/mold appears to

have been a support for the front wall of the commissary mess hall. One ceramic sherd, heat altered beyond recognition, was recovered from this feature.

25N-8F

Feature 25N-8F was a posthole/mold. The feature was bisected along the east-west axis. The feature was 1.4 ft east-west, 1.6 ft north-south, and 1.7 ft deep. The posthole/mold was six in. square. This posthole/mold apparently was a support for the front walls of the commissary mess hall. A machine-cut nail was the only metal artifact recovered from this feature.

25N-9F

Feature 25N-9F was identified as a posthole/mold. The feature was roughly rectangular in shape and measured 1.3 ft east-west, 1.4 ft north-south, and 1.5 ft in depth. The post mold was 6 in. wide. This feature was located 2 ft north of the commissary wall. The functional association of this feature was not determined. Metal artifacts recovered include an unidentifiable nail and two unidentifiable metal fragments.

ARTIFACT ANALYSIS

Methodology

The methodology for artifact analysis at the Bontz site (44AX103) and the USMRR (44AX105) complex utilized a standardized catalog/inventory system for both investigations. The artifact assemblages from the two sites reflect different types of occupations from the same general period of history. The different components at the two sites date primarily from the nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth century.

The Phase III mitigation (data recovery) of the Bontz site (44AX103) and the USMRR (44AX105) complex was initiated as a direct result of the earlier Route 236 (Duke Street) cultural resource evaluation.

The Bontz site (44AX103) includes two residential/commercial buildings, 37 posthole/molds and 10 cultural features associated with the early nineteenth to mid twentieth century. The site is situated on the southwest corner on the Holland and Duke Street intersection. The site complex was located within the old village of West End throughout the nineteenth century. The community served as a commercial/industrial center on the city of Alexandria's western periphery until its ca. 1915 annexation.

The USMRR (44AX105) site includes a series of posthole features and a large well/cistern associated with the military occupation during the mid nineteenth century. Four frame commissary buildings, part of the larger USMRR Site were evaluated. The commissary department was situated on the south side of the 1200 block of Duke Street. The O&ARR railroad complex was occupied by the Union Army from 1861 to ca. 1865, when the military dismantled the complex. The property then reverted back to its former civilian status.

The USMRR site contains a soak pit or sawyer pit that is associated with an early nineteenth century brick yard. The pit feature was filled-in prior to the military occupation. The commissary barn constructed late in the Civil War was built atop the earlier pit feature. In addition, evidence from the post-war railroad complex was recorded at the site.

The artifacts recovered from both sites were all field provenienced, washed, tagged/labelled, cataloged/inventoried and analyzed by provenience. The artifacts were inventoried by test unit, lot number, feature and/or structures designation. The artifact assemblages were cataloged under the following criteria: (1) functional type, (2) material, (3) artifact type, (4) decorative style, and (5) discernable characteristics and trademarks. The artifacts were divided into one of ten functional categories that include ammunition,

architectural, coinage, environmental, food/dietary, household, kitchen, miscellaneous, personal, and transportation.

The artifacts were divided by material (e.g. ceramic, glass, metal, and bone) within the various functional groups. Inventories of recovered artifacts are presented in Appendix C and D. The artifacts were further divided into individual decorative styles within the various type/style category. In addition, a list of diagnostic inscription and makers marks were recorded for glass artifacts. These are included in Appendix C and D.

The ceramic assemblages from the Bontz and USMRR sites were organized by type of paste, type of ware, decorative types/style, and function. The classificatory system proposed by the Alexandria Archaeology program was utilized as the basis of the investigation. The various artifact types were assigned relative date ranges to determine temporal patterns of refuse disposal and date construction periods of features/ structures at the two sites.

The disturbance encountered and the relatively thin soil stratigraphy allowed only limited interpretation of the sites. However, the large assemblage of ceramics at the Bontz site provided a representative cross section of wares on the two house sites.

The ceramic ware types include the following: porcelain (Oriental, hard paste, bone china, porcelaneous), refined earthenwares (creamware, pearlware, ironstone, whiteware, yellowware and Rockingham/Bennington). The coarse earthenware category includes stoneware (white salt-glaze, American, Bristol-glaze and black basalt) and redware (unglazed, black-glazed redware, red coarseware and slipware) sherds.

The analysis of brick at the Bontz site and the USMRR site was used to determine the various methods of construction. The brick samples were utilized to date the periods of construction and renovation. In addition, the brick samples were used to document the various building additions at the Bontz site. A sample of brick was taken from each of the structures/features and from the each addition.

The brick samples from the USMRR site were used to evaluate the type of brick produced at the brickyard during the early nineteenth century. The sample of brick evaluated was from a the soak pit depression (10N5F) which was related to the early nineteenth century brickyard operation. The quantity of brick at the USMRR site was small because the commissary buildings were all of wood frame construction.

The five morphological characteristics of brick analyzed include: (1) type of clay (texture, amount of sand particles and composition); (2) type of temper (sand, rock, broken brick etc.); (3) manufacturing technique (hand made vs. machine made); (4) size and shape, and (5) firing/color. The brick and brick fragments were analysed in the architectural category.

The clay pipe assemblages were separated by paste types, styles of pipes, and decoration. The pipe assemblages include white clay or kaolin, stoneware, porcelain, redware, blackware, and terra cotta stem and bowl fragments. Decorative designs and lettering on the pipes were recorded in the inventory/analysis phase. The bulk of the artifacts are fragmentary and do not lend themselves to extensive interpretation. The majority of fragments were devoid of makers marks and/or decoration. The stem-bore diameters and bowl measurements were recorded; however, the data are not useful in the evaluation of the nineteenth century pipes.

The white clay or kaolin pipes were first manufactured in England or the Netherlands and later produced in the United States (McDaniel et al. 1979:83). The stoneware pipes are made of a dense nonporous clay and probably manufactured locally. Porcelain pipes postdate the European invention of porcelain in 1708-1709 (Walker 1974:98). The Black-glazed redware pipes were most likely American-made and of local origin. Blackware pipes refer to a black basalt body (1750-1820) or to an earthenware body covered with a glossy black glaze (Brown 1982:11 citing South 1977). In addition, the terra cotta pipes were most probably produced locally.

The pipe assemblage includes several decorative styles, such as a ribbed or fluted designs which generally date between 1840 and 1900 (McDaniel et al. 1979:87). The reed type pipes, designed to fit into the ceramic bowl, range in date from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (McDaniel et al. 1979:87).

The glass assemblages were cataloged by provenience. The artifacts were cataloged into several groups (i.e. architectural, hardware, household, kitchen, personal or indeterminate) according to functional types. These functional groups were further sorted by type and style of the ware. The architectural group contains window glass. The hardware group contains glass insulators. The household group includes lighting and mirror glass sherds. The kitchen group includes container glass, tableware, unidentifiable type, and heat-altered beyond recognition. The personal group includes beads and marbles.

A bulk of the glass assemblage from both sites includes container and tableware fragments that are associated with either the kitchen and or household groups. The container glass group includes beer/ale/stout, food/household, inkwell, medicine/pharmaceutical, milk bottle, pre-serving jar, soda/mineral water, wine/champagne, whiskey, liquor, cosmetic/perfume, and indeterminate. The tablewares group includes tumblers, stemmed glass, stopper, dishes/bowls, salt cellar, cruet/coaster, and an indeterminate category.

The various attributes of the glass fragments and whole and nearly whole containers such as mold seams, finishes, basemarks, trademarks and embossed lettering were examined in the analysis stage. The various attributes provided information concerning manufacturing methods, functional types, finish types, and products/company origin. The shapes

and names of the finishes were compiled from various glass catalogs which date to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The metal assemblages were recovered from individual structures, features and test units at the two sites. The artifacts were divided into one of nine functional categories by provenience. The functional groups include the following: (1) structural; (2) activity/hardware; (3) furniture; (4) kitchen items; (5) personal items; (6) clothing; (7) weaponry; (8) miscellaneous, and (9) unknown. The functional categories were then subdivided into type/style groups by material (e.g. copper, cast-iron, lead, tin, and steel) category.

The coin assemblages recovered from excavations at the Bontz and USMRR sites include a large cent with matron head type (produced 1816-1835), a half dime capped bust type (1829-1837), Indian-head type pennies (1859-1909), Lincoln type wheat ears pennies (1909-1958), and Buffalo type nickels (1913-1938) (Yeoman 1987:77, 107, 85, 87, 100). The coins serve as temporal indicator for the various features and midden deposits at the two sites.

The faunal assemblage from the Bontz site and USMRR complex was recovered from either individual sample test units, cultural features, and/or structures. The faunal assemblage was divided into basic taxonomic groups and then subdivided into six criteria. The taxonomic group was subdivided by element (bone type); side of the animal; portion of the animal; age of the animal, evidence of burning (positive or negative), and evidence of butchery.

The faunal analysis was initiated to determine the dietary pattern for the two historic sites. The Bontz site faunal assemblage was recovered from individual features and a series of 32 sample test units within the rear yard area of three of the four lots. The USMRR site faunal assemblage was recovered exclusively from Feature 25N-1F. This feature is a possible well/cistern associated with the military commissary complex.

The button assemblage includes both civilian and military buttons that date from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth centuries. The buttons from the both Bontz and USMRR sites were divided into groups by the type of material used to manufacture the buttons. The button's diameter, number of holes, and decorative attributes was recorded. The buttons were compared to button type illustrations and descriptions from South's "Analysis of the Buttons from Brunswick Town and Fort Fisher" (1964) and McDaniel and Russ's "Analysis of the Buttons from the Liberty Hall Academy Site Complex" (1989). The analysis of military buttons provide dates and possible identification of the units who occupied the site. The military buttons were compared to types listed in the works of McGuinn and Bazelon's (1984) and Albert's (1976).

The button assemblage from both site include porcelain, glass, metal, shell, plastic, leather, and hard rubber examples that date from the early nineteenth to the mid twentieth century. The assemblage

includes both domestic and military buttons with either two, four or five hole variety.

The marble assemblages include both clay and glass from either the Bontz or USMRR site. The marbles were separated by type, and dimension. The glass marbles were further separated by color. The marble analysis is included as a separate table within each site discussion.

The production of clay marbles ranges from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These marbles are presumably of local manufacture. The marbles range in size from 13 mm to 25 mm and in color from a single opaque color, such as blue, green, purple, pink, or white (Randall 1971:103). The production of hand-made glass marbles were first introduced by the Greeks or Romans, however, no glass marbles were manufactured in the United States prior to 1880 (Randall 1971:104). The marbles range in size from 13 mm and larger. In 1901, the first machine-made glass marbles were manufactured in the states (Randall 1971:104-105).

A smaller quantity of personal artifacts were recovered from the Bontz and USMRR sites. The personal affects include glass and plastic beads, bone handles, a pocket watch, shoe soles, porcelain doll fragments, toy dinnerware fragments, and porcelain toy fragments. In addition, a low frequency of household items such as, door knob fragments, mica discs, and mirror fragments were recovered from the Bontz and USMRR sites.

The artifacts were recorded by provenience and entered into a data base computer program. The computer program was utilized to sort data into the various artifact lists by category and provenience. A general description of artifact categories and criterion of analysis is presented as the framework for the investigation. The two site artifact assemblages, however, are discussed separately in this report. Bontz Site tables are in Appendix C. USMRR tables are in Appendix D. The artifacts and field notes from both sites are stored at the JMUARC facility in Harrisonburg, Virginia.

Discussion of Artifacts

Bontz Site (44AX103)

The Bontz property originally encompassed a one-half acre lot on the southwest corner of Holland and Duke Street intersection. The site includes two early nineteenth-century residential/commercial structures and features associated with the individual lot designations. The properties' built history ranges from ca. 1796 to ca. 1958 at which time the buildings were razed and several feet of fill dirt was deposited across the site.

The Bontz site was subdivided into individual structure/yard components which correspond to the five sublots that were established in the early twentieth century. The two house sites and associated rear yard areas have been greatly impacted by road widening and the intrusion of utility lines during the mid/late twentieth century.

The site includes approximately 9,543 square feet of land on the southwest corner of the Duke/Holland Street intersection. Five utility lines bisect the proposed right-of-way. In addition, a 10 ft sq Vepco utility box is located on the vacant lot between the remains of the two residential structures. The five utility lines and Vepco box have impacted approximately 2470 square ft (25.87%) of the exposed site within the right-of-way. The westernmost lot (Lot #4), located south of Structure 2, remains intact beneath a parking lot and several feet of fill-dirt.

The easternmost structure (Structure 1) contained two separate components that were built at different stages in the site's history. The majority of the eastern one-half of the structure has been impacted by previous road construction. The western half of the structural remains, foundation, was intact. In addition, the rear yard areas (Lots #1 and #2) have been impacted by either utility lines and/or highway construction. The rear yard associated with Lot #1 included a 5 x 40 ft (200 square ft) section. The rear yard associated with Lot #2 contained a 15 x 106 ft (1,060 square ft) section for data recovery. The vacant lot (Lot #3) included a 3,542 square ft area, however 1,070 square ft (30.20%) was impacted by modern utility line and a large electrical switch box. The rear yard areas were investigated with one 5-ft square test unit and 32 2.5 ft sq test units placed at 10 ft intervals to determine possible waste disposal patterns. The yard area has been impacted by the earlier widening of Holland Street and the installation of two utility lines during the mid/late twentieth century.

Ceramics

A total of 9,580 ceramic sherds was recovered during the Bontz site investigation. Of this total, 2,026 were recovered from test units placed in the yard to systematically sample the site. The distributions of ceramics within the yard area shows several small concentrations within 50 ft south of the two structures and a light scatter further to the south. This distribution may represent a disposal pattern adjacent to the houses even though the lots extended for an entire block. The distribution of ceramics types across the site suggests a light sheet midden of mixed wares (i.e. creamware, pearlware, whiteware, stoneware and porcelain) in the rear yard (Table C:1).

The distribution of the various ceramic types in Layer A includes 54.7% whiteware, 19.4% pearlware, (11.6%) porcelain, (6.9%) stoneware, and 709 (7.4%) creamware sherds. The high frequency of whiteware sherds

reflect the late nineteenth and early twentieth occupation of the site (Table C:1).

In layer B, pearlware (41.7%) occurred most frequently. Whiteware (33.7%) still appeared in large quantities followed by creamware (12.2%), stoneware (6.7%) and porcelain (5.7%). This suggests that layer B is representative of earlier nineteenth century activities with a higher percentage of occurrence of pearlwares and creamwares and a decline in whitewares (Table C:1).

Layer C predominately contained pearlware (57%) followed by whiteware (21.3%), creamware (12.6%) stoneware (6.3%) and porcelain (2.8%). The large amount of pearlware sherds suggests that Layer C was the cultural floor during the initial site occupation (C:1).

In the two major categories (whiteware and pearlware) 570 sherds were at least minimally decorated. For whitewares, 7.4% were minimally decorated (including banded, sponged or edge decoration), 5.5% were painted, almost exclusively in blue floral or geometric patterns and 17.2% were printed, with blue geometric and floral designs. This totals to 290 (30.3%) decorated whiteware sherds.

Decorated pearlwares totaled to 280 sherds (39.9%). Of these, 14% were minimally decorated, including blue and green shell edge, dipped, banded and sponging. Painted pearlware made up 13.5% and included blue geometric and floral as well as multi-colored floral designs. Printed pearlwares 12.4% were typically blue with floral or geometric designs. A few willow patterns were identified on some of these vessels.

Information about vessel function indicates a large percentage of flatwares and hollowwares and smaller percentages of teawares and crockery. The ceramic assemblage was largely fragmentary. The physical reconstruction of vessels was not initiated in the analysis phase.

A total of 6,619 ceramic sherds were recovered from the two structures. The whiteware (22.8%) and pearlwares (40.5%) were the predominate wares with creamwares representing 14.5% of the assemblage. Within the structures, the percentage of decorated wares was noticeably higher. The 553 decorated whitewares (36.5%) shows a small increase over the yard sample while the 1,355 decorated pearlwares (50.6%) shows a marked increase over the yard sample.

The decorated wares from the houses followed the same general patterns as discussed from the yard sample. Predominately, the printed and painted wares were blue floral or geometric patterns and blue and green edge decorated wares were evenly distributed in both structures.

The discrepancy between decorated wares in the structures and yard areas may be explained by the site boundaries. Due to the position of the sites within the right-of-way, no sample could be taken of the yard to structure 2 and only a limited sample was obtained from behind structure 1. The majority of the sample came from a vacant lot located

between the two structures. Particularly in the case of structure 2 the absence of the yard sample may account for the change in percentage of decorated wares.

Structure 2 was a brick house, of higher value than structure 1 and likely would have higher status occupants. Therefore, they would have owned a large percentage of the more expensive decorated wares. Unfortunately, a sample of the yard area could not be obtained to verify this hypothesis.

Ceramic distributions associated with the houses yielded interesting information about changing use through time, although the large amount of utility disturbance in the area of structure 2 created gaps in the sampling strategy. In structure 1, distributions exhibited a marked increase in artifacts in the area where the addition was built. Artifacts used to examine the distributions in structure 1 included whiteware, pearlware and creamware. Artifacts from test units excavated over the foundation that divided the main house from the addition were not included in this total.

Distributions in structure 1 show 1,178 ceramics in layer A. Layer A covered the foundation remains and is apparently attributable to occupation and post occupation of the house. Of the total, 35.2% of the sherds were found in the main house and 64.7% were found in the area of the addition. Inside the main structure, 80 creamware, 169 pearlware and 166 whiteware sherds were recovered. In the addition, 127 creamware, 329 pearlware and 307 whiteware sherds were recovered.

In layer B, 1,359 sherds were recovered. This layer apparently represents the cultural floor during the occupation of the main house. Of the total sherd count, only 8% of the sherds were from the area of the main house while 92% were recovered where the addition was constructed. In the main structure 14 creamware, 66 pearlware and 30 whiteware sherds were recovered. In the addition, 261 creamware, 766 pearlware and 222 whiteware sherds were found. This is most likely attributable to this area serving as a yard during the early nineteenth century. This demonstrates that the occupants were literally dumping trash out their back door.

Glass

The glass assemblage includes material recovered from two residential structures, 32 test units, features and the fill zone (layer A) that covered the site. A total of 14,426 glass artifacts was recovered from the site. This total, however, includes 6,879 glass artifacts from Layer A which was determined irrelevant to interpretation of the site. Therefore, artifacts from Layer A were not analysed but are reflected in the Table C:2 total artifact count. A total of 7,547 glass artifacts was recovered from intact features, structures, and yard

areas excluding Layer A. Artifacts from features were counted without layer designations.

A total of 866 glass artifacts were recovered from structure 1 excluding layer A (Table C:2). The glass assemblage includes 72 (8.31%) container; 37 (4.27%) tableware; 160 (18.47%) window glass; 588 (67.89%) indeterminate fragments, and nine (1.03%) heat altered sherds.

A total of 2,233 glass artifacts was recovered from structure 2 excluding layer A (Table C:2). The glass assemblage includes 203 (9.09%) container glass; 1 (.044%) tableware; 176 (7.88%) window glass, and 1,853 (82.98%) indeterminate fragments.

A total of 734 glass artifacts were recovered from the 32 test units excavated in the two rear yard areas (Lots #1 and #2) and the vacant lot (Lot #3) between the two residential structures. The glass assemblage includes 62 (8.44%) container glass; 11 (1.49%) tableware; 123 (16.75%) window glass; 525 (71.52%) indeterminate fragments, and three (.408%) heat altered sherds.

A total of 4,014 glass artifact was recovered from two shell middens, one builder trench, two basement features, 12 anomalies and 32 postholes. The two shell middens (10N-2F and 15N-2F) were associated with structure 1 (Figure 17). The first shell midden (10N-2F) was located inside the rear addition. The midden contained six (.14%) and one (.07%) indeterminate fragments. The second shell midden (15N-2F) was located outside the rear addition (Figure 17). The midden contained only three (.07%) container sherds.

The two basement features (35N-2F and 35N-3F) and builders trench (25N-1F) were associated with structure 2 (Figure 17). The builder's trench (25N-1F) was located along the west wall foundation. The trench contained 91 (2.26%) container sherds and one (.07%) indeterminate fragment. The easternmost basement feature (35N-2F) included 1,097 (27.32%) container sherds, 29 (.722%) tableware, 1,436 (35.774%) indeterminate fragments and 28 (.697%) heat altered sherds. The westernmost basement feature (35N-3F) included 42 (.104%) container sherds, one (.07%) tableware, and 56 (1.39%) indeterminate fragments.

The rear yard area (Lots #1-3) contained 12 anomalies and 32 postholes (Figure 17). The 12 anomalies included 437 (10.88%) container sherds, three (.074%) tableware, five (.124) windows glass, 379 (9.44%) indeterminate fragments and 38 (.946%) heat altered fragments (Table C:2). The 32 postholes include 59 (1.46) container sherds, 10 (.249%) tableware, 281 (7.00%) indeterminate fragments, and 16 (.398%) heat altered sherds.

Structure 1

The glass assemblage from structure 1 includes a wide range of manufacture techniques that date from the late eighteenth/early

nineteenth to the mid twentieth century. The assemblage contains fragments of ink bottles, medicine bottles, baking powder bottles, molded tableware, tumblers, and a stopper for a sauce container. The diverse range of finishes, (i.e. blob, Davis, crown, and machine-made) were recorded from the structure. The assemblage includes hand-blown, molded, pressed, and machine-made fragments.

The glass assemblage from structure 1 contained several makers marks that date from the early/mid eighteenth to mid/late twentieth century. The earliest marks include three medicine bottle sherds, a baking powder bottle sherd, an applied label, and several base fragments. The medicine bottle fragments include Godfrey's Cordial (ca.1721-1831) and Dalby's Carminative (ca. 1780-1940) which were English exports. A single Fletcher's Castoria (ca.1890) sherd was recovered. A single Davis OK Baking Powder sherd was recovered from the structure. A series of bottle fragment from the Robert Portner Brewing Company in Alexandria were recovered from across the site.

The assemblage includes several domestic makers mark from the north and midwest. The base sherds include Owen's Illinois (ca. 1929-54 and 1924-68), Hazel-Atlas (ca. 1920-64), Wildroot Company Inc. (ca. 1916-29), and Knox Glass (ca. 1924-68) from prominent glass factories in Toledo, Ohio, Weeling West Virginia, Buffalo, New York, Knox, Pennsylvania; and Robert Portner Brewing Company in Alexandria Virginia (Table C:3).

The glass artifacts were analysed by provenience and layer. The diagnostic artifacts were analysed by their various attributes. In addition, a table of the makers marks were recorded by provenience (Table C:3).

05E

One clear, whole, machine-made bottle with a continuous threaded finish was recovered from layer A. Seven green body fragments with an applied color label were also recovered from this layer. Other glass artifacts from layer A consist of thirteen clear cap-seat bore fragments (one with a figural neck to collect cream), two green crown finish fragments, and one clear continuous thread finish.

One clear and one green base which were analyzed from layer A have a trademark dating from 1929 to 1954 of the Owen's Illinois Glass Co., Toledo, Ohio (Toulouse 1972:403). A fragment of an opaque white jar liner dating after 1869 was identified (Jones and Sullivan 1985:160 citing Toulouse 1969:350)..

A fragment of marbled purple and opaque white tableware, common c. 1800-1900, was recovered from layer A of this unit (Spillman 1982:339).

010E

Glass artifacts from layer A level 1 include one pink tumbler fragment with a ribbed press-molded pattern similar to a Depression tumbler shown in Spillman (Spillman 1982:48). One green machine-made

container base which was also recovered has a trademark of the Owen's Illinois Glass Co., Toledo, Ohio and dates from 1929-1954 (Toulouse 1971:403).

Two finishes recovered from layer B level 2 include one clear continuous thread finish and one clear crown finish. Also recovered from level 2 are one pink press-molded tumbler fragment which mends to the fragment from layer A level 1. Three clear tableware fragments with press-molded patterns were also identified.

015E

One blue-green crown finish was identified from layer A level 1. The glass assemblage from layer A level 2 includes one clear whole tapered cylindrical bottle. The shape is distinctive to Godfrey's Cordial or Dalby's Carminative, two medicines exported by England from 1721 to 1931 and 1780s to 1940 or later, respectively (Fike 1987:14). The bottle was formed in a two-piece vertical mold and has a bead finish. Two clear lead press-molded tableware fragments and one clear soda-lime press-molded tableware fragment were in the assemblage from layer A level 2. Two clear soda-lime tumbler fragments with nicked decoration were also analyzed from this level.

One clear tumbler fragment which was turn- or paste-molded and one clear machine-made crown finish were recovered from area 2.

020E

Three patent finishes and one clear lead stemware fragment with cut facets were recovered from layer A level 2.

Two brown machine-made bases with Owen's scars were identified in the assemblage from layer B level 1.

Glass artifacts from layer B level 3 include one clear club sauce-type stopper for a late nineteenth or early 20th century small container (Jones and Sullivan 1985:52).

One clear, whole, machine-made baking powder bottle with a patent lip was analyzed from layer B levels 4 and 5. The bottle bears the embossment Davis OK Baking Powder.

5N5E

One clear whole machine-made ink container with a continuous thread finish, five clear container body fragments with applied color labels, one clear bead finish, one clear crown finish, six clear continuous thread finishes, and two clear machine-made finishes were recovered from layer A level 1. Bases analyzed include one clear base with a trademark of the Hazel-Atlas Glass Co., Wheeling, West Virginia, dating between 1920 and 1964 and two clear bases with an embossment of the Wildroot Company, Inc., Buffalo, New York dating between 1916 and 1929 (Toulouse 1972:239; Fike 1987:82). One clear contact-molded tableware fragment was also recovered from this layer.

5N10E

The glass assemblage from layer A level 1 includes one clear container body fragment with an applied color label, one brown body fragment with an trademark dating from 1924 to 1968 of the Knox Glass Co., Knox, PA., one clear Davis-type finish, three clear patent finishes, one clear base with a trademark from Owen's Illinois Glass Co., Toledo, OH dating from 1924-1968, and six clear soda-lime fragments with a press-molded flower decoration and crimped edge (Toulouse 1972:294; 403).

Glass artifacts recovered from layer A level 2 consist of one clear continuous thread finish and one clear soda-lime tableware foot fragment.

5N15E

Two clear soda-lime tableware fragments with a painted design and one clear soda-lime tumbler fragment with a press-molded mitre decoration were recovered from layer A of this unit.

5N20E

One clear tableware lid fragment with a trademark of "WHITE HOUSE" was analyzed from layer A level 1.

10N5E

From layer A level 2, a clear container body fragment with an applied color label was recovered. From layer B level 1, a clear container base with a pontil mark was identified.

10N15E

One clear tableware base with a pontil mark and press-molded pattern was identified in the glass artifacts from layer B level 1.

10N20E

A blue-green patent finish was recovered from layer A level 1. From layer A level 2, a blue-green patent finish and a straight finish possibly from an eighteenth century French blue-green bottle were identified (Jones and Sullivan 1985:80).

15N5E

Artifacts from layer A level 1 include one clear body fragment from a baking powder bottle. One blue-green "blob" finish was recovered from level 2.

15N15E

One bottle body fragment with the embossment of the Robert Portner Brewing Co., Alexandria, Virginia was recovered from layer A level 1.

15N19E

The glass assemblage from layer A includes one clear body fragment with an applied color label dating after 1934 (Jones and Sullivan 1985:16).

18N10E

The glass artifacts from layer A level 1 consist of one clear club sauce-type stopper and one clear flanged lip finish.

20N10E

From layer A level 2 one clear double ring finish was analyzed.

20N20E

One clear crown finish was recovered from layer A level 2.

25N5E

One blue-green continuous thread finish was recovered from layer C level 1.

25N18E

One clear soda-lime tableware fragment with a press-molded diamond thumbprint pattern dating to c. 1849-1875 was analyzed from area 1 layer B level 1 (Spillman 1982:416, 417).

30N18E

In layer A, one continuous thread finish and a body fragment with an applied color label (1934+) were recovered (Jones and Sullivan 1985:16).

35N5E

In layer E, one clear soda-lime tableware fragment with a press-molded hobnail and circle pattern was recovered.

35N10E

The glass assemblage from layer A level 1 includes one Davis-type finish and one panel with an embossment of Chas. H. Fletcher's Castoria, a product introduced in the early 1890s (Fike 1987:162).

Structure 2

The glass assemblage from structure 2 includes a wide range of manufacture techniques that date from the late eighteenth/early nineteenth to the mid twentieth century. The assemblage contains fragments of wine/champagne, soda/beer bottle, pressed tableware and indeterminate container sherds. The diverse range of finishes, (i.e. hand applied, Davis, crown, and machine-made) were recorded from the structure. The assemblage includes hand-blown, molded, pressed, and machine-made fragments. A number of sand-tipped pontil marks and kick-ups with basal sag were recorded in the structure. In addition, the assemblage contains a variety of finish-types (i.e. hand-applies string rim, blob, patent, ring/oil, Davis, and crown) that date from the late eighteenth through the twentieth century.

The glass assemblage from structure 2 contained several makers marks that date from the mid nineteenth century. A series of bottle fragment from the Robert Portner Brewing Company in Alexandria were recovered from the structure. The local brewery was in operation by 1861 and closed early in the twentieth century (Table C:3).

The glass artifacts were analysed by layer and provenience. The diagnostic artifacts were analysed by their various attributes. In addition, a table of the makers marks was recorded by provenience (Table C:3).

2N35W

A dark green hand-applied v-shaped string rim from a wine/champagne bottle was recovered from layer A level 2.

5N30W

One clear lead tableware fragment with press-molded pattern was recovered from layer A level 1. From layer B level 1, one dark green hand-applied finish with v-shaped string rim was recovered.

5N40W

One clear continuous thread finish and metal cap were present in the glass assemblage from layer A level 1.

20N16W

The glass assemblage from layer A level 1 includes one clear machine-made finish, one container body fragment with an applied color label, one brown base with a sand-tipped pontil mark, and four clear soda-lime press-molded tableware fragments (Jones and Sullivan 1985:16).

20N25W

A dark green base with a push-up and basal sag, typical on wine/champagne bottles until the 1820s, was analyzed from layer B level 1 (Jones 1986:91).

20N35W

Artifacts recovered from layer A level 1 include one clear Davis-type finish.

20N40W

One clear machine-made crown finish was recovered from layer A level 1.

20N55W

One clear crown finish was recovered from layer A level 1.

25N5W

Glass artifacts recovered from layer A include four clear soda-lime press-molded tableware fragments and one clear soda-lime tableware stem fragment.

25N25W

One clear soda-lime tableware fragment with a press-molded hobnail pattern was recovered from layer A level 1.

30N30W

One blue-green crown finish was recovered from layer B level 1. One blue-green patent finish was recovered from layer C level 1.

30N35W

Glass artifacts from layer C level 1 include one clear machine-made finish and two clear container body fragments with applied color labels.

30N45W

One clear finish with a cap-seat bore was recovered from layer A level 2. From level 4, one clear soda-lime and one clear lead tableware cover finial were analyzed. One blue-green patent finish was recovered from level 6.

30N50W

Glass from layer A includes one clear press-molded tumbler fragment from level 1 and one brown patent finish from level 2. One clear continuous thread finish was identified from layer C.

30N55W

A clear soda-lime tableware fragment with a press-molded diamond point pattern was identified from layer A level 1 (Spillman 1987:8).

35N35W

Glass artifacts from layer D level 2 include one blue-green bottle body fragment with a partial embossment of THIS BOTTLE NOT TO BE SOLD, one brown bottle body fragment with a partial embossment of THIS BOTTLE IS NEVER SOLD and two bottle body fragments, one blue-green and one brown, with a partial embossment of ROBERT PORTNER BREWING CO. The embossments to prevent reuse of bottles were common on beer, soda, and milk bottles after the 1870s (Busch 1970:70 citing Wilson and Wilson 1968:170-177). The Robert Portner Brewing Co., Alexandria, Virginia began operating in 1861 and was out of business by 1915 (Directory of Reliable Business Houses 1883).

The following finishes were identified from layer D level 2: one green wine/champagne finish with hand-applied string rim, one blue-green patent finish, three brown and five blue-green crown finishes, one blue-green ring or oil finish, four (one brown, one green and two blue-green) blob finishes, and one blue-green Davis-type finish. One clear soda-lime tableware fragment was also recovered from layer D level 2.

35N55W

One dark green base with push-up, common on wine/champagne bottles, was recovered from layer B level 1.

50N35W

The glass assemblage from layer B level 1 includes three beer bottle fragments from the Robert Portner Brewing Company, two blue-green patent finishes, and one green blob finish. Finishes recovered from layer B level 2 include two blue-green patent finishes and two blue-green crown finishes.

50N54W

One blue-green beer bottle body fragment with the trademark of the Robert Portner Brewing Company (1861-not by 1915) was recovered from layer B level 1 of this unit.

Test Units

Lot #1

The glass assemblage from Lot #1 includes several finish-types (brandy, Davis, and crown) a base sherd from a panelled medicine bottle, opaque jar liners, and sherds from two local manufacturers. A sherd from the Rammel Mfg., dated 1917 was recovered from the yard. The Rammel manufacturing company was located in Alexandria from 1903 to ca. 1931. A series of sherd from the Robert Portner Brewing Company which was in operation from 1861 to the early twentieth century.

The glass artifacts were analysed by layer and provenience. The diagnostic artifacts were analysed by their various attributes. In addition, a table of the makers marks was recorded by provenience (Table C:3).

5S15E

Glass artifacts recovered from layer A include one clear crown finish fragment, one clear machine-made finish, one blue-green Davis-type finish, one clear brandy finish, and one blue-green base of a paneled medicine or extract container.

25S5E

One clear beer bottle fragment with the trademark of the Robert Portner Brewing Co., Alexandria, Virginia was recovered from layer A.

35S16E

The glass assemblage from layer A includes one finish with cap-seat bore, and two opaque white jar liner fragments. A clear whole bottle with the trademark of Rammel Mfg. Alexandria, Virginia was recovered from layer B level 1. The company produced soft drinks and is listed in the 1917 directories, but not in the 1903 or 1931 directories (Boyd's Directory of Alexandria, VA 1917:221).

Lot #2

The glass assemblage from Lot #2 includes several finish-types (patent, machine-made, collared ring, crown and threaded) a base sherd, opaque jar liners, and a finial. The assemblage includes press mold and machine-made sherds. A sherd with an acid-etched design and a sherd with a stipple design were recovered from the yard. A single base sherd from the Zanesville City Glassworks, Zanesville Ohio, was recovered from the yard. The base design ranges in date from 1864 to 1937.

The glass artifacts were analysed by layer and provenience. The diagnostic artifacts were analysed by their various attributes. In addition, a table of the makers marks was recorded by provenience (Table C:3).

5S5E

One clear finial fragment from a tableware cover was recovered from layer A of this unit.

25S7.5E

Glass artifacts from layer A include one blue-green patent finish, two threaded finishes, one blue-green machine-made finish, and one clear collared ring finish.

35S5E

One clear finial fragment from a tableware cover was recovered from layer A.

65S5E

One clear crown finish, one machine-made continuous thread finish, and one clear bead finish were recovered from layer A. One base fragment with a trademark of the Zanesville City Glassworks, Zanesville, Ohio (1864 to 1937) was also recovered from layer A (Toulouse 1972:308). Tableware fragments from layer A consist of one clear soda-lime stem fragments, three clear soda-lime fragments, and one clear lip fragment with nicked decoration. Five opaque white jar liner fragments which date after 1869 were also analyzed (Jones and Sullivan 1985:160 citing Toulouse 1969:350).

Artifacts from layer B include two clear soda-lime press-molded tableware fragments and one clear soda-lime tableware fragment with an acid-etched design.

75S5E

Two clear soda-lime tableware fragments were recovered from layer A of this unit.

95S5E

The glass artifacts from layer A include one blue-green blob finish, one brown Davis-type finish, and one clear soda-lime tableware fragment with a press-molded stippled design.

105S5E

One clear tableware fragment with a press-molded pattern and one machine-made finish were recovered from layer A.

Lot #3

The glass assemblage from Lot #3 includes a wide range of manufacture techniques that date from the late eighteenth/early nineteenth to the mid twentieth century. The assemblage contains fragments of a medicine vials, tumbler jar liners, molded tableware, and chimney glass. A diverse range of finishes, (i.e. blob, patent, Davis, crown, and machine-made) were recorded from the yard. The assemblage includes molded, pressed, and machine-made fragments. The press mold fragments include a rosette and a diamond point pattern.

A series of bottle fragment from the Robert Portner Brewing Company in Alexandria were recovered from across the yard (Table C:3). The local brewery company was in operation from 1861 to the early twentieth century.

The glass artifacts were analysed by provenience and layer. The diagnostic artifacts were analysed by their various attributes. In addition, a table of the makers marks were recorded by provenience (Table C:3).

05W

One clear flanged lip finish from a medicine vial dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was identified from layer B level 1 (Jones and Sullivan 1985:80).

020W

One clear turn- or paste- molded tumbler fragment was recovered from layer A level 1.

10S20W

The glass assemblage from layer A includes three blue-green beer bottle fragments with the trademark of the Robert Portner Brewing Co., Alexandria, Virginia, three opaque white jar liner fragments, one blue-green patent finish, and one brown crown finish.

25S7.5W

One opaque white jar liner fragment and one clear lamp chimney fragment with crimped edge were recovered from layer A.

25S15W

One blue-green patent finish was recovered from layer A.

25S17.5E

One clear machine-made finish was recovered from layer A.

35S15W

One brown machine-made continuous thread finish and one blue-green machine-made crown finish were analyzed from layer A.

45S5W

One blue-green patent finish was recovered from layer B level 1 and from layer B level 2. One blue press-molded tableware fragment was recovered from layer B level 3. Glass artifacts from lot 2/3 of this unit include 11 crown finishes (seven clear, four blue-green), and one blue-green patent finish with a ball neck.

45S15W

One clear optic-molded tumbler base fragment was recovered from layer B level 2.

55S5W

The glass assemblage from layer A level 2 includes two blue-green crown finishes and one blue-green beer bottle fragment with the trademark of the Robert Portner Brewing Co., Alexandria, Virginia. A blue-green patent finish was recovered from layer B. From layer B level 1, two blue-green patent finishes, one brown Davis-type finish, and one yellow press-molded tableware fragment were analyzed. Artifacts from layer B level 2 consists of one blue-green beer bottle fragment with a trademark of the Robert Portner Brewing Co., Alexandria, Virginia, one blue-green Davis-type finish, one blue-green patent finish, one clear turn- or paste-molded chimney fragment, and 17 yellow tableware fragments with press-molded pressed roseate pattern (Spillman 1982:226).

65S5W

One blue-green beer bottle fragment with a trademark of the Robert Portner Brewing Co., Alexandria, Virginia and one blue-green crown finish were recovered from layer A. One clear soda-lime tableware fragment with a press-molded diamond point pattern were recovered from layer D level 2.

75S5W

From layer A level 1, three clear lead tableware fragments with press-molded design were analyzed. The assemblage from lot 2/3 consists of one clear soda-lime press-molded tableware fragments and from layer C level 1 includes two green blob finishes.

75S15W

One blue-green patent finish was identified from lot 3 layer A.

85S5W

One clear bead finish and one brown crown finish were recovered from layer A level 1.

95S7.5W

One blue-green tableware fragment with a press-molded thousand-eye pattern, c. 1865-1880 was identified in the glass assemblage (Spillman 1982:418).

Glass artifacts from the Bontz site provided only limited interpretive value. A large quantity of bottles from Robert Portner's Brewery (1861-1915) was apparently used by the site occupants. The brewery, located in Alexandria was a larger operation and certainly would have served the local community including the occupants of West End. A small bottle manufacturer was located adjacent to the railroad tracks on the 1800 block of Duke Street. The name of this business is unknown, however, it is possible that the bottles used by the Portners Brewery were produced by the glass factory. The close proximity of the factory to the Bontz Site also may account for the large volume of glass and frit recovered from the cellar of Structure 2.

The variety of bottle glass in Layer A supports the idea that this layer was a fill deposit. The assemblage including a mixture of sherds that date from the late eighteenth through early/mid twentieth century. The predominance of late nineteenth to early twentieth century sherds across the site suggest a portion of Layer B was a result site abandonment.

Miscellaneous Recovery

Eight whole or nearly whole glass containers were in the miscellaneous recovered assemblage. A blue-green container with the embossment FREE/ SAMPLE/ ROYAL GLUE, one clear paneled medicine bottle with prescription lip, one clear machine-made paneled medicine bottle with patent lip, two clear machine-made bottles with continuous thread finish, one clear machine-made baking powder container, and one clear machine-made bottle with the embossment of Chero-Cola (1912+) were recovered from the surface (Paul and Parmalee 1973:119). A brown bottle with raised bumps, patent lip, and the embossment POISON was also analyzed. The American Medical Association suggested that raised decorations be used on poison bottles so that they could be recognized by touch (Spillman 1982:149).

One blue-green beer bottle fragment with the mark of the Robert Portner Brewing Co. was also part of the assemblage. Finishes from the recovery include two patent finishes (one brown, one clear), two brown brandy finishes, one clear double ring finish, one green blob finish, one clear Davis-type finish, one clear bead finish, two clear finishes with cap-seat bore, one clear medicine finish with the metal cap and pipette attached, and one clear machine-made finish.

The glass assemblage from the miscellaneous recovery includes three bases. One blue-green base is from a torpedo bottle with the embossment LIN/& BELFAST/T EACH/ OCHRANE. The base is from a ginger ale bottle c. 1860-1890 exported from Ireland by Cantrell & Cochrane, Dublin & Belfast (Spillman 1983:60; Paul and Parmalee 1973:41). One clear base fragment bears the embossment of Lax & Shaw, Yorks, England (1891+) (Toulouse 1972:335). One clear base fragment has the trademark dating from 1893

to 1904 of the Edward H. Everett Glass Co., Newark, Ohio (Toulouse 1972:185).

Seven tableware fragments were analyzed from the assemblage of the miscellaneous recovery. Artifacts recovered include one opaque white tableware fragment with a sunburst and hobnail press-molded pattern, one clear stemware foot fragment, one clear lead stemware fragment, one clear lead stemware fragment with press-molded hobnail pattern, one clear press-molded tableware fragment, and two clear, soda-lime, press-molded tableware fragments. Two opaque white Mason jar liner fragments and one clear club-sauce type stopper were also analyzed.

Tobacco Pipes (Figure 31)

A total of 264 pipe fragments was recovered from the Bontz site. The 264 fragment pipe assemblage consists of 239 (91%) kaolin fragments, 24 (9%) stoneware fragments, and one (less than .5%) porcelain fragment (Table C:4).

Structure 1 contained 144 kaolin pipe fragments and five stoneware pipe fragments. Fifteen of the kaolin bowl fragments are decorated with ribbed patterns, fluted designs, leaf patterns, four-pointed stars, and sun symbols. One of these bowl fragments has a letter T with surrounding stems and leaves. The ribbed pattern present on the kaolin bowls is similar to a pattern on red clay pipes produced by the Pamplin industry in Pamplin, Virginia (Hamilton and Hamilton 1972:Plate 15i; 16j,k). The Pamplin pipe manufacturing company was established in Pamplin, Virginia just prior to 1880 and closed in 1951 (Hamilton and Hamilton 1972:9, 22). (Hamilton and Hamilton 1972:3). Two of the kaolin bowl fragments are decorated with a ring of dashes at the lip and a superimposed four-point star. The four stoneware bowl fragments also are decorated in a Pamplin-style decoration.

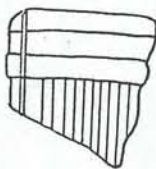
Structure 2 contained 42 kaolin pipe fragments and three stoneware pipe fragments. Six of the kaolin bowl fragments are decorated with raised decorations and ribbed patterns. Two of the stoneware bowl fragments are decorated with a rib pattern and a double band near the lip, one of which has a glaze on the interior and the exterior. The two stoneware bowl fragments are similar to an American pipe dated between 1820-1900 which is depicted in Oswald's chart of bowl evolution and to the ribbed pattern Pamplin pipes (Noel-Hume 1985:302; Hamilton and Hamilton 1972:15i, 16j,k). A stoneware stem fragment is from a reed-type pipe.

Lot 2 contained 14 kaolin fragments and one stoneware pipe fragment. One kaolin fragment has a sitting bear with textured fur as the pipe bowl and is fitted for a reed stem. The stoneware stem fragment is hexagonal, glazed on the exterior and interior, and is also fitted for a reed stem.

44AX103 BONTZ SITE PIPE FRAGMENTS



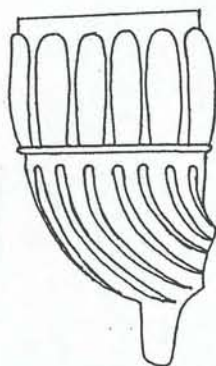
STRUCTURE I
25N18E
LAYER B
LEVEL 2



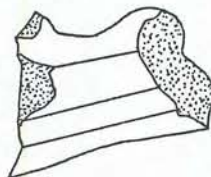
STRUCTURE I
15N15E
LAYER A
LEVEL 1



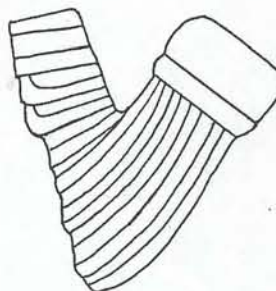
STRUCTURE I
10N15E
LAYER B
LEVEL 2



MISCELLANEOUS
GRADALL
RECOVERY



LOT II
65S5E
LAYER A



STRUCTURE II
35N-2F
LAYER D
LEVEL 3

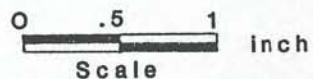


Figure 31. Examples of pipe fragments recovered from the Bontz Site.

Lot 2/3 contained two kaolin fragments, neither of which were decorated. Lot 3 contained 11 kaolin fragments and one stoneware fragment. Two of the kaolin bowl fragments were decorated, one with thin ribs ringing the bowl and one with a leaf pattern.

Thirteen stoneware fragments and one kaolin fragment were recovered from features 25S 1F, 25S6F, and 55S3F. Fifteen kaolin fragments and one stoneware fragment were recovered from test units 10S20W and 95S15W. Ten kaolin and one porcelain fragment were recovered from the gradall recovery.

Metal

A total of 4,354 metal artifacts were recovered during the archeological investigations including: 3,803 from sample squares and 551 from features. The majority of the metal artifacts, 77.7% (3383), were classified as nails, 0.06% (2) of which were hand wrought nails, 7.71% (261) of which were cut nails, 8.13% (275) wire nails, 84.1% (2845) unknown nails (Table C:5).

The metal assemblage contains copper, cast-iron, lead, tin, and steel artifacts. These artifacts were categorized by type, material, and function. Functional categories in the assemblage include architectural (nails), structural, activities, furniture, kitchen, personal, clothing, weaponry, modern, and unknown. Metal artifacts date from the late eighteenth through the mid-twentieth century.

The cut nails were distributed across the three rear lot/yards. The density of nails increased with distance from the two structures. The nails in structure 1 were distributed along the brick wall foundations. The highest frequency of nails was distributed in the area associated with the rear addition.

Nails

The nail category comprise 77.7% of metal artifacts. A total of 3383 nails were recovered. Of these 2 (0.06%) of which were hand wrought nails, 261 (7.71%) of which were machine cut nails, 275 (8.13%) wire nails, 2845 (84.1%) unidentifiable nails.

Structural Metal

A total of 116 structural metal fragments were recovered from the site. A variety of structural metals including spikes, tacks, rivets, wire, lock and latch parts, roofing pieces, and window parts was identified.

Activities Metal

Two hundred pieces of activities metal were recovered. Sub-groups of activities include construction tools, farm tools, leisure, misc. hardware, stable/barn goods, military goods, and misc. goods from a variety of activities. Artifacts recovered from this group include screws, railroad spikes, harmonica part, electrical wire, barrel band fragments, washers, and tack/harness hardware.

Furniture Metal

Thirteen furniture pieces were recovered includes a furniture knob, key hole surrounds, clock parts, decoration accessories, and hinges.

Kitchen Metal

Nine kitchen metal fragments were recovered. Artifacts within this category include a seven spoon fragments, a knife fragment, and a utensil handle.

Personal Metal

A total of six personal metal artifacts were recovered. Artifacts in this category include two pocket knives, two keys, and a misc. personal item.

Clothing Metal

Ten artifacts associated with clothing manufacture or parts were recovered. These include hooks and eyes, a thimble, and buckles.

Miscellaneous Metal

A total of thirty-three miscellaneous metal artifacts were recovered. Artifacts in this category include bottle caps, a modern battery, three automobile parts, and can fragments.

Unidentified Metal

Five hundred and eight-four metal artifacts were unidentifiable because they were either too corroded or to incomplete to allow identification.

Bullets and Casings

A total of three bullets and 10 casings were recovered from the Bontz site (Table C:6). The three bullets were recovered from test unit atop structure 2. The bullets include two 22 caliber shorts and one 32 caliber shell (Table C:6).

Ten bullet casings recovered from the Bontz site include two (20%) center fire and eight (80%) rim fire shells (Table C:6). A minimum of three types product were identified at the site. The three markers marks include impressed U, A and UMC-B-S&W types (Table C:6). Two 22 caliber casings and one 32 caliber case, were recovered from structure 1. A total of three 22 caliber casings were recovered from structure 2 (Table C:6). A single 22 caliber rim fire casing was identified from Lot #2. The vacant lot (Lot #3) contained four 22 caliber and one 32 caliber casings. A single 22 caliber casing was recovered from the layer removed by a Gradall.

Coins

A total of 11 coins were recovered from the Bontz site (Table C:1). Four of the eleven coins were recovered from structure 1 proveniences. A matron head large cent, with no visible date, was recovered from 15N15E. This style of cent was produced from 1816 to 1835 (Yeoman 1987:77). An Indian head type penny dated 1903 was recovered from layer A level 3 of 5N10E. Two pennies, corroded beyond recognition, were recovered from layer B level 2 of 010E.

Two coins were analyzed from structure 2. An Indian-head type penny, date not visible, was recovered from 20N45W layer A level 3. The Indian head type penny was produced from 1859 to 1909 (Yeoman 1987:85). A Lincoln type wheat ears penny dated 1936 was recovered from 5N35W layer A level 1.

One penny, corroded beyond recognition, was recovered from Lot 2/3, 85S5W layer B level 3. Two coins were recovered from proveniences in Lot 3. An Indian head type penny dated 1881 was recovered from 10N12.5W layer B level 2. A capped bust type half dime dated 1835 was in 45S15W layer B level 6 (Yeoman 1987:107). From test unit 10S20W layer A, an Indian head type penny dated 1891 and a buffalo type nickel were recovered.

Buttons (Table C:8)

A total of 140 buttons was recovered and analyzed from the Bontz site excavation. The total includes 53 (38%) porcelain buttons, 14 (10%) glass buttons, 30 (21%) metal buttons, 12 (9%) bone buttons, 24 (17%) shell buttons, 4 (3%) plastic buttons, one (1%) leather button, and two (1%) hard rubber buttons.

The assemblage from Structure 1 includes 22 porcelain, five glass, six metal, eight bone, 18 shell, and two plastic buttons. A metal button from 5N15E layer A is a New York State Militia staff button with

EXTRA QUALITY on the reverse (Figure 32). The staff type button dates after the 1830s and resembles South's type 27, which was found in the context 1837-1865 (Albert 1976:7; South 1963).

The buttons analyzed from Structure 2 include four porcelain, one glass, 15 metal, four shell, two plastic, one leather, and one hard rubber button. One metal button from 50N35W bears the inscription LEWIS & TOMES EXTRA-RICH on the obverse. The company, located in England (1816-1833) and New York City (1819-1826), ceased manufacturing military buttons in 1830 (McGuinn and Bazelon 1984:67). The hard rubber button recovered from 35N2F Layer D level 2 was produced by the Novelty Rubber Company after 1849 (Figure 32) (McGuinn and Bazelon 1984:74). A metal button recovered from 5N30W, Layer C level 1 bears a stamped inscription of PLATED and resembles McDaniel and Russ's type VI which is found in contexts of 1726-1776, 1785-1800 and 1812-1820, and commonly used in the eighteenth century (Figure 32) (South 1964; Olsen 1963; Johnson 1948).

One glass button was recovered from Lot 1, test unit 35S16E. The assemblage from Lot 2 includes 13 porcelain, three glass, three metal, and one hard rubber button. The hard rubber button recovered from 5S15E was produced by the Novelty Rubber Company after 1849 (McGuinn and Bazelon 1984:74). A metal button from 25S5E has the raised letters STANDARD COLOUR on reverse, which resembles McDaniel and Russ's type IX found in contexts of 1837-1865, 1812-1820, and 1800-1850 (South 1964; Olsen 1963; Johnson 1948).

Lot 2/3 contained two porcelain, one bone, and one shell button. Lot 3 contained four porcelain, two glass, three metal, and one shell button. A metal button from 35S15W bears a similar anchor and rope design to the Continental Navy button and resembles South's type 1, which was found in a context of 1726-1776 (Albert 1976:86-87 NA4). A metal button from 55S15W has raised lettering DOUBLE GILT NO on the reverse. The button resembles McDaniel and Russ's type IX, which was found in contexts of 1837-1865, 1812-1820, and 1800-1850 (South 1964; Olsen 1963; Johnson 1948).

Buttons recovered from various test units include six porcelain, one glass, two metal, and one bone button. A metal button from 25S 17.5E bears an eagle design used on general staff buttons. Staff buttons were developed in the 1830s (Albert 1976:7, 290-291).

Two porcelain, one glass, and one bone button were recovered from various features. One metal and one bone button were analyzed from the miscellaneous recovery.

The military buttons suggest that some of the occupants served in the military or militia during the late eighteenth to mid nineteenth century. The few recovered combined with the poorly preserved cultural deposits leave the interpretations as speculative.

44AX105 USMRR SITE BUTTONS



(OBVERSE)
25N-1F
LEVEL 3



(REVERSE)
25N-1F
WALL CLEANING



(REVERSE)
10N160W
LAYER C
LEVEL 1



(OBVERSE)
MISCELLANEOUS
RECOVERY

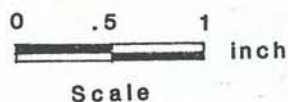


Figure 32. Examples of buttons recovered from the Bontz Site.

Marbles

The marble assemblage from the Bontz site consists of 32 glass marbles and 54 clay marbles. Structure 1 contained 12 glass marbles and 40 clay marbles. Structure 2 contained three glass marbles and four clay marbles. Marbles recovered from Lot 1 include eight glass marbles and one clay marble. Lot 2 contained two glass marbles and one clay marble. Lot 3 contained three clay marbles. Test unit 25S 17.5E contained three glass marbles and three clay marbles. Feature 25S1F contained one glass marble. Three glass marbles and two clay marbles were found in the miscellaneous recovery. Table C:9 summarizes the marble analysis.

Miscellaneous Artifacts (Table C:10)

Structure 1 contained nine glass beads, two bone handles, 12 porcelain doll fragments, seven porcelain toy dinnerware fragments, one leather shoe sole, and one mica disc. Artifacts analyzed from structure 2 include one glass bead, nine porcelain doll fragments (one with the date 1900 impressed), one leather shoe piece, and one glazed redware door knob. Lot 1 contained one porcelain doll fragment. Lot 2 contained 11 porcelain doll fragments and one mirror glass fragment. Artifacts from lot 3 consist of 12 porcelain doll fragments. Various test units contained one glass bead, 16 porcelain doll fragments, and four toy dinnerware fragments. Miscellaneous artifacts from various features include one glass bead, two porcelain doll fragments, one porcelain toy dinnerware fragment, and one ceramic toy doll carriage fragment. One porcelain toy dinnerware fragment was analyzed from the miscellaneous recovery.

The presence of doll parts, marbles and other toys suggest families with children occupied the site throughout the built history. The limited quantity of expensive items such as, beads, pennants, and jewelry, suggest the occupants were of limited means.

Brick

Analysis of brick from the Bontz site revealed that all brick from the original structures and the rear additions was hand-struck. These brick shared many characteristics including rounded edges, irregular shapes and scrape marks where excess clay and temper was removed. While irregular in shape, these brick all had a similar size of 8.5x4x2.25. The paste was silty clay with small inclusions of sand. The temper consisted of fine sands. All of the brick appeared to be well fired and varied only slightly in color.

The brick from the front cellar entrance and the eastern addition to structure 2 varied from the other brick recovered. This brick was machine made and of uniform size and shape. The corners were sharp and the temper was sand. These brick were similar in color, red (2.5YR4/6), to the handmade brick found on the site. The difference in the brick suggests this building episode occurred at a later time than the original house and all the other additions.

Faunal Remains

Faunal remains were analyzed only from features and soil layer B in the test units. A total of 670 faunal remains was recovered from two structures, three rear lots, and four postholes for fencerows within the limits of the Bontz Site. The remains of two small shell middens (10N-2F and 15N-2F) were located along the exterior foundation of the original Structure 1, within the boundary of the later addition. The faunal remains in Structure 2 (35N-2F and 35N-3F) were recovered during the excavation of the basement. A series of 32 test units was excavated in a vacant lot (Lot #3) and the rear yard area (Lots #1 and #2), behind structure 1, located on the southwest corner of the intersection. Faunal remains were recovered from 25 of the 32 test units. In addition, four postholes in the rear yard fencerows recovered faunal remains.

The faunal remains from structure 1 were recovered from two small shell middens (10N-2F and 15N-2F) along the south and western elevation of the original structure (Figure 17). The southernmost midden included two indeterminate mammal bones; four large mammal bones; one Pond Box Turtle (*Emdidae*) fragment and two oyster (*Crassostrea virginica*) shells.

The small midden located along the western foundation included 15 oyster (*Crassostrea virginica*) and 18 clam (*Mercenaria mercenaria*) shells and shell fragments (Table C:10). The analysed shell represent only a sample of the shell and shell fragment in the midden.

The faunal remains from Structure 2 were recovered from the southeast and southwest (35N-2F and 35N-3F) interior corners of the basement (Figure 17). The two assemblages are associated with twentieth century fill deposits in the basement (Figure 17).

The easternmost feature (35N-2F) includes 37 bone and shell fragments. The faunal assemblage contains one indeterminate fragment; six mammal bones (indeterminate and long bone); 10 large mammal bones (vertebra, rib and long bone), one cow (*Bos taurus*) femur; two pig (*Sus scrofa*) bones (rib and tooth); one large bird long bone; four chicken (*Gallus gallus*) bones (*Synsarcum*, *Tibiotaurus* and *Furculum*); one Hawk (*Accipiter*) *terameta-taurus*; nine oyster (*Crassostrea virginica*) shells, and two clam (*Mercenaria mercenaria*) shell fragments.

The westernmost feature (35N3F) included 32 shell and bone fragments. The assemblage included two large bird long bones and 30 oyster (*Crassostrea virginica*) shell fragments.

The faunal assemblage recovered from posthole features was minimal. A short east/west fencerow located approximately 35 ft south of the residences had two postholes (35N-1F and 35N-2F) with bone and shell fragments (Figure 17). Posthole 35N-1F contained five indeterminate mammal bones; three large mammal bones (rib and long bone), and one oyster (*Crassostrea virginica*) shell fragment. The westernmost posthole (35N-2F) contained only one oyster (*Crassostrea virginica*) shell fragment.

The vacant lot (Lot #3) contained two indeterminate postholes (60S-2F and 65S-4F) with bone and shell remains. The northernmost posthole (60S-2F) contained one cow (*Bos taurus*) femur and one large bird long bone. The southernmost posthole (65S-4F) contained four large mammal bones (temporal, vertebra and longbone) and one oyster (*Crassostrea virginica*) shell fragment (Table C:11).

A total of 407 bone and shell fragments was recovered from 25 of the 32 test units placed in the rear yard area (Lot #1 and #2) behind structure 1 and the vacant lot (Lot #3) between the two residential structures (Figure 17). The 25 test units containing faunal remains were distributed as follows: Lot #1, one of three test units; Lot #2, six of nine test units, and Lot #3, 18 of 20 test units.

A single test unit located in Lot #1, 35 ft south of structure 1, contained one mammal bone and one oyster (*Crassostrea virginia*) shell fragment. The majority of the lot has been destroyed either by utility lines and/or highway construction.

The six positive test units in Lot #2 were located in two separate areas of the rear yard. The first midden area is located between 15 and 35 ft south of the house structure. The second midden area was located between 65 and 85 ft south of structure 1.

The faunal assemblage from Lot #2 includes nine indeterminate bones; 30 mammal bones (indeterminate and tooth); 17 large mammal bones (indeterminate, tooth, long bone, rib, patella and middle phalanx); two pig (*Sus Scrofa*) teeth; two rabbit (*Leporidae*) teeth; one sheep/goat tooth; one sheep (*ovis aries*) proximal phalanx; three cow (*Bos taurus*) teeth; one large bird bone; one chicken (*Gallus gallus*) femur and seven oyster (*Crassostrea virginica*) shell fragments.

The vacant lot (Lot #3) had a light scatter of faunal material across the yard area. Eighteen of 20 test units were positive. The northernmost and southeastern test units contained no faunal remains. A total of five small middens/concentration were located in the vacant lot between the two structures. The five midden were located along the lot line/fencerows include the following: (1) located near the southwest corner of structure 1; (2) near the southeast corner of structure 2; (3)

located west of the lot #2 property line, 25 ft south of structure 1; (4) located east of the lot #3 property line, between 35 and 65 ft south of structure 2; and (4) located east of lot #3 property line, between 75 and 95 ft south of structure 2.

The faunal assemblage from Lot #3 includes one rat (*Rattus norvegicus*) bone; 15 indeterminate bone fragments; 74 large mammal bones (indeterminate, tooth, vertebra, rib, scapula, temporal, flat bone and long bone); 122 mammal bones (indeterminate, teeth, rib and long bone); one medium size mammal pubis bone; two rabbit (*Leporidae*) bones (tooth and a femur); four sheep (*Ovis aries*) bones (teeth, distal and proximal phalanx); 15 cow (*Bos taurus*) bones (teeth, vertebra, proximal phalanx); three clam (*Mercenaria mercenaria*) shell fragments, and 74 oyster (*Crassostrea virginica*) shell fragments (Table C:11).

The faunal assemblage included a wide variety of domestic and wild resources. The assemblage included mammals, birds, fish and mollusks from the region. The faunal remains were generally whole specimens with few examples of cut marks. The assemblage includes a large number of teeth from several domestic mammalian species. The overall assemblage included various sections of the animals represented at the site. The majority of bone were deposited in the vacant lot/yard, indicating that this parcel was used for organic garbage.

Bontz Site Artifact Interpretation

The Bontz site contains two residential structures (Structure 1 and 2) on the southwest corner of Duke and Holland Street in the old village of West End, on Alexandria's western periphery. The one-half acre tract is associated with four narrow long lots and one rear lot that abutts the four linier lots near the southern end of the tract. The site includes two residential/commercial buildings, 37 posthole/molds 10 cultural features and 32 soil anomalies associated with the early nineteenth to mid twentieth century.

The mitigation project excavated 9543 square feet of land within the proposed right-of-way. A series of five- 5 ft wide utility line trenches disturbed 2470 square ft (25.87%) of the exposed site. A large 10 ft square electrical (Vepco) box is located on Lot #3 and a small sewer manhole is situated atop structure one. The northern section of both structures was disturbed by the widening of Duke Street during the mid twentieth century. In addition, the eastern half of structure 1 and most of Lot #1 was removed by the widening of Holland Road in the mid twentieth century.

The Bontz site artifact assemblage ranges in date from the late eighteenth/early nineteenth to the mid twentieth century. The date range correlates with the documented 1796-1958 period of site occupation. The artifact assemblage reflects a long term occupation by a series of owners/tenants during the site's built history of middle class economic status. The ceramic assemblage included a variety of utilitarian ware with minimal decoration. The glass assemblage included a variety of domestic and exported items associated with the residences.

The artifact assemblage indicates that George Bontz's children were associated with structure 1 and the vacant lot/yard. A variety of doll parts, toys and marbles suggest both sexes of children were associated with the various family groups. The recovered personal effects (i.e. beads and jewelry) suggest a more modest economic status for the inhabitants.

The artifacts in the rear lots/yards were distributed in a sheet midden across the three exposed lots/yards. A series of six small artifact concentrations were identified in the evaluation. These small middens are located on either side of a three fencerow/property lines built in the early twentieth century. The property lines include a lot line between lot #2 and lot #4 and the vacant lot/yard. The third fence, an east/west fence, was located about 25-35 ft south of the two structures. The high frequency of artifacts in the vacant lot suggests the two households deposited refuse in the rear yard area and adjacent vacant lot/yard.

As noted throughout this discussion, the property and the site have been impacted by modern disturbance, limiting the sampling strategy. The property was abandoned and razed in 1958 and converted into a parking lot. Structure 2 was also impacted by utility disturbance. However, the testing strategy employed yielded patterns of use and discard associated with both structures.

In Structure 1, distributions exhibited a marked increase in artifacts in the area where the addition was built. The distribution of artifacts beneath the rear addition suggests that refuse was deposited out the back door. The addition, which was built between 1855 and 1867, covered two small shell middens located along the south wall of the foundation.

The artifact assemblage associated with the basement of structure 2 includes a wide range of random fill and frit as a leveling agent. The debris is presumably refuse from the previous occupations in the early nineteenth century.

The faunal assemblage indicated the various inhabitants consumed a variety of domestic and wild mammals and fowl. The recovery of two small shell middens indicated the pre-war occupants consumed both clams and oysters which were locally abundant. The faunal assemblage contains a wide range of bone types with few cut marks which suggests more modest diet for the middle class families of butchers.

The artifact assemblage is reflective of a 170 year site occupation. The two domestic assemblages indicate the corner lot was occupied by a moderate working class family in the industrial community of West End. The inhabitants were of modest economic means and social status. The occupants of both structure were of sufficient means to build an rear addition prior to the Civil War. The artifacts associated with the post-war era, however, suggest a stable middle class existence throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

USMRR SITE (44AX105)

The USMRR component contains 13 posthole features and a well/cistern associated with the commissary department of the USMRR station. The document research and map review was instrumental in process of verification. The military maps of the commissary building conform to the posthole location and available photographs document the commissary complex.

The USMRR site contains the remains of a pre-railroad and a postwar components. The pre-railroad component includes a possible soak pit/sawyers pit that is associated with the early nineteenth century brick yard. The commissary barn was built atop the large soak pit-like feature that had been abandoned prior to the establishment of the O&ARR railroad.

The postwar component includes a possible switch box-like feature which intruded into a one of the commissary structures. The railroad feature was introduced after the O&ARR regained control of the property. There appears to be direct correlation between the location of the switch-box feature and a postwar rail spur that was illustrated on area maps. The rail spur and switch-box were built between 1866 and 1877 to upgrade the O&ARR facility.

The artifact assemblage was recovered from a variety of early to late nineteenth century cultural features and a 2.4 ft thick fill deposit that covered the entire site. The artifacts recovered from the thick overburden were included in the artifact analysis, however, the assemblage will be used for comparative purposes only due to the indeterminate nature of the debris. The bulk of the analysis is associated with intact cultural feature at the site. Consequently, the distribution of artifacts was limited to feature context.

Ceramics

A total of 3503 ceramics were recovered from the USMRR site. Of these, 1541 (44.99%) sherds were recovered from the features and the remaining 1962 (56 %) were found in test units. Nine 5 ft test squares were used to sample the site. These squares contained 1143 sherds and

will be used to analyze the site. The artifacts from the features are presented as part of the feature discussions.

The artifacts from the test squares provided little information concerning the activities that occurred at the site. The testing revealed that all culture deposits were disturbed. Artifacts were recovered by layers, however, no preserved cultural stratigraphy was identified. Artifact totals included: layer A, 439 sherds, layer B, 380 sherds, layer C, 284 sherds and other layers (utility disturbance) 40.

Nine varieties of ceramics were recovered. Wares analyzed include: whiteware 56.4%, stoneware 13.3%, unidentifiable 13.8% and less than 17% combined of coarseware, porcelain, creamware, pearlware, ironstone, and refined earthenware. The distribution of these wares throughout the layers varied only slightly and provided little information into the understanding of the site occupants. Due to the widespread use of fills on the 1200 block, little can be said about the distribution or function of vessels. It is unknown where the fills came from or when they were deposited. Efforts to identify a cultural floor in use during the Civil War or earlier were hindered by the amount of disturbance from filling activities.

Only 6.5% of the wares were decorated. Printed wares (55.4%) occurred most frequently with small numbers of painted, sponged, edged, dipped and decalcomania also identified.

Artifacts from the two large features on the site (10N5F, 25N1F) provide contrasting samples from different occupations of the block during the nineteenth century. The well/cistern (25N1F) was constructed during the Civil War. Feature 10N2F was a possible soak pit or sawyers pit in use during the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

In feature 25N1F, 815 sherds were recovered and 442 sherds were recovered from 10N5F. Artifacts from the cistern included 437 (53.6%) whiteware sherds and 153 (18.8%) stoneware sherds with 98 (12%) pearlware, and approximately 15% combined of ironstone, coarse earthenware, refined earthenware, porcelain and creamware. In contrast, feature 10N5F contained 110 (25%) creamware, 91 (20.5%) pearlware, 136 (30.7%) coarse earthenware and only 72 (16.3%) whiteware and 14 (3.2%) stoneware. Approximately 22% of the pearlware, creamware and whiteware from 10N5F were decorated while only 8.6% of these ceramic types from the cistern were decorated.

Glass

A total of 8,188 glass artifacts were recovered from the site. A total of 991 glass sherds were recovered for 15 cultural features/anomalies and 7,197 glass sherd were recovered from 30 test units at the site.

The glass assemblage from the features/anomalies include 84 (1.02%) container; 26 (.317%) tableware; 289 (3.529%) window glass; 590 (7.205%) indeterminate fragments; and two (.024%) heat altered sherds. The glass artifacts recovered from 30 test units include 913 (11.15%) container glass; 49 (.598%) tableware; 1159 (14.154%) window glass; 5,070 (61.919%) indeterminate fragments, and 6 (.073%) heat altered sherds.

The glass assemblage recovered from four posthole/stains include six (.073%) window glass, 56 (.683%) and indeterminate fragments. The wood-lined switch box (ON-3F) contained 186 (2.271%) window glass and 89 (1.086%) indeterminate fragments. The soak pit (10N-2F) included 24 (.093%) container glass, four (.048%) window glass, and five (.061%) indeterminate fragments. The well/cistern (25N-1F) contained 489 (49.34%) of the artifact recovered from cultural features at the site. The well/cistern included 34 (.415%) container glass, 25 (.3053%) tableware, 66 (.806%) window glass, 362 (4.421%) indeterminate fragments, and two (.024%) heat altered sherds (Table D:1).

Test Units

The glass artifacts were analysed by layer and provenience. The assemblage was recovered from a fill deposit of unknown origin. The diagnostic artifacts were analysed by their various attributes. In addition, glass trade marks were recorded (Table D:2).

8N125W

The artifacts from layer A level 1 include one brown finish with a down-tooled lip.

10N125W

One clear base with a trademark from the Metro Glass Bottle Co., Jersey City, New Jersey, dating between 1935 and 1949 was analyzed from layer A level 1 (Toulouse 1972:293).

10N150W

Twelve clear container body fragments which were press-molded were recovered from layer A level 1. Four clear, soda-lime, press-molded tableware fragments were also recovered.

10N160W

One clear container body fragment with a trademark of the Robert Portner Brewing Co., Alexandria, VA. was recovered from layer A level 1. The brewery company was begun in 1861 and was not in business by 1915 (Directory of Reliable Business Houses 1883; Directory of Alexandria 1917). One clear prescription finish, one clear Davis-type finish, and one clear soda-lime tableware fragment with a press-molded hobnail pattern was analyzed.

From layer B level 1 one clear container body fragment with a trademark from the Knox Glas Bottle Co., Knox, PA dating from 1924 was identified (Toulouse 1972:293).

One brown brandy finish and one blue-green Davis-type finish were recovered from layer C level 1 (Fike 1987:8).

15N140W

One clear lead glass tableware stem and bowl fragment were recovered from this unit.

20N95W

Two red tableware fragments with a hobnail press-molded pattern were analyzed from layer A level 1 (Jones and Sullivan 1985:34). Two clear lead glass tableware fragments with a hobnail press-molded pattern were also analyzed.

20N100W

Glass artifacts from layer A level 1 of this unit include one brown base with a trademark of the Alexander H. Kerr & Co., Los Angeles, CA which dates from 1944.

20N110W

One clear double ring finish was identified during the analysis from layer A level 2.

20N125W

One dark green base with push-up and a basal sag, typical of wine/champagne bottles was recovered from layer B level 1. Basal sags on the bulged heel was common until the 1820s (Jones 1986:91).

20N140W

The assemblage from layer A level 1 of this unit includes one clear machine-made crown finish.

One clear crimped chimney lamp fragment which was turn- or paste-molded was analyzed from layer B level 1. Crimped chimneys were common after the 1870s (Woodhead, Sullivan, and Gusset 1984:62).

20N160W

One clear body fragment with a trademark of the Coca-Cola Bottling Co., Alexandria, VA was recovered from layer A level 1. A Coca-Cola plant is listed in the directories of 1936 and 1938, but not in those of 1917 and 1931 (Hill's Alexandria (Virginia) City Directory Vol. 1936, Vol. 1938; Directory of Alexandria 1917; Alexandria Telephone Directory 1931). One clear container body fragment with an applied color label, common on soft drinks after 1934, was also recovered (Jones and Sullivan 1985:16). Other glass artifacts analyzed from this layer include one clear machine-made finish and one brown container base with a sand-tipped pontil mark. The container base is from a wine/champagne bottle and sand-tipped pontils were used in the 1700s and 1800s (Baugher-Perlin 1982:266). Four clear soda-lime (1864+) glass tableware fragment which were press-molded were analyzed (Jones and Sullivan 1985:10).

One dark green v-shaped finish was identified in the glass assemblage from layer B level 1. The finish, probably from a

wine/champagne bottle, was finish-tooled (Jones and Sullivan 1985:43, 81).

25N140W

From layer A level 1 one clear machine-made whole container was recovered from layer A level 1. The bottle bears the embossment FEDERAL LAW FOBIDS SALE OR REUSE OF THIS BOTTLE, which was used to prevent bottle resale after 1932 (Newman 1970:72). The assemblage also includes one clear prescription finish and one clear soda-lime glass tumbler fragment with nicked decoration.

25N160W

One brown base with a trademark dating between 1929 and 1954 of the Owens Illinois Glass Company, Toledo, OH, was recovered from layer A level 1 (Toulouse 1972:403). Also recovered from this layer is a clear machine-made base with a trademark dating after 1900 of the Ball Bro. Manufacturing, Muncie, Indiana (Toulouse 1972:67).

The glass assemblage from layer B level 1 includes two (one clear, one blue-green) Davis-type finishes, one blue-green patent finish, and two (one brown, one clear) machine-made finishes.

Miscellaneous Gradall Recovery

Whole or Partial Containers

One clear whole paneled container with a patent lip and an embossment of the Larkin Soap Co., Buffalo, New York was recovered. The Larkin Company operated between 1875 and 1942 (Fike 1987:67). Also recovered was one clear whole machine-made container with an Owen's scar and one whole brown machine-made container with a crown finish (Jones and Sullivan 1985:36-37).

Finishes

Finishes identified in the assemblage include three clear patent finishes, two clear Davis-type finishes, one blue-green blob finish, one clear bead finish, one cracked off lip with string rim, and two brown and one clear brandy finishes. Cracked off lip and string rim finishes occur on wine/champagne bottles of the eighteenth and nineteenth century (Jones 1986:36; Jones and Sullivan 1985:80).

Tableware

One clear soda-lime (1864+) tableware fragment with a press-molded squared hobnail pattern was recovered. One opaque white contact-molded tableware fragment was also recovered.

Skim Shovel Block 2

One clear bead finish, two crown finishes (one clear, one blue-

green) and one clear prescription finish sherd were recovered by skim shoveling block 2.

One blue-green base of a torpedo bottle was also analyzed. The base bears the marking ORK BRANDED S/ NTRELL & ANE, a ginger ale c. 1860-1890 exported by Cantrell & Cochrane, Dublin and Belfast (Jones and Sullivan 1985:7 1; Spillman 1983:60; Paul and Parmalee 1973:41). Also recovered from skim shoveling was one clear 2-piece vertical-molded base. Two-piece vertical molds were used on containers ca. 1850-mid 1920s (Jones and Sullivan 1985:28).

The glass assemblage included one opaque white jar liner, dating to c. 1910, embossed with WHITE CROWN/CAP/PAT 11-22-10. (Toulouse 1969a:327).

Tobacco Pipes

Forty-two pipe fragments were recovered from the excavation of the USMRR site. The 42 fragment pipe assemblage consists of 37 (88%) kaolin fragments, two (5%) stoneware fragments, one (2%) blackware fragment, one (2%) redware fragment, and one (2%) terra cotta fragment (Figure 33).

Feature 25N1F contained nine kaolin fragments, one terra cotta fragment, and one black-glazed redware fragment. The terra cotta stem and bowl fragment is glazed and has a diagonal rib decoration. The raised initials CP, a maker's mark, are located on the side of the stem near the lip. The mark may belong to C. and G. Pardoe of Bristol, England, who inherited the family business in 1863 (Walker 1974:640). The black-glazed redware bowl is fitted for a reed and is decorated with an applied color United States flag.

Features 25N4F, 20N5F, and 03F contained four kaolin fragments. Twenty kaolin fragments, two stoneware fragments, and one blackware fragment were recovered from various test units (see Table D:3). One of the stoneware fragments from 20N125W is glazed and has a thin ribbed pattern decoration. One kaolin bowl fragment from 20N120W has a heel and also has a thin ribbed pattern decoration. A kaolin stem fragment from 10N115W has raised lettering of TRY.LO on one side and R ST on the other side and a decoration of circles with a dot in the center along the long axis of the stem. A stoneware fragment from 8N115W is a reed-type stem. Four kaolin fragments were recovered from block 2, skim shoveling of block 2, and miscellaneous recovery.

Metal

A total of 5,388 metal artifacts were recovered during the archeological investigations including: 4385 from sample squares and 1014 from features. The metal assemblage contains copper, cast-iron, lead, tin, and steel artifacts. These artifacts were categorized by

44AX105 USMRR SITE PIPE FRAGMENTS



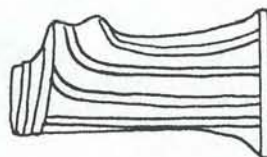
25N-IF
LAYER F
LEVEL 2



20N125W
LAYER B
LEVEL 1



10N115W
LAYER A
LEVEL 1



8N115W
LAYER B
LEVEL 1



25N-IF
LAYER B
LEVEL 1

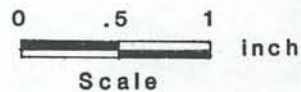


Figure 33. Examples of pipe fragments recovered from the USMRR Site.

type, material, and function. Functional categories in the assemblage include architectural (nails), structural, activities, furniture, kitchen, personal, clothing, weaponry, modern, and unknown. Metal artifacts date from the late eighteenth through the mid-twentieth century.

Nails

Nails comprise the largest category of metal artifacts (61.21%). A total of 3298 nails were recovered. Of these 22 (0.67%) of which were hand wrought nails, 1057 (32.05%) of which were machine cut nails, 22 (0.67%) wire nails, 2197 (66.61%) unidentifiable nails (Table D:4).

Structural Metal

Seven hundred and thirty-seven pieces of structural metal were recovered. A variety of structural metals including spikes, tacks, rivets, door parts, lock parts, roofing hardware, and window parts was identified.

Activities Metal

One hundred and seventy-nine pieces of activities metal were recovered. Sub-groups of activities include construction tools, farm tools, leisure, misc. hardware, stable/barn goods, military goods, and misc. goods from a variety of activities. Artifacts recovered from this group include screws, railroad spikes, horse shoes, nuts, bolts, staples, electrical wire, washers, chain links, tack/harness hardware, bucket fragment, shovel end, and trunk parts.

Furniture Metal

Four furniture pieces were recovered and include two furniture knobs, furniture accessory, and a hinge.

Kitchen Metal

One kitchen metal fragment was recovered. The artifact recovered was a unknown utensil handle.

Personal Metal

One personal metal artifact was recovered. This artifact was a pocket watch part.

Clothing Metal

One clothing artifact, a U.S. box plate buckle was recovered.

Miscellaneous Metal

A total of thirty-seven miscellaneous metal artifacts were recovered. Artifacts in this category include bottle caps, automobile parts, and can fragments.

Unidentified Metal

One thousand one hundred and twenty-nine metal artifacts were unidentifiable because they were either too corroded or too incomplete to allow identification.

Bullets and Casings

A total of 24 bullets and 21 bullet casings were recovered from the military complex. The majority of bullets (62.5%) were recovered from the well/cistern (25N-1F) associated with the commissary department. The bullet assemblage includes 24 pistol, revolver, musket and rifled musket rounds that range in date from 1841 to the Civil War (Table D:5). The majority of bullet casings were recovered from one test unit (1N125W) and the well/cistern (25N-1F) at the site. A total of 10 (47.61%) were recovered from the well and seven (33.33%) from the single test unit (Table D:5).

The bullet assemblage includes one (4.16%) lead pistol ball, one (4.16%) brass Smith and Wesson bullet, four (16.66%) paper Johnson and Dow bullets, six (25%) lead musket balls, 12 (50%) rifled musket paper and skin bullet (Table D:5). The rifled musket bullets include one (4.16%) ca. 1855 Harpers Ferry U.S. Mold, seven (29.16%) skin ca. 1841 U. S. Mold Regulation, two (8.33%) paper U.S. Mold, and two (8.33%) paper U.S. Mold for a 70 cal. weapon. The 24 bullets are associated with the military occupation of the railroad complex.

The 21 bullet casings were all rim fire type (Table D:5). The 21 casings include three (14.28%) 22 caliber, one (4.76%) 25 caliber, two (9.52%) 28 caliber, 13 (61.90%) 30 caliber, and two (0.52%) 32 caliber casings (Table D:5).

Coins

A total of six coins were recovered from the USMRR site (Table D:6). An Indian head type penny dated 1901 was recovered from 10N160W layer A level 1 and a buffalo type nickel dated 1917 was recovered from layer B level 1. Two Indian head type pennies, dated 1885 and 1889, were analyzed from 10N150W layer 2 level 1. An Indian head type penny dated 1864 and a buffalo type nickel dated 1929 were found in the miscellaneous Gradall recovery.

Buttons

A total of 30 buttons was recovered and analyzed from the USMRR site (Table D:7). The total includes 13 (43%) porcelain buttons, four (13%) glass buttons, 10 (33%) metal buttons, one (3%) bone button, one (3%) hard rubber button, and one (3%) button of an unidentifiable material.

Feature 25N1F contained two porcelain, two glass, and four metal buttons. One metal button from level 3 of the north half of the feature bears an eagle and letter I on the breast shield (Figure-Drawing of buttons). This type of infantry button was used from 1821 to 1902 (Albert 1976:36-39). Another metal button has an incised design and inscription of a floral wreath and STANDARD COLOUR TREBLE. This button resembles McDaniel and Russ's Type VIII which, has been found in a context of 1800-1865 and was commonly used 1812-1820 and 1800-1850 (McDaniel and Russ 1989:56 citing South 1964, Olsen 1963, and Johnson 1948).

Feature 03F contained two porcelain buttons. Various test units contained nine porcelain, two glass, five metal, one bone, one hard rubber, and one button of an unidentifiable material. The hard rubber button, with the inscription NOVELTY RUBBER CO., was developed in 1849 (Figure 34) (McGuinn and Bazelon 1984:74). One metal button, bearing an eagle with an I on the breast shield, was analyzed from the miscellaneous recovery (Figure 34). This button, though smaller, is identical to the infantry button recovered from 25N1F.

Marbles

The marble assemblage from the USMRR site consists of seven glass marbles and 20 clay marbles. Table D:8 includes the results of the analysis.

Miscellaneous

Miscellaneous artifacts which were analyzed from this site consisted of two glass beads, one plastic bead, four bone handles, one metal pocket watch, one porcelain doll fragment, and two ceramic door knob fragments (Table D:9).

Brick

The analysis of whole brick from feature 10N5F included 3 rectangular brick and 2 pie shaped brick. The brick from this feature were handmade exhibiting one smooth side and one side with marked evidence of scraping. The rectangular brick were uniform in size with an average of 8.5x3.5x2.25. The tempering of the brick was sand and

44AX103 BONTZ SITE BUTTONS



(OBVERSE)
STRUCTURE I
5N15E
LAYER A



(REVERSE)
STRUCTURE II
35N-2F
LAYER D
LEVEL 2



(OBVERSE)
STRUCTURE II
30N50W
LAYER A
LEVEL 2



(REVERSE)
STRUCTURE II
10N35W
LAYER B
LEVEL 1



(REVERSE)
STRUCTURE II
10N35W
LAYER C
LEVEL 1



(REVERSE)
STRUCTURE II
5N30W
LAYER C
LEVEL 1



(REVERSE)
LOT II
15S2.5E
LAYER B
LEVEL 1



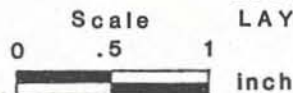
(OBVERSE) (REVERSE)
LOT II
25S5E
LAYER B
LEVEL 3



(REVERSE)
LOT III
55S15W
LAYER B
LEVEL 1



(OBVERSE)
LOT III
35S15W
LAYER A



(OBVERSE)
LOT I
25S17.5E
LAYER A



Figure 34. Examples of buttons recovered from the USMRR Site.

pebbles (smaller than .5 in diameter). The pie shaped brick were uniform in size and were both 5.5x5.5x2. These brick otherwise shared the characteristics with the rectangular brick.

Faunal Remains

A total of 5,422 faunal remains was recovered from the Civil War component at the USMRR site. The sum total was recovered from Feature 25N-1F (cistern/well) associated with Commissary Department at the railroad fortification. The majority of bones and shell were fragmentary. A total of 4,612 (85.060%) were classified as indeterminate mammal specimens. The 4,612 bones include 3067 (56.565%) mammal; 1541 (28.421%) large mammal; one (.018%) small mammal and three (.55%) indeterminate bone fragments. These three categories of indeterminate mammal bones were assessed as probable cow faunal remains.

The domesticated mammal group includes 216 (3.983%) cow (*Bos taurus*) and 39 (.719%) pig (*Sus scrofa*) bones. A single sheep/goat bone fragment (.018%) was recovered from the pit feature. The assemblage of cow bones indicated most of the skeletal system of either one or two individuals was represented. The assemblage of pig bones suggests a single individual was represented.

The faunal assemblage includes both domestic and indeterminate avian categories. The domestic assemblage includes four (.073%) chicken (*Gallus gallus*) bones and three (.055%) turkey (*Meleagris gallopov*) bones. The indeterminate avers groups include two (.036%) indeterminate; 42 (.774%) large bird and 2 (.055%) small bird bones.

The fish bone assemblage was subdivided into two groups of indeterminate remains. The two generic fish bone groups include one (.018%) small fish and two (.036%) large fish.

The shell assemblage includes a total of 487 (8.975%) oyster and clam halves and fragment. The assemblage includes 478 (8.81%) oyster (*Crassostrea virginica*) and nine (.165%) Quahog (*Mercenaria mercenaria*) clam shells which were recovered from the site.

The faunal assemblage includes the remains of two species of rodents. A total of seven (.129%) Norway rat (*Rattus vegicus*) bones and four (.073%) rat (*Rattus* sp.) bones were recovered from the pit feature. The rodent remains were associated with the natural consumption of waste by indigenous scavengers.

The variety of bones identified in each group of faunal remains, excluding the two rat species and shell, suggests the entire animal was utilized for consumption (Table D:10). The butchery techniques use at the site include transverse cuts; oblique cuts; longitudinal cuts; and sawn and cut marks (Table D:10). The evidence of butchery was identified on 37 (.0068%) of the bones recovered at the site. The assemblage includes 12 indeterminate mammal bones and 25 cow bones; no pig bones showed signs of butchery (Table D:10). The indeterminate

mammal assemblage (4,612) includes four (.00086%) transverse cuts; three (.00065%) oblique cuts; one (.00021%) longitudinal cut; three (.00065%) sawn, and one (.00021%) with cut marks. The cow assemblage (216) includes 13 (.060%) transverse cut; three (.013%) oblique cut; 1 (.004%) longitudinal cut, and three (.013%) sawn bones. The low frequency of cut bones suggests the entire animal was utilized as bulk type food rather than individual processed cuts of meat to feed the federal troops and civilian employees at the USMRR station.

USMRR Site Artifact Interpretation

The artifact assemblage was recovered from three nineteenth century occupations and a final fill deposit to landscape and level the property in the mid/late twentieth century. The military complex included a well/cistern and 13 postholes associated with wood frame "Commissary" complex in the fortification. A single pre-war feature (soak pit/sawyers pit) is associated with an early nineteenth century brick yard. A single post-war feature (switchbox/signal box) was built between 1866 and 1877 by the re-established O&ARR, the prewar owners of the property.

The artifacts recovered from the fill deposit are well mixed and range in date from the late eighteenth through the mid/late twentieth century. A portion of the fill deposit was removed by a gradall. The remainder of the fill was excavated in individual test units, placed across the site. The deposit suggests no preserved cultural floor was left intact at the site.

The soak pit/sawyers pit is associated with a pre-railroad brick yard. The artifacts recovered from the feature were located in the upper level of the back fill deposit. The ceramic assemblage includes several ware types associated with the early nineteenth century. The glass assemblage includes 21 container fragments, four sherds of window glass and 33 indeterminate fragments. The glass assemblage was not sufficient enough to lend interpretative value to this feature.

The switch box/signal is associated with the postwar (1866-1877) O&ARR occupation at the site. The pit feature contained 186 sherds of window glass and a large percentage of indeterminate fragments. The artifact assemblage is not associated with the feature and represents random debris from another portion of the site.

The 13 postholes and well/cistern are associated with the military complex. The well/cistern served as the only intact cultural feature at the site. The well/cistern contains a debris associated with the closing of the military operation. The artifact assemblage reflects the 1860-65 period of occupation. The ceramic assemblage includes a variety of minimally decorated utilitarian wares with several earlier ware from the nineteenth century. The glass assemblage includes non-diagnostic container glass, tablewares, window glass and indeterminate fragments. The faunal assemblage includes a high frequency of *Bos taurus* (cow) and

indeterminate mammal bones. The assemblage includes several other domestic mammals (i.e. pig, sheep) and fowl (i.e. chicken, turkey) and indeterminate large and small birds. In addition, the assemblage includes several fish bones, clam shells and oyster shells.

The faunal assemblage suggests the entire animal and/or large portion of animals were consumed at the commissary. The low frequency of cut bones suggests the entire animal was utilized as bulk type food rather than individual processed cuts of meat to feed the federal troops and civilian employees at the USMRR station.

The metal assemblage included nails, bullets/casings and buttons associated with the Civil War period military operation. The large number of cut nails are associated with the demise of the wood frame commissary complex. The infantry button recovered from the well/cistern served as temporal indicator from the complex. The bullet/casing assemblage fit the pre-1860-65 time frame associated with the military occupation of the site.

The artifact assemblage is reflective of 170 year site occupation. The site and surrounding area was continually landscaped during its built history. The early brick yard, military operations, and pre- and post-war railroad illustrate the areas long term industrial occupation on Alexandria's western periphery.

CONCLUSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

The success or failure of the commercial and industrial development in the Route 236 corridor was directly tied into Alexandria's economy. During the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, when Alexandria's port was among the nation's busiest, the corridor experienced its most significant growth. As markets shifted away from Alexandria and the port declined during the period between 1820 and 1840, industrial and residential growth in the project area became stagnant.

Between 1790 and 1810, Alexandria's citizens had reason to speculate that the Duke Street corridor would develop into one of the most prosperous areas of town. These expectations were based on the emergence of the flour trade and the development of improved roadways which funneled into the Duke Street corridor. In addition, the success of the flour trade was economically tied to the improvement of roads. As the road and the turnpike-system developed, merchant milling increased dramatically.

By 1790, flour was rapidly becoming Alexandria's leading cash crop, replacing the previous economic success of the tobacco trade. In the 1790s, several flour mills were constructed adjacent to the improved Centreville turnpike road. Two mills were operating by this date within the project area. Built near Cameron Run, these establishments were soon incorporated to become the well known Cameron Mills complex.

Two well traveled roads (Colchester road and Centreville Turnpike) met at Cameron, one mile west of Alexandria. The Colchester Road (Route 1) linked Alexandria to such important 18th and 19th century markets as Colchester and Occoquan Mills. This road was the successor to the ancient Potomac Path and the colonial route known as King's Highway.

The Centreville Turnpike was an east-west route which extended from the point where Duke Street ended at Hooff Run and continued through Centreville to a termination point at the Little River. It was initially established as a toll-free road probably in the early 1750s when Alexandria's market was rising in importance. In 1785, the route was made a toll road to help fund its maintenance.

Both the Centreville turnpike and Cameron Mills were developed successfully between 1800 and 1815. After a failed attempt by a private company to improve the Centreville turnpike, the Little River Turnpike company was organized to construct an improved road between Alexandria and Little River. Improvements to the road included the "paving" of the central 20 ft of the road with crushed stone from Alexandria to Little River. The much debated route taken by the Little River Turnpike extended northward through Fairfax instead of Centreville. This alteration of the road's direction subsequently attracted a more extensive farm trade to Alexandria.

As one of the earliest turnpikes in the nation, Little River Turnpike was considered a model of efficiency and progress. A majority of millers, planters and drover's visiting Alexandria's market transported their goods over the Little River Turnpike making this route invaluable to Alexandria's economy.

In the early nineteenth century, the benefit of the new turnpike was reflected by the increased production of flour at Cameron Mills. More grains were being transported from the western counties thereby creating greater production at the mills. The reputation of Alexandria flour soon became well known in many parts of the world.

In the 1820's-1830's, developing farmlands and transportation systems in the Mississippi valley caused a shift of the flour trade away from the port of Alexandria. This left a great void in trade for the city. Although foreign demand for Alexandria flour was drastically reduced, milling continued on at Cameron Mills for local and domestic markets into the 20th century.

By the mid-1790s, advances made to the transportation network and flour trade had improved Alexandria's market status to being among the leaders of the United States. This rapid economic development resulted in a population growth. Two subdivisions, Spring Garden Farm and West End, were created in 1796 along the south side of Duke Street. These subdivisions shared a common boundary near Hooff Run which marked the western line of Spring Garden Farm and the eastern line of the village of West End. Although the two were in such close proximity, West End succeeded in its role as residential community while Spring Garden Farm failed. Several factors contributed to this situation. The method of conveyance, the grantee's status and the formation of the District of Columbia, all combined to determine how these two communities developed.

In 1796, both Spring Garden Farm and West End were similarly established as uniform extensions of the original town plan (however, several proposed extensions of Alexandria Streets, intended to intersect the subdivisions, were never constructed). In accordance to the town plan, both additions were initially divided into half-acre parcels--four to a square. The significant difference between the two, was the way in which the conveyances were handled.

Spring Garden Farm was planned as an elite residential community centering around the celebrated Spring Garden resort. From 1786 until the second decade of the nineteenth century, this resort boasted highly cultivated gardens, baths, billiard tables and the finest liquors and dinning facilities. Spring Garden resort was also known for its pure spring water which was a characteristic of the surrounding 78-acres of the farm. Because much of Alexandria suffered from iron permeated water, this excellent water supply was considered quite beneficial. In fact in 1796, Alexandria residents coaxed the manager of the Spring Garden resort into starting a water delivery service. The fertile soil at Spring Garden Farms was another enticing feature of that subdivision.

In May, 1796, Jesse Simms sold the Spring Garden Farm lots in fee simple relying on the frequently disregarded town ordinance to insure lot improvement. Stricter regulation was passed by the Town Council in December 1796. The ordinance of 1796 stated that only those lots improved with a house would be incorporated into the town. An amendment to this law was passed in 1798 incorporating all lots, inclusive of unimproved lots, east of West Street. All affected properties were subject to Alexandria tax and regulation.

This revised building code, apparently was aimed at raising tax revenue from both improved and unimproved lots. This law had an adverse impact on Spring Garden Farm's future as a residential community. Original grantees, primarily Alexandria merchants and professionals, were no longer required to build. They were free to commence industrial enterprises on their properties or else leave them vacant. Several original grantees sold their lots by the turn of the 18th century. Whole squares were left unimproved possibly because of high corporation taxes.

From 1800 until 1820, the eastern part of the project area including the Spring Garden Farm lots, developed into an industrial center of brickyards, market gardens and slave trading. Concurrently, the Spring Garden resort gradually declined in popularity and use. By 1820, the resort was closed to the public.

A natural effect of the shift from a residential to industrial focus was a noticeable increase in low income tenants. A seasonal labor force occupied the tenements along the eastern end of the project corridor. When available work ended, these tenants apparently moved away from the area until the next season. As Alexandria's freed black population increased, the frequency of black tenants in the eastern project area also increased.

Coinciding with the Spring Garden development, the lots of West End were conveyed under careful guidelines established by John West. West sold the West End lots on ground rent forever. This strategy gave West control over how that subdivision progressed. Provisions of the deeds required a house be built on each half-acre lot within two years of the conveyance. If a grantee did not comply, West was documented as reclaiming the property.

The foresight of John West helped improve his subdivision. Although West End was a suburb of Alexandria and relied on that town's market, inhabitants of West End were governed by the state of Virginia; whereas, after 1801, many inhabitants of Spring Garden Farm and all Alexandrians were under the federal jurisdiction of the District of Columbia. Perhaps West saw this as a unique opportunity to create an independent town next to Alexandria.

The lots of John West's subdivision were acquired almost exclusively by Fairfax County residents. Unlike the wealthy grantees who initially purchased the neighboring Spring Garden lots, many of the

initial West End inhabitants settled on their property. As more people settled in the area, the locality extending east from the first toll gate to Hooff Run became the village of West End. These first settlers were generally middle class tradesman and merchants who located in West End to practice their trade.

A community of butchers soon formed in West End following a Alexandria town ordinance passed in 1803 which prohibited slaughtering within the town. By establishing operations in West End, butchers were located just outside the town limits but close enough to serve the Alexandria market. In addition, slaughter houses and stock yards in West End were convenient to drovers herding animals to Alexandria.

The constant flow of travellers created the need to build accommodations. Several taverns were established in the late 18th- and early 19th-centuries. Drover's Rest, established and managed by Samuel Catts in 1815, was one of the longest operating businesses in West End. This regionally known tavern, which stood near the intersection of Diagonal Road with Duke Street, burned in 1896.

Between 1796-1810, various other small businesses sprang up in the village of West End. These operations included a coach manufactory, a soap and candle manufactory, tailor shops, a bakery and general stores. By 1804, there was already such a wide assortment of businesses operating, that inhabitants of West End initiated a petition to the state legislature for township.

Although the issue of township never reached the General Assembly, county residents presented a petition for establishing a branch of the Bank of Virginia at West End. Residents felt that a bank situated just outside Alexandria and the District of Columbia's boundary, would benefit both the state of Virginia and trade into Alexandria. The petitioners were also convinced that West End could support such an enterprise. During 1804 and 1805, the petition was sent to several committees in the State Legislature but ultimately it was rejected.

The Residency Act of 1791, establishing the District of Columbia, was not implemented until Congress moved to Washington in 1801. The states of Maryland and Virginia both ceded 10 miles to the federal government to form the new district. Virginia's portion included the town of Alexandria. The ensuing boundary between the state of Virginia and the District of Columbia crossed Duke Street at Hooff Run. The boundary line originated at Jones Point in Alexandria and ran northwesterly through Spring Garden Farm, across Duke Street and continued in that direction to Falls Church.

Alexandria's inclusion in the District of Columbia proved to be a leading cause of economic decline. The district's ineffective local government, the rise of Washington and Georgetown and other eastern ports, and Alexandria's own lax attitude toward improvement, combined with a national depression to weaken Alexandria's position in the national market.

In 1846, after decades of complaint and decline, Alexandria was retroceded to the State of Virginia. The boundary crossing Duke Street at Hooff Run which previously differentiated between the District of Columbia and the state of Virginia, was maintained as the boundary between the city of Alexandria and Fairfax County. Spring Garden Farm and West End were still governed by different jurisdictions.

In 1850, the establishment of railroads caused the first significant economic growth in the Route 236 corridor (and Alexandria) since the second decade of the eighteenth century. Although far behind the advances made by Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, the presence of the Orange & Alexandria Railroad in Alexandria rejuvenated trade and industrial growth. The O&ARR depot was built on the 1100 and 1200 blocks of Duke Street, which encouraged commercial and residential growth in the project area.

The progress made during the 1850s was disrupted by the Civil War and the four-year Union occupation of Alexandria. The adverse social and economic factors brought about by the war set back industrial and commercial growth in Alexandria until the 20th century. The general destruction of the preexisting social structure and turn-over in Alexandria's population caused a dramatic economic shift which had a direct, adverse affect on the town throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century.

Over half of Alexandria's population fled at the outset of the Civil War and this group was replaced by the influx of carpetbaggers and unskilled, uneducated former slaves. Inhabitants of Alexandria and the surrounding countryside became subservient to military rule and suffered many hardships. Many area residents, particularly those who lived outside the city limits, had to survive without regular trips to the Alexandria market for staple items. And because many of their businesses closed, residents had to depend on the military government for money. By the end of the war, Alexandria's economy had become overly dependent on the military's trade.

Recovery from vast destruction of trade and property as well as the tremendous population turnover, was slow. The remainder of the 19th-century and the first decades of the 20th century saw little change throughout the project corridor. Late-19th and early-20th century industry was dominated by the operations of Southern Railway, successor to the O&ARR. Much of the open lands along Route 236 were acquired by Southern Railway for its extensive rail yards and tracks. Row housing extended both sides of Duke Street throughout the corridor. In 1915, West End and surrounding lands were annexed by the city of Alexandria.

Over the first half of the 20th century, the area within the Duke Street corridor steadily declined in economic status. Most tenements became low-income housing occupied by blue-collar workers. In some instances, buildings stood vacant for years, abandoned by their owners. The majority of industry within the project area were longstanding

companies, such as Southern Railway and the Alexandria Water Company. Minor commercial establishments were scattered throughout the area.

After World War II, urban revitalization occurred in Alexandria as wealthy Washington residents moved outside of that city into suburbs. By 1960, shopping centers, auto dealerships and office buildings were built throughout the project corridor. Today, many of the century old row houses as well as the more recent commercial enterprises are being replaced by large office complexes.

The USMRR Contributions to the War

The USMRR station in Alexandria was the first railroad station developed by the Union and served as the prototype in the development of railway depots. The well organized operation of this station was an example for other USMRR railroads throughout the war.

Through the efforts of men like Haupt, Devereux and McCallum, the station at Alexandria served efficiently throughout the war to provide men and supplies for the military operations in northern Virginia. Furthermore, the USMRR station in Alexandria provided transportation for wounded soldiers from the battlefields to the hospital centers in Alexandria and Washington. From 1861 to 1864, most of the major battles fought in the eastern theatre were within 100 miles of the USMRR at Alexandria. This depot was the supply base for all of these battles as well as a staging area for troops prior to the campaigns.

Many of the experiments conducted by Haupt took place at the Alexandria depot. Due to the exceptional facilities of this station, Haupt established his headquarters at the USMRR station. During the fall of 1862, advances in track construction, demolition of enemy rail lines and the prefabricated construction of bridges were made by Haupt and his assistants in Alexandria.

The Photographic Corps of the army documented many of the experiments and the components of the USMRR depot at Alexandria. This documentation was used to explain the layout of the depot and to demonstrate how various equipment was used. The distribution of these photos was reserved for the personnel who were involved in the development of experiments or other USMRR establishments.

The use of railroads to transport wounded made noticeable improvements during the war. The advent of ambulance cars equipped with surgeons and accommodations for the wounded significantly increased the survival of the wounded. This also aided in raising the morale of the troops and civilians by seeing the government's commitment to caring for their soldiers.

As the war progressed and the theatre of war shifted to the south, the USMRR station at Alexandria served mainly to transport wounded. New depots such as the USMRR station at City Point, Virginia, were

constructed nearer to the front lines. These depots followed closely to the layout and organization of the depot in Alexandria.

By the war's end, the USMRR system operated over 50 lines with an aggregate length of 2,630.5 miles (Weigley 1959:331,332). Operating on these lines were 433 engines and 6,605 cars. Total expenditures of the USMRR during the war was \$45,367,480.27. All railroads confiscated by the USMRR were returned to the original owners during the months following the war.

Total rail lines in Virginia commandeered by the USMRR reached 611 by the end of the war (Turner 1952:175). Over 1/3 of these lines were operated out of the USMRR station in Alexandria. Until the battles in 1864-1865, almost all railroad supply and transport was carried out from the USMRR station in Alexandria.

The primary significance of the USMRR rail operations in the east is based on two achievements. First, the USMRR improved the rapid advancement of troops and supplies to the various military campaigns in the Virginia theatre of war from 1861-1864. Secondly and as important, the principles of operations and particularly the efficiency of the USMRR system were developed from this theatre and applied for greater results in the western theatre during the final year of the war (Turner 1952:175). Although many factors contributed to the Union victory in the war, the operations of the USMRR certainly served a crucial role in achieving this victory.

The USMRR department established during the Civil War was a key element contributing to the Union victory. While early use of the railroads was disorganized and subject to political controversy, the consolidation of the USMRR and appointment of railway men to direct rail operations provided a highly organized system. By the end of the war, rail movement of troops and supplies was capable of transporting as many as 25,000 men and tons of supplies over 1200 miles in less than two weeks (Davis 1982:406). These accomplishments were inconceivable at the outset of the war.

While the northern and southern leaders initially didn't understand the value of the railroads, it was the north that worked to resolve the difficulties of military rail transport. The legislation passed by the United States government in January 1862, demonstrates the effort by the administration to maximize the railroads use in the war. The Confederate government never organized its rail system and this was a contributing factor to their poorly operated railroads and subsequent defeat during the war.

Although the legislation of 1862 gave jurisdiction to the government to seize control of railroads, this rarely occurred. Railway operators were cooperative with the government and facilitated troop movements with minimum delay. The only government interference that occurred was when southern rail lines were captured and the USMRR

construction corps would repair the lines for Union military operations.

This cooperation and organization was essential in getting large numbers of men and supplies to the battlefields. Through the coordinated efforts of men operating the railroads, transportation of well supplied troops could be quickly moved to a battlefield thereby helping to win many battles due to a superiority of men and supplies. This effort was vital to the northern army as the Union was almost always on the offensive during the war and needed open supply lines while extending their armies far into southern territories.

SITE INTERPRETATIONS

Excavations at the Bontz site and the USMRR site revealed evidence of occupations which included residential and industrial land use. Archeological and documentary evidence reveal occupation of the two areas from the initial land development in the 1790's through the third quarter of the 20th century. The two structures on the Bontz site primarily served as private dwellings throughout the period of site occupation. On the USMRR site, multiple land use was evident through the excavation and historic documentation of a residential occupation, a brickyard, railroad activities and a military occupation.

The Bontz Site

The occupation of the early land owners and the use of their lands was not well documented. Only scant documentation was found concerning the property's use from 1796 to 1880. First and perhaps most significantly, no advertisements offering the houses or land for sale or rent were found in the Gazette. Almost every other property in West End was advertised for sale or rent at least once. Since the Bontz site was transferred on several occasions, the fact that it was not advertised previous to its conveyance suggests that the grantee was aware of the property's availability or that an agreement for transference had previously been made. Missing deed books containing the deeds for some of these conveyances makes an explanation more difficult.

Giles Baker, the original lessee of the 1/2 acre lot, built the frame house by 1798. His profession was not determined however, he may have been among the first of West End's butchers. Moses Kenny, who was a butcher or tanner, married Baker's daughter and purchased the house and lot by deeds from Baker and John West. Giles Baker maintained a lease for structure 1 and continued to reside there.

In 1810, Kenny divided the half acre into four equal quadrants, of which the northeast contained structure 1. In that year, Kenny sold the northwest and southeast quadrants to another West End butcher named George Varnold. Varnold lived on the east side of John Street (Holland

Lane) opposite the southeast quadrant of the Bontz site. Kenny, apparently tried to maintain at least part of the property that surrounded his father-in-law's frame house and therefore sold Varnold only half the original lot. Varnold, though, for his own convenience probably requested the land directly opposite his dwelling. To satisfy both provisions, alternate quadrants were sold, leaving Kenny with the northeast and southwest parcels.

A small building was constructed on Varnold's quadrants which by 1820 was valued at \$100. Kenny may have built the structure prior to selling the land to Varnold; however, no documentation supports this. The nature and location of the structure was not determined through documentation or archeological testing. It may have been a stable built across John Street from Varnold's dwelling or a butcher shop fronting Duke Street on the northwest part of the site.

Varnold was a friend of George Bontz's family and may have taught Bontz the butcher's trade. Bontz was 26 years old when Varnold died in 1818. If Bontz did serve as an apprentice under Varnold, he apparently returned to Alexandria to practice the trade until 1820. Bontz moved to West End by 1825 with his wife, son and daughter. He did not buy Varnold's two quadrants until 1831 but was probably residing at either Varnold's late dwelling house (east of John Street) or in structure 1.

Giles Baker, occupant of structure 1, died in 1820. Baker's personal estate was sold but his will requested that the house (structure 1) be rented out until his grandson reached the age of 21 (the year in which his grandson would reach this age was not stated). Tax records revealed that the Baker family continued to pay taxes on this property at least until 1855. Perhaps George Bontz lived at the former Baker residence until structure 2 was completed.

The two structures located on this site represent the residential dwellings occupied by various families throughout the 19th century into the middle of the 20th century. Structure 1, located at the eastern edge of the site was a frame structure built on a brick foundation. The structure measured 25x30 ft. This structure was built between 1796 and 1798. A rear addition was centered along the south wall of the original house and measured 15x20 ft. The probable date for the construction of the addition (between 1855 and 1860) can be verified by archeological and documentary evidence.

Tax records for 1855 and 1867 show an increased value of all buildings on the lot (including structure 2) from \$1000.00 to \$1725.00. There were no general increase in the neighboring property values suggesting that these values represent improvements made to the property during this 12 year period. A Civil War photograph taken around 1862 shows both structure 1 and structure 2 with additions. Because of the oppressed state of the area during the war and the post war years, it is doubtful that renovations were made during that time period. This makes the most likely date of construction within a six year period between 1855 and 1861.

Archeological information supports this time period of construction. A feature, 15N-2F, probably representing a small trash pit, was located outside of the original structure and was bisected by the rear addition. This feature dated to the first quarter of the 19th century and therefore suggests a construction for the addition later in the 19th century. A sheet midden had accrued behind the original house foundation representing a disposal pattern of trash being thrown out the back of the house. The accumulation of this midden suggests that a considerable period of time between the construction of the original house and the addition.

Renovations to structure 1 during the 19th and 20th century, were represented by repair work to the brick foundation and the addition of utility lines along the western and southern walls of the building. The repair work included at least two areas where brick were placed in a soldier course, probably replacing deteriorated sections of the wall. The utilities included a sewer line along the western wall of the house and a gas line south of the structure. The gas line entered the southwestern wall of the house.

A part of the eastern tenement of structure 1 served as a grocery store from the years between 1924 and 1932. A portion of the tenement, probably the second floor, remained a dwelling. The store proprietor in 1924 was Richard E. Thompson. Thompson had occupied 1700 Duke Street since at least 1915; therefore, it is possible that the store was operating at this date. Samuel Armstrong was the grocery store proprietor in 1932. Armstrong lived three blocks away on Elizabeth Street. By 1934, the store had been closed.

No archeological evidence was found relative to the grocery business although this is likely due to several factors. First, over 2/3 of this portion of structure 1 was located outside of the right-of-way and therefore could not be tested. Secondly, an operation of this type probably wouldn't have left much evidence as any trash from the store would probably have been removed by municipal trash collection which became common during the 20th century.

Structure 2, a brick house, apparently was constructed in the early 1830's by George Bontz. Bontz purchased the northwest and southeast quadrants from the Varnold heirs in 1831 but tax increases for this property did not appear until 1833. The building value for the property was \$100 when Bontz acquired it. No change occurred until 1833, when the property increased to \$400. The next year, it tripled and remained at \$1200 for the next six years when the value decreased slightly. Additional evidence of this construction period is that the tax records noted that Bontz took "possession" in 1834, thereby implying that he occupied the house at that time.

The original brick house was 20x25 and had a full cellar. A rear addition, also brick, was 15x20 ft and constructed prior to the Civil War. The construction of this addition probably occurred within the

same period between 1855 and 1861 as the addition to structure 1. This is supported by the same evidence mentioned above.

Structure 2 may have included a shop as was customary of many houses within the project corridor that fronted Duke Street. It was a large house, particularly after the two story addition was constructed sometime between 1855 and 1861. There were only 4 members of the Bontz family and by 1850, only Bontz and his second wife lived in the house. The first addition was built at a time when both of Bontz's children had moved away so additional living space does not appear to have been the purpose for the construction. This suggests that the structure may have been partially converted for commercial use or perhaps used to house employees of Bontz's butcher trade.

A third addition was constructed on this house during the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. The exact date of construction is unknown. This addition was represented archeologically by a single brick foundation wall located at the western extreme of the right-of-way. Maps of the area show this addition to measure approximately 20x25 ft.

At least some of the repairs to the buildings were made in 1888 and 1889 as evidenced by George Bontz's probate accounts. Over this two year period, the Bontz estate was charged for repairs to the houses, fences and well pump. Fees for whitewashing were also charged at this time. In addition, water seepage was a problem at the Bontz site and the records indicate that water was pumped from the cellar of structure 2 during this two year period.

Renovations to structure 2 included the addition of a cellar/basement, a concrete floor in the cellar/basement, a drainage trench along the western wall of the main house and a cellar entrance. All of these improvements apparently were added at the same time. The basement and drainage trench had identical fill deposits. The wall addition on the eastern edge of the house and the cellar entrance at the front of the house were constructed of the same brick and had identical mortar work.

The soil deposition which comprised the basement fill contained large amounts of frit and various types of glass. Glass types included melted fragments, whole bottles and slag. The fill apparently represented debris brought in from a local glass manufacturer. A glass bottle manufacturer, the Virginia Glass Company, was located on the southern edge of the 1800 block of Duke Street during the late nineteenth through early twentieth century. It is quite possible that the basement fills were comprised of the refuse from this factory. This type of fill would have been easily accessible and likely very plentiful. The large numbers of glass fragments with Robert Portner Brewing Co. stamped on them suggest that if the debris was from the Virginia Glass Company, then at least some of the bottles for Portner's Brewery were manufactured at this factory on the 1800 block.

George Bontz died in 1880 and the lot and two houses were co-owned by his heirs during the remainder of the 19th century. Structure 2 may have stood vacant for many years following Bontz's death in 1880. Structure 1 was apparently occupied until 1889 by Bontz's daughter. After 1889, the two structures remained vacant and it was not until 1901 that the properties were divided for the purpose of sale. It was noted at this time that additional repairs were needed on Structure 1 and that the heirs were unwilling to fund these expenses. By 1920, the brick house was sold and it is quite possible that the cellar entrance, concrete basement floor and drainage trench were constructed at or just prior to this time.

Artifact distributions on the site suggest concentrations of artifacts immediately behind the structures. This may represent trash deposition immediately outside the houses or perhaps a midden accrueement within a fenced yard area.

To the rear of the structure I, a brick walkway/driveway was identified. This feature was located exclusively behind lot 1, which was not defined until the early 20th century. This suggests that the feature was a 20th century improvement to the property.

A fence row was identified separating lots 2 and 3, just west of structure 1. This fence was built after the properties were divided up in 1900. Evidence of a fence extending east/west across the site was also identified. This fence may represent a fence row visible on the property in a 1877 map of the project area.

The USMRR Site

Excavations at this site identified several features which were representative of the three different occupations of the site. The early nineteenth century occupation was represented by features 10N-2F, 10N-5F and 25N-3F and possibly by three post stains 25N-4F, 25N-5F and 25N-9F. The U.S. Military Railroad occupation of the site is represented by the presence of eleven post stains. These posts represent part of the commissary structures. Finally, feature 0-3F represents a railroad related feature dating to the late 19th century.

Occupation of this site typifies the changing use of this part of the project corridor. Similar to other lots of the Spring Garden Farm subdivision, the 1200 block was originally purchased by a wealthy Alexandria merchant as an investment. By 1797, William Hartshorne had constructed on the square a two story frame house with a kitchen and a well. He leased the house and the two acre square to various tenants. In 1802, the tenant was identified in the tax records as a widow.

A shift in land use started on many other neighboring lots early in the 19th century. Many of the squares were never improved due to poorly enforced building codes. The excellent characteristics of the area, such as fresh water and fertile soil were being utilized in the industrial development of the properties.

Brick making and market gardening were the most visible operations developed in this area between 1800 and 1830. A constant source of water and usable soils were important for both operations. Sources indicate that clays available on the surrounding squares proved beneficial to both brick making and gardening. During this time, the once frequent celebrations and entertainments of the Spring Garden resort gradually declined. By 1820, public use of Spring Garden resort was limited only to the summer months and the land was otherwise used as a market garden.

From 1810 to 1819, the 1200 block was used as a part of extensive brick making activities occurring in this area. The neighboring 1300 block and the north side of the 1200 block were also part of this brick making operation. Before and after the brick making activities on the block, extensive market gardens were located on the 1200 block. After 1820, the 1200 block apparently returned to a residential land use.

The development of this area as an industrial center made it undesirable for upper class residential growth. The establishment of the slave prison on the 1300 block certainly contributed to the decline. As a result, property values declined and low income renters moved into the area. Tax records indicate an increasing number of transient laborers were renting the 1200 block property. Both black and white renters were identified as occupying the tenements. Numerous women were also listed as renting these properties between 1820 and 1835. The two story frame dwelling on the 1200 block was valued between \$700 and \$800 dollars at this time. During this same period of time, a free black tenant occupied a small frame house on the back of the 1200 block. This house, which fronted Wolfe Street was valued between \$150 and \$200 dollars.

By 1835, both of these houses were gone and the 1200 block apparently was abandoned. Although it was owned by William Hartshorne's brothers, both lived in other states and probably cared little about the vacant property. Between 1830 and 1844, the lot may have been used again in the brick making industry as that business was reorganized on the adjacent 1300 block. Most likely, the land remained vacant until being condemned by the O&ARR in 1850. As many of the adjoining squares had fallen into the same state as the 1200 block, the railroad company had little difficulty acquiring land in this area for railroad operations.

The early 19th century activities at the USMRR site included a brick yard and a frame tenement. Feature 10N-5F apparently represents a soak pit, part of the preliminary activities used to prepare the soil mixture for the manufacture of brick. Feature 10N-2F was a small feature of unknown function although the fill within this feature was quite similar to that of the soak pit. Two clinker brick were recovered from this feature. Due to its similarities with 10N-5F, this feature is likely related to the brick manufacturing process although the function of the feature is unknown.

Feature 25N-3F and possibly three of the post stains also appear to be from early nineteenth century site activity. These features contained early nineteenth century artifacts and didn't appear to be related to the Civil War commissary department buildings. Unfortunately, no information could be gathered about the functional relationship of these features to early site activities.

The postholes/molds from the commissary buildings represent sections of the front, side and back walls of the structure. Four of the posts represent portions of the barn and the central wall between the barn and the unnamed structure. One post (15N-4F) apparently represents a wall between the bakery and the unnamed structure. Posts 25N-8F, 25N-2F 25N-6F and 25N-7F all represent posts from the front wall of the mess hall and the unnamed building. Post 0-4F is from the back wall of the mess hall and post 15N-3F apparently is an interior support post from the mess hall.

Feature 25N-1F represents a cistern/well associated with the commissary department. Based on a photo of the commissary, this feature was probably used prior to the construction of the barn and unnamed structure during the fall of 1863. It is possible that this cistern remained in use even after the unnamed structure was built although it would have been located under the floor of the building.

Feature 0-3F is part of a small signal or switch box associated with the railroads after the war. The feature was located within the commissary wall and therefore couldn't have been related to the civil war activities at the site. Further, this feature was intruded upon by railroad track that were laid no later than 1877. Therefore, it is likely that the feature served the Orange & Alexandria railroad immediately following the Civil War and was out of use by 1877.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Phase III mitigative study of sites 44AX103 (Bontz) and 44AX105 (USMRR) was initiated to lessen the impact of the proposed road construction upon each of the sites and to nominate potentially significant cultural features to the National Register of Historic Places. The sites were evaluated according to guidelines used to determine significance in the areas of American history, architecture, archeology, engineering or culture (U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service [USDI, NPS] 1982:1). The significance of sites include those that possess integrity of location, design, setting, material, workmanship, feeling, and association, and (A) are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad pattern of our history; or (B) are associated with the lives of persons significant to our past; or (C) embody the distinctive characteristics of a type period, or method of construction, or represent the works of a master, or possess high artistic values, or represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or (D) have yielded or may be likely to yield information important in prehistory or history (USDI, NPS 1982:17-33).

The Bontz Site, which includes the remains of two early nineteenth century residential structures, offers information on the initial settlement of the early West End community. The documentary research provides details of the West End as a commercial/industrial center, functioning as a support base for Alexandria and as a connector between the hinterlands and settled city. The site's inhabitants throughout the majority of the nineteenth century were butchers, a trade affording them middle class economic status. The Phase III investigations at the Bontz site thus provided the basis for studying the details of the lives of these trades people, who, until now have been relatively neglected by archeologists.

The Bontz Site is clearly important on a local and regional level. Until now, studies of the West End have focused on the commercial and industrial aspects of the community with little attention being paid to the residences associated with such endeavors. Local study in Alexandria has focused on the upper-class lifeways along King Street, and on lower-class free black settlements such as those along Gibbons Street. The Phase III study of the middle-class afforded by the Bontz Site investigations have added significantly to an understanding of the cultural base of the community.

The Bontz site represents the preserved archeological remains of two structures which have a built history from the late eighteenth through mid twentieth century. The evaluation of this site determined information about the owners of the properties as well as providing documentation on the historic village of West End. Modern utility lines associated with the planned widening of Route 236 impacted the two structures and the associated yards of the Bontz site. The limits of the proposed right-of-way also necessitated a concentration of testing

in small sections of two of the four lots comprising the Bontz properties. Accordingly, limited spatial interpretations could be made concerning the site and only a few intact features were documented.

The archeological excavation provided a sample of the construction methods and types of buildings erected in this village. Given that these may be two of the last residential structures of this period which have not been destroyed by modern construction, the excavation provided significant information on the daily lives of the site's inhabitants. It is particularly important to note the corroboration between the archival and the archeological studies concerning building and expansion and the maintenance of an extended family occupied in similar trades. This trend has recently been noted by Gardner and Nash (1990) for a small nineteenth century neighborhood in Washington, D. C.

It is believed that additional testing of the right-of-way can provide no further information of significance about the Bontz Site. Accordingly, JMUARC recommends that, following a review of these findings by the VDHL, no further evaluation is necessary and the proposed highway construction be allowed to continue.

The Bontz site was one of many properties in West End owned by butchers. Many of the surrounding lots were owned by butchers and at least five slaughter houses were extant in West End during the period between 1796 and 1900. The village of West End developed around the Little River Turnpike. Early in the nineteenth century, the citizens of this village tried to gain township and a bank through petitions sent to the state legislature. While these efforts failed, the village continued to prosper as a industrial area. Along with the developing butcher/tanning/slaughtering industry were other commercial ventures including a carriage manufacturer, candle and soap manufacturer, taverns, milling, general stores, a bakery and a hotel.

This village was a self-contained community within 15 years of the initial settlement in 1796. An 1803 bill passed in Alexandria outlawed the operation of slaughterhouses in Alexandria and this helped support the economy of West End. Almost all residential/commercial buildings constructed in West End were built between 1790 and 1810. The occupants of West End were typically middle class tradesmen throughout the 19th century. This is in contrast to the occupants of the Spring Garden Farm subdivision which was closer to the core of Alexandria. Most occupants of the Spring Garden subdivision during the early 19th century were low income rectors or transient workers.

It is apparent through the evaluation of the Bontz site, that preserved sections of the West End village still remain. The presence of several feet of fill deposits overlying the Bontz sites suggests that throughout the corridor, preserved cultural deposits could be found under the fill deposits. While no additional testing is warranted on the Bontz site, several other significant sites are likely to be located in this village. Testing of these sites would provide a further

understanding of this village, its occupants and provide comparative studies between West End and Alexandria.

Archeological excavations and documentary studies could be used to address several research topics including: the development of slaughtering/butchering processes in 19th century West End, the multi-land use of industrial/commercial/residential development on the south side of the 2000 block and documentation of residential development of West End.

The village of West End is currently threatened by modern urban expansion and development. On the north side of Route 236, recent construction has encroached upon all properties between the first toll gate and the 1700 block. Sections of the 1700 block, including the area immediately surrounding Hooff Realty, (formerly Bruin's slave jail) may retain preserved cultural deposits.

On the south side of Route 236, the possibility for preservations of cultural deposits is greater. The area from the 1700 block to the 2000 block is likely to retain areas of preservation which could provide significant archeological information about the occupants of these areas. Furthermore, the land situated between the Southern Railroad main tracks (Wolfe Street Extended) and Hunting Creek also may retain preservation. Archeological testing of this area could reveal the presence of several residences, one of the slaughter houses, a black cemetery and the "oysterkill landing". The possibility of identifying prehistoric site remains also exists, particularly in the area south of Route 236.

Excavations of the USMRR site provided information about the construction techniques used on the commissary department buildings located within this complex. However, no evidence of a preserved cultural layer was found at the site. The presence of preserved cultural features underlying the fill episodes appears to be the only remains of the site in the VDOT right-of-way. The cistern/well feature (25N-1F) provided useful information about the types of materials used and discarded by the military (p.226). Documentation of the USMRR station provided significant information concerning the importance of this rail station to the military strategies of the Union.

Due to a multitude of filling activities and continually changing land use that occurred at the site during the late nineteenth century, most of the physical remains of the commissary buildings within the right-of-way have been destroyed. Evidence of the early occupation of the site also appears to have been largely decimated by the late nineteenth to early twentieth century development of the property. Features 10N-5F and 10N-3F provided some information about the early nineteenth century industrial development of this property as a brickyard.

The narrow width of the right-of-way coupled with disturbance of the cultural deposits by later site development limited the interpretive

value of the archeological component. Accordingly, it is the recommendation of JMUARC that no additional archeological testing is necessary on the USMRR site located within the proposed VDOT right-of-way. Following a review of these findings by the DHL, the site may be cleared and the planned construction be allowed to continue.

The USMRR station in Alexandria is historically significant on a local, regional and national level. While limited in size and scope, the amount of preservation of the commissary buildings suggest that sections of this twelve square block complex may remain intact. Excavations of these areas would provide significant information about the rail yard and operations of a military base during the civil war.

Using the map key of the complex, which was generated in 1865, sections of blocks C, D, G, H, I, K and L are the most likely to retain preserved cultural deposits. Particularly significant would be blocks D, I, K and L. These blocks contain sections of the roundhouse, machine shops, railroad offices and carpenter shops that were initially built by the Orange and Alexandria Railroad in the 1850's. These features were the focal point of the complex and during the Union occupation, these facilities were expanded. These buildings were also used by the O&ARR following the war and could provide information about the changing industrial development of Alexandria's periphery during the era of the railroads from 1850-1900.

Preceding the railroad development that occurred in the 1850s was the residential development of the Spring Garden Farms. Numerous residences were constructed on various lots during the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century. Preservation of cultural deposits associated with the early residential development may be identified in the area, particularly in and around the Spring Garden Resort.

Research topics about this area should include: the early residential development in the area, the development of brick yards and market during the early nineteenth century and the later development of railroads.

The urban development that is taking place in Alexandria is encroaching upon the USMRR site and the historic village of West End (including the Bontz site). Whenever feasible as development occurs, additional documentary studies and archeological evaluations of these significant areas should be conducted. This information would prove valuable for comparative studies with similar sites in Alexandria and other towns in this region. Evidence recovered through the excavated samples of these two areas suggest preservation of cultural deposits that would further an understanding of this area. Further documentation of this area would also expand the data base for the Alexandria city-site particularly that of nineteenth century commercial/industrial development on the cities western periphery.

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