

WEST END

PREPARED FOR
NORFOLK SOUTHERN CORPORATION

BY
KURT P. SCHWEIGERT
CULTURAL RESOURCES CONSULTANT



South-central modern Alexandria includes an area formerly known as West End. The area was never formally incorporated under that name, but for more than a century the name West End was applied to an area to the north and south of the Little River Turnpike (now Duke Street) from Hooff's Run westward to Telegraph Road. Native Americans utilized natural resources of the area for thousands of years before the area was explored by Europeans in the early 17th century. Royal grants brought the area into private ownership beginning in 1669, and plantation settlement began by the early 18th century.

Intersection of three early colonial roads encouraged trade and industry in the area. The embryonic community of Cameron, on the western edge of the area that would later be considered West End, included flour mills, a tavern, and several houses. Cameron lost its bid to become a town when Alexandria was chartered in 1749, but the growth of Alexandria as a seaport enhanced the importance of the roads through West End. Portions of the roads became turnpikes, including the Little River Turnpike that connected Alexandria with rich agricultural areas to the west. By the 1780s John and Thomas West began selling portions of their plantations to persons who established trail-related businesses or who used the tracts as adjuncts to their Alexandria businesses. In 1796 John West subdivided a portion of his remaining lands into regular streets, blocks and lots that conformed to the adjacent layout of Alexandria. West called his subdivision West End, in part because it was located at the west end of Duke Street.

West End was a thriving community from about 1796 until it was annexed to Alexandria in 1915. West End was home and workplace for butchers, millers, and other tradesmen who processed agricultural goods for Alexandria markets and/or served the needs of travelers on the roads. The community eventually included a beer brewery, a hotel, several saloons and restaurants, wagon and coach manufacturing and repair facilities, at least one bakery, a slave dealer, and several general stores. A major Union hospital was constructed and operated in West End during the Civil War. Industrialization came to West End in the 1890s with the establishment of a glass container manufacturing plant, construction of Cameron Yards by the Southern Railway, and operation of a railroad car repair and construction facility.

Extensive historical and archaeological research has been conducted since 1985 for various areas of West End. The Norfolk Southern Corporation supported compilation of this synthesis of the history and archaeology of West End, both as a concluding element of archaeological research for the Carlyle Development and as a contribution to the history and archaeology of Alexandria.

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The area of Alexandria, Virginia adjoining Duke Street (Route 236) from Hooff's Run westward to Telegraph Road is developing as a major business zone dominated by large buildings for financial, legal and residential uses, a federal courthouse, Route 236, and Metro rail facilities. Modern development of this area began in the 1970s and is expected to continue to the south of Duke Street after the year 2000. As development occurs, the area is becoming visually indistinguishable from other portions of modern Alexandria, except that the buildings are generally newer and larger than structures nearer to Old Town Alexandria to the east. Unlike Old Town, this area will retain very few vestiges of its long history.

The area was not always a part of Alexandria, and its history is both tied to and distinctive from that of the city. In 1795-96, planter John West subdivided a portion of his lands adjacent to the Little River Turnpike (now Duke Street) to the west of incorporated Alexandria. West named his subdivision "West End," and he hoped the subdivision would be annexed to the fast-growing Town of Alexandria. However, West End remained an unincorporated community in Fairfax County until it was annexed to Alexandria in 1915. Commercial, industrial, and residential development of the West End area began by the 1750s, and West End became an important center for processing agricultural goods for consumption in Alexandria and export through the Port of Alexandria.

The West End area was initially important as an intersection of early trails. This pivotal trade and transportation function was enhanced by the construction of the Little River Turnpike and post roads in the period 1785-1812. By the 1780s businesses began to appear in West End that were directly related to travel over these routes and delivery of agricultural products to Alexandria: taverns, a hotel, a carriage shop. West End's premier industry from the 1780s to the 1890s was butchering of livestock destined for the local Alexandria markets or shipment from the port. In 1858 another industry was established in West End to convert raw agricultural products for the Alexandria market: one of the first lager beer breweries in the United States.

The Orange and Alexandria Railroad was constructed through West End in 1850, beginning a history of railroad activities that continued until the 1970s (and will continue with the redevelopment of Norfolk Southern Corporation properties south of Duke Street). The Orange & Alexandria Railroad was operated by Union forces as part of the U.S. Military Railroad during the Civil War, and wounded troops were brought by train to a military

hospital in West End. The Southern Railway Company built a large switchyard and repair facility in West End in 1897-1900, and Alexandria's Union Station was built in 1907 at the northwestern edge of the West End area. A number of industries were subsequently established in West End near the Southern Railway yards, including a glass factory, a commercial greenhouse, and a refrigerator car repair facility.

The Norfolk Southern Corporation is redeveloping the former Southern Railway yards in West End for commercial, residential, educational, and government uses. The redevelopment, called Carlyle, has been conducted under a number of corporation and partnership names; at this writing in 1998, Alexandria Southern Properties is the legal entity developing the property. In compliance with a 1989 Carlyle site plan, Norfolk Southern has conducted large-scale historical research and archaeological investigations of its development area. Other parties have also conducted historical and archaeological research concerning development or historic preservation projects in West End. As a concluding effort of its compliance activities and as a contribution to the history and archaeology of Alexandria, Norfolk Southern has sponsored the preparation of this composite overview history of West End. This document has been prepared with the assistance of the staff of Alexandria Archaeology.

This overview is intended to combine information gathered during all of the historical and archaeological investigations pertinent to West End. The overview was prepared by Kurt P. Schweigert, who conducted extensive primary research in association with archaeological investigations for Norfolk Southern's Carlyle Development in West End. However, much of the information contained in this overview was drawn from documents that addressed portions of the West End area, certain eras, or particular themes in the history of West End. Timothy J. Hill's Master's Thesis "The Origins of West End and the Little River Turnpike: Urbanization and Economic Change in Northern Virginia, 1780-1820" is an extremely important source for the early history of West End (Hill 1993). Substantial additional information was also drawn from the following reports concerning West End:

Engineering Science, Inc., *Cameron Mills: Preliminary Historical and Archaeological Assessment of Site 44AX112, Alexandria, Virginia* (1990)

Engineering Science, Inc., *Archaeological Investigations at the Alexandria Federal Courthouse Site (44AX164), Alexandria, Virginia* (1993)

History by Nan Netherton and others (1978); and other works addressing the history of Alexandria and Fairfax County.

2.1 Location

Throughout its independent existence, West End was an undefined area centered on Duke Street extended westward from the incorporated city; this route was also the Little River Turnpike, and it is currently designated as Route 236. Despite John West's desire to have West End annexed to Alexandria, West End was never officially platted or chartered, and it was never incorporated as a village or town. The boundaries of West End were therefore somewhat fluid. However, most references to West End in deeds, wills and other sources were for locations on the north or south side of Duke Street or the Little River Turnpike from Hooff's Run westward to about the current location of Telegraph Road.

The northern and southern extents of West End were equally vague. John West sold lots on both sides of Duke Street. Lots on the south side extended about half the distance from the street to Great Hunting Creek, and the land between the platted lots and the creek was eventually attached to lots facing Duke Street. Lots on the north side of Duke Street were generally larger than those to the south of the street, and some locations on upper King Street extended were referred to as being in West End. For purposes of this overview, West End is considered to extend from Great Hunting Creek northward to King Street and from Hooff's Run westward to Telegraph Road. This area is located in south-central Alexandria, as the city is currently constituted. The location of West End is shown on Figure 2-1.

2.2 Physiography and Topography

West End is located within the Atlantic Coastal Plain physiographic province, which is generally characterized by nearly level topography and gradual changes in elevation. The most prominent physiographic feature in the territory including West End is the Cameron Run/Great Hunting Creek Valley, which is oriented east-west. West End is about a half mile upstream (northwest) from the confluence of Great Hunting Creek with the tidal Potomac River; the drainage is designated as Cameron Run in the western portion of the West End area. Floodplains of the Valley range in elevation from near mean sea level at the eastern edge of West End to about 30 feet above sea level (msl) at the western end of the West End area. Terraces and uplands rise to about 50 feet msl, and Shooter's Hill, at the northwest corner of the West End area, rises to over 120 feet msl.

SECTION TWO

SETTING: ON THE UPPER SIDE OF GREAT HUNTING CREEK

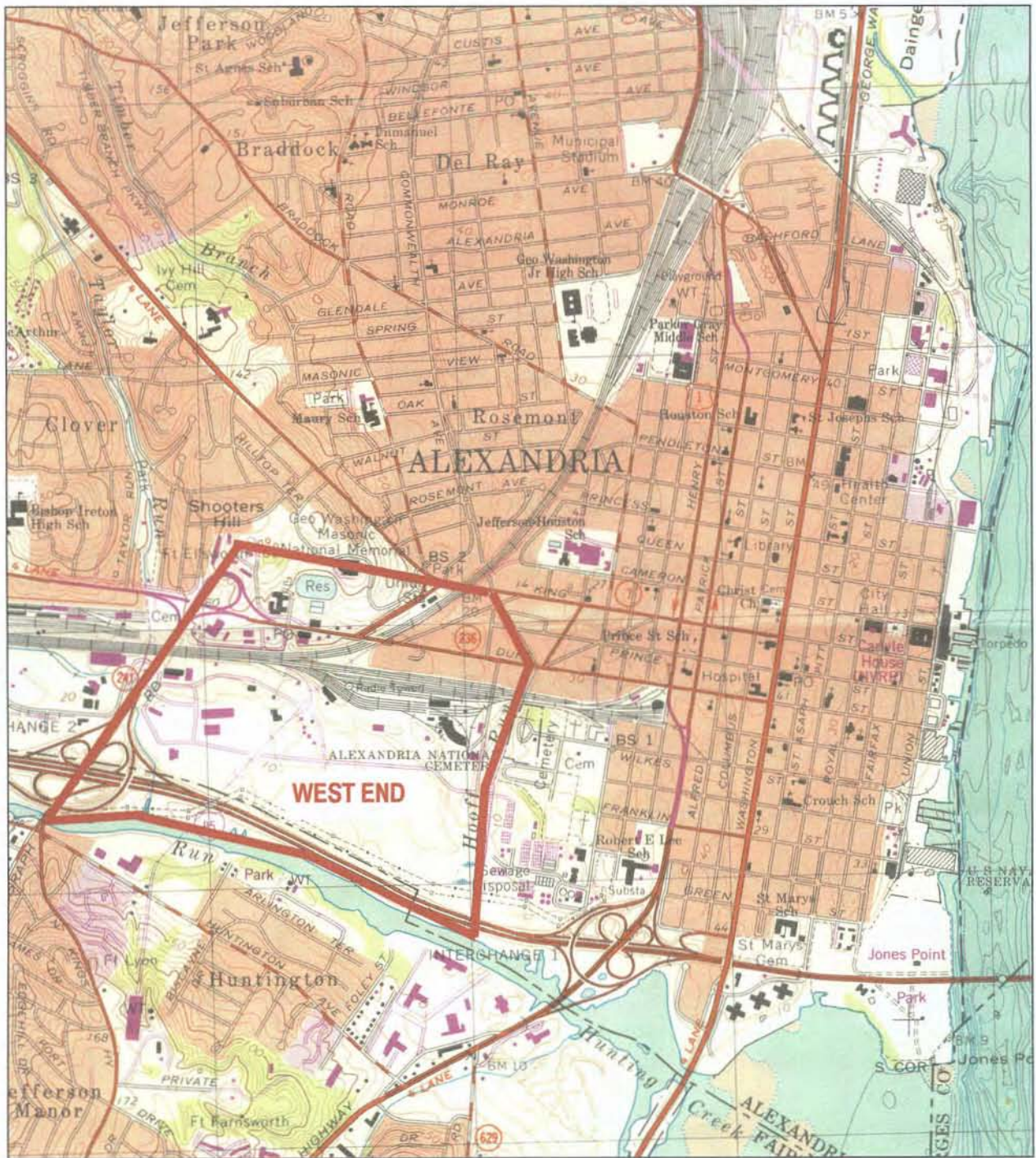


Figure 2-1
Location of West End

The Atlantic Coastal Plain was formed by deposition of material transported from above the Fall Line, and it is generally formed of masses of unconsolidated sediments comprised of sands, gravels, and clays of marine or fluvial origin. Great Hunting Creek/Cameron Run terrace soils are sandy deposits and are weakly to moderately developed. Terrace soils contain either argillic horizons or cambic horizons grading into argillic horizons. Soils with cambic horizons were formed within the past 3,000 years, and soils containing argillic horizons were probably formed 4,000 to 5,000 years ago. Upland soils range in texture from clayey to gravelly, and most of these soils were formed in Cretaceous sediments laid down more than 65 million years ago. The upper horizons of upland soils were generally developed up to 5 million years ago in materials that were reworked during the Pleistocene or Holocene periods (Porter et al. 1963; Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1989:4-5).

All of the area of West End drains into Great Hunting Creek/Cameron Run, either directly or through small tributaries Hooff's Run or Talyor Run, which course generally north to south through the eastern and western portions of West end, respectively. Maps of the 18th and early 19th centuries indicate that Great Hunting Creek was navigable for about two miles above its mouth, to near a ford where the major north-south road crossed the creek (the approximate location of Telegraph Road). Early deeds and advertisements for land indicate that at least two landings were established on the north side of Great Hunting Creek. Silting of the creek undoubtedly accelerated as lands in the drainage came into cultivation; similar massive silting occurred in most streams in the vicinity. For example, maps drawn by George Washington, who was then assistant surveyor for Fairfax County, indicate the depth of the cove at the center of the Alexandria waterfront may have decreased by as much as three feet between 1748 and 1749 (Walker et al. 1993:4).

Great Hunting Creek was apparently originally known as Indian Cabin Creek, possibly in reference to John Smith's notation of Indian houses on the creek in 1608 (Record of Surveys, Fairfax County, 1742-1856:74-75). The stream was also known as Mussel Creek, possibly reflecting the abundant shellfish found there (Mitchell 1977:8). The name Great Hunting Creek was attached to the stream by 1669; the "Great" distinguished this stream from Little Hunting Creek to the south (Harrison 1978:62). Cameron Run may have been named in honor of Lord Fairfax, who, with Lady Culpeper, at one time owned the royal proprietary grant including the West End area, and who was also Baron of Cameron in Scotland.

Hooff's Run was called Timber Branch in the late 1730s, and it is still known by that name in the area to the north of West End. The creek drained into an inlet of Great Hunting Creek known in 1757 as "Harrison's Gut"; the name probably reflected ownership of adjacent lands by Thomas Harrison (Fairfax County Record of Surveys, 1742-1856:74-75; Miller 1987:1). A landing on the west side of the gut was known as Oysterhill Landing in 1798, possibly in reference to its use as a processing point for oysters harvested from the Potomac River in historic or possibly prehistoric times (Fairfax County Deed Book A-2:527). An 1868 Alexandria Gazette article included a reminiscence of a flat-bottomed boat ascending Hooff's Run to Duke Street, where it unloaded oysters and took on a cargo (Cressey 1995). The creek probably obtained the name Hooff's Run in the 1790s, when Lawrence Hooff developed a butchering operation on the east side of the creek to the north of Duke Street; in the 1792 deed conveying land to Hooff, the stream is called Gladden's Run. (Deed Book B-5:461). The origin of the name Taylor Run is unknown; the upper portion of Taylor Run may have been called Rhodes Run in the late 1780s (Deed Book Y:533).

The origin of the name Shooter's Hill is unclear: it was known by that name at least as early as 1805 (Fairfax County Will Book I:499). Other hills in the vicinity of West End were named for physical attributes (Stump Hill, Strawberry Hill), and it is possible that the name Shooter's Hill reflects the use of the hill for hunting or other sport shooting. The name is sometimes spelled "Shuter's Hill" in 19th century documents, and it is possible the name originally referred to a person associated with the hill. Perhaps an inaccurate spelling was perpetuated in casual use; only the spelling "Shooter's Hill" was found in court records for West End.

The area of West End originally was hilly land covered with dense deciduous forest prior to Euroamerican settlement. The natural vegetative cover would have provided an abundant supply of edible nuts, fruits, bulbs and leaves. The area also supported a diversity of fauna, including waterfowl, fish, turtles, shellfish, deer, squirrel, raccoon, opossum, rabbit, chipmunk, woodchuck, porcupine, fox, wolf, cougar, bobcat, otter, mink, weasel, and muskrat.

With the exception of Shooter's Hill and the general trench of Hooff's Run to the south of Duke Street, virtually all of the original surface features have been altered to the extent that most original landforms are no longer evident. Shooter's Hill has been terraced in places and otherwise altered, and much of the western half of the Hooff's Run trench has been filled with earth and refuse. Taylor Run was diverted to support milling operations in the 18th and 19th

centuries, and the creek has been further altered as a result of construction of roads and other improvements. Virtually all of the area was deforested either during clearing for plantations and farms or during the Civil War.

Cameron Run and Great Hunting Creek have been contained in channels built by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and a substantial portion of the original flood plain of this system has been filled and developed. Hooff's Run has been altered extensively: the stream to the south of Duke Street was diverted into a gut (inlet) in 1882, portions of the creek trench to the south of Duke Street were filled by the Southern Railroad after 1890, and the creek to the north and west of Duke Street was entirely contained in buried concrete conduits in the 1920s (Miller n.d.:6).

2.3 Paleoenvironment

Human occupation of Northern Virginia may have begun as early as the late Pleistocene, about 12,000 years ago. Since that time, several climatic changes have occurred that affected the nature and abundance of resources available for human use. One model of climatic episodes is based on a belief that environmental change in post-Pleistocene times, as evidenced in pollen deposits, has occurred as a series of abrupt climatic changes that resulted in relatively rapid changes in floral and faunal resources (Carbone 1976; Louis Berger & Associates 1989). The episodes of climatic change are listed below:

<u>Climatic Episode</u>	<u>Approximate Dates</u>
Late Glacial	13,000 - 8080 BC
Pre-Boreal	8080 - 7350 BC
Boreal	7350 - 6540 BC
Atlantic	6450 - 3110 BC
Sub-Boreal	3110 - 810 BC
Sub-Atlantic	810 BC - AD 1100
Recent	AD 1100 - Present

Much of North America was covered by the Laurentide Ice Sheet during the Late Glacial climatic episode. The climate was significantly cooler and wetter than at present, and a tundra environment probably existed at the edge of the glacial sheet. A variety of distinct habitats

probably existed at this time, which supported a wide variety of fauna. Forested areas were dominated by spruce and pine species, but much of the glacial environment was probably open grasslands.

The Pre-Boreal and Boreal episodes were characterized by relatively rapid increase in temperatures and decrease in precipitation. Forests dominated by hemlock, birch, and beech species spread into the open grasslands, which effectively reduced the habitats for many Pleistocene species. Many of these species either became extinct at this time or retreated northward with the glacial sheet.

Warming and drying trends continued during the Atlantic climatic episode. Forests dominated by oak and hemlock became widely established in the region, and fauna became modern in character. The Sub-Boreal episode began with a peak in the warming and drying trends. During this period, temperatures fell and precipitation substantially increased. The Sub-Atlantic episode that followed was characterized by gradually increasing precipitation and decreasing temperatures, resulting in modern conditions.

One of the most important environmental changes in the West End region was the Holocene marine transgression, the gradual rise in sea levels that resulted from the retreat of the continental glacial sheet. Inundation of the Pleistocene epoch Susquehanna River system began between 14,500 and 14,000 BC and resulted in the formation of Chesapeake Bay. Marine transgression had reached the mouth of the Potomac River, about 90 miles from West End, by about 9500 to 9000 BC, and flooding of Great Hunting Creek probably began between 7000 and 5000 BC. The rise in sea levels appears to have substantially stabilized at current levels about 3000 BC. The Potomac River at Alexandria currently has year-round salinity and tides of around 3 feet. The marine transgression resulted in a rise in water tables and the development of substantial estuaries, which supported an increase in floral and faunal resources useful to humans. The marine transgression occurred during the Archaic period of human occupation of the region, as is discussed below (Newman and Rusnak 1985; Wanser 1982; Gardner 1978; Delcourt and Delcourt 1981; Walker et al. 1993).

Native Americans were found living near West End at the time of initial European exploration of the region in the early 17th century, and remains of prehistoric or early historic Native American settlement or utilization have been found in West End near the edges of Great Hunting Creek and on Shooter's Hill. Prehistoric remains in West End, elsewhere in the Potomac River Valley, and in surrounding areas provide a well-documented sequence for prehistoric occupation in the region. The major periods of the prehistoric cultural sequence in the Middle Atlantic Region are listed below.

<u>Cultural Period</u>	<u>Approximate Dates</u>
Paleo-Indian	9500 - 8000 BC
Early Archaic	8000 - 5000 BC
Middle Archaic	5000 - 3000 BC
Late Archaic	3000 - 1000 BC
Early Woodland	1000 - 500 BC
Middle Woodland	500 BC - AD 800
Late Woodland	AD 800 - 1600
Contact Period	AD 1600 - 1700

During the Paleo-Indian period in this region, small nomadic bands subsisted by hunting various game species, fishing, and foraging for vegetal foods available in the environments existing at the end of the last glacial period. Large, fluted lanceolate projectile points are the distinctive artifacts of the Paleo-Indian period. Some archaeologists believe the Paleo-Indian settlement pattern was influenced primarily by sources of materials for stone tools. However, the discovery of Paleo-Indian artifacts near the mouth of the Anacostia River in the District of Columbia and elsewhere in the Potomac River floodplain may indicate that Paleo-Indian settlement in the Coastal Plain was highly influenced by riverine resources (Gardner 1981; Johnson 1981; Humphrey and Chambers 1977).

Throughout the Archaic period (8000 BC to 1000 BC), hunting and gathering of a variety of food resources was practiced by groups in relatively well-defined territories. Permanent settlement sites were not established; rather, sites were occupied on a seasonal basis for the exploitation of certain resources. Early Archaic period people on the Coastal Plain broadened and diversified their subsistence base and utilized a wider variety of stone materials than had the Paleo-Indian population. Notched projectile points and resource processing stations along floodplain margins came into use in the Early Archaic period (Gardner 1974; Johnson 1986; Louis Berger & Associates 1989). The adoption of a variety of ground stone tools, which

were used for processing plant resources, may indicate a shift toward greater dependence on resources of the hardwood forests during the Middle Archaic period, but archaeological sites from this period are still more numerous near major waterways.

Exploitation of riverine and estuarine resources probably became more dominant in the Late Archaic period, as is evident by the presence of fishing implements in an abundance of sites near rivers and estuaries. Base camps were typically established near river mouths or near marsh areas, and processing camps were established in nearby upland areas. Artifacts found in the 1930s indicate that a fishing camp near Shooter's Hill may have been occupied during the Late Archaic period (Shephard 1998).

Woodland period people introduced pottery and horticulture. Seasonal hunting and gathering of resources continued from the Late Archaic period into the Early and Middle Woodland periods, with emphasis on aquatic resources in the later periods. Seasonally abundant anadromous fish were exploited at a number of sites along the Potomac and its tributaries, including the Jones Point Site (44AX53), located about a mile to the east of West End at the mouth of Great Hunting Creek (LeeDecker and Friedlander 1985). During the Late Woodland period, villages became larger and were more permanently occupied, and the villages were typically located near floodplains where crops were grown. Late Woodland sites also include special-use sites such as hunting camps, and fishing and shellfish-gathering sites (Gardner 1982; Potter 1982; Waselkov 1982; Louis Berger & Associates 1989).

Limited contact between Europeans and Native Americans on the Eastern Seaboard began in the early 16th century, but Native Americans in the vicinity of West End apparently did not enter into direct contact with Euroamericans until the first decade of the 17th century. Jamestown Colony was founded in 1607 to the south, and traders and explorers almost immediately began establishing contacts with the Native Americans in the tidewater Potomac area. A major trading post was established at the Nacotchtank Village on the lower Anacostia River, within 15 miles northeast of what would later become West End (Louis Berger & Associates 1989:20).

In 1608 Captain John Smith explored the Chesapeake Bay and traveled up the Potomac River. Smith produced a very simple map of the region, on which he noted the locations of Native

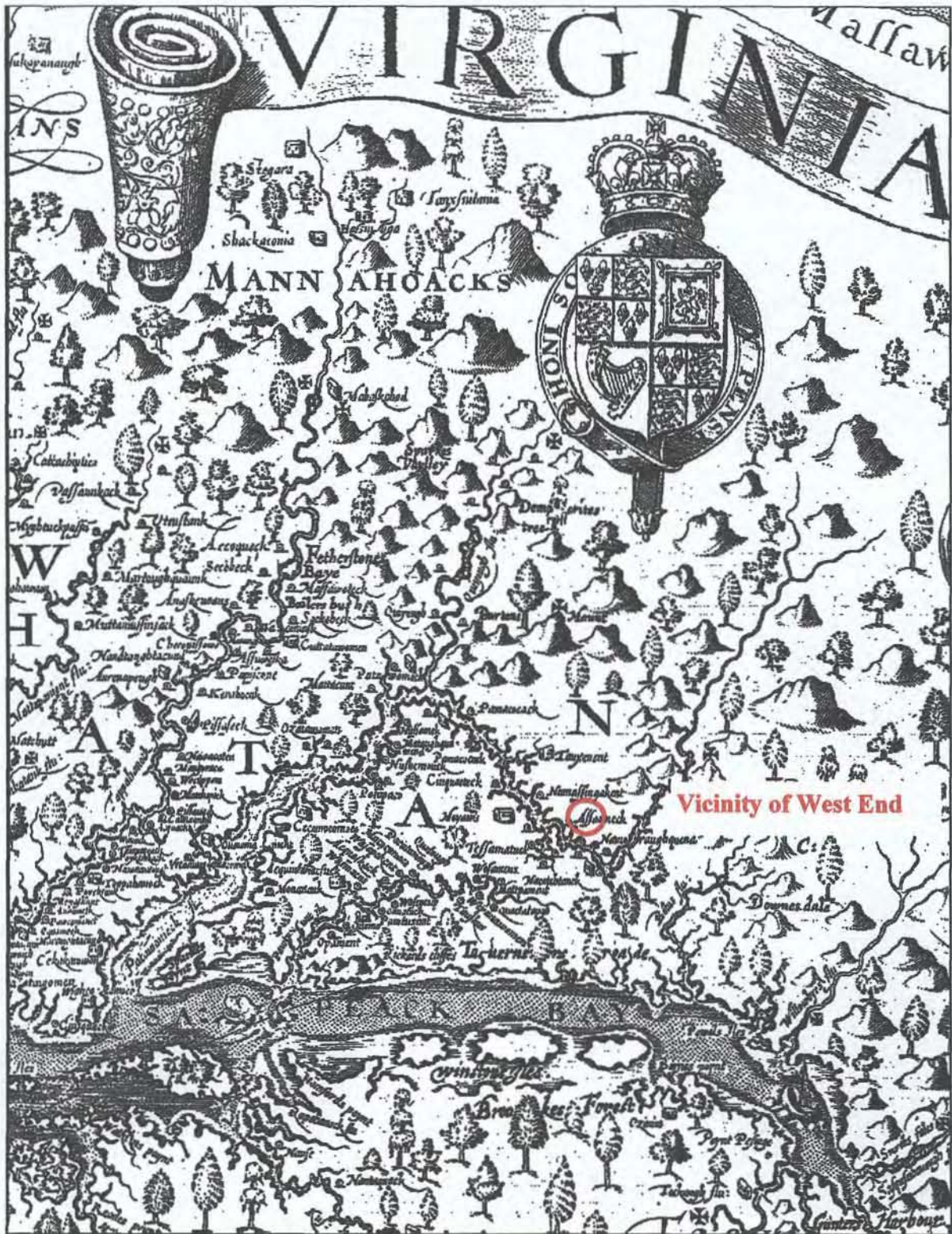


Figure 3-1
Detail of John Smith's 1608 Map

American villages. One of the villages, called Assaomeck or "Middle Fishing Place," appears to have been located on the south side of Great Hunting Creek, a short distance above the mouth of the creek, which would place the village directly south of the later site of West End. The Algonquian-speaking people who occupied this relatively minor settlement probably lived in a small number of longhouses scattered along the creek. The name of the village may have indicated that the residents settled here to take advantage of abundant herring, perch, and sturgeon in the creek in winter and spring (Potter 1984:3-4).

Native Americans did not remain long in the vicinity of West End after European settlement began. The former residents of Assaomeck and the other villages had moved to what is now King George County by 1664, and they had become known as the Doeg Indians. By 1714 the last of these Native Americans had again moved, to the upper reaches of the Mattaponi River (Feest 1978; Chittenden et al. 1988).

Assaomeck Village may have been a seasonal or temporary residence, and the general area around West End may have been primarily used as seasonal hunting and fishing territory. Evidence of permanent village sites has not been discovered in the general vicinity of Alexandria or West End (Shephard 1989:2), but evidence of short-term or seasonal habitation and utilization of natural resources has been found in West End.

Archaeological investigations conducted in 1992 and 1993 in advance of the construction of a federal courthouse south of Duke Street yielded the base of a Savannah River projectile point, a Piscataway type projectile point, two non-diagnostic bifaces, a quartzite hammerstone, many flakes and chips, and two pieces of pottery. Savannah River points are generally believed to have originated in the Late Archaic period, and Piscataway points are thought to date from the Early to Late Woodland period and possibly as early as the Late Archaic period. One biface was in an early stage of completion, and the other was in a late stage of completion; together with the hammerstone and the numerous flakes, these artifacts indicate that lithic reduction, or stone tool making, was accomplished at the site, possibly in the Late Archaic period. The two pieces of pottery indicate the site (44AX164) was used into the Woodland Period (Walker et al. 1993).

Two areas containing prehistoric lithic materials were discovered during archaeological testing in the area of Norfolk Southern's Carlyle Development in 1992 and 1993. One quartz and

four quartzite flakes were recovered from one area. The second area yielded 29 quartz flakes, 47 quartzite flakes, 7 quartz shatter fragments, 7 quartzite fragments that may have been worked, and 4 biface tools. One of the bifaces may have been a portion of a projectile point, but its type could not be determined. The second area probably represents a temporary camp at which extensive tool-making occurred. Neither of these areas yielded artifacts that revealed the cultural affiliation of the sites (Alexandria Archaeology 1994).

Several quartz flakes were found in fill material during investigations of the Cameron Mills site (44AX112) near the western edge of West End in 1990, but the disturbed context and lack of finished tools or other diagnostic items precluded identification of a cultural affiliation for the flakes (Knepper and Pappas 1990). A local artifact collector found primarily Late Archaic projectile points at Shooter's Hill in the 1930s, and excavations by Alexandria Archaeology in 1996 and 1997 yielded a stone axe and other evidence of Late Archaic occupation or utilization of the hill (Shephard 1998). Other prehistoric sites have been found in the general vicinity of West End. As is indicated in Table 3-1 below, none of these sites are believed to be major village sites (Louis Berger & Associates 1989).

The West End area appears to have been occupied by Native Americans for more than 5,000 years, but the occupation throughout that time seems to have been seasonal or occasional rather than permanent. Great Hunting Creek and the Potomac River provided abundant fish, shellfish, waterfowl, and other food resources on a seasonal basis, and these resources undoubtedly influenced the establishment and location of camps. Evidence of shellfishing was found near Hooff's Run in a mixed historic and prehistoric context and possibly at Shooter's Hill, but the other sites yielded only evidence of hunting of game animals and utilization of locally-available stone resources.

Table 3-1
Prehistoric Archaeological Sites in the Vicinity of West End

Site	Description
44AX17	Prehistoric lithic scatter
44AX112	Lithic scatter, unknown age or affiliation
44AX164	Lithic scatter, Late Archaic and Woodland periods
44FX247	Lithic scatter, Late Archaic and Late Woodland

Table 3-1
Prehistoric Archaeological Sites in the Vicinity of West End

Site	Description
	periods, site mostly destroyed
44FX249	Lithic scatter, probably a Late Archaic seasonal camp; mostly destroyed
44FX517	Lithic scatter, possibly associated with the Broadspear Tradition of the Late Archaic to Early Woodland period
44FX518	Lithic scatter
44FX519	Lithic scatter, possibly associated with the Halifax Phase of the late Middle Archaic or early Late Archaic period
44FX520	Lithic scatter, possibly a special or multiple use processing site
44FX521	Lithic scatter
44FX523	Lithic scatter, possibly a multiple purpose resource processing station; severely disturbed
44FX524	Lithic scatter; severely eroded
44FX525	Lithic scatter
44FX526	Lithic scatter, special purpose site
44FX527	Lithic scatter
44FX559	Lithic scatter, possibly a multiple use site
44FX560	Lithic scatter, special or multiple use site
44FX601	Lithic scatter, multiple purpose upland cobble quarry and station, possibly associated with the Halifax Phase of the Early Archaic period

4.1 The Tobacco Culture and Plantation Settlement at West End

Jamestown Colony was founded in 1607, and by the next year English colonists had begun searching the Tidewater area for precious metals or opportunities to prosper from trade with the Native Americans. The item that would make some colonists wealthy, however, was tobacco. Christopher Columbus found natives using tobacco in 1492, and the “noxious weed” was probably introduced in England by Sir John Hawkins in the 1650s. Cultivation of West Indies varieties of the plant for export to England began in the Jamestown Colony in 1612 or 1613, and the business expanded steadily in Virginia for nearly 70 years. Exports grew rapidly: 2,500 pounds in 1616; 20,000 pounds in 1617; 50,000 pounds in 1618; 15,000,000 pounds in 1660; and 28,000,000 pounds by the late 1680s (Carr and Menard 1979:207-208; Walker et al. 1993:11).

The expansion of the Virginia tobacco industry began to falter in the late 1680s because of the large amount of leaf being produced, increased British customs tariffs, and disruption of transportation and trade by European wars. The industry was stagnant and suffered from reduced prices for nearly 30 years, except for short boom periods in 1685-1686 and around 1700, and in some years catastrophically low prices forced some smaller planters into bankruptcy. The expansion up to the 1680s had been made possible by the immigration of thousands of English men and women, many of whom paid a period of indentured servitude to compensate a landowner for transportation to the colony, food and shelter, and certain tools at the close of the indenture. The number of persons willing to immigrate to the Chesapeake Bay colonies declined dramatically toward the end of the 17th century, and the number of indentured servants allowed to leave England was curtailed. Slaves became the dominant labor force in large Virginia tobacco plantations at the beginning of the 18th century, with attendant costs of purchase and maintenance to the plantation owners or planters (Carr and Menard 1979:241).

Beside the economic base provided by tobacco, the opportunity for obtaining private property in land or the cash crop spurred settlement in Virginia. The Virginia Company, the corporation that founded Jamestown and held rights to the colony’s trade by royal charter, encouraged expansion of settlement from Jamestown. Groups of settlers led by a company subscriber or other person of substance were granted large tracts of land called “hundreds,”

which were in themselves mini-colonies located in the vicinity of Jamestown. As their terms of indenture expired, many servants became tenant farmers on a share-cropping basis and obtained a personal financial stake in the colony.

By 1619, tenant farms extended some 20 miles along the James River near Jamestown. To encourage additional immigration and settlement at no cost to itself, the company instituted the head-right system in 1618, and this system became a dominant basis for obtaining land in the colony. Persons who immigrated at their own expense were granted 50 acres for each member of their party or for any person for whom the cost of passage was paid (Morrison et al. 1969:42).

The Virginia Company was dissolved in 1624, and Virginia became a crown colony under a governor and council appointed by the king of England. As settlement spread from Jamestown up the James, York, Rappahannock, and finally the Potomac rivers, the king or the royal governor granted large tracts to loyal supporters or to purchasers. The head right system was also continued, and large tracts came into the ownership of English and colonial speculators, often many years before actual settlement of those lands. However, much of the land in the Tidewater area of northern Virginia was either initially granted to or subsequently purchased by Virginia plantation owners, who wished to replace their depleted lands, expand their production of tobacco, or establish their children on new plantations. The Mason, Minor, Alexander, and West families were rooted in older plantations to the south before becoming principal players in the development of the Great Hunting Creek/Alexandria area of northern Virginia.

In 1649, exiled King Charles II granted the Northern Neck Proprietary to seven loyal followers. The Proprietary included all lands between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers, or about five million acres including all of the area that would be Fairfax County and Alexandria. Through purchase, marriage, or inheritance, the seven undivided shares were consolidated by 1719 by Thomas, Sixth Lord Fairfax.

The entire Proprietary was initially designated as Northumberland County, but new counties were established as settlement moved north and west. Westmoreland County was established in 1653 from a large northern portion of Northumberland County, and Stafford County was created from the northern portion of Westmoreland County in 1664. Subsequently, new

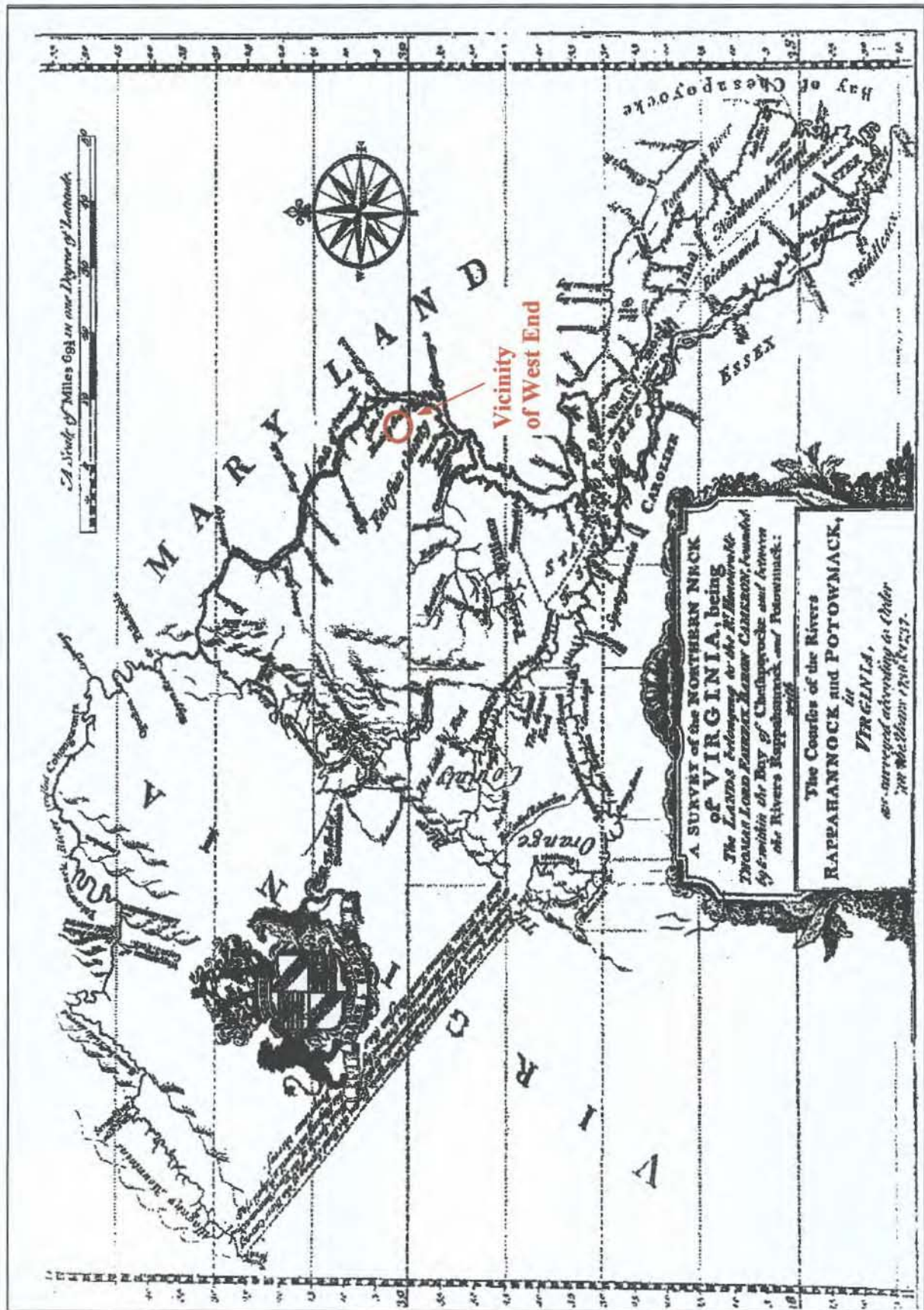


Figure 4-1
Survey of the Northern Neck

counties were created after parishes had become established within older counties. Hamilton Parish was created in 1730, and only three months later this area became Prince William County. The West End and Alexandria area was included in Truro Parish in 1732, and Fairfax County (including the area that would become Alexandria) was established in June 1742 (Netherton et al. 1978:8-15).

Lord Fairfax held clear title to the Northern Neck Proprietary under the royal grant, but by 1669 the Royal Governor of Virginia had begun issuing grants for parcels of land within the Northern Neck Proprietary and elsewhere in the Commonwealth without regard to the royal grants. Governor Sir William Berkeley issued a patent for a tract containing 6,000 acres to Robert Howson on November 21, 1669. Howson's tract, which included the eastern portion of what would become West End, was granted in compensation "for the transportation of one hundred and twenty persons into this Colony." Howson apparently had little interest in settling his land grant: about three weeks after he obtained ownership, he sold his patent to John Alexander for "consideration of Six Thousand pounds of Tobacco and cask received." Howson was a Welsh sea captain who had previously obtained lands on the Upper Machotic River in Westmoreland County (Fairfax Count Land Records of Long Standing 205-206; Harrison 1978:60).

John Alexander was a planter and speculator, and his descendants would be the driving force in the establishment of Alexandria in the next century. Alexander willed a tract of about 200 acres (later estimated to be about 250 acres) to his daughter, Elizabeth Holmes, in 1677. Holmes Run, one of the tributaries of Cameron Run to the west of West End, probably reflects the association of John and/or Elizabeth Holms with the land (Mitchell 1977:8). At an unknown date after 1682, Elizabeth Holmes Nixon and her second husband, Richard Nixon, conveyed the 250 acre tract to Burr Harrison.

Thomas Harrison inherited the tract from Burr Harrison, and in 1750 Thomas Harrison obtained a patent from Lord Fairfax for an additional 41 acres of mostly lowlands adjacent to his other lands. By 1762, the land had passed from Thomas Harrison to his son, Burr Harrison. John West, Jr. bought the property in 1762, and he obtained a patent from Lord Fairfax for a 74-acre tract of lowlands adjoining his property, including the 41 acres patented to Thomas Harrison in 1750. John West, Jr. bequeathed the property to his son, John West,

in 1775 (Fairfax County Will Book D:4; Fairfax County Deed Book E:186; Northern Neck Grants: F:359; I:129).

The western portion of the West End area was a part of a 627-acre tract patented to John Carr and John Simpson in 1678 by Royal Governor Herbert Jeffereys. In 1681, John Carr sold his moiety, or undivided one-half interest, to Anthony Battalia, who sold it in 1682 to John Holmes. This half interest passed to Robert Hedges in 1698, George Mason in 1729 and his son George Mason at an unknown date, and Hugh West in 1753 (Deed Book C:566; T:398).

The owners of the Northern Neck Proprietary maintained that the patent by Governor Jeffereys was illegal and without force, and in 1695 John Simpson obtained a patent from Lord Fairfax and Lady Culpeper for nearly the same the area contained in the Carr-Simpson patent of 1678. Simpson affirmed Carr's moiety, and Simpson conveyed his moiety to John West in 1698. John West died in 1716, leaving a will in which he bequeathed a 313-acre tract to his grandson John West and another 300-acre tract to his grandson Hugh West; these grandsons were survivors of a son born of the decedent's first wife. By one interpretation of the will, if either of the grandsons died without legal heirs, the respective tract would become the property of the decedent's son John West, who was born of the decedent's second wife. By another interpretation, the rights of one grandson would be inherited by the other grandson if one grandson died without legal heirs, and property would transfer to the son John West only if both grandsons died without legal heirs (Land Records of Long Standing, 1742-1770: 208; Sorenson 1990:172a).

Grandson John West died in infancy, and son John West assumed ownership of the 313-acre tract that would become the western portion of West End. Son John West sold the tract to John Minor in 1735. In 1740, grandson Hugh West (who had been bequeathed the 300-acre tract) brought an ejectment action against Minor and recovered the property. The litigation dragged on, however, and John Minor finally conveyed the property in 1750 to John West Jr., the son of grandson Hugh West (Sorenson 1990:172a). With this settlement, John West, Jr. owned all of the land that would become West End, with the exception of a very small area on the west side of Hooff's Run. When John West, Jr. died in 1777, his sons Thomas West and John West divided his estate at West End. Thomas West retained the portion west of the

dividing line between the original Carr-Simpson and Howson grants, and John West retained the area east of the old dividing line.

Dates and locations of initial settlement in the West End area are difficult to determine, in part because much of the earliest settlement appears to have been done by tenant farmers. Margaret Brent patented a tract of 700 acres in 1653, including the territory on which Alexandria would be established. She continued to live on her plantation on Aquia Creek, but she “perfected” her grant, probably through a tenant farmer who may have been the first English resident of Fairfax County. The date of establishment of Brent’s farm at Alexandria is unknown, but it was probably within five years of the patent date. Settlement remained very sparse in this part of Virginia; an 1673 map indicates only 12 houses along the Potomac River between Occoquan Creek and Roosevelt Island (Harrison 1978:58; Moxham 1974:6-7; Netherton et al. 1978:13; Walker et al. 1993:12).

In 1677, John Alexander conveyed to his daughter lands “where John Coggins [Scoggins?] now lives,” and these lands included part of later West End (Sporacio 1962:96). Coggins may have been a tenant farmer or an employee of John Alexander.

Much of the settlement of the West End/Alexandria vicinity occurred during the “great land boom” of 1720 to 1732. In part this boom originated with the consolidation of title to the Northern Neck Proprietary in the hands of Lord Fairfax, who was interested in obtaining annual ground rent payments for lands granted to prospective developers. Also, the population of the settled areas to the south had increased to the point that lands were seldom available adjacent to existing plantations, and the settled area’s population continued to grow. Tobacco cultivation had probably depleted most of the tillable land of some old plantations by 1720. Perhaps the single most important element of this land boom was a revival in the profitability of growing tobacco after about 1710.

John West had obtained about 5,500 acres in several tracts in the northeastern part of the Northern Neck Proprietary by the early years of the 17th century, but neither he nor any of his children moved to these lands. When his grandson Hugh West moved to what would become Fairfax County in the 1720s, he was among a stream of descendants of Tidewater planters headed into virgin and more expansive tracts in northern Virginia (Hills 1993:2). Tenant farmers continued to be important in the area, however. For example, in 1739, Lee Massey

and his mother came to live “on a tract of land of her’s, about one mile from Alexandria and part of Howsen’s patent...” (Miller 1987:1). Massey and his mother were almost certainly tenant farmers and may have lived in the area of West End.

Very little information has been found concerning specific plantations in the West End. In 1750, John West, Jr., conducted a survey for Thomas Harrison, and a map of the survey (Figure 4-2) shows a dwelling to the west of “Harrison’s Gut,” or the lower portion of Hooff’s Run. Harrison’s land was purchased by John West, Jr. in 1762, and the tract was inherited by John West in 1777. John West and his wife Catherine (daughter of John Colville), lived at “West’s Grove,” which was probably the same location as the building shown on the 1750 survey. His second wife Elizabeth was given a life estate on a small tract at or very near this location under terms of John West’s will in 1806; at the time of his death, John West lived at his plantation near Falls Church (Hills 1993:11; Will Book I:540; Sporacio 1962:96).

In 1750, Hugh West recovered the 313-acre tract that had been in dispute since 1716 (the western portion of West End). By 1754, Hugh West occupied a plantation on or near this tract, possibly on the 300-acre tract to the west that he had inherited from his grandfather. Hugh West’s grandson, Thomas West, may have occupied the plantation buildings after 1777 (Will Book B:74; Deed Books R:182, W:303). Evidence has not been found that the plantation buildings were near the area that would become West End; the buildings were probably some distance to the west.

Many of the large plantations in northeastern Virginia were divided into smaller tracts after the Revolutionary War, when the debts of the planters became unbearable and much of the region shifted to wheat cultivation or diversified agriculture. Thomas and John West divided between themselves the lands of John West, Jr.’s estate in 1778, and each of them subsequently sold portions of his inheritance.

4.2 Rolling Paths and Turnpikes Before 1790

Tobacco plantations, particularly the first and largest plantations, hugged the major rivers and tributaries, where warehouses and wharves were built to store and ship cured tobacco, and where the plantation received from overseas much of the equipment and supplies of foodstuffs

not grown directly on the plantation. The almost universal orientation of the plantations to tobacco culture and water transportation initially retarded the development of inland roads, but the extension of tobacco plantations away from the navigable waterways required the establishment of “rolling paths” on which barrels of cured tobacco could be rolled to a waterfront. Other trails had been used for perhaps thousands of years by Native Americans, including the great Potomac Path that trended north to south through eastern Virginia. Some of these rolling paths and trails were improved and extended as settlement expanded and inland courthouses were established after 1700, to facilitate both transportation of goods and communication between plantations and towns. Intersections of the major roads were propitious locations for inns, taverns, blacksmiths, and villages.

The West End area contained junctions of three early roads, which are shown on a 1755 map (Figure 4-3). The oldest of these routes was the Potomac Path, which began at a ferry crossing of Occoquan Creek and ran northward to Pohick Creek. Above Pohick Creek, the Potomac Path forked into a “river road” (now the approximate Route 1) that served large plantations near the Potomac River including Mount Vernon, and a western “back road” (later Telegraph Road). The forks converged south of Great Hunting Creek. The road crossed the creek near the head of navigation and extended northeastward about a half mile to an intersection with the other roads.

The “back road” became known as the Colchester Road, and it became a colonial post road before 1750 (Hills 1993:9; Netherton et al. 1978:20). It also became the main route for persons traveling from the tidewater Alexandria/Fairfax County area to Dumfries, Fredericksburg, Williamsburg and on to North Carolina. In 1794, Congress established a post road from Washington, D.C. to Fredericksburg, including the Alexandria-Colchester route, and the Postmaster General issued a contract providing for the mail to be transported by stagecoach. In 1808, however, the Assistant Postmaster General conceded that timely transportation of mail by stagecoach along this route was impractical during periods of inclement weather, and that transportation of mail by horseback was acceptable and necessary (Bradley 1808).

A second early road through West End extended to the northwest from an intersection with the Colchester Road, followed an inland ridge to Falls Church and past the site of the First Fairfax County courthouse (now Tyson’s Corner), crossed Difficult Run into Loudoun

County, headed northwest to an intersection with the Carolina Road (the main north-south route through Virginia), and then passed over the Blue Ridge (Hills 1993:9). The general route of this East Ridge Road would be developed as the Leesburg Turnpike and is now the northwest-trending extension of King Street.

The third major road through West End was an east-west route that extended from what would become Alexandria westward to the Shenandoah Valley. This route was originally called the Mountain Road; it would later be developed as the Centerville Turnpike and the Little River Turnpike and is now designated as Duke Street or Route 236. The road extended from the intersection with the Colchester Road westward to Centerville and then to the Little River in Loudoun County. From the opposite bank of the Little River, a road passed through Snicker's Gap in the Blue Ridge, descended into the Shenandoah Valley, and led eventually to Winchester, then the largest town in Virginia west of the Blue Ridge. A more southerly extension of the Mountain Road departed from the bank of Little River, crossed the Blue Ridge at Ashby's Gap, and continued to the Shenandoah River.

The origin of this route is unknown, but at least a rudimentary road probably existed on the eastern part of this route by the time the Great Hunting Creek tobacco inspection point was authorized in 1730. In 1785, the General Assembly granted permission to convert this road into a county-run turnpike. Improvements to the turnpike would be paid by both tolls collected at gates along the road and direct taxes levied in the counties the road passed through. The first turnpike gate west of Alexandria was located just to the east of the intersection of the Colchester Road, and a toll gate existed here at least as early as 1787 (Deed Book Y:533).

The road crossings and a few selected ports became more strategic for commerce as Scots traders altered the traditional mercantile system in Virginia. Scots obtained rights to the English colonial trade under the Act of Union of 1707. Instead of obtaining a planter's tobacco on consignment and returning the proceeds after sale in England, Scots traders established stores at crossroads and ports, where they bought the tobacco and paid the planters immediately, often in credit on their stores. Planters naturally preferred immediate payment, rather than waiting up to two years to receive payment and risking loss at sea of both the crop and provisions bought in England. (Soltow 1959:84).

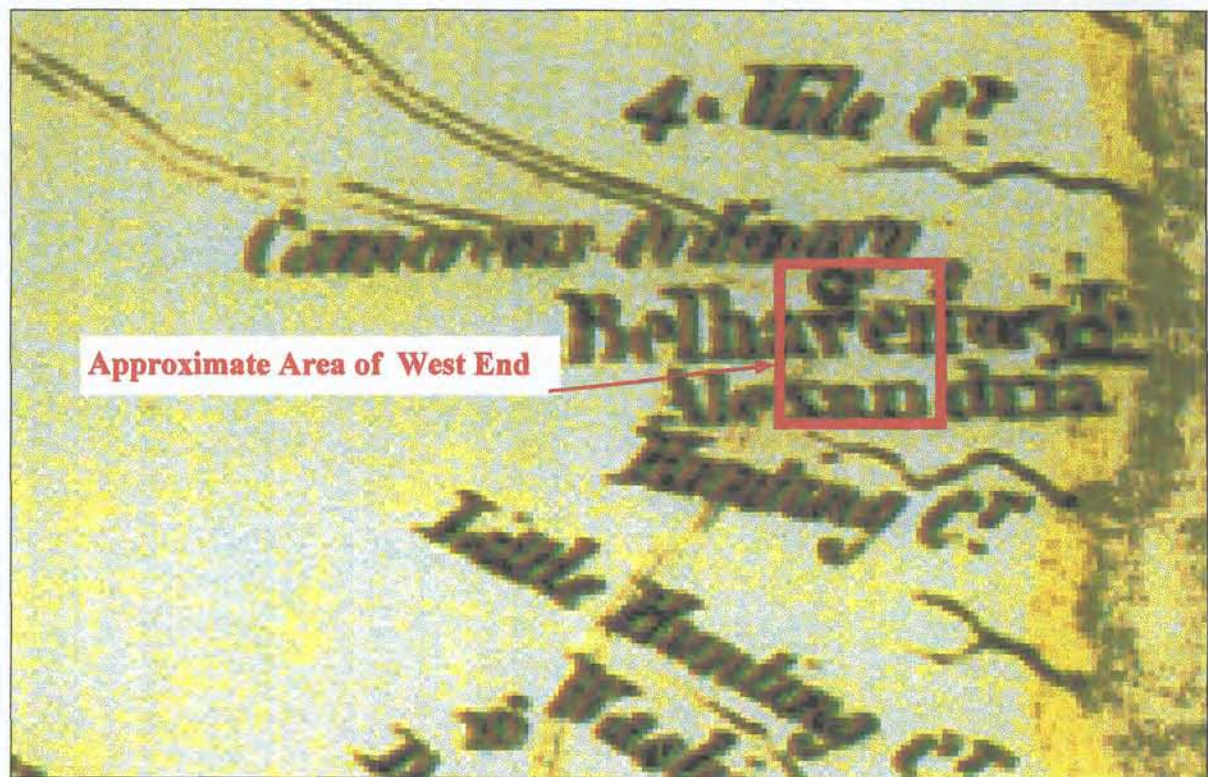
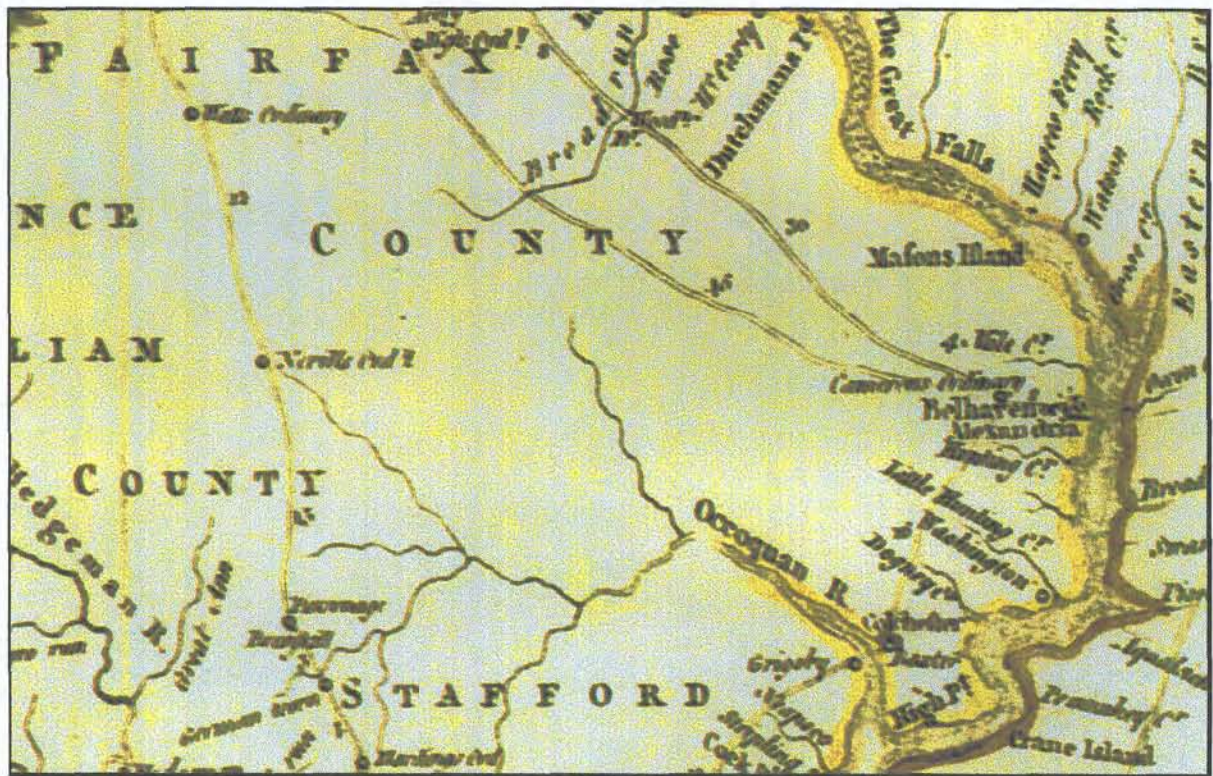


Figure 4-3
Fry and Jefferson's Map of 1751/1755

The tobacco trade was further centralized in 1730, when the General Assembly required that all tobacco would be inspected at a limited number of warehouses prior to export. Five such warehouses would be established in the Northern Neck, at Aquia, Occoquan, Quantico, Dumfries, and Hunting Creek. The inspection stations were intended to be a means of quality control, but the law virtually guaranteed prosperity for the inspection sites. The Hunting Creek inspection point was to be built on land owned by Charles Broadwater, possibly on the south side of the creek near the head of navigation, but in May 1732 Broadwater's land was reported to be inconvenient for the purpose. The inspection point was instead established by Hugh West on Simon Pearson's land, on a crescent-shaped harbor of the Potomac River just north of the mouth of Great Hunting Creek. In 1740, West complemented the warehouse and wharf facilities by establishing a ferry from near his warehouse to the Maryland shore (Miller 1991; Hills 1993:3; Mitchell 1977:36).

The choice of location for the inspection point apparently did not please all of the planters in the vicinity of Great Hunting Creek. Some of the planters preferred that the inspection point be located at the head of navigation on the creek, at a ford called the "wading place," near where the Colchester and the Falls Church roads met and about where Telegraph Road now crosses the creek. An inspection point and warehouse at this location would have relieved the local planters of the need to roll their hogsheads of tobacco two miles to Hugh West's warehouse on the Potomac River, and it would have been equally convenient for planters located to the north and south, who necessarily used the Colchester and Falls Church roads (Harrison 1978:414). This location was also at or very near the site originally designated as the inspection point for the area.

4.3 Cameron

At least two planters, John Colville and John Minor, apparently did not consider the location of the inspection point at Hugh West's warehouse to be an irreversible decision, and they may have hoped to prosper from development of a town and shipping point on lands they owned. In August, 1745, John Minor bought 25 acres on the north side of the creek, at a point "a little below the wading place." Colville had purchased a large plantation on the south side of the creek in 1735, a portion of which was across the creek from Minor's land (Harrison 1978:414; Mitchell and Sweig 1987).

Colville and Minor were men of substance in the region. Colville was born into a family of prosperous English merchants, and he began trading with his own ship on the Potomac River by 1733. He was elected vestryman for Truro Parish in 1734 and 1745, and in 1734 the parish requested that he “procure a discreet and godly minister of the Church of England” on his next voyage there (and provide the minister with free passage). He was named colonel of militia of Prince William County in 1740, and he served in the Virginia General Assembly from 1743 to 1747. John Minor served as a justice in Prince William County and served on the first commission for Fairfax County. He was a vestryman for Truro Parish in 1745. In 1735, Minor obtained the 313 acre tract, adjacent to his other property, that was the subject of the West family feud, and he may have thereby become alienated from Hugh West (Sorenson 1990:172).

In what may have been their first effort to establish a town, Colville and Minor petitioned the General Assembly in 1744 for a charter to establish an ordinary (inn/tavern). Colville and Minor designated the location of the ordinary as “Cameron,” probably in an effort to solicit the patronage of Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron (use of the name Cameron has not been found in earlier documents). Special permission for establishing the ordinary was required from the Assembly because an existing law preserved a ferry operator from having a competing ordinary established within two miles of the ferry. Hugh West entered a counter-petition to the Assembly, complaining that the Cameron ordinary would be within two miles of his ferry, and Colville and Minor’s petition was not passed (Harrison 1978:415).

In 1748, Hugh West and other merchants located near his tobacco warehouse petitioned the Assembly to charter a town to be established along the Potomac riverfront. Colville and Minor recruited Philip Alexander, who owned part of the land that West proposed to be occupied by the town, to file a counter-petition. Alexander requested that a town be established, but that it be located “at the head of Great Hunting Creek on the land of John Minor in the County of Fairfax” (Harrison 1978:406). Colville and Minor’s proposal to establish what would have been the Town of Cameron narrowly failed, and in 1749 West’s group obtained a charter to found Alexandria (Harrison 1978:415).

Despite the failure of the petitions in 1744 and 1748-49, the intersection of the three roads was an attractive location for a business, and Cameron Ordinary was established and operated for many years. The ordinary is shown on a 1751 map (the original version of the feature

shown in Figure 4-3) at the intersection of the roads (Frye and Jefferson 1755). One authority describes the ordinary as a small, two story brick structure (Hills 1993:11). Cameron Ordinary was operated in 1756 by Richard Moxley and provided supplies to soldiers and shelter for at least one person traveling with General Braddock's army on its ill-fated expedition to the west. Eighteenth century ordinaries commonly provided room and board for travelers, and in addition provided forums for local entertainment, meeting places for social clubs and political organizations, and opportunities for communications. Before rural churches and schools became common, the ordinaries largely served the function of community centers (Harrison 1924:310; Walker et al. 1993:17).

The ordinary does not appear to have been the only business in Cameron, and it may not have been the first. In 1735, Thomas West quit-rented a tract of 183 acres on the east side of his property to John Pagan, a merchant of Fairfax County, and Pagan occupied the property until 1744 (Deed Book A:204). Pagan offered for sale on November 23, 1752,

A Lot containing one acre, lying in Fairfax County, Virginia, upon Great Hunting Creek, at a Place commonly known by the name of Cameron, within two miles of Potomac River, convenient to two landings upon the said Creek, in the center of four very public roads, leading up and down the country, and exceedingly well situated for Trade; upon which is a dwelling House 26 feet square, commodious, and neatly finished off, with a cellar of the same dimensions, of a brick wall 7 feet deep, a kitchen 24 feet long and 18 ft. wide, a store house 24 feet square, in which is a counting room 12 feet by 16, with a division in the back part 24 feet by 8; brick chimneys to the whole, and weather boarded with plank; a garden 144 feet square, with all convenient outhouses, and the whole paled in after the best manner. The purchaser to pay one third of the value on entering upon the premises the first of March next (Miller 1987:6-7).

The nature of Pagan's business at Cameron is unknown; in Truro Parish records of 1748-1749, he is listed as being a Presbyterian merchant with three white persons in his household (Steadman 1964). The buildings described above are almost certainly not the ordinary, and therefore Cameron probably had at least two businesses. Cameron Ordinary was a prominent establishment, and Pagan would probably have used that name in his advertisement if he had owned the ordinary.

As a crossroads location, Cameron became a landmark in the region. George Washington mentioned Cameron in his diary in April 1754, and he attended a horse race at Cameron in August 1768. Washington recorded that the general muster for the militia of Fairfax County was held at Cameron in April 1770. A survey map drawn by Washington in 1788 shows distances from Cameron to Mount Vernon and other key locations; Cameron is shown on the map to be a short distance northeast of the ford in Great Hunting Creek (Jackson 1976:175; Walker et al. 1993:18-20).

In 1781, a reconnaissance report for the British army included a notation that “a cluster of houses called Cameron” was located two miles from Alexandria, at a fork in the road beyond Colonel West’s House. The location is vague and general in nature, but the fork in the road very likely was the intersection of the Colchester Road with the Mountain Road (later the Little River Turnpike), near the western edge of the area that would become known as West End. “Colonel West” was John West, who lived to the west of Hooff’s Run. The cluster of houses could conceivably have consisted of the Cameron Ordinary building and Pagan’s house, storehouse, kitchen, and outhouses.

Historians and archaeologists have long debated the nature and exact location of Cameron. A large part of the debate arises from the use of the name for the ordinary and cluster of buildings around it, the prospective town site, the mills, and farms or residences in the general vicinity of the crossroads ordinary. The town proposed for charter in 1748 would have been on John Minor’s land, and he then owned the property containing the ordinary. Minor may have considered platting the town around the ordinary or from the ordinary southward to the landing on Great Hunting Creek. However, town sites were seldom officially surveyed before a charter was issued, and evidence has not been found that the proposed town was platted or had any commercial or residential development other than the cluster of structures at the crossroads.

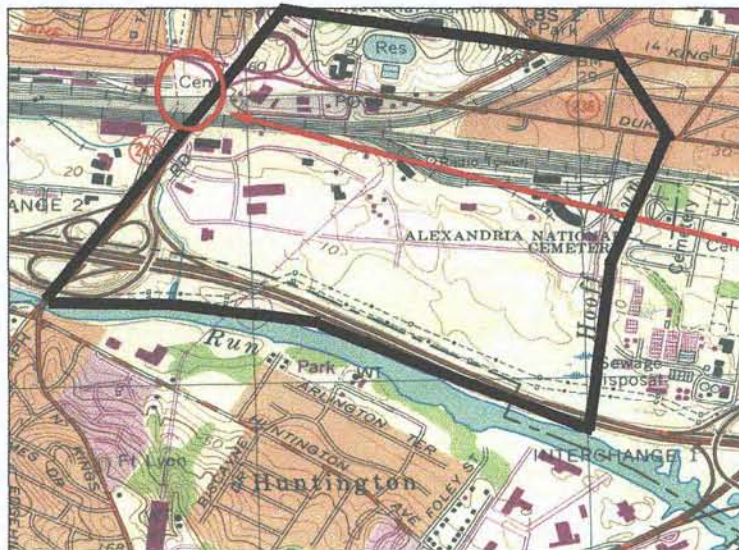
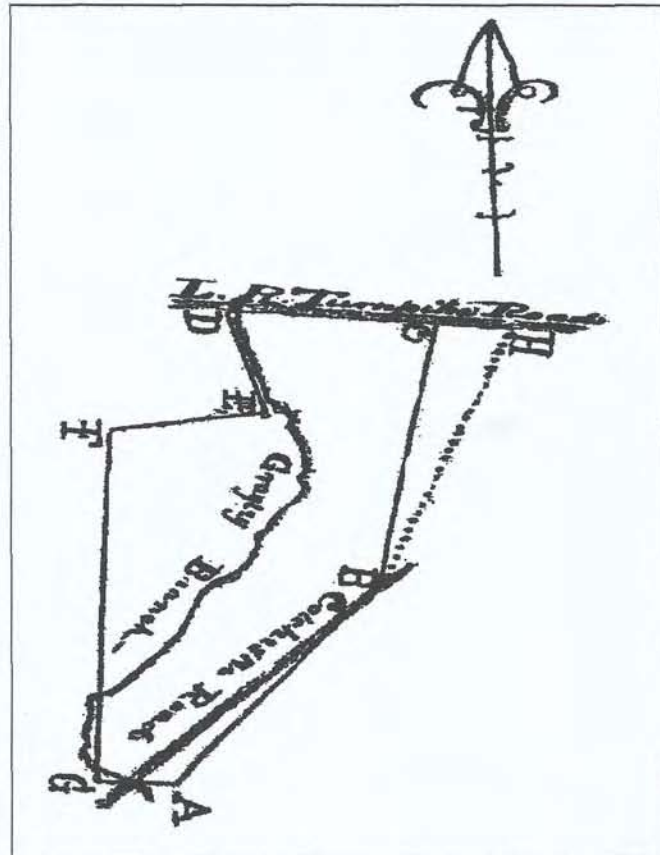
One historian believed that Thomas West may have converted the old Cameron Ordinary into his residence after he inherited the land in 1777, but direct evidence to that effect has not been found (Hills 1993:57). Hugh West devised a plantation on which he lived to his son John West in 1754, with a life estate to his wife on the same property. John West’s will, filed in 1775, indicated that his mother, the widow of Hugh West, still lived on a tract of 627 acres (Will Book D:4). The 1754 and 1775 wills do not make reference to Cameron, to an

ordinary, or to a store. Census records indicate Thomas West had one dwelling and six other buildings on his property in Fairfax County in 1785, and in 1785-1787 his household included 8 white persons, 15 Negroes, and horses and cattle. Again, the inventory of buildings did not include a store or ordinary. As discussed above, George Washington used Cameron as a landmark in 1788, which may indicate at least some of the crossroads structures were still in existence at that time. The evidence implies, but does not verify, that Thomas West's plantation home was distinct from the group of buildings at Cameron.

Thomas West moved to Alexandria before 1791, and he is listed in a city directory of that year as owning and occupying one property and owning another property in the city. In that year, West took out three mortgages on his farm, which was either located at Cameron or called Cameron Plantation (or both):

... a certain piece or parcel of land lately purchased by the said John Stump and John Thomas Ricketts of Major Thomas West as will appear by a deed of conveyance bearing date April 20th last from Major Thomas West William Payne and George Minor who are also parties in the aforementioned deed, the lands covered by the aforesaid recited deed, being a part of said West's **Cameron plantation** which is held by the said William Hepburn and John Dundas by three different Mortgages from the said Major Thomas West the first mortgage bearing date on or about ... [1/8/1791] the second Mortgage dated on or about ... [4/2/1791], and the third Mortgage bearing date on or about ... [8/13/1791] (Deed Book W:303).

William Ward began operating a tavern on the west side of the Colchester Road in 1791, on land sold to him by Thomas West (Deed Books R2:101, G2:8, 39). Ward's establishment included a billiard table, and cock fights were held in a pit behind the tavern. Ward operated the tavern until he died in 1794, but the tavern is reported to have operated into the next century (Hills 1993:48). Thomas West's removal to Alexandria might have allowed Ward to resume operation of the establishment that had been known as Cameron Ordinary. A plat of Ward's lot is shown on Figure 4-4. Although the Georgetown Road is not shown on this plat, the road departed from the Colchester Road at Point B on the plat. Ward's tavern was probably at the southern end of his lot, because his cock pit was actually on another lot to the east of that point (Deed Book N-3:262).



**Area of Survey Map
Shown Above**

Figure 4-4
Survey of William Ward's Property, 1791
(Ward's Tavern was probably at the southern end of his lot)

Flour mills were the most enduring commercial feature of Cameron. John Colville operated a mill in the vicinity of Cameron in the 1740s. One authority believes this mill was located on Colville's property on the south side of Great Hunting Creek (Mitchell and Sweig 1987), but the basis for this assumption appears to be the location of Colville's land. John Minor nominally controlled the 313-acre West tract from 1735 to 1750, on which the ordinary was located. Because Minor and Colville were prospective partners in the ordinary, it is possible that Colville's mill was built at or near the ordinary and became known as Cameron Mill. John Carlyle, a Scots merchant like Pagan, also operated a mill in the vicinity of Cameron, and it is possible that the original Cameron mill was built by Carlyle. A mill may have been in operation at Cameron by 1752, and certainly an old mill existed there in 1790 (Harrison 1978:414; Knepper and Pappas 1990; Mitchell and Sweig 1987:96-97; Miller 1991:59).

In 1790, Thomas West sold a tract of eight acres to William Bird, who intended to improve or rebuild an existing gristmill on the property (the mill built by Colville or Carlyle). In 1791, Bird sold a half-interest in the mill to John Stump and John Ricketts. Stump and Ricketts bought a 22-acre tract to the west of Bird's property in 1793 and constructed a mill. The two mills shared use of a millrace that diverted water from Stoney Branch to the northwest of the mills. Bird sold his mill to John Mandeville in 1794, and the property passed by court order to John C. Vowell and Thomas Vowell in 1798. The Vowells apparently operated Bird's mill until 1825, when they sold it to the heirs of John Stump and John Ricketts, who were still operating the Stump/Ricketts mill. John Stump's heirs obtained complete title to both mills in 1830, and the mills continued to operate in various capacities under a succession of owners until after 1900. These mills were called Cameron Mills at least as early as 1796, and the mills are shown as such on an 1798 map, Figure 4-5 (Knepper and Pappas 1990:9; Deed Book Z:175).

John Ricketts purchased 241 acres of land between 1791 and 1830, and his property became known as Cameron, as indicated in an 1834 deed:

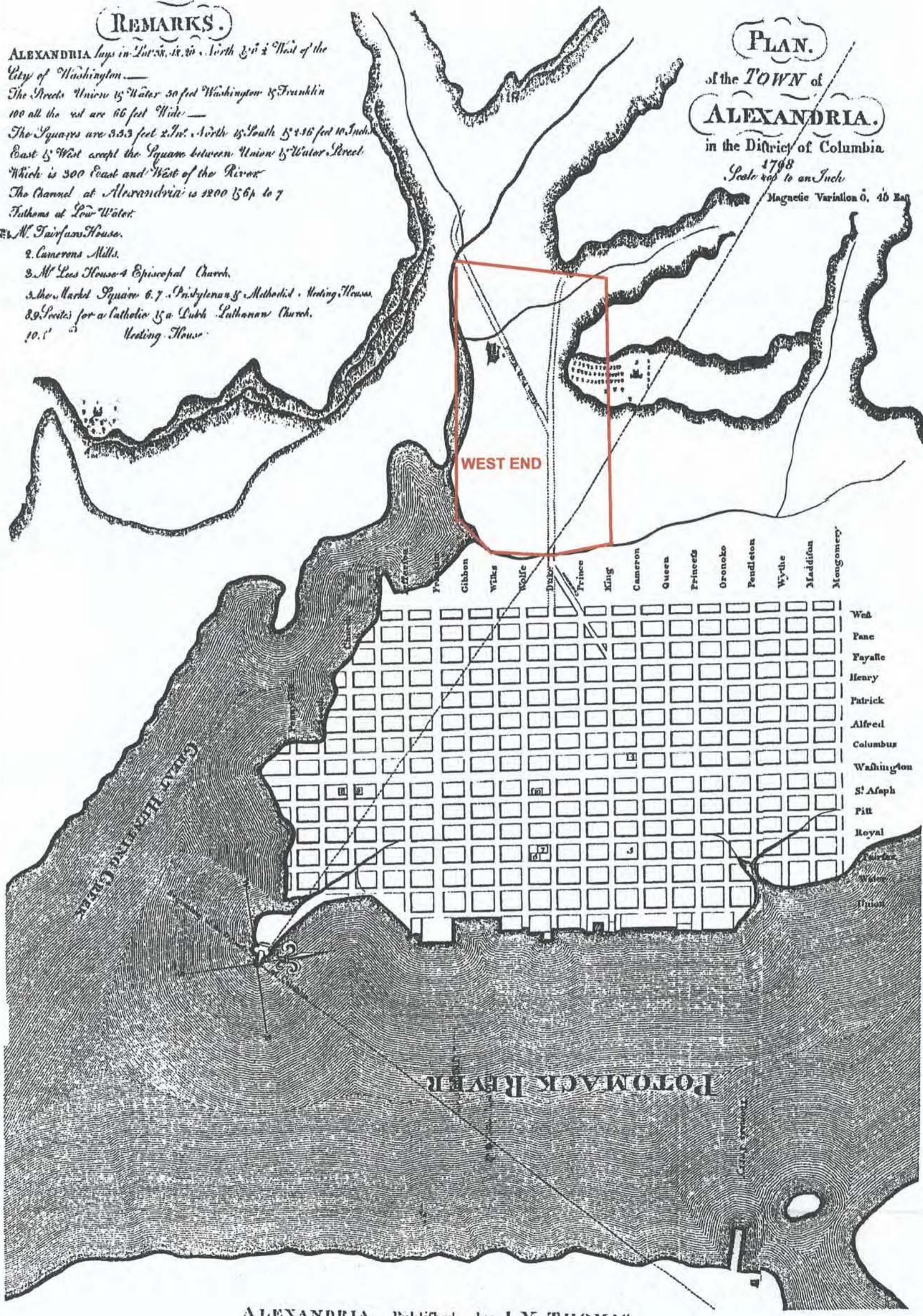
... in consideration of \$5500.00 ... sell a parcel of ground where the said John Ricketts now resides known by the name Cameron within one mile of the town of Alexandria, and binding on the little river Turnpike on the north the waters of the great hunting creek on the south, the Colchester road on the west, and the Cameron Mill lane leading from said turnpike road to the waters of the said creek on the east supposed to contain about 150 acres.... (Deed Book B3:109).

REMARKS.

ALEXANDRIA lays in Lat. 38. 28. 20 North & 77 2 West of the City of Washington —
 The Streets Union & Water 50 feet Washington & Franklin 100 all the rest are 66 feet Wide —
 The Squares are 333 feet 2 In. North & South 54 16 feet 10 In. East & West except the Square between Union & Water Street Which is 300 East and West of the River
 The Channel at Alexandria is 1200 & 64 to 7 Fathoms at Low Water.
 1. M. Fairfairs House.
 2. Camerons Mills.
 3. M. Lees House & Episcopal Church.
 4. The Market Square 6. 7. Presbyterians & Methodist Meeting Houses.
 8. 9. Sites for a Catholic & a Dutch Lutheran Church.
 10. 11 Meeting House.

PLAN.
 of the TOWN of
ALEXANDRIA.
 in the District of Columbia.

1798
 Scale 400 to an Inch
 Magnetic Variation 0. 40 East



ALEXANDRIA. Published by L.V. THOMAS.

Figure 4-5
 Gilpin's Map of Alexandria, 1798

SECTION FOUR

SETTLEMENT AND COMMERCE, 1649-1790

This deed and others indicates that the name Cameron became applied exclusively to the property containing the mills. For example, an 1830 deed is for “a certain tract of land having mills on it commonly called cameron” (Hills 1993:11; Deed Books W:303; Z-2:179; B-3:109; M-3:215; 65:346). This tract was still known as Cameron Farm in 1915, after the mills ceased operation and the area was annexed to Alexandria (Alexandria Deed Book 65:346). Land records do not identify other tracts as being at Cameron after 1795, including the deeds conveying the land at the crossroads where William Ward had operated his tavern from 1791 to 1794. However, the name Cameron continued to be applied to the general area and, apparently, to individual properties in the area. For example, Confederate General Samuel Cooper’s Cameron plantation on the south side of Great Hunting Creek was destroyed to allow construction of Fort Lyon in 1861 (Louis Berger & Associates 1984; Smith and Miller 1989:150).

The exact location of the Cameron Ordinary and John Pagan’s store may never be known because descriptions in deeds were vague and the road intersections were shifted at least once. However, all evidence indicates these establishments were north of Great Hunting Creek and very near the intersection of the Colchester Road and the Mountain Road/Centerville Turnpike. The mill tract that assumed the name Cameron beginning in the 1790s was located to the east of the crossroads and at times included the crossroads location. The mill and crossroads tracts were at the western edge of the area later considered to be West End. Cameron’s taverns, store, mills, and function as an assembly point for local government and trade preceded very similar road-related institutions and functions at West End.

4.4 Plantation Subdivision Begins at West End

Proximity to Alexandria and the business opportunities offered by the intersection of roads contributed to the end of the plantation era in the area that would become West End. The open fields and pastures of the area were attractive to businessmen in Alexandria, who could easily manage small farms or livestock herds from their homes in the city. The roads carried ever-increasing traffic to the city, and businessmen in Alexandria began to recognize the possibility for increased trade just outside the city. Moreover, traditional tobacco-dominated agriculture was nearing its end in northern Virginia, and plantation owners began seeking other means to profit from their properties.

The West family began leasing parcels of their land in Fairfax County to other parties at least as early as 1735, as has been discussed above, but none of the West End properties were actually transferred from family ownership until 1787. Perhaps in response to declining profits from their lands or generous offers from wealthy Alexandria residents, both John and Thomas West began selling parcels of their inheritances in 1787-1788. Lands alienated by the Wests are shown on Figure 4-6 below, along with known or suspected land uses up to 1790.

In 1787 John West sold a 36-acre tract (C in Figure 4-6) on the north side of the turnpike and the west side of Hooff's Run to Philip R. Fendall and Charles Lee. At least a portion of this tract had been occupied "by a certain Lucas" at the time West sold the property. Charles Lee was an attorney who lived in Alexandria. Fendall also lived in Alexandria and owned 17 slaves in 1787; in 1791 he owned and occupied a boarding house on Oronoco Street (Census 1787; City Directory 1791). Fendall and Lee's use of the property is unknown; they may have speculated on rising value of land just outside the District of Columbia boundary, or they may have used the land for pasture, or both.

About 1788, John West sold to William Lyles a 10-acre tract on the northern edge of his land (A2), through which King Street would eventually be extended. According to 1804 tax roles, Lyles owned a large amount of rural land in Fairfax County, and the Lyles family would remain as farmers and craftsmen along the Little River Turnpike until after 1900. Lyles sold the tract to Henry Lee in 1791 (Deed Book U:239).

Prior to 1790, Thomas West sold a tract of eight acres (E2) to William Bird, who rebuilt an existing gristmill on the property, to be powered by water from a millrace run from Stoney Branch to the west. In May 1790, Bird granted a half interest in his mill to John Stump and John Thomas Ricketts.

Thomas West sold a 25-acre tract (E), extending from Great Hunting Creek to the Centerville Turnpike and crossed by the Colchester Road, to William Duvall in 1788. Duvall's use of the land is unknown, but he may have operated a farm. Duvall owned two residences in Alexandria in 1791, one of which he occupied with his family. Tax records do not indicate a valuation for buildings on the 25-acre property between 1789 and 1793, probably meaning

that Duvall did not have structures worth taxing on the property (Alexandria City Directory 1791; Fairfax County Tax Rolls).

Table 4-1: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1777-1790

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
A2	John West, 1777-1788 William Lyles, 1788-1791	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
C	John West, 1777-1787 Philip Fendall and Charles Lee, 1787-1791	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
E1	Thomas West, 1777-1788 Thomas Duvall, 1788-1793	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
E2	Thomas West, 1777-ca. 1790 William Bird, ca. 1790-1790 W. Bird, J.T. Ricketts, J. Stump, 1790-1794	Old mill on property before 1790; Bird's Mill on property from 1790 to after 1900.

Subdivision of the West plantations had begun by 1790, but the West End area remained dominated by agriculture. No industries or other businesses are known to have operated in the West End area in 1790, although William Bird may have returned the old mill to operation by the end of that year. Within the following decade, however, West End would become a magnet for small businesses of many kinds and it would be extensively subdivided.

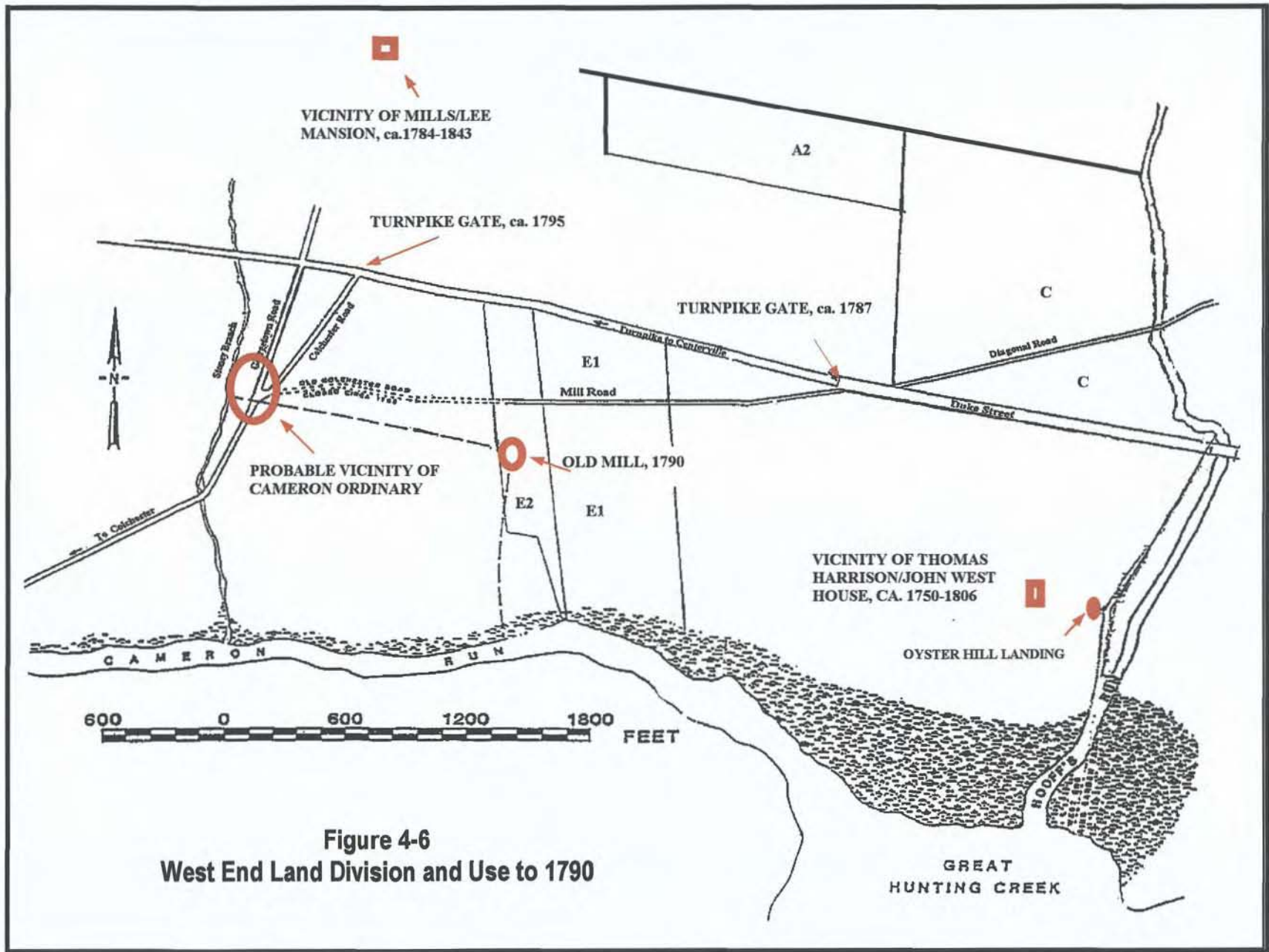


Figure 4-6
West End Land Division and Use to 1790

5.1 Alexandria and the Western Trade

Alexandria flourished around the tobacco inspection point and the port. The townsite was laid out in 1749 by surveyors George Washington and John West, Jr. According to a plan devised by John Alexander, the 60-acre original townsite was divided into half-acre blocks separated by wide streets, and the town's charter required that any additions to the original plat would be laid out in a similar manner. To encourage actual settlement, rather than lot speculation, owners of the lots were required to construct a house of wood, brick or stone within two years of purchase of the lots. Shipping of tobacco to England and shipping of consumer goods to the colony increased steadily in the first decade of the town's existence, and Alexandria had a population of about 1,700 persons by 1755 (Preisser 1977:53; Shephard 1989:5).

Alexandria's early economy was heavily dominated by the tobacco trade, although ship-building and other marine-related industries contributed to local prosperity. The city's tobacco business was enhanced in 1765, when the Virginia General Assembly enacted a law that required that all tobacco be taken to a designated public warehouse for inspection prior to shipping (Shomette 1985:40).

By that time, however, agriculture in Virginia had begun to change. A series of droughts and crop shortages struck the expanding populations of England, the West Indies, and Southern Europe in the late 1750's. By the middle of the next decade, prices for American wheat soared, and production of wheat for export became profitable. Many Virginia planters either quit the mercurial tobacco cultivation or augmented their tobacco crop with wheat, particularly those planters with relatively small acreage or with limited means to support the labor force needed for tobacco cultivation. The established planters were joined by hundreds of German and Scots-Irish, who emigrated from Pennsylvania to the Shenandoah Valley and the northwestern Piedmont area, and who were well acquainted with cultivation of corn and wheat.

By 1752, the Shenandoah Valley was recognized by Tidewater Virginians as a source of food for the tobacco-dominated area, but the difficulties of transporting grain and other products left Valley farmers economically isolated and virtually limited to subsistence farming. Grain production expanded dramatically in the Valley during the French and Indian War, when the

British/colonial army purchased grain to provision troops operating to the west of the Valley. Following the war, Valley farmers began marketing their produce through the ports of Philadelphia, Baltimore, Colchester, Fredericksburg, and Alexandria. The American Revolution effectively opened the ports of the world to American grain and flour, and Alexandria's position in the trade was strengthened as a result of improvements made by soldiers to roads between the city and the Shenandoah Valley (Hills 1993:16-18).

Alexandria's importance as a port, and particularly as a wheat and flour port, continued to grow after the Revolution. A naval office was established at Alexandria in 1780 for inspection and registration of all ships incoming or outgoing on the Potomac River, and in 1784 the General Assembly selected Alexandria as the point at which ships entering or leaving the Potomac would pay import or export fees. Under Virginia's Flour Inspection Act of 1787, Alexandria became the northern-most inspection site at which all flour bound for export was required to be inspected. Largely as a result of the grain and flour trade, exports at Alexandria nearly tripled in value from 1791 to 1796, from \$381,000 to \$1,100,000. Markets continued to expand in the Caribbean and in a Europe that seemed to be perpetually at war. A number of flour mills were established in Alexandria and on virtually every stream in the surrounding area that would support a waterwheel. Many of the mills built in this period were "merchant" mills that produced fine flour for sale and export, in difference to "country" or "common" mills that generally produced a coarser grade of flour from consigned wheat for local consumption (Hills 1993:19-20).

The city grew rapidly under these conditions, and as it grew it created a market for meat that also was abundant in the Shenandoah Valley. As early as the 1740s, livestock owners in North Carolina drove cattle and hogs to the Valley, where Valley farmers fattened the animals on grain. Valley farmers then drove the fattened animals to Alexandria and other markets, where the animals typically brought twice the original purchase price. Herds across the South were decimated by disease and drought in the 1760s, but the demand for meat to supply armies during the Revolutionary War resulted in a rapid expansion of the livestock business in the Shenandoah Valley. Large-scale breeding and grazing of animals shifted westward from the Valley after the war, but Valley farmers expanded their role in finishing and fattening animals for sale in Alexandria and other Eastern Seaboard towns.

The grain, flour, and meat trade spawned a host of related businesses in Alexandria and along the major roads leading to the agricultural hinterlands. Bakeries prepared goods for local consumption but also produced bread and biscuits for export. Brewers and distillers converted grain to beer and liquor. Butchers and fish-packers likewise served both local and export markets. Tanners produced leather from cattle hides, and leather workers produced shoes, harnesses, and a variety of other products. Wagon makers, wheelrights, blacksmiths, stables, and ordinaries provided repair and repast services in Alexandria and along the routes to the town. By 1795, Alexandria was a vibrant, expanding town thoroughly engaged in procuring, processing, and selling the products of the Shenandoah Valley and other farming areas to the west of the town. Tobacco cultivation was virtually extinct in Fairfax County by 1840 (Chittenden et al. 1988:III-H5-1).

Alexandria also had a disadvantage that wasn't immediately recognized. Congress had passed the Residency Act in 1790, authorizing a ten-square-mile district as a permanent seat for the federal government. The Act stipulated a general area in which the district could be located but left the specific location to President Washington. Washington chose a location for the federal city at the extreme southern end of the mandated area, and he requested and obtained from Congress a supplemental act that shifted the southern boundary to Great Hunting Creek. When the District of Columbia was surveyed in 1791-92, all of Alexandria was within the boundaries of the District. The western border of the District ran southeast-northwest between the platted area of Alexandria and West End, except that the northeastern corner of West End was within the District.

Alexandrians hoped the federal capitol building would be located on top of Shooter's Hill. Much to the contrary, on a request from President Washington, Congress stipulated that no federal buildings were to be built in the Virginia portion of the District of Columbia. At first overjoyed to have the special status of being in the District, Alexandrians soon began to realize that very little economic benefit would come their way from the designation, and in fact they were no longer directly represented in either Congress or the Virginia General Assembly. Alexandria would remain in the District of Columbia until the Virginia portion of the District was retroceded to Virginia in 1846. The western District boundary is shown as a diagonal line of Figure 5-1.

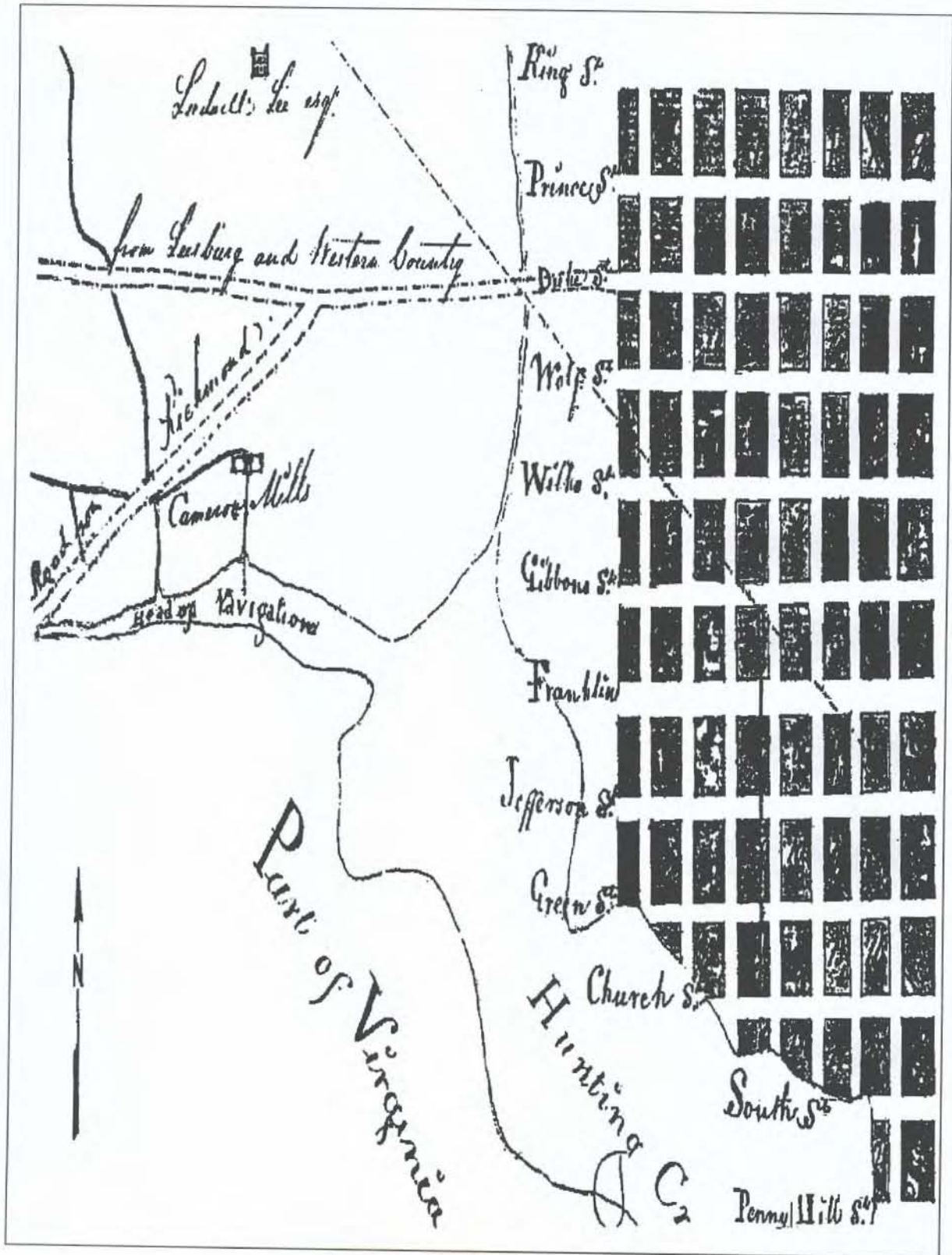


Figure 5-1
Map of Alexandria, 1804

5.2 Turnpikes and Related Development

By 1790 Alexandria's growing economy depended heavily on traffic over the two roads extending from the town to the Shenandoah Valley, the "mountain road" or Centerville Turnpike and the "eastern ridge road." Unlike the rolling of hogsheads of tobacco, which may have steadily improved a road, transportation of wheat required heavy wagons that steadily degraded most road surfaces. The difficulties and cost in transporting grain to Alexandria over poorly constructed and maintained roads led some Valley farmers to take their grain to markets other than Alexandria. Upgrading of the roads became vital as competition increased among ports and potential for permanent loss of trade loomed for Alexandria merchants.

The "mountain road" extended from the intersection with the Colchester Road at Cameron westward to Centerville and then to the Little River in Loudoun County. From the opposite bank of the Little River, a road passed through Snicker's Gap in the Blue Ridge, descended into the Shenandoah Valley, and led eventually to Winchester, then the largest town in Virginia west of the Blue Ridge. A more southerly extension of the "mountain road" departed from the bank of Little River, crossed the Blue Ridge at Ashby's Gap, and continued to the Shenandoah River. The "eastern ridge road" ran to the north of the "mountain road." Originally from Cameron and later from an extension of King Street, this road ran northwestward to Falls Church, across Difficult and Broad runs, across the Blue Ridge at Vestal's Gap, and to Charles Town, just west of Harpers Ferry (Hills 1993:33-34).

Virginia's general road maintenance system relied on a 1555 English law, under which county courts appointed precinct road surveyors, who could call on any tithable residents at any time to work on roads. In recognition of the need to improve the vital roads between Alexandria and the Shenandoah Valley, and in recognition that the old system had not worked, the General Assembly in 1785 granted permission for conversion of the two roads into county-operated toll roads, which would be known as the Centerville Turnpike and the Eastern Ridge Road. The act commissioned nine men to set up one or more turnpike gates within five miles of Alexandria, to generate revenue to support upkeep of the two roads and a third road leading from Alexandria to Georgetown.

Additional revenue for roadwork would be obtained through tax levies in each of the counties containing portions of the roads. In 1787, the General Assembly removed the county levies,

allowed riding carriages to pass without charge while going to or from Alexandria, allowed free passage for any vehicle traveling a quarter mile or less on a turnpike, and excused tithables from annual work detail if they lived more than three miles from the portion of road needing repairs (Hills 1993:31).

The first turnpike gate west of Alexandria was located just to the east of the intersection of the Colchester Road, and a toll gate existed here at least as early as 1787 (Deed Book Y:533). The apparent original route of the Colchester Road, between the turnpike and Great Hunting Creek, passed near the Cameron Mills. Possibly as early as 1796, however, a portion of this route had been abandoned except for local travel to the mills, and the intersection of the Colchester Road with the turnpike was moved about a quarter mile to the west. The toll gate was subsequently moved from its original location a little to the west of the intersection of Diagonal Road with the turnpike, to near the current intersection of Telegraph Road and Route 236 (Deed Book Z:175; Fairfax County Chancery Records, Cff#40-D).

The Centerville Turnpike ended at the toll gate in the western portion of West End, and most commercial traffic followed an access road (now Diagonal Road) that ran northeasterly from the toll gate to a meeting with King Street extended west from the platted town. When West End was created in 1795, Duke Street was extended to a direct meeting with the line of the turnpike at the toll gate. Thereafter, a growing number of wagons continued eastward into Alexandria on Duke Street. To accommodate heavy wagons and more traffic, a stone bridge was built in 1797 to replace an original wooden bridge over Hooff's Run. King Street merchants may have felt threatened by this traffic shift; in January 1798, they made plans to both improve the existing access road from the toll gate to King Street and to construct another street (Commerce Street) from King Street to a point just east of the stone bridge (Hills 1993:78).

The county-operated toll system did not yield enough income to allow substantial improvement or even adequate maintenance of the roads. In 1803, the average rate of travel on turnpikes between Alexandria and the Shenandoah Valley was estimated to be three miles per hour, and ten miles per day was the maximum distance attainable. In 1806, the mail stage ran between Alexandria and Winchester by way of the Eastern Ridge Road; it took 51 hours to travel about 100 miles. When the Potomac Company failed to complete its waterway to the Shenandoah River and grain prices rose as a result of an outbreak of war in Europe in

1793, representatives of towns and counties from Alexandria westward petitioned the General Assembly in 1795 to allow organization of a private turnpike company. Although this was a relatively new concept, it had been used successfully in Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Connecticut (Hills 1993:38)

The General Assembly incorporated the Fairfax and Loudoun Turnpike Company in 1795. Under its charter, the company was allowed two years to raise capital of \$250,000 and to elect officers, and seven years to construct a turnpike along a route similar to the existing Centerville Turnpike. The company attempted to sell subscriptions at the same time as the Potomac Company attempted to obtain additional funding for its water projects, and the two companies were seen to be competitors. The General Assembly favored the latter company by extending its authority to sell stock and then by purchasing some of the stock, but it did not offer similar help to the turnpike company. The turnpike company failed to obtain its required funding, and it did not complete the road (Hills 1993:79).

In May, 1801, representatives of Frederick, Shenandoah, Berkeley, and Loudoun counties petitioned the General Assembly to charter a new private turnpike road. The Assembly approved the petition, and the Little River Turnpike Company came into being on January 28, 1802. Among the ten commissioners appointed by the Assembly were John Thomas Ricketts, a West End/Cameron miller, and William Hartshorne, who was an Alexandria merchant and a Fairfax County miller. As the commissioners began the tasks of organizing the company and selling stock, the Potomac Company completed its waterway on the Potomac, by which Shenandoah Valley farmers could transport their grain to Alexandria cheaper and faster than by turnpike. Shipping on the waterway was dependent on high water, however, which occurred as little as 33 days per year. Also, the waterway departed from the far northern end of the Shenandoah Valley, leaving much of the Valley in need of transportation (Hills 1993:83).

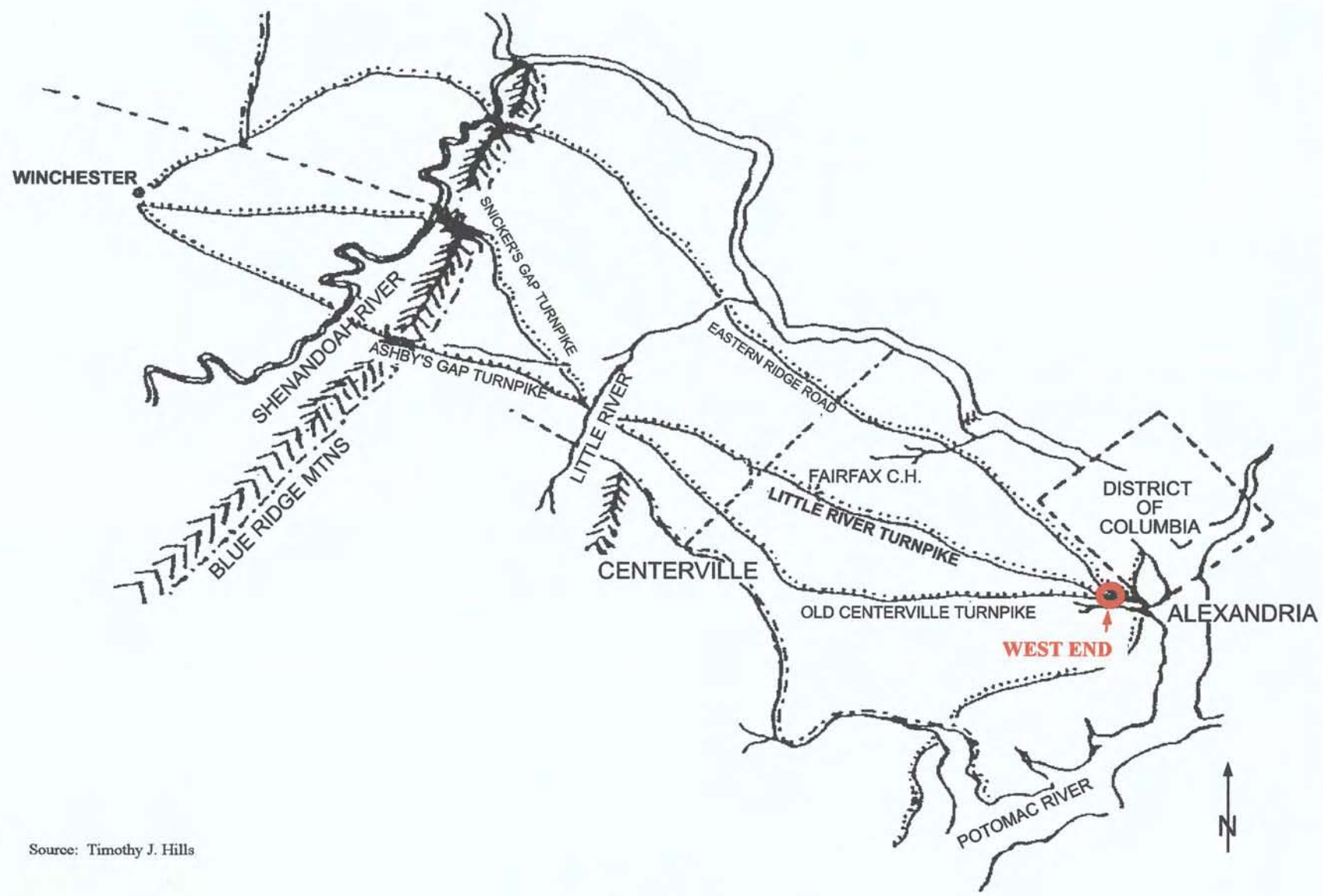
Under its original charter, the Little River Turnpike Company was authorized to raise \$40,000 to build a roadbed 30 feet wide and paved only at its worst spots. After an initial \$20,000 in stock had been sold, company officials met in West End on October 1, 1802 and agreed to petition the General Assembly for permission to fund and build a more substantial road. In January 1803 the General Assembly authorized the company to increase its capital stock by as much as an additional \$50,000 and to build a 50-foot wide road with a 20-foot paved section.

The company's charter required it to begin construction at the stone bridge at the head of Duke Street, and this provision ensured that most of the traffic in the Alexandria vicinity would necessarily pass through West End. The traffic on the turnpike would certainly enhance the viability of the merchant and craftsman enterprises along the route.

Construction of the turnpike began at the Duke Street bridge in the spring of 1803. From the bridge to the toll gate, the road was constructed in a convex form and 66 feet wide, to conform with Alexandria's Duke Street. Westward from the toll gate, the road was 56 feet wide. Each side of the road was ditched, and stone conduits were installed to drain water from the roadway. The 20-foot wide "artificial road," usually at the center of the roadway, was paved with stone to a depth of 9 to 12 inches. During winter months when the roadway was often wet or muddy, traffic was expected to use only the paved roads. From May to December, traffic was restricted to the unpaved "summer roads." As early as 1830, some sections of the road were macadamized to provide an all-weather surface (Hunter 1975:5, 6, 123; O'Kane 1985; Hills 1993:99).

The first section of the turnpike, from Duke Street west about four miles to Trough Hill, was completed in 1803. From the toll gate to Trough Hill, this section coincided almost entirely with the route of the Centerville Turnpike. In December 1803, the Little River Turnpike Company decided to route the turnpike to the north of the old Centerville route, to the site of the new Fairfax County Courthouse (Fairfax) and then westward to Aldie on the Little River. The route of the Little River Turnpike is shown on Figure 5-2. The first ten-mile segment of the turnpike was completed and opened for traffic in December 1806. The entire 34-mile turnpike was completed and opened for traffic in January 1812.

To complete the turnpike system from the Little River to the Shenandoah Valley, the General Assembly authorized construction of the Ashby's Gap Turnpike and the Snicker's Gap Turnpike in 1810. When the last segment of the Ashby's Gap Turnpike was opened for traffic in 1819, Alexandria finally had its improved conduit to the grain fields of the Shenandoah Valley. This system was augmented by the completion of a turnpike from Fairfax Courthouse to Fauquier Courthouse in Warrenton, and by completion of a three-mile turnpike from the Washington Bridge in Alexandria to the eastern end of the Little River Turnpike. The three-mile turnpike served to funnel more traffic through West End (Hills 1993:104-109).



Source: Timothy J. Hills

Figure 5-2
Route of Little River Turnpike

At \$6,292 per mile, the Little River Turnpike was the second most expensive turnpike built in Virginia. At an average annual repair cost of \$180 per mile from 1816 to 1848, it was also the most expensive turnpike in the state to maintain. However, the care taken in construction and maintenance of the road ensured steady traffic, and the company paid dividends in most years after 1817. Little River Turnpike remained a private toll road until 1896, when it was assumed by the State of Virginia. In 1923 the road was substantially upgraded to carry automobile traffic, and the portion through West End was widened by construction on the south side in the early 1990s (Hunter 1975:5, 6; O’Kane 1985).

5.3 Subdivision and Commercial Development at West End, 1790-1796

As Alexandria’s population and Shenandoah Valley trade grew, the West End area became increasingly attractive for commercial activities along the Centerville Turnpike and for agricultural activities of Alexandria residents. John and Thomas West accordingly either quit-rented or sold parcels from the lands they had inherited from John West, Jr. Although most of the area of West End remained in traditional agricultural uses, the character of the area substantially changed by 1796, from relatively large tracts reflecting the plantation heritage to smaller tracts reflecting the area’s connection to Alexandria. Land division and use are discussed below and illustrated on Figure 5-3

William Duvall sold his 25-acre property (E1 of Figure 5-3) to William Herbert in 1793 (Deed Book W:330). Herbert owned a substantial amount of property in Alexandria, and he was president of a bank by 1810. Herbert was also substantially involved with livestock raising or buying and possibly with farming in Fairfax County. In 1787, he owned 70 cattle, 7 horses or mules, and 29 slaves in Fairfax County, in addition to his household livestock and slaves in Alexandria. In the Census of 1800, he is listed only under Alexandria, with only one horse and eight slaves (Census 1787, 1800). Tax records indicate that Herbert invested in a number of tracts in Fairfax County until at least 1816, and William Herbert, Jr. continued investing in Fairfax lands until at least 1831 (Fairfax County Tax Rolls). The tax rolls did not indicate that valuable (taxable) buildings existed on this property.

William Herbert sold a 6-acre parcel (E1a on Figure 5-3), that ran from the south side of the Colchester Road to the turnpike, to John Thomas Ricketts in 1795 (Deed Books Y:71, Z:170). In October 1796, Ricketts sold a 7/8-acre tract (northwestern part of F on Figure 5-

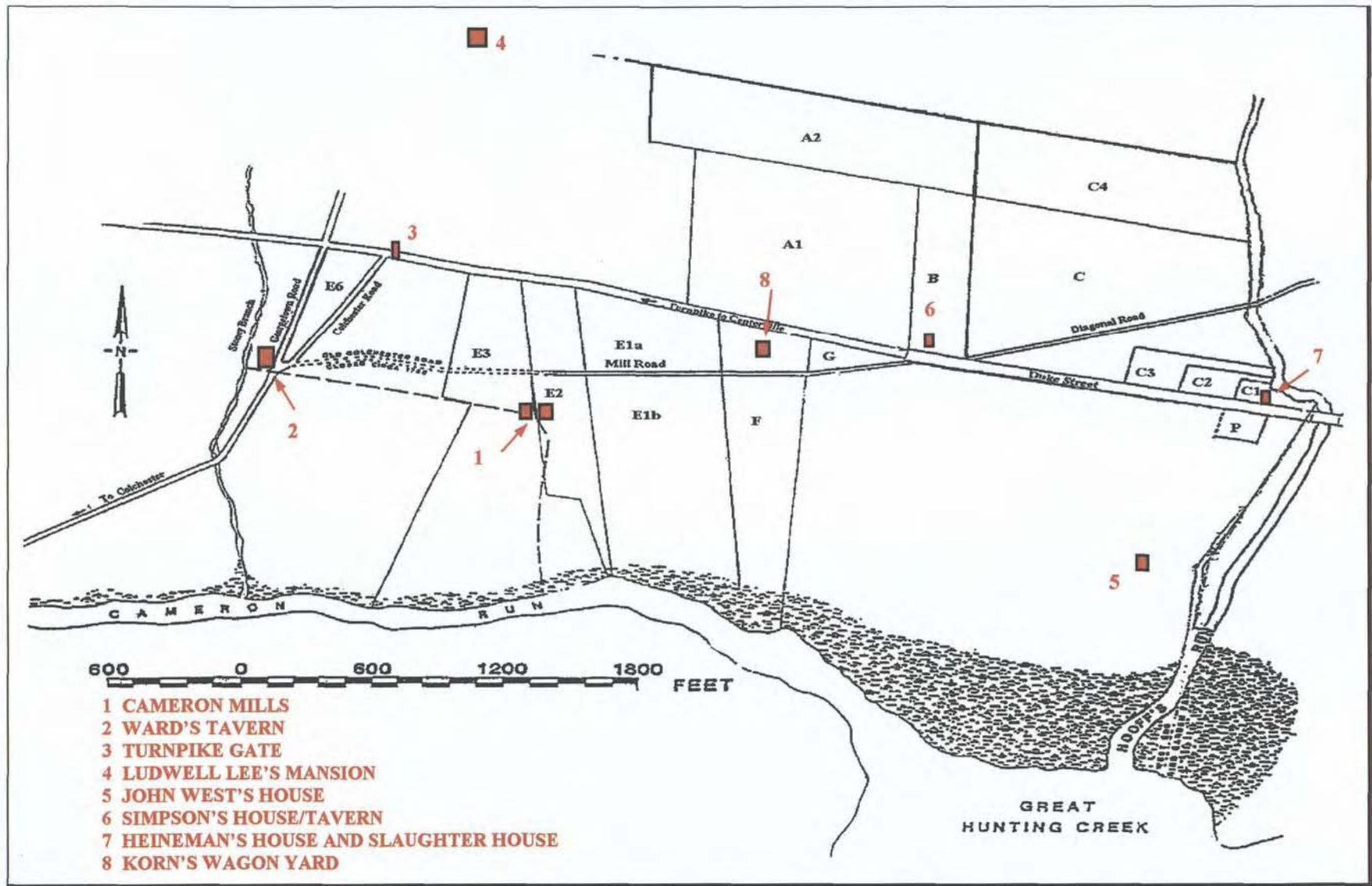


Figure 5-3
Land Division and Use, 1790-1796

3) on the eastern edge of the 6-acre tract to John Korn, who owned land adjacent to the east. Ricketts also conveyed a half-interest in the remainder of the 6-acre tract to John Stump, who would become Ricketts' partner in the Cameron Mills. In September 1796, William Herbert sold the portion of the 25-acre tract to the south of the Colchester Road to Lawrence Hooff, a butcher (Deed Books Y:71, Z:170, Z:175). This tract is shown as E1b on Figure 5-3.

William Bird sold his remaining half interest in the 8-acre mill tract to John Mandeville in 1794, and the half interest in the property passed by court order to John C. Vowell and Thomas Vowell in 1798 (Deed Books X:55, E2:442, W2:13; Cromwell et al. 1989:325).

In 1793, William Hepburn and John Dundas, who as the firm of Hepburn and Dundas operated a flour mill on Backlick Run, satisfied three mortgages they held on a portion of Thomas West's plantation by selling a 22-acre tract (E3) to John Stump and John Thomas Ricketts. This land was to the west of the 8-acre parcel that West had sold to William Bird. Stump and Ricketts constructed a "merchant mill" to the west of Bird's Mill in 1793 (Deed Book W2:13; Cromwell et al. 1989:47).

In February 1795, Thomas West sold a triangular lot (E6), bounded by the turnpike, the Georgetown Road, and the Colchester Road, to Ludwick Tresler.). The use of this property by Ludwick (Lodowick) Tresler is unknown, but Lewis Tresler (Trisler, Trysler) was listed as a wheelright in the 1797 census and as a blacksmith in the 1799 census rolls for Alexandria. The cock pit associated with William Ward's tavern (which was on land immediately to the west) was located at the extreme southern end of Tresler's lot, at the intersection of the Georgetown and Colchester roads (Deed Books Y:45, N3:262, G2:8, 39).

Phillip Fendall sold his half interest in the 36-acre Fendall/Lee tract on the north side of the turnpike (lot C) to Henry Lee in 1791, and Henry Lee sold the interest to Charles Lee in 1795. In 1796, Charles Lee sold a 10-acre parcel (C4) from the northern border of the 36-acre tract to Ludwell Lee, and this 10-acre tract became part of Ludwell Lee's Shooter's Hill estate (Deed Books U:22, W:105, X:617, Y:533, B2:452).

Charles Lee sold a 1-acre lot "at the northwest corner of the bridge" and at the southeast corner of the 36-acre tract (C1) to Jacob Heineman, a German-born butcher, in 1793. Heineman built a dwelling house and a slaughter house on the property by 1796, and he

maintained a stall in Alexandria's market. Heineman expanded his holdings in 1804 by purchasing from John West a 1-1/2 acre lot on the south side of the turnpike, on the west side of Hooff's Run (Deed Books W:105, E2:109; Gilpin 1796).

Charles and Henry Lee sold a 1-1/16 acre lot (C2) to John Longden in 1793. This L-shaped lot was to the immediate west of Heineman's lot, except that a narrow eastward extension of Longden's lot to the north of Heineman's lot led to Hooff's Run. Such an extension would have provided livestock access to water at Hooff's Run, but the use of the lot is unknown. In 1804 Longden had a taylor shop on Royal Street in Alexandria. In later years, he served as clerk of Alexandria's market house, superintendent of police, and president of the Mechanic Relief Society. Longden probably did not construct taxable buildings on this property until around 1820 (Deed Book X:612; Cromwell et al. 1989:318-320; Hills 1993:63). Most of this lot would be converted into a slave-holding facility in 1844.

Charles Lee sold a 1-3/4 acre lot (C3) to the west of Longden's lot to Richard Weightman in 1795. Weightman's lot also had an extension to Hooff's Run. Weightman was a tailor who lived and worked in Alexandria, and he served as vice president of the Mechanic Relief Society at the same time that John Longden was president of that organization. Tax records indicate that this lot did not contain taxable buildings until after 1819 (Hills 1993:63; Deed Book X:617).

In 1794, John West farmlot to William Simpson a 5-acre lot (B) on the north side of the turnpike, just east of the turnpike gate. Simpson built a house on this property by 1796. After Simpson's death in 1800, the house on the western half of this tract was used as a tavern; it is possible that Simpson operated a tavern at this location prior to his death. Census records as early as 1782 list William Simpson in Fairfax County and as having slaves, cattle and horses; he may have primarily been a farmer (Deed Books X:485, Y:443; Will Book H:144; Hills 1993:62).

In 1795, John West sold to Ludwell Lee a tract of about 20 acres (A1) located on the north side of the turnpike west of the turnpike gate and William Simpson's lot. By that date, Ludwell Lee had also acquired the 10-acre tract and other lands to the north and northeast, that he combined in an L-shaped, 60-acre estate. A gracious mansion had been built on Shooter's Hill by John Mills in the 1780s, and Lee's property apparently included this house.

The Lee estate became known as the epitome of Southern hospitality, with parties, barbecues and fox hunting. In 1797, Lee insured the mansion house, laundry house, and gardener's house for \$10,300.00 (Miller 1983:75-83).

In 1794, John West sold to John Korn a 15-acre tract (F) bound by Great Hunting Creek on the south and the Centerville Turnpike on the north; this tract was at the western edge of John West's property to the south of the turnpike. By 1795, Korn operated a "waggon yard" on this tract (and on the adjacent 7/8-acre tract he purchased in 1796 from John Thomas Ricketts). Korn was an Alexandria baker in partnership with Jacob Wisemiller; the "waggon yard" was probably a construction, repair, or storage facility for wagons hauling grain from the west to Alexandria, and it may also have been used by Korn and Wisemiller as a place to keep wagons and horses used for bringing flour from Cameron Mills to their bakery in Alexandria (Hills 1993:59; Deed Books X:310, Z:383; Miller 1991:256).

In 1795, John West sold to Joseph Fagan a 1-acre triangular lot (G) on the southwest corner of the intersection of the turnpike and the Colchester Road (Deed Book Z:383). The use to which Fagan put the property is unknown, but it was a prime location for commerce related to the intersecting roads. Fagan further subdivided this property into three small lots after 1796.

John West sold a 1-acre tract "situate near the new bridge on the road leading from Cameron to Alexandria" to Josias Williams in February 1794 (Deed Books A2:226, B3:162). The lot was located to the west of Hooff's Run and south of Duke Street extended. After the West End subdivision was established, the western edge of Williams' lot was 11 feet east of the east line of John Street.

In 1796, the embryonic community of West End consisted of two mills at Cameron, a slaughterhouse and dwelling near Hooff's Run, a residence and possible tavern near the toll gate, a wagon yard to the west of the toll gate, and Ludwell Lee's mansion and outbuildings on Shooter's Hill. Other businesses and residences might have existed in the area by 1796, but evidence for such structures has not been found in deed, census, or tax records.

Table 5-1 summarizes tract ownership and use in the West End area from 1790 to the platting and sale of the subdivision of West End in 1796.

Table 5-1: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1790-1796

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
A1	John West, 1777-1795 Ludwell Lee, 1795-1799	Probably agricultural; the Mills/Lee mansion and outbuildings may have existed by the 1780s in the northern portion of this lot.
A2	William Lyles, 1788-1791 Henry Lee, 1791-ca. 1796 Ludwell Lee, 1796-1799	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
B	John West, 1777-ca. 1793 Samuel Fairbanks, ca. 1793-1794 William Simpson 1794-1800	William Simpson built a dwelling on this tract by 1796, ground floor may have been used as a tavern. Simpson may have been a turnpike toll taker.
C	Philip Fendall and Charles Lee, 1787-1791 Charles Lee and Henry Lee, 1791-1795 Charles Lee, 1795-1815	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
C1	Philip Fendall and Charles Lee, 1787-1791 Charles Lee and Henry Lee, 1791-1793 Jacob Heineman, 1793-1821	Agricultural until at least 1793. Heineman built a dwelling house and a slaughter house on the lot by 1796.
C2	Philip Fendall and Charles Lee, 1787-1791 Charles Lee and Henry Lee, 1791-1793 John Longden, 1793-1830	Use unknown; buildings were probably not on this property until around 1820.
C3	Philip Fendall and Charles Lee, 1787-1791 Charles Lee and Henry Lee, 1791-1795 Richard Weightman, 1795-1812	Use unknown; tax records do not indicate buildings on this property until around 1820.
C4	Philip Fendall and Charles Lee, 1787-1791 Charles Lee and Henry Lee, 1791-1795 Charles Lee, 1795-1796 Ludwell Lee, 1796-1799	Probably agricultural; this tract was a part of the Ludwell Lee estate that contained a large mansion house, laundry house, and gardener's house in 1797.
E1a	Thomas Duvall, 1788-1793 William Herbert, 1793-1795 John Thomas Ricketts, 1795-1796 J. T. Ricketts and John Stump, 1796-1821	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
E1b	Thomas Duvall, 1788-1793 William Herbert, 1793-1795 Lawrence Hooff, 1795-1804	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period. Hooff may have used the property to pasture livestock prior to slaughter.
E2	W. Bird, J.T. Ricketts, J. Stump, 1790-1794 J.T. Ricketts, J. Stump, John Mandeville, 1794-1798	Old mill on property before 1790; Bird's Mill on property from 1790 to after 1900.
E3	Thomas West, 1777-1793 John Stump and J.T. Ricketts, 1793-1821	Cameron Mills (Ricketts' Mill) on property from 1793 to after 1900.
E6	Thomas West, 1777-1795 Ludwick Tresler, 1795-ca. 1806	Use unknown; may have been a wheelright or blacksmith shop; evidence has not been found that buildings were on this property before 1821.
F	John West, 1777-1794 John Korn, 1794-ca. 1804	Wagon yard on property by 1795; house and outhouses on property by 1808 (with lot F1)
F1	Thomas Duvall, 1788-1793 William Herbert, 1793-1795 John Thomas Ricketts, 1795-1796 John Korn, 1796-ca. 1804	Wagon yard on property by 1795; house and outhouses on property (with lot F) by 1808.

Table 5-1: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1790-1796

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
G	John West, 1777-1795 Joseph Fagan, 1795-1798/1802	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
P	John West, 1777-1794 Josias Williams, 1794-ca. 1802	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.

5.4 West's Subdivision and Growth of West End, 1796-1815

Inclusion of Alexandria in the District of Columbia from 1792 to 1846 had little direct effect on West End, but the proximity of John West's lands to the District boundary may have been an incentive for him to subdivide his property for sale. Probably equally compelling was the rapid physical expansion of Alexandria in the 1790s, which provided a demand for building lots.

In 1795 the platted area of Alexandria reached the eastern edge of West's land south of the turnpike. Spring Garden Farm, an 82-acre tract to the east of West's land, was platted into 128 lots and offered for sale on September 9, 1795 (Cromwell et al. 1989:33-34). The westernmost lots of Spring Garden Farm subdivision extended to the west side of Hooff's Run and were technically within the area defined as West End for this overview. Evidence has not been found that these lots were ever improved, and therefore this small area of land is not further discussed in this overview.

John West responded by platting a subdivision of a portion of his lands that had not been previously sold or rented. The subdivision comprised 32 half-acre lots to the south of Duke Street extended (the access road that connected the Centerville Turnpike and Duke Street until the Little River Turnpike was built). The lots were arranged within extensions of Alexandria's east-west oriented Duke, Wolfe, and Wilkes streets, and within north-south oriented streets named Elizabeth, Sarah, Catherine, George, and John (the names of West's children). The lots were contained in eight regular, 2-acre blocks. The subdivision was designed in accordance with a Virginia law that required subdivisions within one-half mile of Alexandria to be laid out in conformity to the town's street plan. The blocks were 353 feet 2 inches north-to-south and 246 feet 10 inches east-to-west, separated by streets 66 feet wide

(Hills 1993:50; Deed Book G-2:194). The layout of the subdivision of West End is shown on Figure 5-4, with lots numbered as West designated them in purchase agreements.

At 10 a.m. on October 10, 1796, John West opened an auction of lots in his new subdivision called West End. West sold many of the lots on that day and in following months. The sale price averaged \$15.00 for a half-acre lot, \$28.00 for two lots, and \$50 for three lots. There was a catch to these relatively low prices, however. West sold the lots on a ground rent or quit-rent basis, under which he retained ultimate title. In addition to the purchase price, the buyers were to pay an annual fee to West for as long as they retained the property. This system does not appear to have been very popular with the buyers. Over the following several years, West released the buyers from the annuity and issued fee-simple deeds for the lots (Hills 1993:50).

West may have chosen the quit-rent system because it would allow him continued control in the development of the subdivision. The quit-rent agreements typically required the purchasers to “raise a house of brick, stone or frame ... 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.” The first quit-rent agreements required that the house be finished within one year of the lot purchase, but later agreements allowed two years to complete the house. West could reclaim the property if the house had not been completed in the required time or if the rent became overdue by 20 days (Deed Book Z:222). Purchase of the property in fee-simple would eliminate the requirement to build within the time allowed.

The provision for developing the lots was patterned on a similar provision that had been in effect in Alexandria in 1749-1752 and 1762-1764, and it was intended to encourage actual development rather than speculative holding of vacant lots. On December 13, 1796, the Virginia General Assembly passed a law that was intended to encourage construction of houses on lots in subdivisions inside the corporation limits of Alexandria. Under the law, only those lots that had a house at least 16 feet square with a brick or stone chimney could be incorporated into the town of Alexandria (Cromwell 1989:35; Shephard 1970 vol. II:40-41). This legislation undoubtedly originated with Alexandria residents, and West could easily have known it was coming.

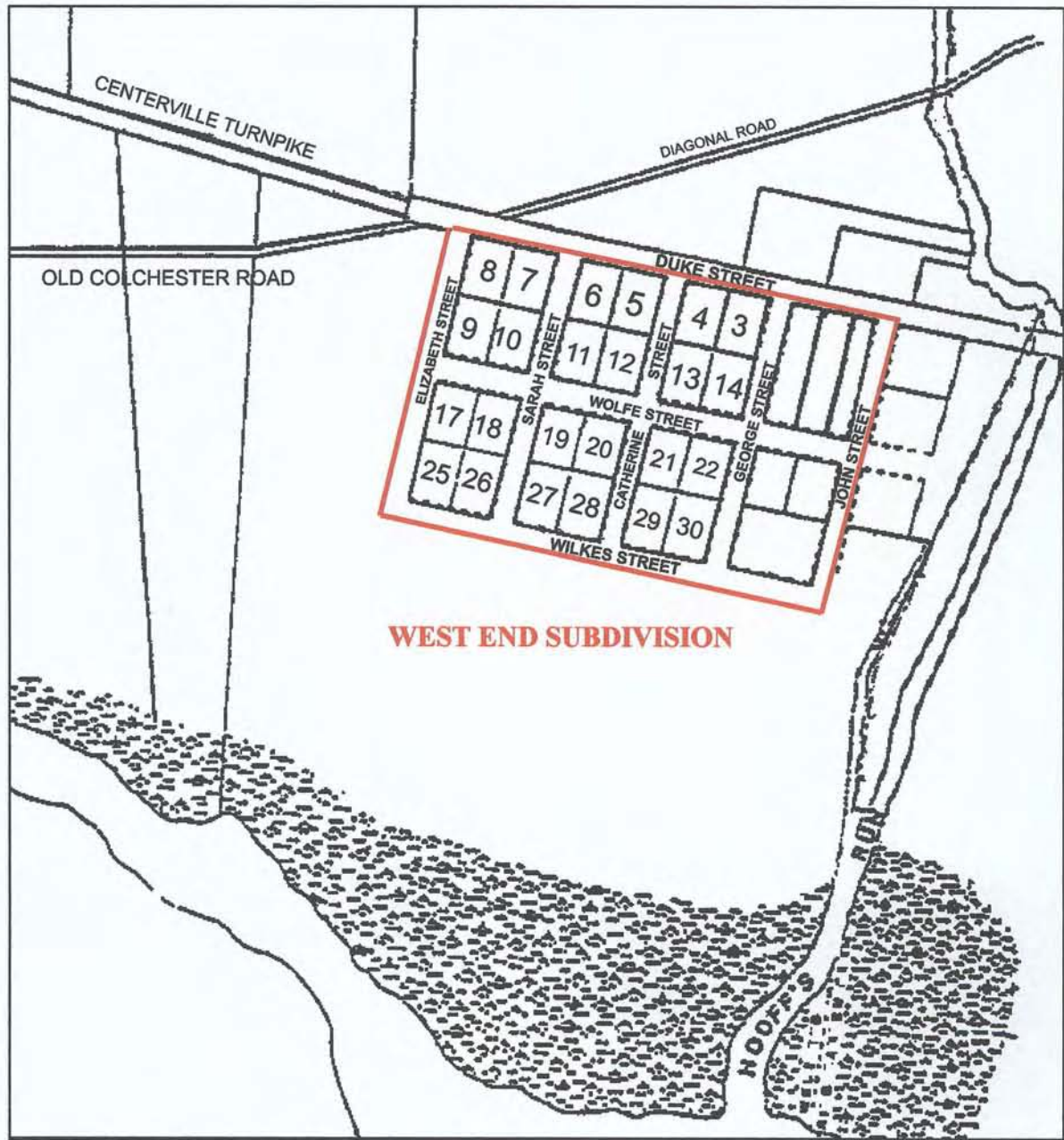


FIGURE 5-4
JOHN WEST'S WEST END SUBDIVISION, 1796

West apparently created and adapted his plan for a subdivision as he went. The street and block system he laid out did not coincide with a 1-acre lot on the east side of the subdivision that he had sold in 1794. One of his regular blocks was partitioned north-to-south in three lots of 2/3-acre (lots M, N, O), rather than into four half-acre lots. He sold odd-sized lots to the east and west of the subdivision core and may have added a block on the west side of the subdivision core. The extent to which he intended his subdivision to grow is unknown, but the numbering system found in deeds indicates that he initially planned to have only eight blocks with 32 half-acre lots.

While lots were being sold in the subdivision, other tracts were being sold by John and Thomas West along the south side of the turnpike between the subdivision and Colchester Road. By 1804, all of the land bordering the south side of turnpike had been transferred from John and Thomas West, although some lots and tracts reverted to John West. Most lands on the north side of the turnpike had been sold by John West by 1796.

Initial purchasers of tracts in West End in the period 1796 to 1804 are listed in Table 5-2. John West did not include lot numbers in conveyances for all of the lots in his subdivision, and he did not specify numbers for tracts he sold outside the regular subdivision. Lot designations in Table 3 follow Cromwell and others (1989).

Purchasers of the subdivision lots and other tracts were a mixed group of craftsmen, shopkeepers, and speculators from Alexandria and Fairfax County. In the two decades following the sale of subdivision lots, West End came to be dominated by middle-class tradesmen, including butchers, bakers, and candle stick makers. The evolution of lot/tract ownership and use in West End from 1796 to 1815 is discussed below and presented in Appendix A, Table A-1. Figure 5-4 at the conclusion of this section shows known or probable commercial and residential uses for tracts in West End from 1796 to 1815.

Most business development in West End in the period 1796-1815 focused on processing of agricultural products for the Alexandria and export markets. John Stump and John Thomas Ricketts thrived in their Cameron milling operation in these years, buoyed by a generally good export market and abundant wheat harvests. Beginning in the early 1790s, Ricketts participated in the Alexandria mercantile firm of Ricketts, Newton & Company, which had its

own wharf and a three-story brick warehouse where Ricketts stored flour from his mill awaiting shipment (Hills 1993:57).

Table 5-2: Initial Purchasers of West End Tracts, 1796-1804

Lot	Purchaser	Date of Purchase	Biographical Information
3, 4 13, 14	Richard Hewitt	1796	"Gentleman" of Alexandria
5, 12	William Hoye	1796	
6, 11, 25	Thomas White	1796	Blacksmith or merchant in Alexandria
7, 8, 17	Charles Jones	1796	Coach maker, West End and Alexandria
9, 10, 26	Patrick Byrnes (Burnes)	1796	Later associated with Alexandria brickworks
18	Public Lot		Reserved as a public lot, probably the site of the West End market
19, 20 27, 28	Matthew Robinson	1796 1797	General merchandise merchant in Alexandria
21, 22 29, 30	Matthew Robinson	1796	General merchandise merchant in Alexandria
E4	Thomas Redmon	1799	
E5	J.T. Ricketts and J. Stump	1804	Millers and merchants in Alexandria and Maryland
H	John Abner William Devaughn	1798 1802	"Manufacturer" in Alexandria 1820
I	Grigsby Grady	1802	
J	Henry Zimmerman	1801	Butcher
K	James Sawkins Henry Zimmerman	ca. 1801 1806	Butcher
L	Gilbert Simpson	1801	
M	Thomas Richards	1797	Merchant in Alexandria 1800; tavern keeper in Alexandria, 1810
N	Mathew Robinson	1797	Merchant, general merchandise in Alexandria
O	Giles Baker	1796	Butcher (?)
P	Josias Williams	1794	Butcher (?)
Q	Hanson Thomas	1797	
R	Jacob Heineman	1803	Butcher in West End and Alexandria
S	Nicholas Hingston and William Yeaton	1800	Hingston operated a seed business in Alexandria; in 1799 he was a grocer in Alexandria.
T	John Bowling	1797	Carpenter in Alexandria, 1799
U	Henry Hursey (Hussey)	1798	
V	John Harper	ca. 1800	Merchant in Alexandria, 1791
W	Simon Thomas	1797	
X	James Tyler	1804	
Y	Allen Davis	1797	Drayman in Alexandria, 1799

Some Alexandria merchants chose to convert at least a portion of their export flour into finished baked items, including bread and biscuits, because of the high rate of spoilage of flour in ship holds. A number of baking firms were established in Alexandria, including the firm of John Korn and Jacob Wisemiller, who also owned land in West End. Korn's "waggon yard" in West End has been previously discussed. In 1797, John Limerick established a commercial bakery on a 3/4-acre tract at the corner of George and Duke streets in the West End subdivision. He built a two-story frame house, a kitchen, and a 28'x12' brick bake house on this property. In 1803, Limerick traded his West End baking and residential property to Michael O'Meara, who may also have worked at the baking trade in West End. By 1806, however, O'Meara advertised the property for rent or sale, and he eventually leased the property to his son-in-law and daughter, who probably did not continue the business (Hills 1993:59).

In the spring of 1797, Charles Jones relocated his coach-making business from Alexandria to lots he had recently purchased in the West End subdivision. Jones operated a sizable business and employed a number of skilled workers. He may have initially lived in and operated his business from two small frame buildings that Thomas White, a blacksmith, had erected to comply with terms of his ground-rent agreement with John West. White ground-rented three half-acre lots from John West in 1796, and he continued to operate his blacksmith business in West End until 1802 (Hills 1993:61).

In October, 1796, John West quit-rented three half-acre lots to Jones (Deed Book Z:195). Jones announced in an Alexandria newspaper in March, 1797 that "he has again commenced business at the west end of Duke Street, where he proposes to carry on the COACHMAKING in all its various Branches" (Alexandria 3/17/1797). On February 27, 1798 he again announced:

... he has again commenced business at WEST END Duke Street ...
COACHMAKING ... having a number of steady workmen in the different
Branches, and all kinds of materials for carrying on his business *Extensively*.
He has ... erected suitable workshops ... (Alexandria Gazette 2/27/1798).

His "suitable workshops" were described as a 26'x123' lot containing two large sheds and a blacksmith shop. Jones did not remain in West End, however. In the spring of 1799, he set up a new shop in Alexandria. About 1803, Jones leased his property to James Sheehy, who

a soap and candle maker. Sheehy may have converted Jones' workshops to his own industry. When Sheehy died in 1814, his estate included an extensive "Soap and Candle Manufactory entire, with all the working utensils on the premises belonging to the establishment and a Colored Man, who has worked in the business 10 years" (Hills 1993:61; Alexandria Gazette 5/14/1799, 8/22/1799, 5/28/1803).

Charles Jones was also involved in another business in West End. When he returned to Alexandria in 1799, Jones offered the West End Tavern for rent. The tavern was probably located in Jones' home at the corner of Sarah and Duke streets in the West End subdivision, where it was accessible to drovers and workers at nearby mills, slaughterhouses, and tanneries. The tavern appears to have been in operation at least until 1803, when Jones finally sold the property to James Sheehy (Deed Book O2:146; Tax Record 1812; Hills 1993:62).

A second tavern began operation in West End shortly after the turn of the 19th century. William Simpson had built substantial buildings on the north side of Duke Street extended immediately to the east of the toll gate on the Centerville Turnpike. This location was very convenient for meetings and commerce. Simpson died in 1800, leaving his wife and a number of children. In 1803, Simpson's widow began maintaining a tavern and public meeting facility in the ground floor of the home, with the help of John Gooding, who may have previously run a tavern at Cameron. This institution was known until 1815 as Simpson's Tavern or Gooding's Tavern; in that year, Samuel Catts took over management of the tavern, and it eventually became known as Catt's Tavern. Simpson's and Catt's tavern, along with the Drover's Rest inn that would be built later to the west of the tavern, became a common venue for political meetings and meetings of the Little River Turnpike Company (Alexandria Gazette 6/10/1903; Hills 1993:62; Cromwell et al. 1989:76-77).

Butchering was by far the most prominent business in West End during the 1796-1815 formative period, and butchering would remain a mainstay of the community's economy until about 1900. West End offered natural attractions for butchers: it contained open lands with available water, where livestock could be held until slaughtered; it was on the main drive route from the west to Alexandria; and it was far enough from incorporated Alexandria that the sights and smells associated with butchering would not offend Alexandria residents, but close enough to Alexandria that fresh meat could be easily delivered to the Alexandria market. In

December, 1803, the Alexandria Common Council added another attraction for butchers to West End: it banned butchering within the town's corporate limits (Hills 1993:67).

By 1793, butchers Lawrence Hooff and Jacob Heineman recognized the attractions of West End and moved their slaughtering operations there. Hooff continued to live in Alexandria, but he built a slaughterhouse near the east bank of Gladden's/Hooff's Run, on land bought from John West but just to the east of the area discussed herein as West End. In following years, Hooff invested in several tracts of land in West End, possibly to provide pasture or holding areas for livestock. Jabob Heineman bought a one-acre lot at the northwest corner of the Duke Street bridge over Hooff's Run. By 1796, he had constructed a sizable home and a slaughterhouse on the lot; he apparently continued to operate the slaughterhouse and his market stall in Alexandria until his death in 1821 (Deed Book D4:404; Will Book M:170, 405, 407; Cromwell et al. 1989:317).

In 1802, butcher Thomas Wigham purchased a small lot on the south side of the turnpike, to the west of the old toll gate. Wigham was operating a slaughterhouse on this lot by 1804. In the latter year, he purchased a small lot adjoining his slaughterhouse lot that contained a store building (Deed Books E2:155, 362; Hills 1993:68). Beale Howard, also an Alexandria butcher, purchased land on the west side of Hooff's Run in 1803, and about 1807 he built a brick slaughterhouse and a frame dwelling house on the lot (Cromwell et al. 1989:60).

William Richards ground-rented from John West a half-acre lot on the west side of Hooff's Run and south of the turnpike about 1800. Richards may have erected a slaughterhouse on this lot, but definite evidence of such an establishment has not been found. Richards died in 1802, and his widow married John Zimmerman, who was a butcher. Zimmerman subsequently operated a slaughterhouse on the lot (Cromwell et al. 1989:60).

Frederick Tridle bought a 1/3-acre lot fronting on the south side of Duke Street extended in 1805. This location would have been propitious for a meat market, but other information has not been found concerning Tridle's business. Tridle's estate included joiner's tools, which may indicate that he was a carpenter or cooper. Moses Kenny bought a half-acre lot at the southwest corner of the intersection of Duke and John streets in 1799; Kenny may have been apprenticed to butcher Giles Baker, who sold the lot to him. In 1802, butcher Henry Zimmerman bought the one-acre lot on which Thomas White had lived and run his blacksmith

shop. Zimmerman probably converted the blacksmith shop into a butcher shop and lived in the old White house. After his death in 1807, Zimmerman's sons John and George Zimmerman continued the butchering trade at this location (Deed Book B:411, R2:198; Cromwell et al. 1989:61-61).

West End continued to attract butchers throughout the 1796-1815 period. In the latter year, butcher Thomas Watkins purchased a half-acre lot on the south side of the turnpike and west of the stone bridge across Hooff's Run. Watkins paid \$500 for the lot, which may indicate that a building already existed there, and the lot was almost directly across the turnpike from Jacob Heineman's house. He also purchased Thomas Wighams house, store, and slaughterhouse near the old turnpike gate, where Watkins had already established his residence. Watkins was a native of Wales, and he had been an associate of West End butcher George Varnold since at least 1813. Following the pattern of other West End butchers, Watkins began to acquire other properties, and members of his family also became involved in the butchering business in West End. The Watkins and Zimmerman families would be prominent in West End business until after 1900, and the slaughterhouse stood until 1903 (Deed Books O2:8, M2:385; Cromwell et al. 1989:63, 64).

George Varnold may have learned the butchering trade as an apprentice to Beal Howard. In January 1808, Varnold purchased a lot on the east side of John Street, and by November of that year he had commenced his own butchering business in West End. In 1810, Varnold bought the northwest and southeast quadrants of Moses Kenny's lot on the southwest corner of the intersection of John Street and Duke Street extended. Varnold constructed a small building on one of the quadrants, possibly the southeast quadrant, which would have been closest to his other property (Deed Books B3:101, L2:408; Alexandria Gazette 11/9/1808; Cromwell et al. 1989:63).

Peter Williams probably obtained a lease on a small lot at the southeast corner of the intersection of John and Duke Streets in 1812, and he had his heirs may have occupied the lot until about 1850. Peter Williams' leased lot was adjacent to the lot leased by John West to Josia Williams in 1794. Considering the common passage of butchering and other trades from father to son, it is possible that Josias Williams also engaged in butchering in West End. Similarly, Thomas and Francis Simpson, the son and grandson of William Simpson, may have engaged in butchering on the lots owned by William and John Simpson near the old turnpike

gate. John Harrison and James Wilson also engaged in the butchering business in West End, but the location and nature of their work is unknown; Wilson was the only African-American butcher identified as such in West End (Cromwell et al. 1989:64).

The extensive butchering operations in West End generated raw hides for tanneries, and the leather products of the tanneries were in high demand during the boom period. Evidence has not been found that tanneries operated within the area considered to be West End, but a major tannery operated to the immediate east of West End. In 1796, Peter Wise purchased a 5-acre lot bounded on the north by Duke Street extended and on the west by Hooff's Run. In 1798, the tannery at this location included a 2-story tanning house with 30 vats and 20 more in frame and a dwelling house. This tanning business operated under a number of owners and leasors until it burned in 1853. By 1844, the operation included four substantial brick buildings, a steam engine, a brick dwelling house near the Hooff's Run bridge, and a slaughterhouse on the east bank of Hooff's Run (Miller 1989:16-17; Cromwell et al. 1989:55-58).

The substantial local business and traffic on the turnpike may have encouraged the establishment of tailor shops and general stores in West End between 1796 and 1815. In 1798, baker John Limerick sold to Presley Jacobs a 24'x100' unimproved parcel fronting on Duke Street extended, between John and George streets. Direct evidence has not been found that Jacobs built a structure or practiced his tailor trade at this location, but when he left West End in 1802, he opened a tailor shop on Royal Street in Alexandria. A small frame building existed on the West End lot by 1804, and it may have been built by Jacobs (Deed Books B2:93, J2:106; Cromwell et al. 1989:106-107).

Jacobs' lot faced across the turnpike to the lots of two other tailors. In 1793, John Longden bought a 1-1/16 acre lot to the immediate west of butcher Jacob Heineman's lot. Longden maintained a taylor shop in Alexandria at least as early as 1803 (which Presley Jacobs bought in that year), and he lived in Alexandria until his death in 1830. In 1820, the 2-acre West End lot contained a building or buildings worth \$2,000; Fairfax County tax records before 1820 are undependable concerning buildings, and it is possible that Longden built the structure(s) soon after he purchased the lot. Alexandria taylor Richard Weightman bought a 1-3/4 acre lot to the west of Longden's lot in 1795. Weightman lived in and operated a shop in Alexandria until his death in 1812. When the lot was sold in 1819, it contained at least one substantial

building, which was thereafter used as a general merchandise store. Longden and Weightman probably operated taylor shops on their lots during West End's boom period, but definite evidence of such operation has not been found (Deed Book X:612, 617; Cromwell et al. 1989:318-321; Hills 1993:63).

Two general stores may have operated in West End in the 1796-1815 period. Beal Fowler purchased a small lot near the old turnpike gate in 1798, and he apparently established a store in a building adjacent to his home. The dates and nature of Fowler's store are unknown, other than that he announced he was moving his business to Alexandria in October 1802. Butcher Thomas Wigham bought the store lot in 1804, and he retained it until his death in 1808. Butcher Thomas Watkins bought the store and adjoining house and slaughterhouse from Wigham's heirs in 1815, and the store may have been converted to a butcher shop. At about the same time, Watkins purchased another building that may have been used as a general store. This building was located on the south side of Duke Street extended just to the west of the Hooff's Run bridge. This building may have been occupied by William Clarke, who liquidated his "shop goods and stock of every description" in 1820 to satisfy his debts. The dates and exact nature (and even exact location) of Clarke's business have not been determined, however (Deed Book E2:155, 362; Hills 1993:68; Cromwell et al. 1989:63, 103).

By 1804, West End had a stable and growing economy based on milling and butchering, and it had become recognized as a rather distinct community. The cession of Alexandria into the District of Columbia in 1801 afforded to West End a potential position as a trading and financial center for northern Virginia. The Virginia General Assembly created the Bank of Virginia in 1804, with a central bank in Richmond and branch banks in Norfolk, Petersburg, and Fredericksburg, but no branch in northern Virginia. Fairfax County residents met twice at West End and prepared a petition to the General Assembly for establishment of a branch bank at West End. The petition was signed by residents of Fairfax County and five outlying counties, and it stressed both the great increase in commerce in the West End area and the lack of sufficient capital to support the trade and industry of the area.

The branch bank, they said, should be located in "that part of Fairfax County ... described as daily improving and growing up into a town contiguous to Alexandria." The concept of West End as a town independent of Alexandria apparently had wide support in West End and

Alexandria. In 1804, five prominent area residents formed a committee to draft a petition to the Virginia General Assembly for incorporation of West End as a town. The committee consisted of miller/merchant John Thomas Ricketts; tailor John Longden; former U.S. Attorney General Charles Lee; Lee’s son-in-law, attorney Walter Jones, Jr.; and Alexandria merchant Francis Peyton. All of these persons had interests in property that would likely have been included in the town. The petition may never have been presented to the General Assembly, and the Assembly did not authorize either the branch bank or the incorporation of West End as a town (Hills 1993:69-70). As a result, West End would remain an unincorporated part of Fairfax County for another 111 years.

Table 5-3: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1796-1815

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
3/4a (Pt. of 3, 4 13, 14)	Richard Hewitt, 1796-1798 John West, 1798-1798 Allen Davis, 1798-1799 Lawrence Hooff, 1799-1799 John White, 1799-1805 John Gadsby, 1805-1826	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
3/4b	Richard Hewitt, 1796-1798 John West, 1798-1798 Allen Davis, 1798-1799 Frederick Tridle, 1799-1810 Frederick Tridle Heirs, 1810-1834	A house existed on this lot or lot 3/4c in 1810; the property may have been used as a cabinet-maker’s shop/store.
3/4c	Richard Hewitt, 1796-1806 Frederick Tridle, 1806-1810 Frederick Tridle Heirs, 1810-1834	A house existed on this lot or lot 3/4b in 1810; the property may have been used as a cabinet-maker’s shop/store.
5, 12	William Hoye, 1796-1798 Thomas Crandell, 1798-1803 Thomas Crandell Heirs, 1803-1833	House, stable, and outhouse on this lot by 1808; brick house on the lot in 1819.
6, 11	Thomas White, 1796-1802 Henry Zimmerman, 1802-1807 Henry Zimmerman Heirs, 1802-1819	White may have operated a blacksmith shop on lot 6 or 11 from 1796 to 1802. 1-story frame houses on lots 6 and 11 by 1797, occupied by coachmaker Charles Jones.
7, 10	Charles Jones, 1796-ca. 1803 (lease) James Sheehy, ca. 1803-1814 (lease) James Sheehy Heirs, 1814-1817 (lease)	This lot probably included Jones’ extensive coach manufacturing facilities, which were converted to candle and soap making by Sheehy.
8a	Patrick Byrne, 1796-1797 Charles Jones, 1797-1798 John Simpson, 1798-1822 (lease)	2-story frame house on lot by 1800.
8b	Patrick Byrnes, 1796-1797 Charles Jones, 1797-1798 Daniel Mandell, 1798-unknown James Sheehy, 1805-1817	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.

Table 5-3: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1796-1815

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
8, 9	Patrick Byrnes, 1796-1797 Charles Jones, 1797-ca. 1803 (lease) James Sheehy, 1803-1814 (lease) James Sheehy Heirs, 1814-1817 (lease)	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
17	Charles Jones, 1796-ca. 1803 (lease) James Sheehy, ca. 1803-1814 Richard Libby, 1814-1819	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
18	John West, 1797-1806 John West Heirs, 1806-1833	Public lot (market)
19, 20 27, 28	Matthew Robinsin, 1796/1797-ca. 1804 Henry Zimmerman, ca. 1804-1808 Henry Zimmerman Heirs, 1807-1819	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
21, 22 29, 30	John West, 1777-1799 Matthew Robinson, 1799-1828	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
25	Thomas White, 1796-1797 Charles Jones, 1797-ca. 1803 James Sheehy, ca. 1803-1814 Richard Libby, 1814-1819	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
26	Patrick Byrnes (Burns), 1796-1797 Charles Jones, 1797-ca. 1803 James Sheehy, ca. 1803-1814 Richard Libby, 1814-1819	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
A1	Ludwell Lee, 1795-1799 Benjamin Dulany, 1799-1818	Probably mostly agricultural; possibly a school in SE corner. In 1805, a 1-acre lot contained three frame buildings occupied by a schoolmaster.
A2	Ludwell Lee, 1796-1799 Benjamin Dulaney, 1799-1818	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
B	William Simpson, 1794-1800 William Simpson Estate, 1800-1832	Dwelling on this tract by 1796, ground floor used as a tavern ca. 1805-ca. 1872
B1	William Simpson, 1794-1800 John Simpson, 1800-1823	Dwelling built on the property, possibly in 1800 or shortly after.
C	Charles Lee, 1795-1815	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
C1	Jacob Heineman, 1793-1821	Dwelling house and a slaughter house on the lot by 1796, continued through period.
C2	John Longden, 1793-1830	Use unknown; buildings were probably not on this property until around 1820 or perhaps were not assessed until 1820
C3	Richard Weightman, 1795-1812 Richard Weightman Heirs, 1812-1817	Use unknown; tax records do not indicate buildings on this property until around 1820.
C4	Ludwell Lee, 1796-1799 Benjamin Dulany, 1799-1818	Probably agricultural; this tract was a part of the Ludwell Lee estate that contained a large mansion house, laundry house, and gardener's house in 1797.

Table 5-3: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1796-1815

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
C5	Charles Lee, 1795-1801 John White, 1801-1811 Patrick Walsh, 1811-1813 John Gird, 1813-1818	Dwelling house built on this lot in 1801, remained throughout the period as a rental property.
C6	Charles Lee, 1795-ca. 1802 Beal Howard, ca. 1802-1821	Dwelling house and slaughter house built on lot near Hooff's Run, possibly in 1802.
E1a	J. T. Ricketts and John Stump, 1796-1821	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
E1b	Lawrence Hooff, 1795-1804 J.T. Ricketts and J. Stump, 1804-1821	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period. Hooff may have used the property to pasture livestock prior to slaughter.
E2	J.T. Ricketts, J. Stump, John Mandeville, 1794-1798 Thomas and John C. Vowell, 1798-1825	Old mill on property before 1790; Bird's Mill on property from 1790 to after 1900.
E3	John Stump and J.T. Ricketts, 1793-1821	Cameron Mills (Ricketts' Mill) on property from 1793 to after 1900.
E4	Thomas West, 1777-1799 Thomas Redmon, 1799-1799 Thomas Redmon Heirs, 1799-1801 Sarah Redmon, Jacob Leap, Joshua Riddle, and Edward May, 1801-1806 J.T. Ricketts and J. Stump, 1806-1821	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
E5	Thomas West, 1777-1804 J.T. Ricketts and J. Stump, 1804-1821	Agricultural use throughout the period; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
E6	Ludwick Tresler, 1795-ca. 1806 Lewis Tresler, ca. 1806-(?) Tresler Heirs, 1806+-1870	Use unknown; probably used for commercial purposes, but evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this lot during this period.
F	John Korn, 1794-1807 J. Korn and Jacob Wisemiller, 1807-1811 John Zimmerman, 1811-1849	Wagon yard on property by 1795; house and outhouses on property by 1808 (with lot F1)
F1	John Korn, 1796-1807 J. Korn and Jacob Wisemiller, 1807-1811 John Zimmerman, 1811-1849	Wagon yard on property by 1795; house and outhouses on property (with lot F) by 1808.
F2	Lawrence Hooff, 1795-1804 J. Korn and Jacob Wisemiller, 1804-1811 John Zimmerman, 1811-1849	Probably agricultural throughout period.
G1	Joseph Fagan, 1795-1798 Joseph Fagen Heirs, 1798-1825	Probably vacant throughout this period.
G2	Joseph Fagan, 1795-1802 Thomas Wigham, 1802-1808 (lease) Thomas Wigham Estate, 1808-1815 Thomas Watkins, 1815-1820	Slaughter house and probably a dwelling house on this lot by 1804; in 1811 the lot also contained a storehouse and a garden. Slaughter house and dwelling on lot in 1815, probably continued in operation by Thomas Watkins and his heirs.

Table 5-3: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1796-1815

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
G3	Joseph Fagan, 1795-1798 Beale Fowler, 1798-1804 Thomas Wigham, 1804-1808 Thomas Wigham Estate, 1808-1815 Thomas Watkins, 1815-1820	House on property by 1804, occupied by miller William Bloxham.
G4	Joseph Fagan, 1795-1798 Beale Fowler, 1798-1801 James Sawkins, 1801-1803 Moses Thomas, 1803-1816	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
H	John West, 1777-1798 John Abner, 1798-ca. 1802 (lease) William Devaughn, 1802-1811 Nicholas Hingston, 1811-1829	A house existed on this lot by 1798, occupied by Abner and his wife. Hingston operated a seed business in Alexandria, but his use of this lot is unknown.
I	John West, 1777-1802 Grigsby Grady, 1802-1830	A house existed on this lot by 1802, occupied by Grady; a house remained on the site in 1830.
J	John West, 1777-1801 Henry Zimmerman, 1801-1807 Henry Zimmerman Heirs, 1807-1819	The \$180 sale price of the half-acre lot in 1801 indicates a house or other valuable building existed on this lot at that time.
K	John West, 1777-ca. 1801 James Sawkins, ca. 1801-1806 Henry Zimmerman, 1806-1807 Henry Zimmerman Heirs, 1807-1819	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
L	John West, 1777-1801 Gilbert Simpson, 1801-1802 John West, 1802-1806 John West Heirs, 1806-1833	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
M	Thomas Richards, 1797-1797 John Limerick, 1797-1803 Michael O'Meara, 1803-1807 Michael Quigley, 1807-ca. 1817	Limerick built a frame house and brick bake house on this lot by 1803. 2-story frame house, kitchen, brick bake house, stable, and a "double brick-built necessary with a pigeon house on top" on lot in 1806.
M1	Thomas Richards, 1797-1797 John Limerick, 1797-1798 Presley Jacobs, 1798-1802 Charlotte Riggs, 1802-1808 Carroll Baker, 1808-1808 Peter Tresler, 1808-1818	Jacobs may have operated a tailor shop at this location, but evidence of such a shop has not been found. A frame house was on the lot by 1804.
N	Matthew Robinson, 1797-1828	Probably a house on this lot by 1800; buildings on the property by 1830
O1	Giles Baker, 1796-1799 Moses Kenny, 1799-1810 George Varnold, 1810-1818	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
O2	Giles Baker, 1796-1799 Moses Kenny, 1799-1817 John West, 1817-1831	House probably by 1798; occupied by Baker in 1817.

Table 5-3: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1796-1815

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
O3	Giles Baker, 1796-1799 Moses Kenny, 1799-1810 George Varnold, 1810-1818	This lot, comprised actually of two small tracts, does not appear to have contained buildings until 1810. Varnold built a small structure on one of the tracts, probably near John Street.
O4	Giles Baker, 1796-1799 Moses Kenny, 1799-1817 John West, 1817-1831	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
P1	John West, 1777-1794 Josias Williams, 1794-ca. 1802 "Wright," ca. 1802-(?) (deeds missing) Levon Walker, ca. 1815 (deeds missing) Thomas Watkins, 1815-1820	Possibly used as a butcher shop by Watkins after 1815; the \$500 Watkins paid for the 1/2-acre lot indicates a building stood on the site in 1815.
P2	Josias Williams, 1794-ca. 1802 Unknown, ca. 1802-1815 (deeds missing) Thomas Watkins, ca. 1815-1820	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
P3	John West, 1777-1806 Andrew Rounsaville, 1802-1833+ (lease) John West Heirs, 1806-1833	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period. The lot was only 11 feet wide, but part of John Street might have been usurped.
Q	Hanson Thomas, 1797-ca. 1808 George Varnold, 1808-1818	Frame house and kitchen on lot in 1800, probably built ca. 1797-1798
R	John West, 1777-1803 Jacob Heineman, 1803-1825	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
S	Nicholas Hingston and William Yeaton, 1800-1810 Nicholas Hingston, 1810-1829	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
T	John Bowling, 1797-1804 John Zimmerman, 1804-1823	This lot may have contained a house in 1820, but it no longer existed by 1835.
U	Henry Hursey, 1798-1819	A house may have existed on this lot by 1800, but it was no longer extant in 1835.
V	John Harper, ca. 1800-1804 John Zimmerman, 1804-1823	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
W	Simon Thomas, 1797-ca. 1800 William Richards, ca. 1800-1802 Wm. Richards Heirs, 1802-1823	House on this property by 1802, may have been a slaughter house after 1804.
X	John West, 1777-1804 James Tyler, 1804-1819	Evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
Y	Allen Davis, 1797-ca. 1804 John West, ca. 1804-1806 John West Heirs, 1806-1833	Evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
Z	John West Heirs, 1806-1833 Bartholomew Rotchford, 1833-1857	Agricultural throughout the period; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
Z1	John West, 1777-1806 John West Heirs, 1806-1833	Probably a house on this lot in 1806, perhaps in 1750.

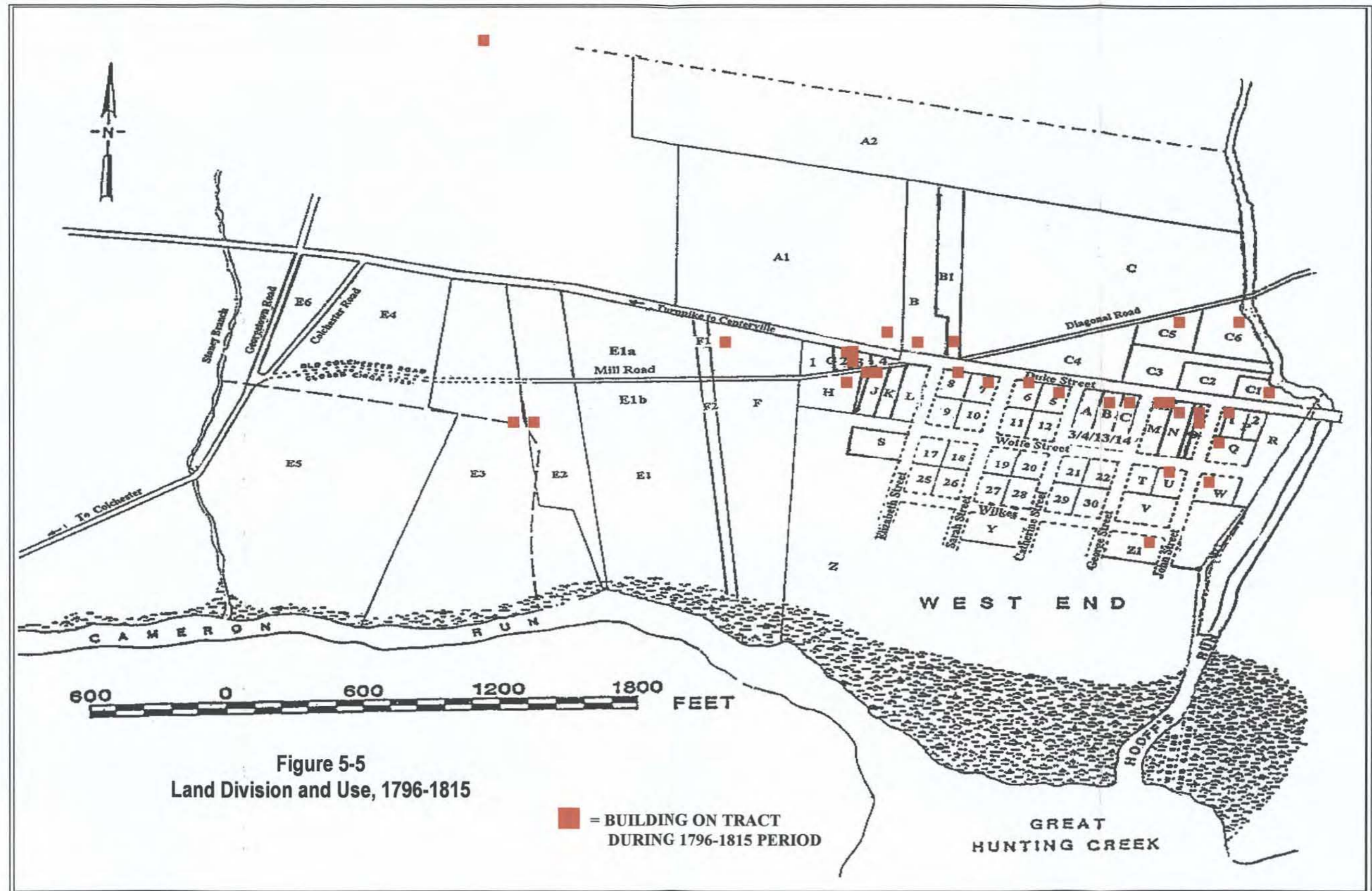


Figure 5-5
Land Division and Use, 1796-1815

■ = BUILDING ON TRACT
DURING 1796-1815 PERIOD

Business in Alexandria was crippled by the Embargo of 1807-1809 and by the British blockade during the War of 1812, but it recovered remarkably after each of these episodes. Prices for agricultural products began to fall in 1817, and this marked the beginning of a general recession in Alexandria that would continue until 1840. In part, this recession was caused by shifting of goods and services to other ports, particularly Baltimore and Philadelphia, that had invested in expanding their port facilities and transportation routes. Alexandria was slow to industrialize, and its economy remained highly dependent on slave labor. Areas to the west of the Appalachian Mountains were rapidly filling with settlers during this period, and the vast grain and meat products of the western settlement found new points of processing and export.

Moderate industrial growth occurred in Alexandria in the 1820s and 1830s, but it was not enough to off-set the decline in trade in agricultural products. Breweries, ropeworks, mills, and brickyards continued to operate throughout the 1816-1849 period, providing a measure of economic stability to the town. Manufacturing of steam engines began in Alexandria in the 1830s, and this development both gave the town a much-needed economic boost and set the stage for large-scale manufacturing of railroad locomotives and cars after 1850.

Alexandria's decisions, or the lack thereof, concerning development of transportation links to the west further weakened the town's economy in the 1816-1849 period. Alexandria was seemingly always fixated on canals to the near exclusions of overland transportation methods. As is discussed in Chapter 5, the Little River Turnpike was completed in 1812, nearly 27 years after the need was recognized for an improved road for transporting agricultural goods to the Alexandria market and port. One reason for the delay in completing the turnpike was the allegiance of many Alexandrians to the canal scheme of the Potowmack Company.

In the 1830s, Alexandrians again chose to rely on canals rather than to pursue the new option of railroads (Cromwell et al. 1989:13). The Alexandria Canal Company was chartered in 1830 to construct a canal/viaduct system that would connect with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal on the north side of the Potomac River. The canal was not completed until 1845, however. Funding of the canal drove Alexandria into heavy debt, and the town petitioned Congress for relief. Alexandria turned to the State of Virginia for help after Congress refused to grant relief, and Virginia agreed to assume the debt on the condition that District of Columbia lands west of the Potomac be returned. Congress retroceded the lands in 1846.

One bright spot for Alexandria during the 1816-1849 period was the construction of the Middle Turnpike, also sometimes called the Leesburg Turnpike because of its extension to Leesburg. On the heels of completion of the Little River Turnpike, the Virginia General Assembly in 1813 authorized construction of the Middle Turnpike, a 16-1/2 mile road from Alexandria to Dranesville. This segment of the road was completed in 1832. At Dranesville, the Middle Turnpike met the Leesburg Turnpike, which connected Dranesville with Leesburg. The 14-mile Leesburg Turnpike was authorized in 1809 and opened in 1820. It was extended another 6 miles beyond Leesburg by 1859. The Middle Turnpike entered Alexandria at the head of King Street, which at that time was the intersection of King and West streets. To the west of King Street, the turnpike followed the outside edge of the District of Columbia incorporation line (Hunter 1975:appendix; Miller n.d.). The Middle Turnpike offered a second route from the Shenandoah Valley and Winchester to Alexandria.

West End's development and economy generally followed the trends of Alexandria's economy. The initial boom period in West End ended about 1804, but Alexandria speculators and tradesmen continued to invest in West End properties until about 1812. After that date, a general pattern of consolidation of lots occurred, and most areas that were not located directly on the Little River Turnpike (Duke Street extended) reverted to agricultural use. West End became even more dominated by butchers during this period, but a number of other businesses also operated in the community.

Many of the established businesses in West End continued to operate through the 1816-1849 period. John C. Vowell and Thomas Vowell apparently operated Bird's mill until 1825, when they sold it to the heirs of John Stump and John Thomas Ricketts, who were still operating the Stump/Ricketts mill (Cameron Mill). To settle a debt in 1830, the heirs of John Stump and John Thomas Ricketts agreed on a division of the mills and the large acreage that the partnership had accrued. Richard Windsor, a part owner of another mill, purchased the Ricketts share in 1834 and the Stump share in 1837 (Knepper and Pappas 1990:9).

In 1848, Windsor sold the mills and 146 acres to Reuben and Robert F. Roberts. The Roberts brothers were Quaker immigrants from New Jersey, and they were part of an in-migration of farmers from northern states who helped complete the diversification of agriculture in northern Virginia in the 1830s and 1840s. Quaker Lane and Quaker Hill reflect the settlement of Quakers in the western area of West End.

The Roberts brothers continued to operate both mills, one as a “country mill” grinding grain for local consumption, probably on consignment, and the other as a “merchant mill” producing flour for sale in Alexandria. The “country mill” very likely produced a coarser product than the “merchant mill.” In a letter to an uncle in 1848, Robert Roberts described the business at Cameron Mills:

Our Country Mill has a very good run of custom from 600 to 1400 bushells per month besides grinding corn of our own for corn meal of which we can sell (a part of the season) a considerable quantity at a good profit. At other times the market is supplied from the wagons lower than we can afford it. The Merchant Mill has done a very good business till within the past 2 weeks. When wheat became too high compared with flour to warrant purchasing and we ground out. The mill however needs some repairs and will not pay as well as I expected in its present condition (Roberts Family Papers, quoted in Knepper and Pappas 1990:10).

The “wagons” mentioned above were freight wagons bringing flour to Alexandria over the Little River Turnpike. The letter quoted above was written to Elisha Hunt, perhaps the father of Edmund Hunt, who moved to Fairfax County from Philadelphia in 1848 and formed a partnership with Robert F. Roberts. Edmund Hunt lived at the mill site, and the Cameron Mills operated under the partnership at least until 1879. Upon arriving at West End, Roberts had also discovered that Alexandria was poorly served with dairy products, and the Roberts family developed a sizable dairy farm on the 146-acre tract (Knepper and Pappas 1990:12-13).

Butchering remained the chief business of West End throughout the 1816-1849 period. Many of the original butchers of West End died in the 1820s and 1830s and were succeeded by sons, sons-in-law, or butchers new to the area. Beal Howard died in 1821, and his heirs sold his slaughterhouse and houses to David Betzold and Adam Diez, who were recent immigrants to the United States. Betzold and Diez had been conducting a butchering business on a 2-acre lot on Diagonal Road to the west of Howard’s establishment since 1818. Adam Diez died in 1832, but Betzold may have continued operation of at least part of their butchering business until his death in 1856 (Cromwell et al. 1989:64-65).

Jacob Heineman also died in 1821, and his heirs sold his slaughterhouse and two houses near Duke Street to his niece’s husband, William Beirs in 1821 and 1828. Beirs continued to

operate a butchering business until his death in 1872 (Deed Books W2:10, Y2:114, D4:404; Will Book C2:28). George Varnold died in 1818, and his heirs sold their lot facing Duke Street to George Bontz. Bontz made improvements to the lot and probably operated a butcher shop there, and in 1840 he bought the rest of the former Moses Kenny lot. Bontz continued to practice the butchering trade until at least 1873. His son Henry Bontz probably lived and worked with his father until 1836, when Henry Bontz apparently moved to Alexandria. Henry Bontz bought a 2-acre lot to the south of his father's lot in 1849, possibly for use as a livestock holding area. Bontz sold this lot in 1850 to the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. The Census of 1850 indicates that Henry Bontz and another butcher named George Benter may have worked in George Bontz's slaughterhouse in West End (Deed Books F3:232, O3:113, P3:38; Cromwell et al. 1989:65)

The lot and house to the west of George Bontz's house in West End was bought in 1830 by butcher Harrison Emmerson (Emerson). Tax records in following years indicate that Emmerson tore down the old buildings on the lot by 1831, and by 1832 substantial new buildings were on the lot. Emmerson probably moved from Alexandria to West End in 1831 or 1832 and set up his substantial butchering operation. After 1850, Emmerson acquired about 35 acres to the south and east of his Duke Street lots, and he probably used this land for pasturing livestock prior to slaughter. Civil War photographs do not show fields or other improvements in this area other than fences. Emmerson remained active as a butcher until his death in 1879 (Deed Books B3:101, Q3:496, T3:417, A4:216; Fairfax County Circuit Court Record 28e: Emerson v. Emerson 1879; Fairfax County Tax Rolls, 1831-1882).

Many other butchers continued to work in West End through the 1816-1849 period. The federal Census of 1850 listed the following butchers in the community:

William R. Beirs, age 51
George Benter (living with Henry Bontz), 34
George Bontz, 58
Henry Bontz (living on West St., Alexandria), 31
John Bright (lived near the old toll gate), 52
William Bright, 28
Charles F. Brown, 26
Henry Cowan, (lived with Emmersons), age not listed
Harrison Emmerson, 54
Harrison Emmerson, Jr., 24

William R. Emmerson, 23
John W. Ferguson (lived near the old toll gate), 30
George Tyler (lived with Emmersons), 15
David G. Watkins, 37
John H. Watkins, 35
Thomas J. Watkins, 35

Other businesses also continued or were established in West End in the 1816-1849 period. In 1815, Samuel Catts took over the management of Simpson's Tavern near the old toll gate, and he purchased the property from William Simpson's heirs in 1820. In 1825, Catts purchased a 1.7-acre lot to the immediate west of the tavern site, where he built a hotel that would serve as an inn for drovers and other travelers, a meeting hall, and an auction house for nearly 75 years. The tavern may have remained separate from the "Drover's Rest" hotel, which appears as a landmark on many maps of the mid- and late 19th century. The original Catts' Tavern may have burned in 1896, but the institution apparently lived on in another building, possibly the hotel, until at least 1901 (Deed Books I6:211, S3:277; Fairfax County Chancery Records, Cff#16-F).

John H. Zimmerman operated a tavern not far from Catt's Tavern from 1841 to 1849. Zimmerman's Tavern was located on the lot on which John Korn had operated his "waggon yard" to the west of the old turnpike gate, and which John Zimmerman bought in 1811. Zimmerman's Tavern also became a venue for public meetings, including a meeting of the Fairfax County Whigs in 1844 and a public auction in 1849. The tavern was also the place where slave owners met annually to rent out their slaves. Zimmerman's Tavern was sold by John H. Zimmerman's heirs in 1849, but the institution may have continued under other names after his death. In 1853, the tavern was known as "the Tavern of Harriet O'Neal in West End" (Deed Books P-3:138, F5:435, X3:245; Pappas et al. 1991:22).

John Simpson had obtained a sublease in 1798 for a small lot 49'6" along Duke Street extended and 100' deep along the east side of Elizabeth Street, just to the southeast of the first turnpike gate and his brother (?) William Simpson's house on the north side of Duke Street extended. John Simpson built a house on the property in 1798, which he, his wife, and his daughter occupied at least until 1822. Census records indicate that John Simpson was a farmer, but the location and small size of the lot suggest he was also engaged in some commercial activity. The lot came into the ownership of Joseph Grigg in the mid-1840s and

James Grigg in 1855. By 1847, a part of the two-story house was used as a grocery store by Joseph Grigg, who also ran a grocery warehouse in Alexandria. This store continued in operation until after 1921 (Deed Books W3:368, A5:176; Sanborn 1902, 1907, 1915, 1921; Cromwell et al. 1989:99).

In 1844, John Cowling established a blacksmith shop “about one-half a mile from Samuel Catts Tavern,” which he continued to operate for 40 years. This shop is very likely the “B.S. SH” indicated at the northeast corner of the intersection of Diagonal Road and the Little River Turnpike on an 1879 map, Figure 8-1 (Hopkins 1879; Fairfax County Chancery Records, Cff#16-F, 1872, Catts v. Catts). At that time, John and Thomas Cowling owned and operated the grocery store located diagonally across the turnpike to the southwest of the blacksmith shop.

In 1819, Mark Butts and Grafton Cawood purchased a lot of nearly one-half acre fronting on the north side of the turnpike near the Hooff’s Run bridge; this lot very likely contained the house that tailor Richard Weightman had built around 1795. Butts and Cawood ran a general store on King Street in Alexandria, and they may have operated a branch of the store on their lot in West End. Butts and Cawood were best known for their underhanded business practices, which included false scales and anonymous letters attacking the credibility of Alexandria merchants. The partnership supposedly dissolved in 1825, but it continued to operate until Cawood died in 1833. The lot and supposed store building/dwelling were then sold to butcher David Betzold, who may have used the building as a butcher shop (Deed Books R2:112, K6:484; Cromwell et al. 1989:104-105).

Bartholomew Rotchford leased a two-acre lot fronting on the turnpike from Richard Libby in 1818, including the lots on which Charles Jones had operated his coach factory and James Sheehy had operated his candle and soap factory. Rotchford resided in Alexandria and operated a hardware store there, probably until near his death in 1833. One source (Cromwell et al. 1989:95-96) concluded that Rotchford and Libby formed a partnership, possibly to manufacture some kind of hardware in the former Jones/Sheehy shops. Records of this supposed partnership have not been found. However, after Libby died, Libby’s interest in another tract of 1-1/2 acres was awarded to Rotchford (Cromwell et al. 1989:96; Fairfax County Tax Rolls 1835).

Bartholomew Rotchford continued to purchase lands in West End, which he incorporated into his farm called West End Farm. In 1833, John West's heirs sold to Rotchford the remaining lands of the estate, which at that time included all of the lands to the south of the regular platted blocks of the subdivision and a number of lots in the subdivision. Combining the lots was not much of a problem, because the streets apparently had never been improved and most of the lots did not have improvements (even fences) on them. The idea that West End would be appended to Alexandria waned after Alexandria was included in the District of Columbia in 1801, and West End's ambition to become an independent, incorporated town seems to have vanished about 1804. The virtual absence of development to the south of the lots next to the turnpike left little need for streets anywhere in West's subdivision.

Lot owners, and particularly Rotchford and his son Richard Rotchford after 1857, usurped the street areas by either moving fences or simply including the street area when they sold the adjacent land. Two landowners split a street between them in one case, but in most cases the first usurper gained most or all of the street. Some deeds continued to define lot boundaries by reference to West's subdivision streets, but very little semblance of a subdivision existed by 1845. By that time, West End had evolved into scattered homes and businesses along the south side of the turnpike, with pasture areas running south to Great Hunting Creek. This pattern is shown on an Ewing's 1845 map "Plan of the Town of Alexandria, D.C. with the Environs," (Figure 6-1). This map also indicates that a bridge had been constructed across Great Hunting Creek to the east of West End, and this bridge undoubtedly redirected some traffic from West End.

As is indicated in the discussion of Zimmerman's Tavern and Sheehy's candle factory above, slavery and slave trading were factors in the demography and economy of West End. Slave trading was not a major business in Alexandria until late in the 18th century, although sales of slaves were reported there at least as early as 1757 (Shephard 1989:8). Property owners in West End commonly held slaves until the Civil War, as is indicated below in the excerpt from the 1790 Fairfax County Personal Tax List (Table 6-1)

Slave trading became a major business in Alexandria beginning in the 1820s. Slave trading was initially carried on by traveling traders, who typically met buyers or sellers of slaves at taverns or hotels. As the slave trade matured and expanded in the early 19th century,

PLAN OF THE
TOWN OF ALEXANDRIA, D. C.
WITH THE ENVIRONS

Exhibiting the outlet of the Alexandria Canal the Shipping channel, wharves, Hunting C. & C.
From actual survey by Maskell C. Ewing Civ. Eng^r.

1845.

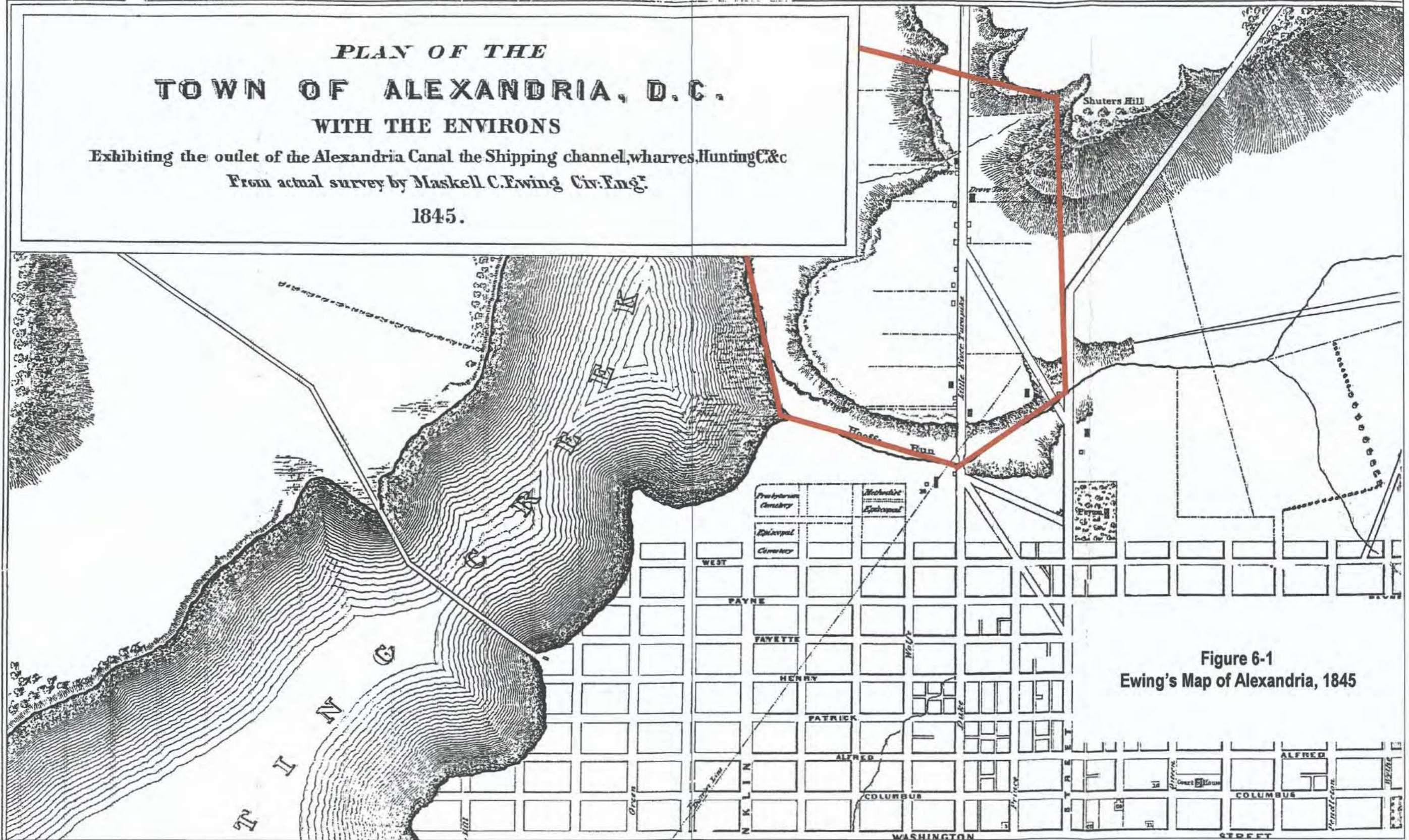


Figure 6-1
Ewing's Map of Alexandria, 1845

permanent trading establishments were established. The largest slave trading company in the United States, Franklin and Armfield, was founded in Alexandria in 1828 and operated there under various names until 1861. This trading house was located in the 1300 block of Duke Street, about four blocks east of West End. By 1832, Franklin and Armfield were reported to be shipping 100 or more slaves to New Orleans every two weeks (Shephard 1989:12; Cheek and Zatz 1986:24-25; Cromwell et al. 1989:111-112).

Table 6-1: Slaveholders in West End, 1790

Name	Taxable Personal Property
John West (plantation owner)	7 Blacks above age 16 and 2 above age 12; 6 horses, 2 4-wheel carriages
Thomas West (plantation owner)	10 Blacks over age 16 and 1 over age 12, no horses
William Bowling (blacksmith?)	3 Blacks over age 16 and no horses
William Bird (miller)	4 Blacks over age 16 and 1 over age 12, 5 horses
Allen Davis (drayman)	1 Black over age 16, 4 horses
William Herbert (merchant)	14 Blacks over age 16, 5 horses
Hepburn & Dundas (millers)	2 Blacks over age 16, 2 horses
Henry Hussey	No Blacks, 3 horses
Charles Jones (coachmaker)	3 Blacks over age 16, 5 horses
George Minor (surveyor, farmer)	9 Blacks over age 16, 8 horses
William Simpson (butcher?)	1 Black over age 16 and 2 over age 12, 5 horses
Simon Thomas	No Blacks, no horses

In 1844, Joseph Bruin purchased a portion of the lot on the north side of the turnpike in West End where John Longden had built a house and possibly ran a tailor shop (now 1707 Duke Street). Within two weeks of buying the property, Bruin advertised to buy “50 likely Negroes for the south,” and he promised to pay good prices for all slaves from 10 to 99 years old. Bruin occupied the house in the eastern half of his lot and used the western half as a slave prison. The prison consisted of a 2-story brick quarters/jail and a 1-1/2 story brick wash house. Bruin’s business apparently thrived until the Civil War (Deed Book K3:151; Alexandria Gazette 3/20/1844; Artemel et al. 1987).

Bruin fled from West End before Union troops occupied the area in April 1861, but he was captured in May 1862 and held for six weeks. Bruin’s property was seized by the U.S.

Marshall because Bruin was in rebellion against the United States, and it was used during the war as a jail for miscreant Union soldiers. In December 1862, Fairfax County court was held at Bruin's confiscated house in West End, because the Fairfax courthouse was too near Confederate lines. Ironically, vacant cells in the jail were occupied by African-Americans who fled to Alexandria to escape slavery in the South. The Bruin slave prison remains standing in 1996, and it was the subject of archaeological investigation in 1986-1987 (Artemel et al. 1987; Office of Historic Alexandria 1990:14-1; Cromwell et al. 1989:112-114).

A large free black community began to develop in Alexandria in the 1790s. Concerned by the growing free black population in the state and its potential effect on slaves, the Virginia General Assembly passed a law in 1793 that severely restricted immigration of free blacks into the state. This was followed in 1806 by a law that made it illegal for freed slaves to remain in Virginia for more than 12 months, and the 1806 law was amended in 1815 and 1836 to allow free blacks to stay in the state only under specific conditions. When Alexandria was ceded to the United States as a part of the District of Columbia in 1801, free blacks in the ceded territory were no longer subject to the odious Virginia laws. Alexandria became an immediate magnet for free blacks. The population of free blacks in Alexandria grew from 52 in 1792 to 527 in 1805, and it continued to grow until the Civil War and after (Shephard 1985:77-79).

The close proximity of free blacks and slaves in Alexandria reflects the dichotomy that existed in Alexandria and West End society until the Civil War. In 1827, Presley Jacobs and several other citizens of Alexandria organized the Benevolent Society to help freed slaves find jobs and homes; the Benevolent Society worked openly until the 1831 Nat Turner Rebellion made such efforts extremely unpopular in the South. Another founder of the Benevolent Society was Thomas Preston, who frequently rented houses to free blacks on his property in the 1200 block of Duke Street, across the street from the nation's largest slave market. The Quakers who immigrated to West End and Alexandria were also opposed to slavery, and some Quakers rose to eminent positions in Alexandria commerce and society (Netherton et al. 1978:217, 238; Cromwell et al. 1989:110).

Employment was a problem for the free blacks in Alexandria and the surrounding areas. When jobs were not available in Alexandria or when debts had been incurred that could not be paid, free blacks commonly hired out for a year to farmers, craftsmen, and merchants. Alexandria held an annual hiring fair at the market on January 1 of each year, but by far the

largest of the hiring fairs from 1816 to the Civil War was held at Catt’s Tavern in West End. The fair was described as follows:

On New Years 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, dining room servants ... of every color from the Octoron ... all decked out in their 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 privelege of selecting their homes for the next year goes ... Comingled 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 1/1989).

At the close of the 1816-1849 period, West End was a strip development along the Little River Turnpike, and to a lesser extent along Diagonal Road. The semblance of a subdivision that had existed in the initial boom era in West End had been eroded through the consolidation of lots and the absence of development in areas away from the turnpike. The economy of West End remained firmly associated with processing of agricultural goods for the Alexandria market. Land division and use in West End from 1816 to 1849 is listed in Table 6-2 and shown on Figure 6-2.

Table 6-2: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1816-1849

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
3/4a	John Gadsby, 1805-1826 John Barney, 1826-1827 Augustine Newton, 1827-1866	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
3/4b	Frederick Tridle Heirs, 1810-1834 Elizabeth Lyles, 1834-1853	A house existed on this lot or lot 3/4c in 1810; the property may have been used as a cabinet-maker’s shop/store or a butcher shop. A house was on the property in 1834.
3/4c	Frederick Tridle Heirs, 1810-1834 Elizabeth Lyles, 1834-1853	A house existed on this lot in 1810. Evidence has not been found that buildings remained on this lot in the 1816-1849 period.
5, 12	Thomas Crandell Heirs, 1803-1833 Bartholomew Rotchford, 1833-1857	House, stable, and outhouse on this lot by 1808; brick house on the lot in 1819.

Table 6-2: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1816-1849

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
6, 11	Henry Zimmerman Heirs, 1802-1819 John Zimmerman, 1819-1823 John Zimmerman Heirs, 1823-1849 John H. Zimmerman, 1849-1854	1-story frame houses on lots 6 and 11 by 1797, remained in 1815. In 1823, a 14'x18' house was occupied by butcher John Bright and a 20'x16' house was occupied by George Zimmerman, also possibly a butcher. John H. Zimmerman built a brick house on this tract in 1850.
7, 10	John West Heirs, 1806-1824 James Sheehy Heirs, 1814-1817 (lease) Richard Libby, 1817-1819 (lease) Bartholomew Rotchford, 1819-1824 (lease) Bartholomew Rotchford, 1824-1857	This lot probably included Jones' extensive coach manufacturing facilities, which were converted to candle and soap making by Sheehy. All of these buildings were gone by 1841. A barn was near the northeast corner of Lot 7 in 1851.
8a	John West Heirs, 1806-1824 John Simpson, 1798-1822 (sublease) Ann Simpson, 1822-1855 (sublease) James Sheehy Heirs, 1814-1817 (lease) Richard Libby, 1817-1819 (lease) Bartholomew Rotchford, 1819-1824 (lease) Bartholomew Rotchford, 1824-1857	2-story frame house on lot by 1800, remained on lot throughout the period.
8b	John West Heirs, 1806-1824 James Sheehy Heirs, 1814-1817 (lease) Richard Libby, 1817-1819 (lease) Bartholomew Rotchford, 1819-1824 (lease) Bartholomew Rotchford, 1824-1857	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
8, 9	John West Heirs, 1806-1824 James Sheehy Heirs, 1814-1817 (lease) Richard Libby, 1817-1819 (lease) Bartholomew Rotchford, 1819-1824 (lease) Bartholomew Rotchford, 1824-1857	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
17	Richard Libby, 1814-1819 Richard Libby Heirs, 1819-1835 Bartholomew Rotchford, 1835-1857	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
18	John West Heirs, 1806-1824 Bartholomew Rotchford, 1824-1857	Public lot (market), 1796-1824; evidence has not been found that buildings were on this lot during the 1816-1849 period.
19, 20 27, 28	Henry Zimmerman Heirs, 1807-1819 Thomas Watkins, 1819-1820 Thomas Watkins Heirs, 1820-1851	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
21, 22 29, 30	Matthew Robinson, 1799-1828 Charles Murray, 1828-1829 William Robinson, 1829-1829 William Burton Richards, 1829-1852	Richards may have had a building on this lot in 1841, but it appears to have been gone by 1851; tax records may be in error, and this lot was probably used for agricultural purposes during this period.
25	Richard Libby, 1814-1819 Richard Libby Heirs, 1819-1835 Bartholomew Rotchford, 1835-1857	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
26	Richard Libby, 1814-1819 Richard Libby Heirs, 1819-1835 Bartholomew Rotchford, 1835-1857	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.

Table 6-2: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1816-1849

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
A1a	Benjamin Dulany, 1799-1818 Benjamin Dulany Heirs, 1818-1822 Samuel Catts, 1822-1863	Samuel Catts built the Drover's Rest hotel on this lot probably in the 1820s.
A1b	Benjamin Dulany, 1799-1818 Benjamin Dulany Heirs, 1818-(?)	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
A2	Benjamin Dulany, 1799-1818 Benjamin Dulany Heirs, 1818-(?)	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
B	William Simpson Estate, 1800-1832 Samuel Catts, 1832-1863	Dwelling on this tract by 1796, ground floor used as a tavern ca. 1805-ca. 1872
B1a	John Simpson, 1800-1823 Peter Simpson, 1823-1825 Adam Zimmerman, 1825-1839 Samuel Catts, 1839-1863	Dwelling built on the property, possibly in 1800 or shortly after. A small house may have been on this lot by 1823.
B1b	John Simpson, 1800-1823 Adam Zimmerman, 1823-1839 Samuel Catts, 1839-1863	A small house was on this lot in 1823.
C	Walter Jones, 1815-1861	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
C1a	Jacob Heineman, 1793-1821 William Biers, 1821-1872	2-story brick house on this lot before 1821.
C1b	Jacob Heineman, 1793-1821 Jacob Heineman Heirs, 1821-1828 William Biers, 1828-1872	Dwelling house and a slaughter house on the lot by 1796. In 1823 the lot contained a large dwelling house, kitchen, meat house, barn, stables, slaughterhouse, warehouse, and garden.
C2a	John Longden, 1793-1830 Julia Longden, 1830-1845 Julia Ann Hannon, 1845 David Betzold, 1845-1857	Substantial buildings, probably including a house, were on the lot in 1830; a house remained on the lot in 1857.
C2b	John Longden, 1793-1830 John Longden Heirs, 1830-1844 Joseph Bruin, 1844-1863	Unknown buildings were on this lot in 1830. Bruin lived in a house on the east half of the lot and converted the west half into a slave prison. In 1849, the west half contained a 2-story brick slave prison, and a 1-1/2 story brick wash house. The east half contained a 2-story brick dining room and a 2-story brick house.
C3a	Richard Weightman Heirs, 1812-1817 John Gird, 1817-1819 Abiel Holbrook, 1819-1823 David Betzold and Adam Diez, 1823-1857	Use unknown. Evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
C3b	Richard Weightman Heirs, 1812-1817 John Gird, 1817-1819 Mark Butts & Grafton Cawood, 1819-1833 David Betzold, 1833-1857	Substantial building (s) existed on this lot in 1819, possibly a store building. Butts and Cawood probably operated a general store at the site. The buildings may have been gone or largely deteriorated by 1833.
C4	Benjamin Dulany, 1799-1818 Benjamin Dulany Heirs, 1818-(?)	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this tract contained buildings during this period.

Table 6-2: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1816-1849

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
C5	John Gird, 1813-1818 Louis Beeler, 1818-1823 David Betzold and Adam Diez, 1823-1831 David Betzold, 1831-1857	Dwelling house built on this lot in 1801; buildings remained on this property throughout the period.
C6a	Beal Howard, ca. 1802-1821 Ann Richards Howard, 1821-1830 David Betzold and Adam Diez, 1830-1832 D. Betzold and A. Diez Heirs, 1832-1857	Dwelling house on lot in 1832, with attached slaughterhouse (may have been in C6b).
C6b	Beal Howard, ca. 1802-1821 Elizabeth Longden, 1821-1831 David Betzold and Adam Diez, 1831-1832 D. Betzold, 1832-1857	A dwelling house and slaughterhouse may have been built on property in 1802. A frame dwelling, a brick slaughterhouse, a brick smokehouse were on the lot in 1831.
E1a	J. T. Ricketts and John Stump, 1796-1821 David Ricketts and John Stump, 1821-1830 John T. Ricketts and John Stump Heirs, partition, 1830 John T. Ricketts, 1830-1834 (part) John Stump Heirs, 1830-1837 (part) Richard Windsor, 1834/1837-1848 Reuben and Robert Roberts, 1848-ca. 1850	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
E1b	J.T. Ricketts and J. Stump, 1804-1821 David Ricketts and John Stump, 1821-1830 John T. Ricketts and John Stump Heirs, partition, 1830 John T. Ricketts, 1830-1834 (part) John Stump Heirs, 1830-1837 (part) Richard Windsor, 1834/1837-1848 Reuben and Robert Roberts, 1848-ca. 1850	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period. Hooff may have used the property to pasture livestock prior to slaughter.
E2	Thomas and John C. Vowell, 1798-1825 David Ricketts and John Stump, 1825-1830 John T. Ricketts and John Stump Heirs, partition, 1830 John T. Ricketts, 1830-1834 (part) John Stump Heirs, 1830-1837 (part) Richard Windsor, 1834/1837-1848 Reuben and Robert Roberts, 1848-ca. 1850	Old mill on property before 1790; Bird's Mill on property from 1790 to after 1900.
E3	John Stump and J.T. Ricketts, 1793-1821 David Ricketts and John Stump, 1821-1830 John T. Ricketts and John Stump Heirs, partition, 1830 John T. Ricketts, 1830-1834 (part) John Stump Heirs, 1830-1837 (part) Richard Windsor, 1834/1837-1848 Reuben and Robert Roberts, 1848-ca. 1850	Cameron Mills (Rickett's Mill) on property from 1793 to after 1900.

Table 6-2: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1816-1849

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
E4	J.T. Ricketts and J. Stump, 1806-1821 David Ricketts and John Stump, 1821-1830 John T. Ricketts and John Stump Heirs, partition, 1830 John T. Ricketts, 1830-1834 (part) John Stump Heirs, 1830-1837 (part) Richard Windsor, 1834/1837-1848 Reuben and Robert Roberts, 1848-ca. 1850	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
E5	J.T. Ricketts and J. Stump, 1804-1821 David Ricketts and John Stump, 1821-1830 John T. Ricketts and John Stump Heirs, partition, 1830 John T. Ricketts, 1830-1834 (part) John Stump Heirs, 1830-1837 (part) Richard Windsor, 1834/1837-1848 Reuben and Robert Roberts, 1848-ca. 1850	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
E6	Lewis Tresler, ca. 1806-(?) Tresler Heirs, 1806+-1870	Use unknown; may have been a wheelright or blacksmith shop; evidence has not been found that buildings were on this property before 1821.
F	John Zimmerman, 1811-1823 John Zimmerman Heirs, 1823-1849 David G. Watkins, 1849-1874	Wagon yard on property by 1795; house and outhouses on property by 1808 (with lot F1). Zimmerman erected new buildings ca. 1822.. Zimmerman's Tavern on property (probably near the turnpike) from 1841 to 1849.
F1	John Zimmerman, 1811-1849 David G. Watkins, 1849-1874	Wagon yard on property by 1795; house and outhouses on property (with lot F) by 1808.
F2	John Zimmerman, 1811-1849 David G. Watkins, 1849-1874	Probably agricultural throughout period.
G1	Joseph Fagen Heirs, 1798-1825 Peter Tresler, 1825-1847 David G. Watkins, 1847-1874	A brick house, a frame house, two stables and a corn house were on the site in 1847.
G2	Thomas Watkins, 1815-1820 David G. Watkins, 1820-1874	Slaughter house and probably a dwelling house on this lot by 1804; in 1811 the lot also contained a storehouse and a garden. Slaughter house and dwelling on lot in 1815, probably continued in operation by Thomas Watkins and his heirs. Slaughter house on the property in 1903.
G3	Thomas Watkins, 1815-1820 David G. Watkins, 1820-1874	House on property by 1804, occupied by miller William Bloxham.
G4	Moses Thomas, 1803-1816 Gabriel and Morris Fox, 1816-1818(?) Gordon Allison, 1818-1830 Samuel Catts, 1830-1863	Use unknown, probably commercial and possibly a butcher shop. Two small frame buildings were on the lot in 1872.
H	Nicholas Hingston, 1811-1829 Bartholomew Rotchford, 1829-1851	Use unknown. Evidence has not been found that buildings were on this lot during this period.
I	Grigsby Grady, 1802-1830 Bartholomew Rotchford, 1830-1857	A house existed on this lot by 1802, occupied by Grady; a house remained on the site in 1830.

Table 6-2: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1816-1849

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
J	Henry Zimmerman Heirs, 1807-1819 Thomas Watkins, 1819-1820 Thomas Watkins Heirs, 1820-1854	The \$180 sale price of the half-acre lot in 1801 indicates a house or other valuable building existed on this lot at that time. Evidence has not been found that buildings were on the lot in the 1816-1849 period.
K	Henry Zimmerman Heirs, 1807-1819 Thomas Watkins, 1819-1820 Thomas Watkins Heirs, 1820-1854	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
L	John West Heirs, 1806-1833 Bartholomew Rotchford, 1833-1857	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
M	Michael Quigley, 1807-ca. 1817 Quigley Heirs, ca. 1817-1847 Thomas Javins, 1847-1869	A 2-story frame house, kitchen, brick bake house, stable, and a “double brick-built necessary with a pigeon house on top” were on the lot in 1806. “Tenements and improvements” were on the lot in 1847.
M1	Peter Tresler, 1808-1818 Stephen Lomax, 1818-1825 Elizabeth Hustin, 1825-1844 David G. Watkins, 1844-1874	A frame house was on the lot by 1804, and buildings remained on the lot until at least 1841.
N	Matthew Robinson, 1797-1828 Matthew Robinson Heirs, 1828-1830 Harrison Emerson, 1830-1879	Probably a house on this lot by 1800; buildings on the property by 1830. Emerson’s estate in 1880 included a 2-story frame dwelling house with attached back building.
O1	George Varnold, 1810-1818 George Varnold Heirs, 1818-1832 George Bontz, 1832-1900	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
O2	Moses Kenny, 1799-1817 John West, 1817-1831 William B. Richards, 1831-1840 George Bontz, 1840-1900	House probably by 1798; occupied by Baker in 1817, probably remained on the lot throughout the 1816-1849 period.
O3	George Varnold, 1810-1818 George Varnold Heirs, 1818-1832 George Bontz, 1832-1900	This lot, comprised actually of two small tracts, does not appear to have contained buildings until 1810. Varnold built a small structure on one of the tracts, probably near John Street.
O4	Moses Kenny, 1799-1817 John West, 1817-1831 William B. Richards, 1831-1840 George Bontz, 1840-1900	Use unknown. Evidence has not been found that buildings were on this lot during this period.
P1	Levon Walker, ca. 1815 (deeds missing) Thomas Watkins, 1815-1820 James M. Watkins, 1820-1853	The \$500 Watkins paid for the 1/2-acre lot indicates a building stood on the site in 1815. The building may have been used as a store by William Clarke, ca. 1820. With lot P2, this lot had a building on it (store?) at least from 1820 to 1835, but no buildings were listed in tax records beginning in 1841.
P2	Thomas Watkins, ca. 1815-1820 James M. Watkins, 1820-1853	With lot P1, this lot had a building on it (probably the store building) at least from 1820 to 1835. The building had probably been removed by 1841.

Table 6-2: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1816-1849

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
P3	Peter Williams & Heirs, 1812-1850 (lease) John West Heirs, 1806-1833 Bartholomew Rotchford, 1833-1857	Tax records indicate that a building was on this property at least from 1825 to 1835, and that it was worth more than the narrow lot. The building was probably gone by 1841. Peter Williams was a butcher, and the building may have been used as a butcher shop.
Q	George Varnold, 1808-1818 George Varnold Heirs, 1818-1834 Harrison Emerson, 1834-1870	House and kitchen on property in 1800. Tax records do not indicate buildings on this lot at least from 1820 to 1850.
R	Jacob Heineman, 1803-1821 Jacob Heineman Heirs, 1821-1825 William Biers, 1825-1850/1872	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period. This tract was consistently described as a "meadow lot."
S	Nicholas Hingston, 1810-1829 Bartholomew Rotchford, 1829-1857	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
T	John Zimmerman, 1804-1823 John Zimmerman Heirs, 1823-1849 George Bontz, 1849-1850	This lot may have contained a house in 1820, but it no longer existed by 1835. Buildings were not on the tract in 1849.
U	Henry Hursey, 1798-1819 John Zimmerman, 1819-1823 John Zimmerman Heirs, 1823-1849 George Bontz, 1849-1850	A house may have existed on this lot by 1800, but it was no longer extant in 1835.
V	John Zimmerman, 1804-1823 John Zimmerman Heirs, 1823-1849 George Bontz, 1849-1850	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
W	William Richards Heirs, 1802-1826 William Burton Richards, 1826-1853	House on this property by 1802, may have been a slaughter house after 1804. A house remained on the property in 1823, and a barn and other buildings were on the property in 1865.
X	James Tyler, 1804-1819 James Tyler Heirs, 1819-1824 Mordecai Miller, 1824-1827 William Burton Richards, 1827-1853/1855	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
Y	John West Heirs, 1806-1833 Bartholomew Rotchford, 1833-1857	Probably agricultural throughout the period; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
Z	John West Heirs, 1806-1833 Bartholomew Rotchford, 1833-1857	Agricultural throughout the period; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
Z1	John West Heirs, 1806-1833 Bartholomew Rotchford, 1833-1857	Probably agricultural throughout the period; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.

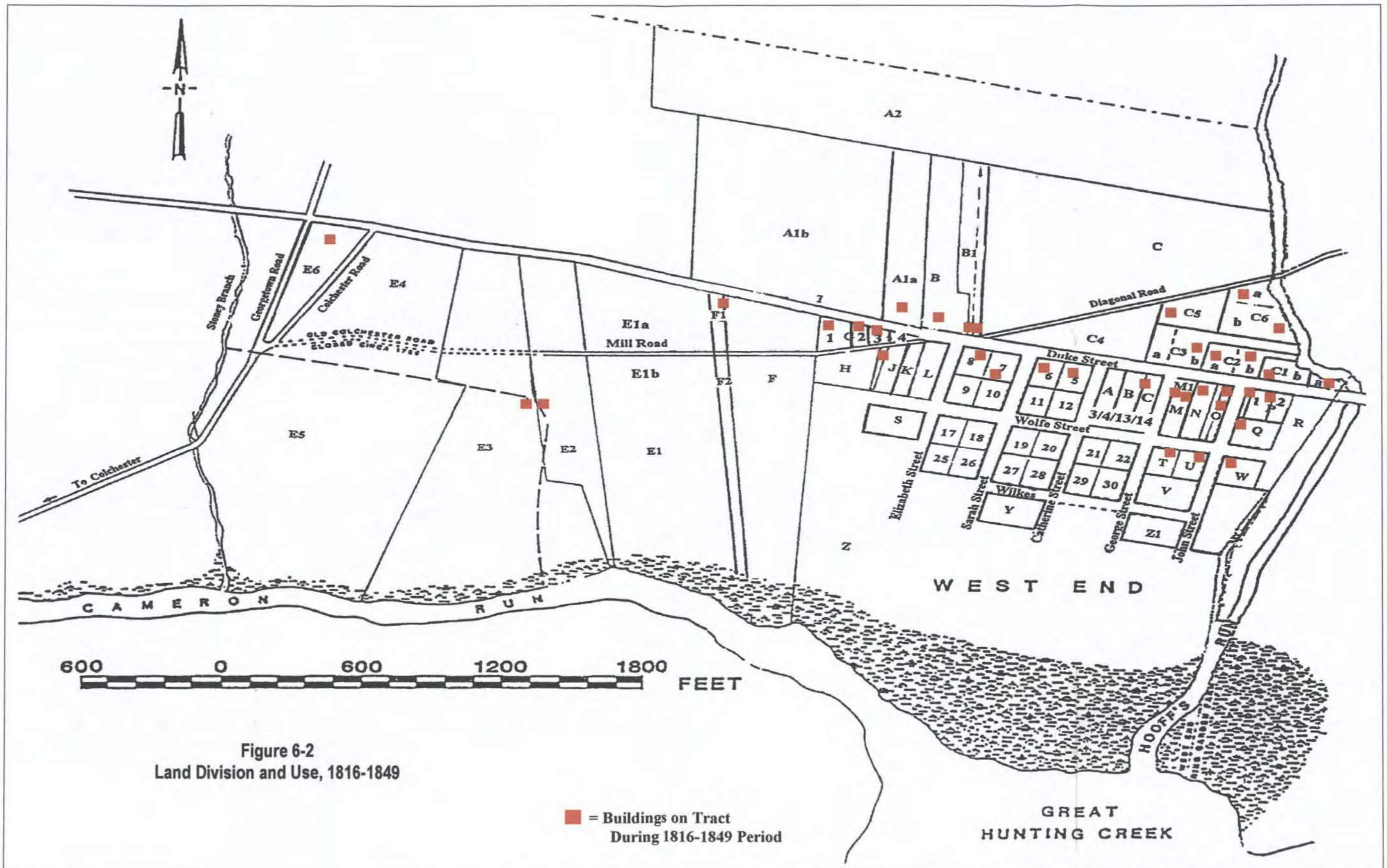


Figure 6-2
Land Division and Use, 1816-1849

■ = Buildings on Tract
During 1816-1849 Period

7.1 The Orange and Alexandria Railroad and West End Development

Completion of the Alexandria Canal and generally improved market and production conditions fueled an economic recovery in Alexandria beginning in the late 1840s. The canal did not provide Alexandria with the trading advantage the town had sought; on the contrary, the canal burdened the town with a debt that reduced its ability to fund other transportation improvements. The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad established a link with the Winchester & Potomac Railroad at Harpers Ferry, Virginia in 1836, which gave the B&O and the port of Baltimore access to the farm products and coal deposits of the northern Shenandoah Valley. Fearing a loss of western trade to Baltimore, Alexandria business leaders proposed to build a railroad from Alexandria to Harpers Ferry, also to link with the Winchester & Potomac Railroad. The Alexandria and Harpers Ferry Railroad was chartered in 1847. However, the B&O bought the Winchester & Potomac Railroad in 1848, excluding Alexandria from that route (Hurd 1988).

In response, Alexandrians and other regional business leaders revived a plan for a railroad to the Shenandoah Valley by a more southerly route. A railroad had been chartered by the Virginia General Assembly for this general route in 1832, but it was not built because of lack of funding. Substantial planning for this railroad had probably been completed, because a definite route seems to have been determined at the time the Virginia General Assembly chartered the Orange and Alexandria Railroad Company on March 27, 1848. The Orange and Alexandria Railroad (O&A) would be built from Gordonsville to Alexandria by way of Orange Court House and Culpeper Court House, and it would connect with the Louisa Railroad at Gordonsville (Eggerton 1976:8).

Subsequent legislation by the Virginia General Assembly enabled the State of Virginia and the Town of Alexandria to purchase stock in the O&A, which allowed the company to start construction in 1850. In April 1851, the O&A laid its first tracks on Wilkes Street in Alexandria, and it built a roundhouse at Duke and Henry Streets that year. The O&A was completed to Tudor Hall in 1851, where it would be met in 1852 by the Manassas Gap Railroad (Tudor Hall would thereafter be known as Manassas Junction). The O&A reached Culpeper Court House in 1852 and Gordonsville in 1854. An extension to Lynchburg was completed in 1860, allowing access to railroads to the west (Eggerton 1976:8).

In West End, the O&A ran east-to-west on Wolfe Street, the street platted by John West to the south of Duke Street/Little River Turnpike. This route included the southern portion of Wolfe Street and about 10 feet of the northern area of lots to the south of Wolfe Street. The railroad initially crossed Hooff's Run on a bridge of unknown character built in 1851. This bridge was replaced by a stone arch bridge in 1856, that remains standing in 1996. The stone bridge was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1993 (Massey et al. 1993).

The O&A and the Manassas Gap Railroad (MGRR) were authorized to make a contract, under which the MGRR would use O&A track and depot facilities to transport freight and passengers. O&A demanded rent of \$33,500 per year for these rights in 1853, and MGRR obtained a charter from the Virginia General Assembly to build its own line into Alexandria. MGRR's proposed line ran westward from Jones Point, along the southern border of incorporated Alexandria, across Hooff's Run to the south of the national cemetery, and parallel to the O&A line through West End. Construction is reported to have occurred at several locations along the surveyed line, but completion was delayed by lack of funding and then by the Civil War. Land records do not indicate sale or lease of property for this construction. With the possible exception of one access road, physical evidence of such construction has not been found. The O&A and the MGRR were merged as the Orange, Alexandria and Manassas Railroad in 1867 (Hardy n.d.:10, 11; Louis Berger & Associates 1989).

The Alexandria and Fredericksburg Railroad was chartered by the General Assembly on March 24, 1851 to build a railroad between Alexandria and Fredericksburg. The charter allowed either the O&A or the Richmond & Fredericksburg Railroad to construct the line, but in 1856 the General Assembly allowed the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad (RF&P) to extend its line northward to a connection with the O&A and the MGRR. Construction was delayed by the Civil War, and the RF&P line was finally built along the north side of the O&A line through West End in the 1870s.

In West End, the O&A and MGRR consisted of only a single track without either sidings or depot in the community. The direct effect of the railroads to West End's economy was therefore limited in the 1850-1865 period. However, the construction and operation of these railroads and the Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire Railroad, and the operation of a major locomotive and rail car factory, helped bring about unprecedented growth in Alexandria from

1850 to 1860. The town's population rose from 8,795 to 12,652 persons, and more than 500 houses were built in Alexandria in the decade (Smith and Miller 1989:77).

That prosperity was shared by at least the butchers of West End, in part because of growing local demand for meat and because rail car refrigeration was still about 20 years in the future. The Census of 1860 listed 24 butchers who lived in and/or practiced their trade in West End at that time:

William R. Beirs, age 59
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 (apprentice?)
James Coxen, 27
Harrison Emmerson, 64
Harrison Emmerson, Jr., 33
William R. Emmerson, 33
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, age unknown

For the millers at Cameron/West End and Alexandria, however, the completion of the railroads meant the beginning of the end of their hold on the lucrative milling trade, because flour could be milled near the point of grain production and shipped by rail to Alexandria relatively quickly and cheaply. An article in the Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser on November 24, 1851 recognized this change:

On Saturday last, Daniel F. Hooe, of this place, received the first load of Flour ever brought to town by Railroad. It was sent down by Wm. J. Weir, esq. of Prince William County, via the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. The flour was manufactured at Millford Mills, and after being placed in the freight train, reached here in an hour, in "fine order and good condition." Huzza for internal improvements - and success to the farmers, millers and traders (quoted in Hardy n.d.:5).

Despite the railroad development, the Roberts family retained and operated the "merchant mill" at Cameron Mills until after 1902. At some time before 1902, a steam engine had been added to the mill to provide power in times of low water in the millrace. Edmund Hunt and the Roberts family remained at Cameron Mills throughout the Civil War. Union soldiers may have been stationed at the mill for a time, property was stolen and destroyed by the Union troops, and Roberts family members were harassed by soldiers. The railroad would have a personal effect on the Roberts family: Robert F. Roberts was killed by a train in 1884 while he was crossing the railroad tracks through his property, and his son James Roberts was killed at the same crossing in 1914 (Knepper and Pappas 1990:13; Sanborn 1902).

In 1851 the Roberts brothers sold the "country mill" to the Alexandria Water Company, which used the mill machinery to pump water into a reservoir at the foot of Shooter's Hill to the north. By agreement between Robert F. Roberts and the Alexandria Water Company, the mill equipment was later returned to Roberts and was apparently subsequently used by both parties. This mill, too, remained in operation as a pumping station until at least 1902 (Knepper and Pappas 1990:13; Sanborn 1902). The water system included iron pipes along the north and south sides of the Little River Turnpike through West End, and a number of residents of West End were among the first customers of the water system. The Alexandria Water Company reservoir remains in place on the slope of Shooter's Hill in 1996.

Other businesses were also either established or maintained through the 1850-1865 period. John H. Zimmerman purchased a lot on the south side of the turnpike in 1849. Zimmerman was the son and grandson of West End butchers, and the lot had included his father's butcher shop. Zimmerman constructed a large brick building in the summer of 1850, which became both his home and his store. One source (Cromwell et al. 1989:105) concluded that Zimmerman operated a general store, but he was a butcher by trade, and it is just as likely that he operated a butcher shop in the building. Zimmerman died in 1854, and his wife Elizabeth

retained the building, apparently as a private dwelling, for many years (Deed Book P3:382; Will Book X:372, 379; Hopkins 1879; U.S. Census 1850).

James Grigg continued to operate his general store at the southeast corner of the intersection of Duke and Elizabeth streets. Tax and deed records indicate Grigg operated this store until he sold it in 1870. As previously stated, the store remained in operation until after 1921. Information has not been found that other general store operated in West End during the 1850-1865 period.

Richard Rotchford inherited Bartholomew Rotchford's property in West End in 1857. Richard Rotchford apparently did not have the same interest in farming as his father, and in the following years he sold or leased portions of the 35-acre West End Farm. On November 1, 1858, Rotchford issued a renewable 5-year lease to Alexander Strausz and John Klein of the firm Strausz & Klein for a lot to the east of James Grigg's general store on the south side of Duke Street extended. According to the deed, the lot was "the same more or less, upon which a deep Lager Beer cellar is now being dug by said Strausz and Klein, together with the frame house on said lot." The lot had 105 feet of frontage on the Little River Turnpike (Duke Street extended) and was 102 feet deep. The frame house on the lot may have previously been used as Charles Jones' West End Tavern (Deed Book A-4:347).

This brewery was one of the first lager type breweries in Virginia, and the deep cellar would help provide the 40 degree temperature needed for fermentation and aging. The cellar was probably finished in early 1859, and brewing probably began soon after; the firm produced its first beer by the winter of 1859-1860. The brewery building that Strausz and Klein built was probably a 2-story, 3-bay frame structure. The brewery obtained its water from a tap from the Alexandria Water Company's line running from the Shooter's Hill reservoir to Alexandria (Walker and Dennee 1994:51).

Alexander Strausz sold his interest in the brewery to Klein for \$2,000 in 1860. At about the same time, Klein entered into a deed of trust with Francis Denmead, a Baltimore supplier of brewing malts. The equipment of the brewery was described in the deed: two copper brew kettles, two mash tubs, six fermentation tuns, and various other implements, casks, and barrels. The "Shooter's Hill Brewery" also had a horse and wagon, and a transportation

hogshead with hose for delivering beer (Deed Books C4:129, C4:132; Walker and Dennee 1994:51).

Richard Rotchford continued to own the land containing the brewery. When the Civil War broke out in April 1861, Rotchford and many other Confederate sympathizers in Alexandria traveled south for the duration of the war. The U.S. Marshall seized Rotchford's property on October 1, 1863, because Rotchford was declared to be in rebellion against the United States. The lot containing the brewery was sold at public auction on July 19, 1864, and Thomas Dwyer purchased the lot for \$195. Klein maintained his payments, however, and his business does not appear to have been interrupted by the seizure and sale (Deed Book C4:309, 311; Walker and Dennee 1994:53).

The Military Governor of Alexandria banned sales of alcoholic beverages within the town limits in August, 1862, but Klein and other brewers found ready markets outside the town. By the fall of 1865, Klein had produced nearly half of the 9,000 barrels of beer that had been made and sold by Alexandria area brewers. In 1864 alone, the Shooter's Hill Brewery produced more than 2,000 barrels of beer, and by the end of that year Klein had completed an expansion of his brewing operation. To meet the wartime demand, Klein brewed year-round, which probably led to variations in the quality of his lager beer, particularly in the summer months. Despite the high volume, Klein was not really making much money at his brewery. By the end of the war, he owed Francis Denmead more than \$4,000 for malt and hops (Walker and Dennee 1994:53-54).

Richard Rotchford returned to Alexandria after the war and purchased his former holdings from Thomas Dwyer. Rotchford then sold the brewery lot to Klein for \$1,000 in July 1865. John Klein died in August 1865, and the property was transferred by sale to Francis Denmead. Robert Portner, an Alexandria brewer, rented the brewery to add to his production capacities during the winter of 1865-1866, but he did not continue to use the brewery because beer sales fell sharply after the Union Army left Alexandria. Denmead then hired Henry Englehardt to run the Shooter's Hill Brewery, and Englehardt continued as an employee until he bought the brewery in 1872. The brewery operated until 1891 or 1892, and it burned in August 1893. The brewery cellar was not entirely destroyed, and it was excavated in 1993 and 1994 as part of the archaeological investigations associated with the Carlyle Development (Walker and Dennee 1994).

The Civil War and the occupation of Alexandria affected all forms of trade in the area from 1861 to 1865, including butchering. Livestock was bought or commandeered by both the Union and Confederate armies to feed their troops, and the civilian consumption of meat must have dramatically declined. As Alexandria became the key supply point for Union troops operating in northern Virginia, government slaughtering houses were established in Alexandria. In May 1863, more than 1,700 head of cattle were driven to Alexandria and moved from pasture to pasture before being slaughtered to provide meat for the Union Army (Cromwell et al. 1989:68; Barber 1988:22).

Some of the West End butchers may have been employed in the government slaughtering operations, but the butchering business in West End probably nearly ceased during the war. Butcher John H. Watkins left the area during the war, as did many residents of Alexandria and the surrounding areas. The Census of 1870 listed only six butchers still living or working in West End, and one of those men, William R. Beirs, was retired. Butchering would be an important part of the West End economy until around 1900, but it would never regain the dominance it had before the Civil War (Cromwell et al. 1989:68-69). None of the persons who stayed in West End during the Civil War appears to have prospered from it, although the Shooter’s Hill Brewery greatly expanded its production during that period.

Despite the occupation by Union troops and the seizure of lands, the 1850-1865 period was relatively stable in terms of land ownership and use in West End. Land division and use in West End during the period 1850 to 1865 are listed in Table 7-1 and shown on Figure 7-1 .

Table 7-1: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1850-1865

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
3, 4 13, 14	Elizabeth Lyles, 1834-1853 Thomas Javins, 1853-1869	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that the property contained buildings during this period.
4a	Augustine Newton, 1827-1866	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that the property contained buildings during this period.
3a	Elizabeth Lyles, 1834-1853 Thomas Javins, 1853-1869	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that the property contained buildings during this period.
5, 12	Bartholomew Rotchford, 1833-1857 Richard Rotchford, 1857-1864 Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866	House, stable, and outhouse on this lot by 1808; brick house on the lot in 1819. This house may have remained on the property until at least 1864.

Table 7-1: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1850-1865

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
6, 11	John H. Zimmerman, 1849-1854 John H. Zimmerman Heirs, 1854-1880	John H. Zimmerman built a brick house on this tract in 1850; this building probably remained on the property until around 1900.
7, 10	Bartholomew Rotchford, 1824-1857 Richard Rotchford, 1857-1864 Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866	A barn was near the northeast corner of Lot 7 in 1851.
7a	Bartholomew Rotchford, 1824-1857 Richard Rotchford, 1857-1864 Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that the property contained buildings during this period.
8a	Bartholomew Rotchford, 1824-1857 Richard Rotchford, 1857-1864 Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866	2-story frame house on lot by 1800, remained on lot throughout the period. A grocery store was operated on this lot probably from 1855 to after 1915, and a store of some kind may have existed on this lot as early as 1798.
8b	Bartholomew Rotchford, 1824-1857 Richard Rotchford, 1857-1864 Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866 (assumed in Lot 8c in 1865)	A small frame building may have been on this lot as early as 1798. It may have survived until after 1858, probably until around 1893.
8c	Bartholomew Rotchford, 1824-1857 Richard Rotchford, 1857-1864 Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866 John Klein, 1858-1865 (lease) John Klein, 1865 Francis Denmead, 1865-1872	Brewery building, dwelling, and beer cellar on lot, 1858-1893. The house or brewery building may have been used as a saloon and/or restaurant in the early 1890s.
8, 9	Bartholomew Rotchford, 1824-1857 Richard Rotchford, 1857-1864 Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866	This tract was probably undeveloped farmland until Constant Ponnet built a greenhouse complex in 1891.
17, 18 25, 26	Bartholomew Rotchford, 1835-1857 Richard Rotchford, 1857-1864 Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period. The northern 10' of Lots 17 and 18 were occupied by the Orange and Alexandria Railroad beginning in 1850.
19, 20 27, 28	Thomas Watkins Heirs, 1820-1851 Bartholomew Rotchford, 1851-1857 Richard Rotchford, 1857-1864 Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period. The northern 10' of Lots 19 and 20 were occupied by the Orange and Alexandria Railroad beginning in 1850.
21, 22 29, 30	William Burton Richards, 1829-1852 Harrison Emmerson, 1852-1882	Richards may have had a building on this lot in 1841, but it appears to have been gone by 1851; tax records may be in error, and this lot was probably used for agricultural purposes during this period. The northern 10' of Lots 21 and 22 were occupied by the Orange and Alexandria Railroad beginning in 1850.
A1a	Samuel Catts, 1822-1863 Samuel Catts Heirs, 1863-1872	Samuel Catts built the Drover's Rest hotel on this lot probably in the 1820s. The hotel may have burned in 1896. All buildings on the lot were demolished in 1903 to allow construction of the Washington Southern Railway tracks.

Table 7-1: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1850-1865

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
A1b	Benjamin Dulany Heirs, 1818-1903+	Ludwell Lee mansion was probably on attached land to the north of this lot; mansion burned in 1840. It was replaced with a smaller house that also burned in 1873. The crest of Shuter's Hill was fortified by the Union Army as Fort Ellsworth from 1861 to 1865 (north of this lot).
A2	Benjamin Dulany Heirs, 1818-1878+	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
B	Samuel Catts, 1832-1863 Samuel Catts Heirs, 1863-1872	Dwelling on this tract by 1796, ground floor used as a tavern ca. 1805-ca. 1872 and possibly later.
B1a	Samuel Catts, 1839-1863 Samuel Catts Heirs, 1863-1872	A house may have been on this lot in 1872 (or on lot B1b); a slaughterhouse and stable may have been on this lot in 1872 and 1903.
B1b	Samuel Catts, 1839-1863 Samuel Catts Heirs, 1863-1872	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that the property contained buildings during this period.
C	Walter Jones, 1815-1861 Walter Jones Heirs, 1861-1867	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
C1a	William Beirs, 1821-1872	2-story brick house on this lot before 1821. This house may have remained until at least the 1890s.
C1b	William Beirs, 1828-1872	Dwelling house and a slaughter house on the lot by 1796. In 1823 the lot contained a large dwelling house, kitchen, meat house, barn, stables, slaughterhouse, warehouse, and garden. At least the dwelling and slaughterhouse remained on site until after 1885.
C2a	David Betzold, 1845-1857 Louisa Lieberman and Heirs, 1857-1902	Substantial buildings, probably including a house, were on the lot in 1830; a house remained on the lot in 1857.
C2b	Joseph Bruin, 1844-1863 U.S. Marshall, 1863-1864 John Sherer, 1864-ca. 1870 (west part) Jonathan Roberts, 1864-ca. 1870 (east part)	In 1849, the west half contained a 2-story brick slave prison, and a 1-1/2 story brick wash house. The east half contained a 2-story brick dining room and a 2-story brick house. The house may remain on the site in 1996.
C3a	David Betzold and Adam Diez, 1823-1856 Joseph Bruin, 1856-1863 U.S. Marshall, 1863-1864 William Wilson, 1864-ca. 1870	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
C3b	David Betzold, 1833-1857 Louisa Lieberman and Heirs, 1857-1902 Walter and James Roberts, 1902-(?)	A store/dwelling may have existed on this lot at least into the 1850s.
C4	Walter Jones, 1815-1861 Walter Jones Heirs, 1861-1867	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that the property contained buildings during this period.
C5	David Betzold, 1831-1857 Louisa Lieberman, 1857-1902	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that the property contained buildings during this period.

Table 7-1: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1850-1865

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
C6	D. Betzold and A. Diez Heirs, 1832-1857 Louisa Lieberman, 1857-1902	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that the property contained buildings during this period.
E1-E5	Reuben and Robert Roberts, 1848-ca. 1850 [Title information for these tracts after 1850 has not been compiled, but the lands remained in Roberts/Hunt family until after 1900]	Mills stood on Lots E2 and E3 until at least 1902. Portions of Lots E1, E2, E3, and E4 were owned and occupied by the Orange and Alexandria Railroad after 1850.
E6	Lewis Tresler, ca. 1806-(?) Tresler Heirs, 1806-(?) Peter Tresler, (?) -1849 Louis Tresler, 1849-1864 Peter C. Tresler 1864-ca. 1871	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that buildings were on this property during this period. The lot was probably used for commercial purposes, however. A portion of Lot E6 was owned and o
F F1, F2	[North of O&A Railroad] David G. Watkins, 1849-1874	A combined slaughterhouse and stable existed on this property in 1874. Portions of this tract were condemned and taken by the Orange & Alexandria Railroad in 1850-1851 and occupied by the railroad thereafter.
G1-G3	David G. Watkins, 1847-1874	A brick house, a frame house, two stables and a corn house were on the site in 1847. Four houses were on this tract in 1901; all were demolished or removed in 1903-1904 during construction of the Washington Southern Railway's curve to the northeast.
G4	Samuel Catts, 1830-1863 Rozier D. Catts, 1863-1903	Use unknown, probably commercial and possibly a butcher shop.
H, I	Bartholomew Rotchford, 1829-1851 David G. Watkins, 1851-1874	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that the property contained buildings during this period.
J, K	Thomas Watkins Heirs, 1820-1854 Thomas J. Watkins, 1854-(?) Thomas J. Watkins Heirs, (?) -1904	At least one substantial building was on this property by 1856, and it probably remained on the property until at least 1874.
L	Bartholomew Rotchford, 1833-1857 Richard Rotchford, 1857-1864 Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that the property contained buildings during this period.
M, Mi	Thomas Javins, 1847-1869	"Tenements and improvements" were on the lot in 1847. Building probably remained on the lot until after 1915.
N	Harrison Emerson, 1830-1879	Probably a house on this lot by 1800; buildings on the property by 1830. Emerson's estate in 1880 included a 2-story frame dwelling house with attached back building. This structure appears to have remained on the lot until at least 1902.
O	George Bontz, 1832/1840-1900	House probably by 1798; occupied by Baker in 1817, probably remained on the lot in 1850. Two houses were on this property in the 1860s, one brick and one frame. The brick house may have remained on the site until 1960. The wood frame house was divided into two tenements and stood until after 1950.

Table 7-1: Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1850-1865

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
P1, P2	James M. Watkins, 1820-1853 James M. Watkins Heirs, 1853-1872	No buildings were listed in tax records beginning in 1841.
P3	Peter Williams & Heirs, 1812-1850 (lease) Bartholomew Rotchford, 1833-1857 Richard Rotchford, 1857-1858 John H. Watkins, 1858-(?) John H. Watkins Heirs, (?) -1903	Tax records indicate that a building was on this property at least from 1825 to 1835, and that it was worth more than the narrow lot. This tract may have had one or more buildings on it beginning in the 1870s, and it almost certainly had at least one building from 1872 to 1915.
Q	Harrison Emerson, 1834-1870	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that the property contained buildings during this period.
R	William Biers, 1825-1850/1872	Substantial building existed on this lot by 1830, possibly a brick house. One or more buildings existed on this lot until at least 1910.
S	Bartholomew Rotchford, 1829-1857 Richard Rotchford, 1857-1864 Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period. The northern 10' of this tract was taken by the O&A Railroad in 1850-1851; the remainder of the tract was used for railroad purposes after about 1899.
T, U, V	George Bontz, 1849-1850 Orange & Alexandria Railroad, 1850-1851 Harrison Emmerson, 1851-1879	Buildings were not on the tract in 1849. Emmerson built a house on this tract in 1860 on Lot T or U, and it remained until at least 1880. The northern 10' of Lots T and U were occupied by the Orange and Alexandria Railroad beginning in 1850.
W	William Burton Richards, 1826-1853 George A. Bossart, 1853-1870	House on this property by 1802, may have been a slaughter house after 1804. A house remained on the property in 1823, and a barn and other buildings were on the property in 1865. These buildings probably remained on the property until around 1900. The northern 10' of Lot W was occupied by the Orange and Alexandria Railroad beginning in 1850.
X	William Burton Richards, 1827-1853/1855 George A. Bossart, 1855-1870	Agricultural use; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
Y, Z	Bartholomew Rotchford, 1833-1857 Richard Rotchford, 1857-1864 Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866	Probably agricultural throughout the period; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
Z1, Z2	Bartholomew Rotchford, 1833-1857 Richard Rotchford, 1857-1858 Harrison Emmerson, 1858-1879	Probably agricultural throughout the period; evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.

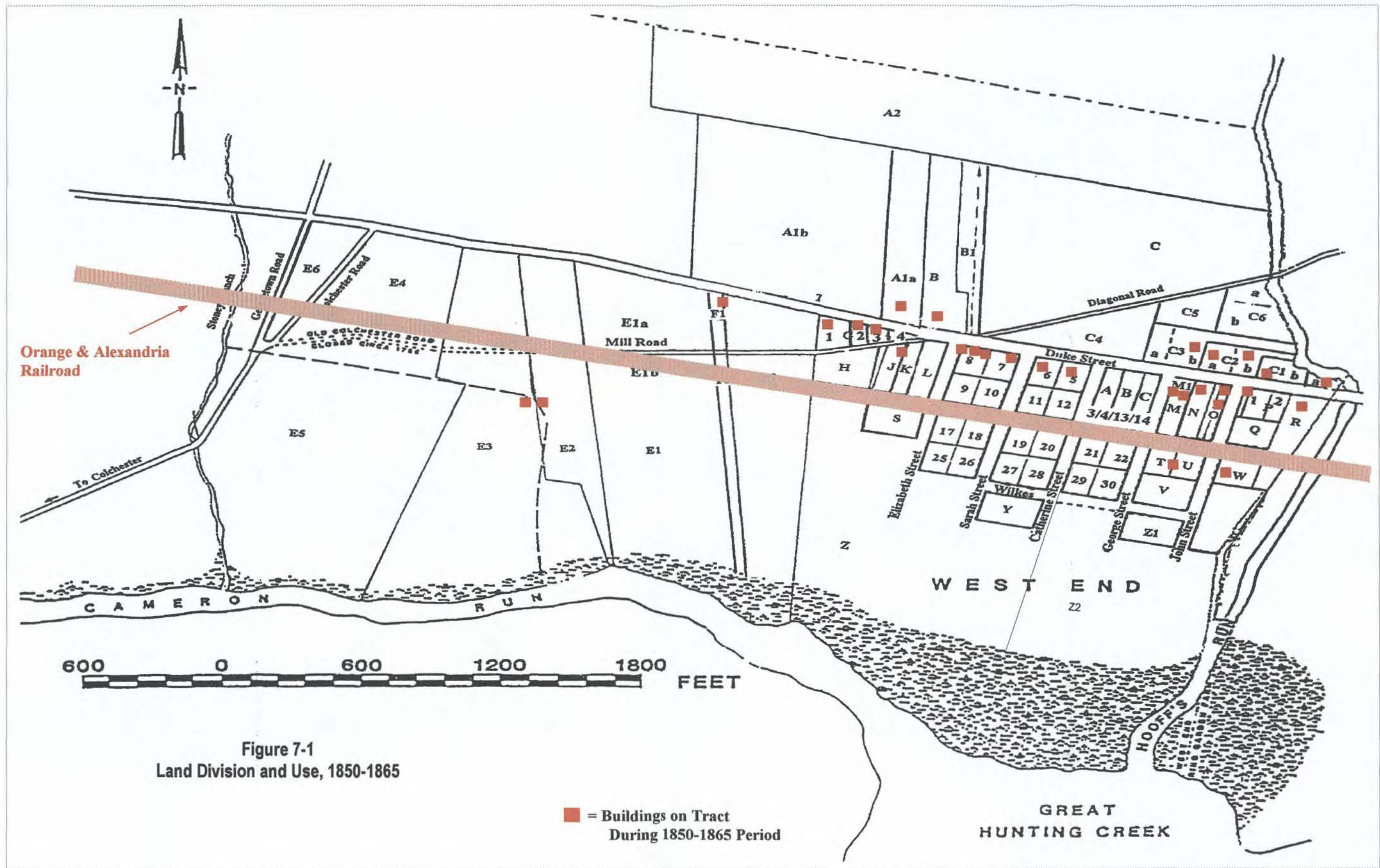


Figure 7-1
Land Division and Use, 1850-1865

■ = Buildings on Tract
During 1850-1865 Period

7.2 Union Occupation and Slough Hospital

Virginia had not yet seceded from the United States when Fort Sumpter fell to Confederate forces in South Carolina on April 14, 1861. Many northern Virginians had business and social ties to the northern states, and the region was proud of the roles its sons had played in the founding of the United States. Most northern Virginians did not own slaves in 1861, and the diversified agricultural economy of the region at that time was perhaps more similar to that of the northern and western states than to the plantation South. Virginians believed strongly in state sovereignty, however. After President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to put down the insurrection, the Virginia state convention voted on April 17, 1861 to submit an ordinance of secession to a vote of the people. Without waiting for the results of the election, the governor placed the state under Confederate military orders.

In early May 1861, Confederate military leaders assessed the vulnerability and resources of the far northern portion of Virginia, including the Alexandria area. On May 8, 1861, General Philip Cocke determined that Alexandria would be difficult to hold, because Union troops could use the Potomac River to bypass a line of defense and thereby cut off communications and supplies to the northern defenses. Cocke understood that the loss of Alexandria would mean the loss of “the whole system of railroads, which debouching from Alexandria, penetrates this noble country to its very heart, connected with the valley and strategically with Harper’s Ferry, and thus laying bare the very vitals of the State to a deadly attack or to a stunning blow” (U.S. Department of War 1881:II:842).

General Robert E. Lee recognized that Alexandria probably would fall to Union troops soon after the election, and he made efforts to remove as much of the railroad equipment, railway iron, flour, and other materials as possible before the election. On May 18, 1861 Lee ordered the construction of a connector track between the Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire Railroad and the Orange and Alexandria Railroad (O&A), so that the former system’s rolling stock could be moved south by way of Manassas Junction and the Manassas Gap Railroad. Most of the locomotives and cars of the two railroads were moved from Alexandria before the election, but 1,100 tons of high-quality steel rails in the O&A yards could not be moved in time (Johnston 1961:25).

On May 23, 1861, a majority of Virginians voted to secede from the United States; Alexandria residents voted 958 to 48 for secession (McCord 1985:46). Almost immediately, eleven regiments of Union soldiers crossed the Potomac River and occupied Alexandria. Confederate forces did not oppose the invasion, but they did not abandon the town until absolutely necessary. The last train of Confederate soldiers left through West End for Manassas Junction only minutes ahead of the occupying Union troops (Netherton et al. 1978:320-321). The soldiers weren't alone in wanting to leave the occupied city; an estimated two-thirds of the residents of Alexandria vacated the city before or during the four years of Union occupation (Netherton et al. 1978:329).

By June 24, 1861, Union troops controlled the O&A Railroad to about seven miles west of Alexandria. Confederate troops controlled the railroad to about 15 miles east of Manassas Junction, and the rail line between the two armies had been destroyed. The Confederate defensive line was established at Manassas, with forward positions at Fairfax Courthouse, Centerville, Germantown, and Fairfax Station. Manassas Junction was a vital target for the Union Army, because it could open the Shenandoah Valley and Richmond to invasion, as General Coker had warned. Union troops advanced on Manassas from the north in July 1861 and may have won the First Battle of Manassas if Stonewall Jackson's troops had not arrived by railroad to participate in the battle (Eggerton 1977:12; Louis Berger & Associates 1984:6-7).

After the First Battle of Manassas, the Confederates extended their forward position on the O&A to Springfield Station, three to four miles west of West End. In September 1861, the Confederates began to fall back to a more defensible line to the south and west, but they continued to meet and fight Union troops in the area to the north and west of West End. Skirmishes occurred at Ball's Crossroads on August 27-28, Bailey's Crossroads on August 28-30, Munson's Hill on August 31, Springfield Station on October 3, between Falls Church and Fairfax Courthouse on November 18, Vienna on November 26, Dranesville on November 26-27, Annandale on December 2, and Burke's Station on December 4, 1861. The Confederate Army withdrew to the south of the Rapahannock River in March, 1862, but they again advanced northward to the Second Battle of Manassas from August 29 to September 1, 1862 and then northward to the Battle of Antietam in Maryland on September 17, 1862 (Louis Berger & Associates 1984:7).

The Union Army built a ring of fortifications around Washington, D.C. to help protect the capitol from Confederate attack. Fort Ellsworth was built on Shooter's Hill, where defenders could overlook Alexandria to the east and the Great Hunting Creek/Cameron Run Valley to the south. Fort Ellsworth was laid out on May 25, 1861 to the west of the current location of the Masonic Temple, and it was named for Colonel Elmer Ellsworth, who was one of the first Union officers killed in the war. Fort Ellsworth housed a large garrison with 20 cannon. Abraham Lincoln visited the fort in July 1861. Confederate General Samuel Cooper's Cameron plantation on the south side of Great Hunting Creek was destroyed to allow construction of Fort Lyon. Cooper had left his position as Adjutant General of the United States Army to assume the same position in the Confederate Army (Louis Berger & Associates 1984; Smith and Miller 1989:150).

A succession of temporary and more permanent camps housed thousands of Union troops who guarded the railroad, served in reserve roles, or awaited transportation to more forward areas. The extent of the military occupation of West End was described by a Union officer at Fort Ellsworth in November 1861:

Indeed, if you could stand with me on the ramparts of our fort and look out over the surrounding country, every hill crowned with a breastwork or fortifications, and every valley holding a camp, or camps, with martial music sounding on every side, you would find it hard to believe that we are not in some fairyland (Kitching 1873:27).

An 1861 map, reproduced as Figure 7-2, shows "1st NY" and "8th NY" infantry and other infantry units camped in the western portion of West End, and an 1865 map shows a number of Union positions (Bache 1861; Barnard 1865). The latter map shows small encampments near Cameron Mills. Soldiers are reported to have dug trenches on both sides of the millrace and to have stored weapons and ammunition in one end of a mill building. The Army constructed an extensive cattle yard at the head of King Street, that in 1865 included a 30' x 50' stable with a 30' x 330' shed, a 30' x 100' barn with a 30' x 450' shed, an outhouse, "a lot of fence and troughs," a 14' x 75' grain office, and a 14' x 75' stable. Two guard houses also stood at the head of King Street in 1865. Fannie A. Catts complained that troops had done considerable damage to her buildings and fences at Drover's Rest, and that the troops had built a number of log cabins on her property in part from materials taken from her fences (Quartermaster Department 1865).

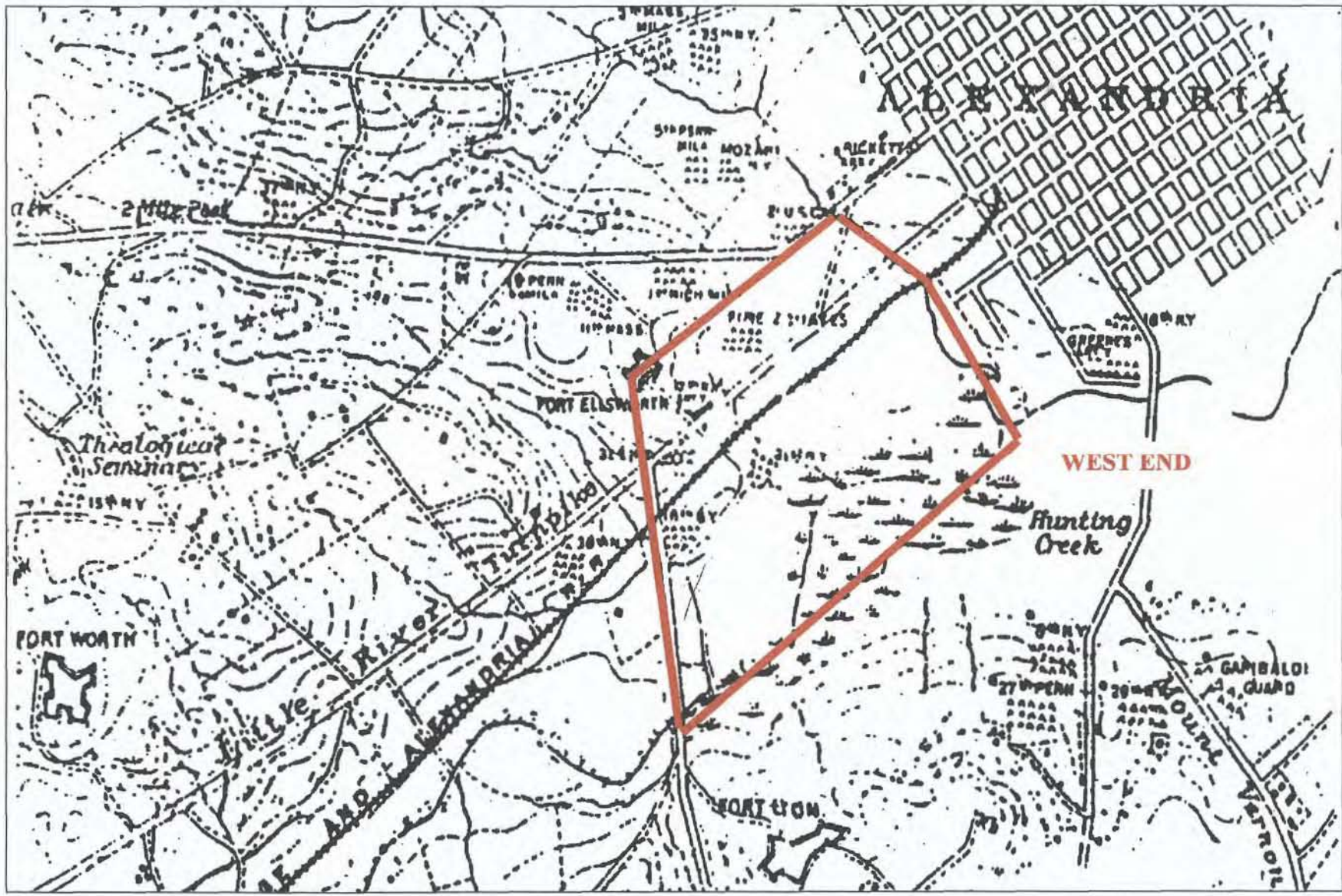


Figure 7-2

Feature of Bache Map Showing Union Positions, 1861

The railroad was used to take men and supplies where needed, and it was used to transport wounded soldiers to hospitals in Alexandria. In West End, relatively level lands to the south of the railroad were used for drills and camps by troops stationed at Fort Ellsworth, and a "Camp Slough" may have been in existence there by February, 1863. Barracks were probably constructed in 1863 and opened officially in May 1864. The necessity of using the buildings as a temporary hospital may have precluded most of the buildings from ever being used as barracks, however. In late May 1864, Colonel Richard H. Rush, commanding the Veterans Reserve Corps, complained in a letter to a superior officer that his men were housed "under canvas" because the buildings were being used as a hospital, and as a result, his men were being indecently exposed to ladies in nearby houses and on streets. The tents his men were occupying may have been the 100 tents provided by the Quartermaster Department in the spring of 1864, each of which was 16'x14' and stretched over a frame (Pappas et al. 1991:28; Quartermaster Department 1864).

Slough Barracks/Hospital was named for the military governor of Alexandria, General John P. Slough, and it was transformed into a Third Division General Hospital for Alexandria on May 1, 1865. According to available drawings and photographs, the barracks were two-story gabled wood frame structures with clapboard siding and exterior sidewalks. The quadrangle of buildings was located in the western portion of John West's subdivision to the south of the railroad tracks, mostly on lands owned by Richard Rotchford and David Watkins. Rotchford would not complain, however, because he had left Alexandria for the duration of the war. In 1864, Rotchford's lands were confiscated and sold by the U.S. Marshal because Rotchford was deemed to be in rebellion against the United States (Deed Book E4:311; Pappas et al. 1991:28). Location of Slough Hospital is shown on Figure 7-3, and barracks and tent wards are shown in 1865 photographs, Figures 7-4, 7-5, and 7-6.

The office of the Military Governor of Alexandria was abolished in July, 1865, and during that summer outlying installations were dismantled and sold at public auction. Patients at several military hospitals in Alexandria were transferred to Slough Hospital. Finally, on January 11, 1866, the Adjutant and Surgeon General of the Army ordered the officer in charge of hospitals in Alexandria to turn the buildings over to the Quartermaster Department for disposal. An inventory of the hospital provides a description of buildings:

One (1) Headquarters, 20 x 86, 16 feet, 2 stories high, felt roof
Seven (7) Hospital Wards, each 20 x 60, 8 feet high, felt roofs
One (1) Hospital Ward, 20 x 100, 8 feet high, felt roof
Seven (7) Hospital Wards, each 20 x 60, 8 feet high, felt roofs
One (1) Mess House, 16 x 36, 10 feet high, felt roof
One (1) Out-house, 4 x 4, 6 feet high
One (1) Stable, 20 x 20, 10 feet high, felt roof
One (1) Dead House, 16 x 20, 8 feet high, felt roof
One (1) Out-house, 12 x 43, 10 feet high, felt roof
One (1) Laundry (two stories high) 30 x 100, 18 feet high, felt roof
One (1) Storehouse, 20 x 75, 16 feet high, shingled
One (1) Kitchen, (two stories) 20 x 100, 16 feet high, shingled
One (1) Barracks, (two stories) 24 x 120, 16 feet high, shingled
One (1) Out-house, 12 x 16, 8 feet high, shingled (Quartermaster Dept. 1866)

A guard house located between the railroad and the turnpike was not listed as part of Slough Hospital. This structure was 41' x 20,' 12' high, and had a felt roof (Quartermaster Department 1865).

Slough Hospital was the last general army hospital to close in Alexandria. It was vacated on June 1, 1866 and the buildings were subsequently sold at public auction. Archaeological investigations for the Carlyle Development and the Federal Courthouse included unsuccessful attempts to recover remains of Slough Hospital. The Southern Railway constructed a large rail yard on the location of the hospital after 1895, including excavation and leveling of the site.

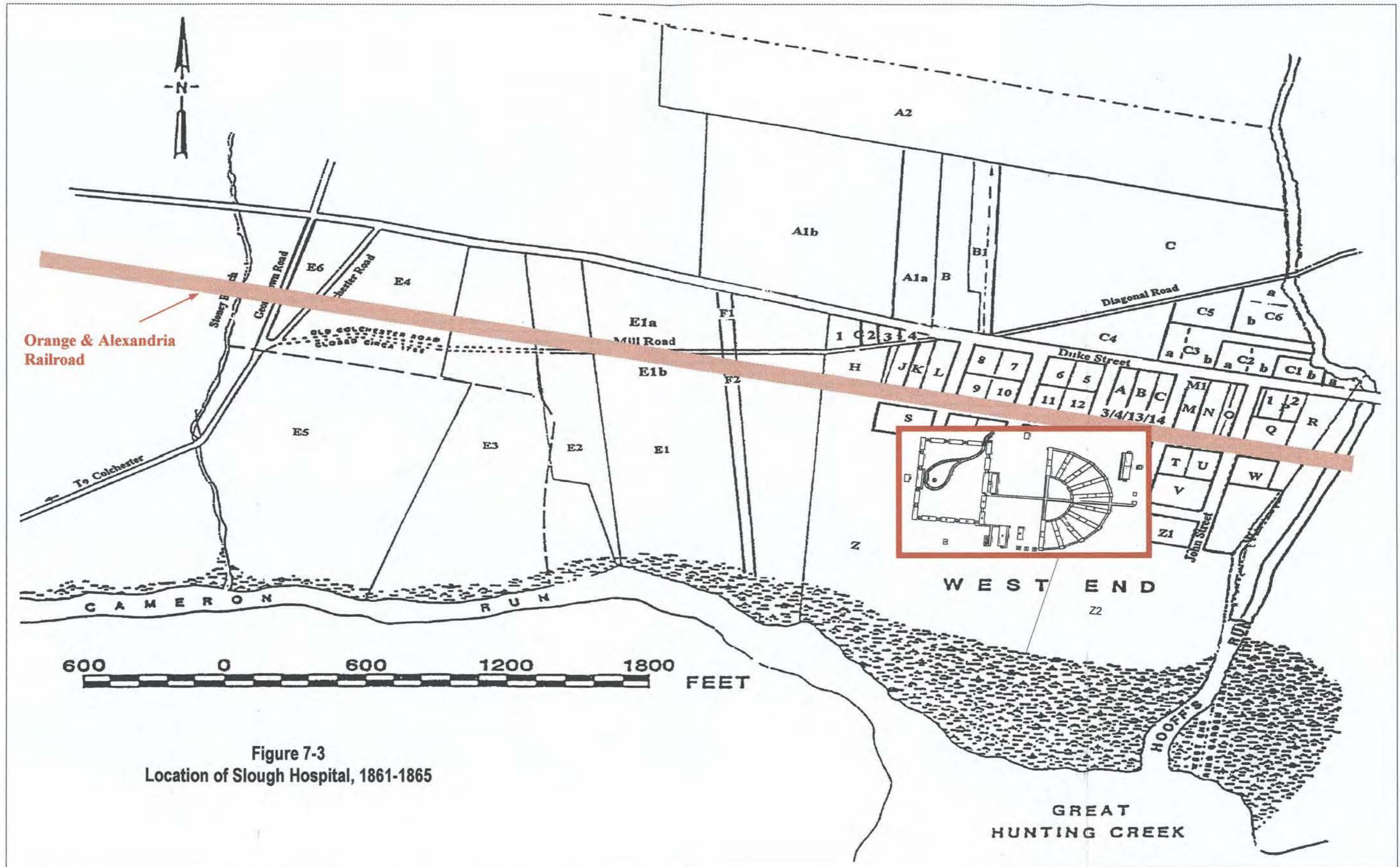


Figure 7-3
Location of Slough Hospital, 1861-1865

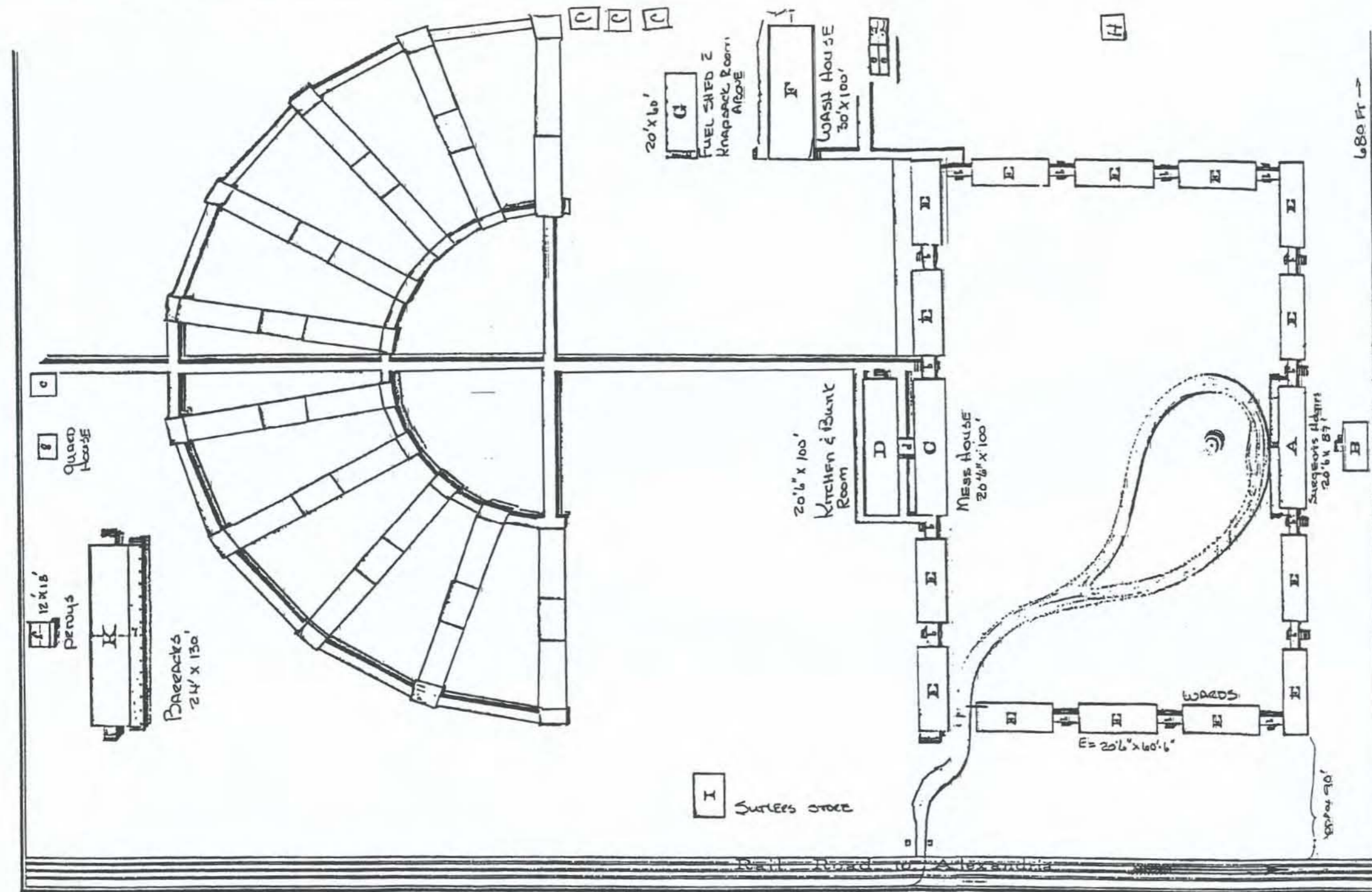


Figure 7-4
Plan of Slough Hospital, 1865



680' x 960' using 1/8" = 10'

DESCRIPTION OF PLOT.

A Surgeons Head Quarters 20'x87'; two stories. Ceilings & Walls sheathed with dressed lumber. a verandah 6 wide, two stories high & roofed.
 B Officers Mess House 20'x35' 1/2 show covered walks 6' wide, the other yellow tinted show open walks each of plank. "cray" ward tents for genl. use.
 C Mens House 20'6" x 100'. built for 286 men. D Shows Kitchen & Bunk room above 20'6" x 100'. E Shows entrance to 2^d story & pantry 10'x13'.
 F Show 14 Wards 20'x60'6". G Wash House 30'x100', two stories. H Fuel shed 20'x60', knapsack room above. I Shows Bunk room above.
 J Guard house.
 K Dead House 16'x24'; two stories. L Butlers store. M Barracks for two Companies 24'x130', roof shingled, all the other roofs of 18th. Sink 12'x12'.
 White plots represent 10 ward tents each h. shows arched with watch box in each 2 1/2'. State of repairs-medium.
 These buildings were erected in 1863 by Col. Green Q. M., occupied as hospital in 1864. In which was added a wash house, cook house, knapsack house, Dead house, fuel shed, officers mess house & barracks, as also a sewer for draining the ground. Elevations & Sections of these buildings in plane No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

100 HOSPITAL TENTS ADDED
 BY QUARTERMASTER DEPT. ARMY
 UNDER DIRECTION OF CAPT. J. G. LEE
 A. G. M.
 DURING STRIKE UP ENDING JUNE 20
 (July '63 - June 20 '64)



Figure 7-5
West End and Slough Hospital, 1865

Slough Hospital in distance at upper right



Figure 7-6
Slough Hospital Barracks, 1865



Figure 7-7
Slough Hospital Tent Wards, 1865

8.1 RAILROADS AND RECOVERY

Alexandria fared better than most southern cities during the Civil War. A steep down-turn in business occurred in Alexandria in the months before the war, as investment slowed and assets were moved to Richmond and elsewhere in the South. The arrival of Union troops brought a period of looting and mayhem in Alexandria, but the town became a bustling supply, communications, and convalescent center for the Union Army. As is discussed above, brewers and possibly some other businesses actually expanded during the Union occupation. Agricultural products that weren't stolen or appropriated by the Union Army found a ready market in the town or among the troops.

The removal of the troops in 1865-1866 left the town with untold damage to public and private property, a ravaged agricultural hinterland on which the town had largely depended for its economy, a railroad system in ruins, and an investment base that had been severely depleted by four years of war. The Atlantic shipping that had occurred during the war had gone mostly to other northern ports, and Alexandria was thereafter virtually dead as a port. The great industrial engine of the Northeast continued to grow during the war and after, but Alexandria's share of the foodstuff market in the Northeast had gone for four years to Baltimore and other trade centers with uninterrupted supplies and railroad delivery systems. By 1866, Alexandria had entered into a depression so severe that it threatened the viability of even brewers in the town. The economy of Alexandria did not fully recover from the Civil War until the town effectively became a suburb of a rapidly expanding Washington, D.C. during World War II (Smith and Miller 1989:88).

Reconstruction and expansion of the railroads serving Alexandria greatly aided the town's recovery. The Orange & Alexandria Railroad was returned to its private owners in 1866, with much damaged or destroyed rail line and most of its equipment missing or destroyed. In 1867, the Orange & Alexandria Railroad merged with the Manassas Gap Railroad, probably to keep both of the lines from failing. The Virginia General Assembly helped the new Orange, Alexandria and Manassas Railroad (OA&M) by issuing it \$1.5 million in credit for 15 years, and later by increasing and extending the credit. This merger had little direct effect on West End, because both the Manassas Gap Railroad had been authorized to use the one set of tracks through the community, but the credit probably kept the railroad running. Even the generous credit and the merger did not save the company, however. By 1877 the OA&M had

gone into receivership and had been reorganized as the Virginia Midlands Railroad (Eggerton 1977:16; Hurd 1988:9; Cromwell et al. 1989:157).

In 1871, the Alexandria & Fredricksburg Railway Company (A&F) bought an east-west right-of-way and constructed tracks on the north side of the OA&M tracks. The A&F connected on its east end with the short Alexandria & Washington Railroad, which extended only from its depot in Alexandria to the Long Bridge over the Potomac. The Alexandria & Washington depot, which had been built in 1862 as part of the U.S. Military Railroad, became the terminal for the A&F. In West End, construction of the A&F consisted of widening the east-west strip used for railroads by 50 feet (within which strip the rail line was placed), including a strip about 40 feet wide from southern edge of the blocks between Duke and Wolfe streets. The A&F was a subsidiary of the Richmond, Fredrick & Potomac (RF&P) Railroad, and the line through West End would be known as RF&P by 1901 (Hurd 1988:9; Cromwell et al. 1989:157; Sanborn 1901)

Speculative railroad expansion was popular throughout the United States in the early 1870s, until the national Panic of 1873 bankrupted many companies and weakened many more. Nearly the same conditions arose 20 years later in the Panic of 1893. The Richmond and Danville railroad system had expanded rapidly in the late 1880s and early 1890s, and it was plagued by the lack of centralized leadership. The system failed in 1893, and a new company, the Great Southern Railway (Southern) was created in 1894 to consolidate and expand the old system. By 1894, the OA&M had a connection from its line at Lynchburg to the Richmond and Danville line at Danville. The Southern bought the Virginia Midlands Railroad in 1894. With this acquisition, the Southern's system included most of the northern portion of what would become a line from Washington, D.C. to Atlanta (Eggerton 1977:14).

In 1895, Samuel Spencer, the president of Southern, bought all of the territory to the south of the Southern's tracks (the old O&A) from Hooff's Run to west of John West's subdivision. Spencer formally transferred the property to Southern in 1897, and Southern soon began construction of a large railyard to the south of the A&F tracks. In 1901, Southern constructed a large brick roundhouse at the southern edge of the switchyard, for maintenance and repair of steam locomotives and cars. Southern called this facility "Cameron Yards" (Deed Book V-5:175).

Cameron Yards was Southern Railway's sorting and switching facility in Alexandria until 1906, when Potomac Yards opened about two miles to the north. Cameron Yards was not entirely abandoned in 1906, however, because Southern Railway required facilities for minor and major overhauls of locomotives and cars. At an unknown date, Southern apparently abandoned Potomac Yards and resumed switching and sorting at Cameron Yards until 1925. Cameron Yards employed between 250 and 300 persons prior to the move back to Potomac Yards. The brick roundhouse remained in use for servicing steam locomotives until about 1953, and it was used for other railroad purposes until about 1974. After 1974, the roundhouse was leased to Curtiss Lumber Company and used as a warehouse. In 1944, the Southern Railway constructed a large diesel locomotive repair shop at Cameron Yards, and it, too, remained in service until the 1970s (Norfolk Southern Archives; Alexandria Gazette 8/6/1906, 9/12/1975).

Beginning in 1893, the Washington Southern Railway Company, a subsidiary of Southern Railway, purchased a number of properties in West End near the old turnpike gate and northward along the eastern edge of Shuter's Hill. In 1903-1904, Washington Southern constructed a new rail line north to Washington D.C. In part in response to complaints about rail traffic in Alexandria, Union Station (including freight and passenger depots) was built on the west side of the Washington Southern line at the head of King Street in 1905, to be used by all of the railroads who might serve Alexandria. Union Station became the rail transportation center for Alexandria and a major regional center, and the presence of the station encouraged development or redevelopment of upper King Street and the area of West End between King and Duke streets (Miller n.d.).

Shipping of fresh fruit from southern states to northern markets had become a major business for railroads by the 1890s. In 1895, the Alexandria firm of Reardon and Reid began icing produce cars for the Southern Railway. In 1902, the Armour Car Lines, later known as the Fruit Growers Express, built an ice storage warehouse and car icing platform in the Cameron Yards in West End. Mutual Ice Company, a successor company to Reardon and Reid, operated the facility and provided artificially-made ice from a plant to the east of the railyard. The warehouse and icing platform may have been abandoned in 1906, when the Potomac Yards came into service in northwestern Alexandria, but the facilities may also have been used during the later period when Southern returned to Cameron Yards. Footings for the

warehouse were discovered during archaeological investigations for the Carlyle Development in 1993 (Esso Oilways 1946:3; Alexandria Archaeology 1994).

Fruit Growers Express, Inc. built a small repair shop at Potomac Yards in 1908 for conditioning and light repair of refrigerator cars enroute south. In 1926, the company built a large repair complex on 30 acres at the west end of West End (actually just beyond the area treated as West End in this history). The repair facility contained about 30 buildings and employed about 500 persons in repair and construction of refrigerated rail cars. The company ceased these operations in the 1980s, and the facilities were demolished (Miller 1992:116).

8.2 End of the Trail Era

West End changed little physically from the end of the Civil War until the early 1890s, but the size and composition of the population changed considerably in this period. The population shifted from dominance by butchers to a broad mix of livelihoods, including railroad workers, builders, laborers, clerks, and even federal agency officials. City directories for Alexandria (including West End) included listings for 12 butchers in 1870-1871, 5 butchers in 1881-1882, and only 2 butchers in 1895. The Watkins family, at least three of whom were butchers, owned extensive property in West End by 1879, as is shown on Figure 8-1.

The dominant influence of the Little River Turnpike also ended in this period; three drovers were listed in West End in 1870-1871, but none were listed after that date. The decline of influence of the turnpike was due, in part, to the expansion of the railroads. Some skilled railroad workers were living in West End by 1871, but the number of resident railroad workers swelled with the construction of Cameron Yards, Union Station, and the Fruit Growers Express facilities. By 1915, West End was home to engineers, car inspectors, clerks, brakemen, signalmen, machinists, telegraphers, and other employees of the Southern Railway and the Fruit Growers Express (City Directories 1870-1871, 1881-1882, 1895, 1915). Appendix B to this history contains information from city directories concerning residents of West End from 1870 to 1915.

As butchering declined in West End, market gardening made use of some of the open space. Market gardening had been a feature of the area outside the corporate boundary of Alexandria since as early as the 1780s, and market gardening was the most profitable type of farming in

SECTION EIGHT

RECOVERY AND INDUSTRIALIZATION, 1866-1915

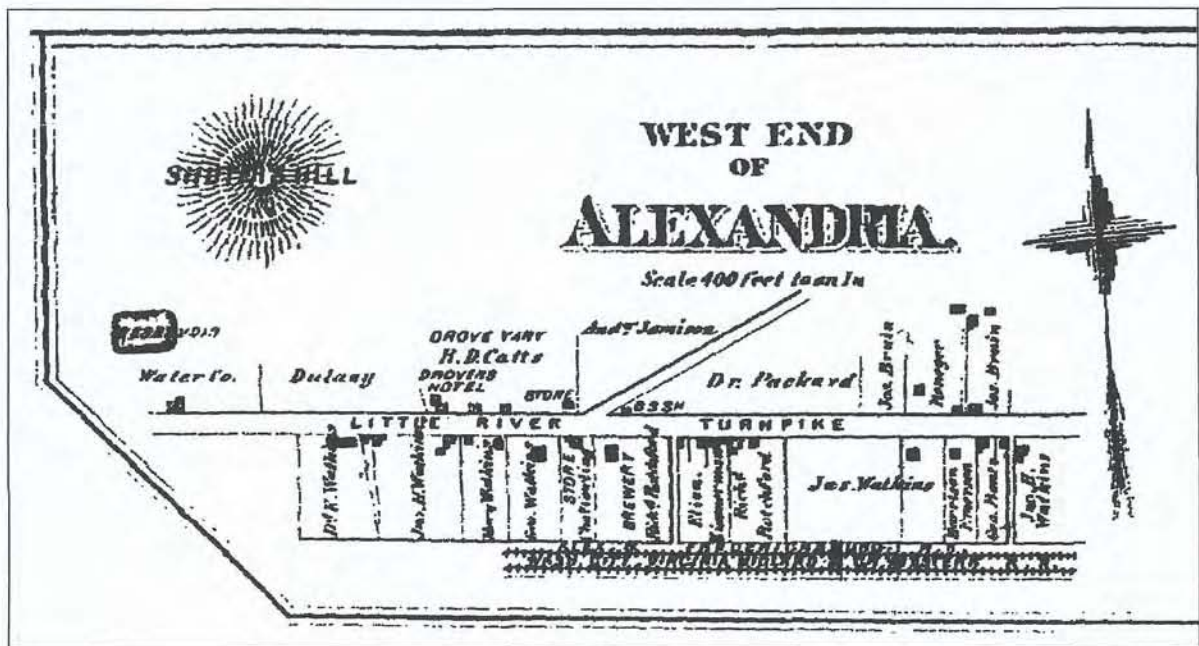
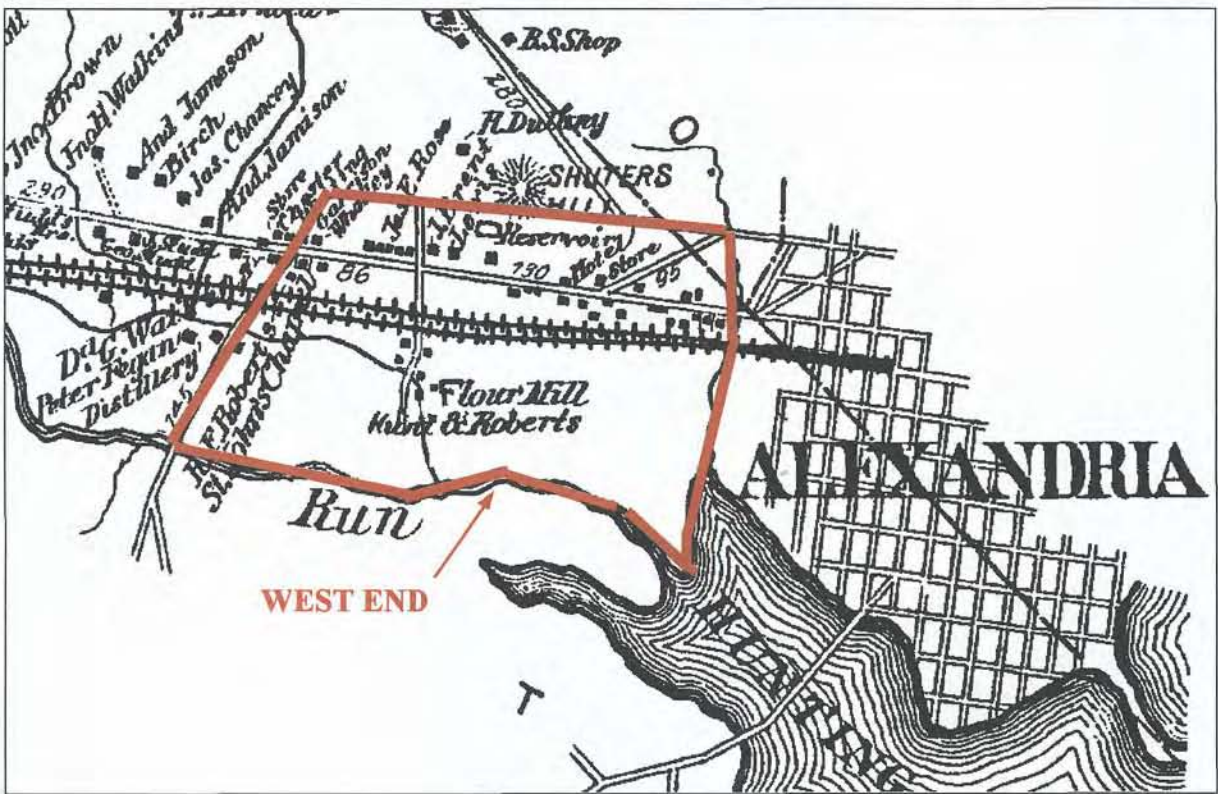


Figure 8-1
West End in 1879

Excerpts from Hopkins Atlas of 1879

Fairfax County by the 1870s. However, open spaces in West End would be used for pasture and stockyards as long as the butchering business remained profitable. Only one possible inference of market gardening has been identified for West End before the Civil War: Thomas Javins bought a 2-acre lot fronting on Duke Street between 1847 and 1853, and he and Edward Javins retained it until 1871. Thomas Javins was identified as a farmer and gardener in the federal Census of 1860, and he was identified as a farmer, with extensive property, in later censuses. The 2-acre tract was the only property he owned in West End, and the size of the tract suggests he used it for market gardening rather than large-scale farming (Maury 1878; Cromwell et al. 1989:88; U.S. Census 1860; Deed Books M3:274, M3:279, S3:298, V3:99, K4:177).

Market gardening was much more extensive in West End after the Civil War. In 1882, the heirs of butcher Harrison Emerson sold to George and Lewis (Louis) Peverill a tract of about 33 acres bounded on the east by Hooff's Run and on the south by Great Hunting Creek. The tract contained about 16 acres of dry land. Louis Peverill soon conveyed his interest in the property to George Peverill. George Peverill (Peverille) was identified in the federal Census of 1880 as a "Market Gardener," and as a gardener in the 1881-1882 Alexandria city directory. Louis Peverill and several other members of the Peverill family were identified as gardeners in 1903 and 1907 city directories. Specific references to the Peverill's use of the tract for market gardening have not been found, but George Peverill was not identified as anything other than a gardener (U.S. Census 1880, City Directories 1881-1882, 1903, 1907).

Three specific references to market gardening in West End have been found. James H. Watkins was listed in the Census of 1880 as a gardener in West End. William P. Bloxham, who rented and owned land on the south side of the turnpike to the west of the old tollgate, was listed as "Gardener, Duke Ext., home Duke Ext." in the 1895 city directory. James T. Lanham was similarly identified in the 1895 city directory, and he was described as "Gardener, 2128 Duke St., home 2128 Duke St." in the 1903 city directory. Other persons who owned land in West End and may have practiced market gardening there include Grafton Cooper (mulatto), Thomas H. Manns (colored), Thomas H. Lynn, Thomas Lyles, and Wilford Miller (servant to Thomas Lyles in 1910). The 1924 city directory identified two "landscape gardeners": Gilbert W. Allison at 2103 Duke Street and Thomas H. Murphy at 1825 Duke Street (U.S. Census 1880, 1910; City Directories 1881-1882, 1895, 1903, 1907, 1915, 1924).

In 1891, Constant Ponnet purchased a tract of two acres to the south of the Shuter's Hill Brewery, where he built a substantial greenhouse operation. Ponnet is listed in city and business directories as "florist," but his greenhouse was a major supplier of endives and mushrooms for the Washington area market until after 1924. Gustav Reinecher (Reinecker, Rinecker), for whom Reinecker Lane is named and who lived on the north side of Duke Street extended, was also listed as a florist in 1895, but he may have been an employee of Ponnet. In the same year, William Anderson was listed as a florist who lived in West End (City Directory 1895). Gardener George West built two greenhouses to the west of Ponnet's operation between 1890 and 1892, but this enterprise appears to have been short-lived. West lost the property to foreclosure in 1895, and neither of the buildings existed by 1902 (Sanborn 1902; Deed Books T5:319, 321).

A very different industry was located two blocks to the east of the Ponnet greenhouses. In 1893, Andrew Christie, Peter Astryka, John Bordner, Joseph Ramsey, Lorenzo Wolford, George Schwarzman, Harvey Schnell, and Edward Reese purchased from developer William Winston a tract about 305 feet east-to-west and extending north from the railroad right-of-way about 185 feet to an alley that was subsequently called Factory Lane. The purchasers were owners of the Virginia Glass Company, and the company probably began building a glass container factory soon after the purchase. By 1902, the company's sprawling complex included furnaces, machine shops, packaging and storage facilities, offices, and other features (see Figure 8-2). Six glassblowers lived in West End in 1895, and a packer and a moulder living in West End also probably worked at the Virginia Glass company. About this same number of glassblowers continued to live in West End, even after the Virginia Glass Company ceased operations (Deed Book O5:243; Sanborn 1902; City Directories 1895, 1903, 1907, 1915).

The original officers of the Virginia Glass Company are last listed in that capacity in 1903, and it is likely that several of these persons left the company about that time. George Schwartzman was manager of the company in 1903, but in 1907 and 1915 he was vice-president of the Old Dominion Glass Corporation, which operated several blocks to the east in Alexandria. Schwartzman was proprietor of a glass factory in 1920. Several of the glassblowers at the Virginia Glass Company found other employment around 1910, and it is possible that the company ceased operations at that time. The buildings were demolished between 1915 and 1921 (City Directories 1903, 1907, 1915; Sanborn 1907, 1912, 1921).

SECTION EIGHT

RECOVERY AND INDUSTRIALIZATION, 1866-1915

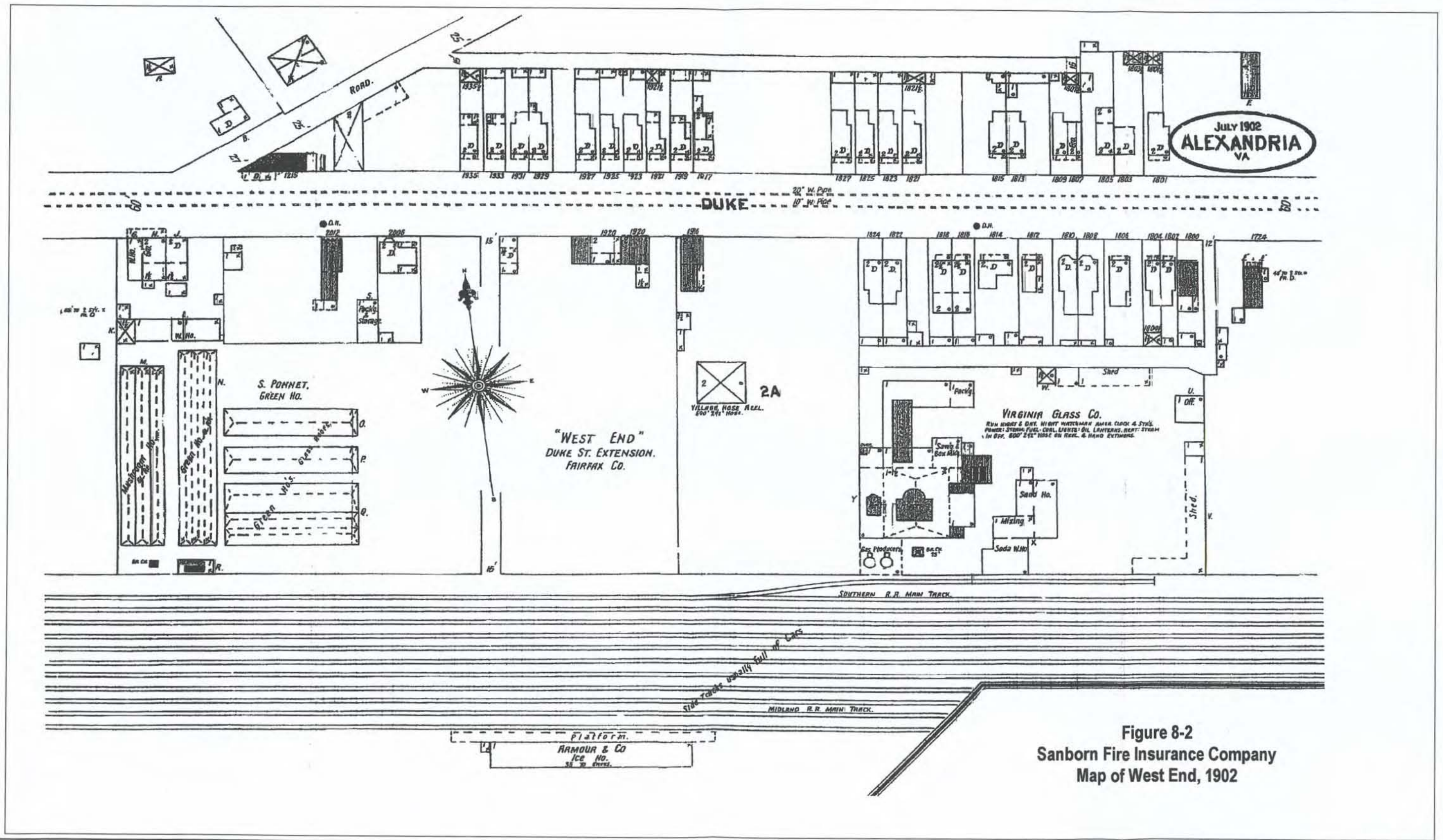


Figure 8-2
Sanborn Fire Insurance Company
Map of West End, 1902

Nov 1912
ALEXANDRIA
VA.

Map Division
Library of Congress

NO EXPOSURE

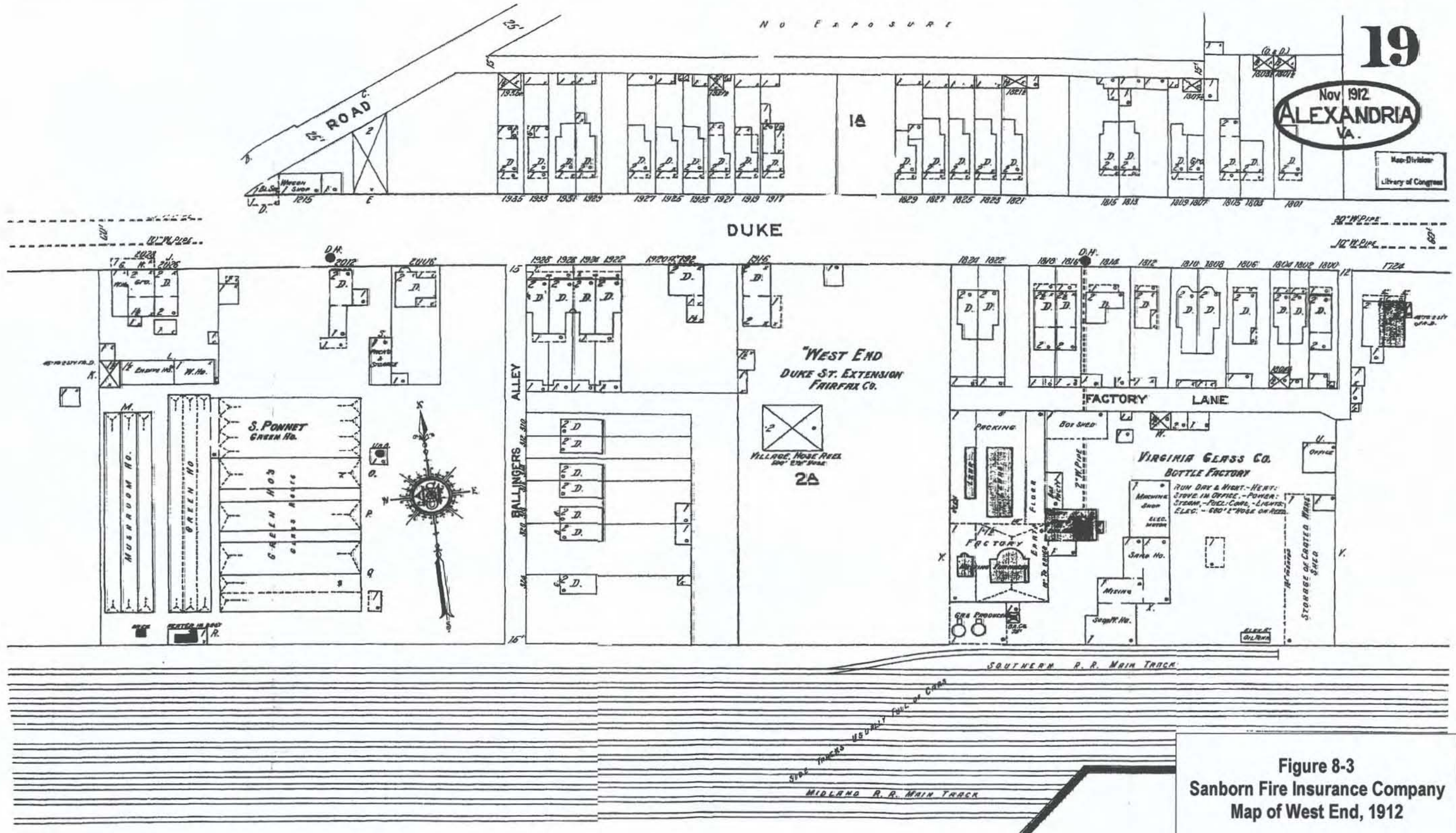


Figure 8-3
Sanborn Fire Insurance Company
Map of West End, 1912

Other businesses continued or were established during the 1866-1915 period. Ownership of the Shuter's Hill Brewery passed to Francis Denmead on the death of John Klein in 1865. After renting the brewery to Alexandria brewer Robert Portner for a short time, Denmead hired Henry Englehardt to run the brewery. Englehardt bought the brewery in 1872 and continued to run it until 1891 or 1892. The production of the brewery remained relatively low throughout this period, less than 500 barrels per year, and the business appears to have been marginally profitable at best. Because Englehardt had not made any of the promised payments to Francis Denmead for 20 years, the brewery property was foreclosed and sold to Englehardt's brother-in-law, Christopher Dickson, in 1892 (Walker and Dennee 1994:61-62).

The brewery building caught fire and burned to the ground on August 18, 1893, as was recorded in the Alexandria Gazette:

Englehardt Brewery Destroyed By Fire in The West End

A Blaze in West End -- The usual quietness of West End was disturbed this morning by the burning of the building formerly used by Mr. Henry Englehardt as a brewery, together with his dwelling house, on the south side of Duke Street extended, about half a mile from the city's limits. Fire was discovered in the west end of the building about ten o'clock, and a telephone message was sent to this city for assistance. Both steam fire engines and the truck were soon thundering toward the scene and upon their arrival got to work immediately. The pipes from the reservoir run past the old brewery, and there was but little difficulty experienced in getting water. The building, however, was constructed mostly of wood, and burned fiercely. It was soon realized that it was doomed to destruction, and that about all that could be done was to confine the conflagration within safe limits. This was successfully done, and the contiguous houses in Alexandria's growing suburb escaped injury. In about one hour's time but little remained of the former building except a few feet of a wall. ... There were between ten and fifteen barrels of lager beer in the place and the bulk of it was saved. When the fire had been extinguished most of those who had been attracted by the excitement crowded like bees around the barrels, and before the crowd left the receptacles were emptied of their contents. Mr. Englehardt had not been engaged in the brewing business for some time (Alexandria Gazette 8/18/1893; Walker and Dennee 1994:63)

Henry Englehardt also had a long career in the saloon and restaurant business in West End. Like most of the German-American brewers of Alexandria, Englehardt sought to increase his income by operating a saloon, restaurant, or beer garden in association with the brewery. In

1868, Englehardt and Gottlieb Kaercher opened a beer garden at the head of King Street, possibly at the same location at the foot of Shuter's Hill where brewer Christian Pogensee had run a restaurant in 1865. The Englehardt/Kaercher beer garden was described as an "attractive summer resort ... fitted up for the season ... for all desiring pleasant recreation, and quiet and congenial entertainment ... refreshments of all kinds on hand" (Alexandria Gazette 5/25/1868; Walker and Denee 1994:56).

By 1870-1871, Englehardt had opened an establishment that would be variously described as a restaurant or saloon, probably in or near the frame building that housed the brewery. In 1891, Englehardt was twice fined for selling alcoholic beverages on a Sunday and without a city liquor license. The brewery was outside the city limits of Alexandria at that time, but the city claimed jurisdiction up to one mile outside its borders. Englehardt was fined a total of \$900.00 for the offenses, and this burden may have caused him to close the brewery. However, he continued to operate his saloon at the same location until his death in 1898. After the 1893 fire destroyed the brewery, the saloon may have been located in a building constructed by Christopher Dickson for Englehardt. This saloon may have been continued by Constant Ponnet until about 1907 (Walker and Dennee 1994:63).

A number of other businesses were established in West End in the 1866-1915 period, and at least the major businesses were listed in Alexandria city directories from 1870 to 1915. Table 8-1 presents these businesses, their locations where possible, and the dates of listing of the businesses in city directories. Butchers who lived in West End are included in this list, because they are likely to have conducted butchering in West End.

Table 8-1: West End Businesses, 1870-1915

1870-1871

Beers, William. Butcher, West End Duke
Benter, John W. Butcher, West End Duke
Bontz, George. Butcher, West End Duke
Bossart, George A. Pork Butcher, 4 City Market, home WestEnd
Catts, John. Grocer, West End
Catts, R. D. Drover's Hotel, West End
Cowling, William. Grocer, West End Duke St.
Curtis, William. Contractor, West End
Emerson, Harrison. Butcher, 9 City Market, home West End Duke St.

Table 8-1: West End Businesses, 1870-1915

	Englehart, Henry. Restaurant, West End Duke St.
	Green, B.W. Butcher, 1 City Market, home West End
	Green, Thomas H. Butcher, 14 City Market, home West End
	Holland, William. Butcher, City Market, home Fairfax Co
	Hunt & Roberts. Millers, West End
	Watkins & Bro. (butchers at 3,5 & 7 City Market), West End
	Watkins, Peter. Butcher, boards Drover's Hotel
	Watkins, P.H. Butcher, 6 City Market, home West End
1881-1882	
	Alexandria Water Works, West End Duke St.
	Catts, R.D. Proprietor Drovers Hotel, West End
	Englehart, Henry. Beer Brewery, West End Duke
	Gray, William. Butcher, Market House, home West End
	Hellmuth, Charles T. Meat Market, 187 King St., home West End
	Hellmuth, W.H. Butcher, Market House, home West End
	Hunt & Roberts. Cameron Mills Fairfax Co., Warehouse and office 8 S. Union St.
	Watkins, David G. & Co. (David G., John H. Watkins and John W. Brown), Millers, flour and feed, 12 S. Union St.
	Watkins, George L. & Bro. (George L. & Winfield B. Watkins). Butchers, Market House
1890	
	Englehardt, H. Proprietor Brewery-Lager Beer, West End, West End Duke St.
	Rienecker, G., Florist, West End Duke St.
1895	
	Ballenger, Frank. Grocer, home Duke extended
	Chauncey, Joseph E. Butcher, Stall 3 Market, home West End
	Chauncey, Julian F. Butcher, home West End
	Cowling, Edward. Grocer, Duke extended, home Duke extended
	Drowns, George. Plasterer, home Duke extended
	Englehardt, Henry. Saloon Duke extended, home Duke extended
	Frinks, Charles. Dairyman, Duke extended, home Duke extended
	Hunt, Edward. Miller, home West End
	Jones, Clay. Contractor, home Duke extended
	Jones, Samuel. Horse Trainer, home Duke extended
	Lyles, Albert D. Shoemaker, Duke extended, home Duke extended
	Majors, William H. (colored). Butcher, home Duke extended
	Ponnet, Constant. Florist - West End, Saloon - opposite local depot
	Power, Charles A. Plumber, Duke extended
	Power, William F. Plumber, Duke extended
	Rose, Herbert. Grocer Toll Gate, home Duke extended

Table 8-1: West End Businesses, 1870-1915

	St. Johns Chapel (Episcopal). Duke extended
	Simms, Alonzo. Harness Maker, Duke extended, home Duke extended
	Studds, Albert. Dairyman, West End
	Studds, John. Contractor, West End
	Virginia Glass Co. (John S. Bordner, Joseph H. Ramsey, George H. Schwartzmann, Lorenzo Wolford, Henry Schnell, Peter Astryke and Ed. S. Reeve). Glass Blowers, Duke extended
	Watkins, William. Contractor, Duke extended
	Watkins, Winfield B. Butcher, Duke extended
	West, George J. Dairyman, Duke extended, home Duke extended
	Winston, Wm. H. Builder, Duke extended, home Duke extended
1900	Allen, John S. Blacksmiths & Wheelwright, 2015 Duke Ext.
	Ballenger, Clinton S. Grocer, 2028 Duke St.
	Feagans, Stephen H. Grocer, Duke Ext.
	Motley, Albert P. Grocer, 1807 Duke Ext.
	Ponnet, Constant. Florist, 2012 Duke Ext.
1903	Ballenger & Bro. (Clinton S. & Franklin L. Ballenger), Grocers, 2028 Duke St.
	Bloxham, James D. Milk Dealer, 2829 Duke St.
	Chauncey, Julian F. Meat Stall 3 Market, home West End
	Hartman, Ralph E. Gasmaker, home 1921 Duke St.
	Lynn, Thomas H. Dairy, 2631 Duke St., home 2631 Duke St.
	Majors, William H. (colored), Butcher, home 1801 Duke St.
	Motley, Albert P. Grocer, 1807 Duke St., home 1929 Duke St.
	Ponnet, Constant. C. Ponnet & Co., 529 King St., home 2012 Duke St.
	Ponnet, Herman. Florist, home 2012 Duke St.
	St. Johns Chapel (Episcopal), Duke Ext.
	Struder, George W. Wheelwright, Telegraph Rd. near Duke Ext.
	Struder, George W. Blacksmith, Telegraph Rd. near Duke Ext., home Duke Ext.
	Virginia Glass Co. (John S. Bordner & Peter Astryke), Duke Ext.
	Watkins George L. Butcher, Stall 1 Market, home Duke Ext.
	Watkins, Winfield B. Meats, 1 Market, home 2216 Duke St.
	Winston, Ulysses G. Contractor, 1818 Duke St., home 1818 Duke St.
1907	Armour's Fruit Growers' Icing Station, South end of railroad yard
	Ballenger & Bro. (Clinton S. and Frank L.). Grocers, 2028 Duke St.
	Below, Mark W., Florist, home 1824 Duke St.
	Bloxham, James D. Dairy, 2829 Duke St., home 2829 Duke St.

Table 8-1: West End Businesses, 1870-1915

	Chauncey, Julian F. Meat, Market Building, home Duke Ext.
	Majors, William H. (colored). Butcher, home 1801 Duke St.
	Motley, Albert P. Grocer, 1807 Duke St.
	Motley, Alphred P. Grocer, 1809 Duke St., home 1809 Duke St.
	Ponnet, C. & Co. (Constant Ponnet). Florists, 2012 Duke St., Bell telephone 134
	Stanton, Harry W. Grocer, Duke Ext., home Duke Ext.
	Struder, Daniel S. Blacksmith, home Rear, 1928 Duke St.
	Struder, George W. Blacksmith, 2019 Duke St., home Rear, 1928 Duke St.
	Watkins, J. Frank. Bridge Builder, home 1707 Duke St.
	West End Public School. Duke corner of Telegraph Road
	Winston, Ulyses G. Contractor, 1818 Duke St., home 1818 Duke St.
1915	
	Ballenger & Bro. (Clinton S. and Frank L.). Grocers, 2028 Duke Ext.
	Cameron Mills. Duke Ext., RFD #2
	Chauncey, Julian F. Meats, City Market, home Duke Ext., RFD #3
	Cemetary (colored). Thomas Chauncey, Superintendent
	Gorham, Clarence M. Grocer/Retail, Telegraph Road corner of Duke Ext.
	Kerrick, Walter P. Carpenter/Builder, 1734 Duke St.
	Kerrick, Walter P. Architect, 1734 Duke St.
	Motley, Albert P. Grocer/Retail, 1807 Duke Ext.
	Orpington Poultry Yards. Poultry, Telegraph Road, R.F.D.#4
	Ponnet, C. & Co. Florist, 2012 Duke Ext.
	St. John's Chapel. Church-Episcopal, Duke Ext.
	Shaffer, C. Albert. Florist, Telegraph Road R.F.D. #4

By 1907, the unincorporated West End was considered to be one of the more important and promising locations in Fairfax County, as is indicated in the following description by the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors:

West End, a suburb of Alexandria, in point of population, is one of the most important villages in Fairfax County. It was named for the West family, who held, under regal grant, the land on which the village was first projected. It is a community of four or five hundred inhabitants, having a church, a graded school, the union depot of all the railroads touching Alexandria, a glass factory, distillery, several stores, the Alexandria Water Company's plant, and the old Cameron Mills. The Old Cameron Mills, now owned by the Roberts family, is an enterprise of great age. When Alexandria was only a frontier

hamlet, these mills were in full operation. In this village reside many employees of the different railroads passing through, and other persons having business in Washington and Alexandria. Many of the residences are beautiful, modern structures, supplied with hot and cold water. Since the establishment of the union depot here, West End has taken on a new life, and with its splendid natural advantages, no village in Virginia offers greater opportunities for manufacturing enterprises.

Other businesses probably operated in West End that were not listed in the city directories. One source (Hill, *Virginia Business Director and Gazetteer* -- in Pappas et al. 1991:36) indicated that three general stores operated in West End by 1906: Carlin Brothers, S.A. Staples, and C.C. Walters & Company. Thomas Hillier was listed as a carpenter and builder. None of these companies or persons were listed in the Alexandria city directories as being in West End.

The residential character of West End did not change much from the end of the Civil War to the early 1890s. During this period, many of the houses along Duke Street were combination structures that included store space fronting on the street. As these buildings aged, they became attractive as low-cost housing for pensioners, widows, and retired butchers and farmers. Perhaps in response to the establishment of the Virginia Glass Company's factory nearby, William Winston purchased land along the south side of Duke Street in 1893 and began developing the property into two-story rental units.

Ida Watkins and Clinton and Franklin Ballenger constructed similar rental properties along Duke Street to the west of Winston's property. By 1907, the Ballengers had extended an alley from Duke Street southward to the railroad right-of-way and had begun building rental properties adjacent to the alley. Similar development occurred about the same time on the north side of Duke Street. Most lots on either side of Duke Street extended contained houses by 1921, as is shown on Figure 9-1. Many of the newer structures must also have contained businesses, considering the large number of businesses indicated in the city directories.

Tract ownership in West End did not change rapidly from the Civil War to the early 1890s, but transfers and subdivision of areas adjacent to Duke Street accelerated with the industrialization and urbanization of the area after about 1893. The two decades following the Civil War were a time of depression and slow rebuilding in Alexandria and elsewhere in Virginia, and West End changed very little during this period. By 1895, Alexandria's

economy had again begun to grow rapidly, as the city became both a transportation and manufacturing center and a “suburb” of Washington, D.C. In 1915, West End was a vital, thriving suburb of Alexandria, dependent on railroads for jobs but also a part of the residential sprawl of Washington, D.C. West End would retain this character until World War II war industries again temporarily returned an industrial flavor to the area.

Table 8-2 : Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1866-1915

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
3, 4 13, 14	Thomas Javins, 1853-1869 Edward Javins, 1869-1871 Cassius Auger, 1871-1875 Wesley Makely, 1875 Ida L. Watkins, 1875-1892 William H. Winston, 1892-1893 Andrew Christie, Peter Astryka, John Bordner, Joseph Ramsey, Lorenzo Wolford, George Schwarzman, Harvey Schnell, and Edward Reese, 1893-1915+	The Alexandria & Fredericksburg Railroad condemned the south 40’ of Lots 13 and 14 in 1871; this strip was used for railroad purposes until the 1970s. The lot may have had substantial buildings, 1871-1893, as indicated by tax records. The Virginia Glass Company occupied the southern portion of these lots (to the north of the railroads) from 1893 to about 1912.
5, 12	Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866 Richard Rotchford, 1866-1893 William H. Winston, 1893-1904 George H. Schwartzman, 1904-1915+	The Alexandria & Fredericksburg Railroad condemned the south 40’ of Lot 12 in 1871; this strip was used for railroad purposes until the 1970s.
6, 11	John H. Zimmerman Heirs, 1854-1880 Arina E. Zimmerman, 1880 Grafton Cooper, 1880 John Zimmerman, 1880-1882 Arina Zimmerman, 1882-1883 Wilmer H. Zimmerman, 1883-1890 George J. West, 1894-1905 Mechanics Building Assn., 1905 Clinton and Franklin Ballenger, 1905-1915+	John H. Zimmerman built a brick house on this tract in 1850; this building probably remained on the property until around 1900. The Alexandria & Fredericksburg Railroad condemned the south 40’ of Lot 11 in 1871; this strip was used for railroad purposes until the 1970s. George West built two greenhouses on these lots between 1892 and 1894; these structures were no longer on the property in 1901.
6a	Clinton Ballenger, 1913-1915+	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.

Table 8-2 : Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1866-1915

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
7, 10	Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866 Richard Rotchford, 1866-1871 Rozier D. Catts, 1871-1896 Constant Ponnet, 1891-1896 (lease) Felicite Ponnet, 1896-1915+	The Alexandria & Fredericksburg Railroad condemned and took the south 40' of Lot 10 in 1871; this strip was used for railroad purposes until the 1970s. Constant Ponnet built a greenhouse complex in 1891; the complex was mostly to the west of this property, but the eastern three greenhouses extended to Lot 10 and the southern part of Lot 7. These three structures were expanded and combined about 1907, and they existed on the site until around 1941, when they were described as "Dilap'd." A smaller packaging and storage building was located to the north of the eastern end of the three greenhouses, in Lot 7.
7a	Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866 Richard Rotchford, 1866-1871 Rozier D. Catts, 1871-1889 Alice F. Brook, 1889-1915+	A T-plan, 2-story wood frame dwelling was built on this lot in 1892 and remained on the lot until at least 1941; occupiers of this home held semi-skilled jobs with the Southern Railway.
8a	Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866 Richard Rotchford, 1866-1896 Jenepher Denty, 1896-1915+ James Sheehy Heirs, 1814-1817 (lease) Richard Libby, 1817-1819 (lease) Bartholomew Rotchford, 1819-1824 (lease) John Simpson, 1798-1822 (sublease) Ann Simpson, 1822-(?) (sublease) James Carrol, (?)-(?) (lease) Joseph Grigg, (?) -1855 (lease) James Grigg, 1855-1870 (lease) William and Charles Cowling, 1870-1895 (lease) Frank Ballenger, 1895-1915+ (lease)	A grocery store was operated on this lot probably from 1855 to after 1915, and a store of some kind may have existed on this lot as early as 1798. From 1902 to 1921, a 2-story structure on this lot fronted on Duke Street; the eastern portion of the building was a dwelling, and the western portion was a grocery store. A warehouse structure was at the southern end of the lot. These structures were gone by 1931.
8b	Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866 (assumed in Lot 8c in 1865)	A small frame building may have been on this lot as early as 1798. It may have survived until after 1858, probably until around 1893.
8c	Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866 Richard Rotchford, 1866-1865 John Klein, 1865 Francis Denmead, 1865-1872 Henry Englehardt, 1872-1892 Christopher Dickson, 1892-1898 Katherine Landsdale, 1898-1915+	Brewery building, dwelling, and beer cellar on lot, 1858-1893. The house or brewery building may have been used as a saloon and/or restaurant in the early 1890s. A brick house was probably built on this tract in 1893 and remained until at least 1941; this house was the dwelling and office associated with Ponnet's greenhouse to the south and may have housed a saloon in 1907.

Table 8-2 : Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1866-1915

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
8, 9	Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866 Richard Rotchford, 1866-1871 Rozier D. Catts, 1871-1896 Constant Ponnet, 1891-1896 (lease) Felicite Ponnet, 1896-1915+	Alexandria & Fredericksburg Railroad condemned and took the south 40' of Lot 9 in 1871; this strip was used for railroad purposes until the 1970s. This tract was probably undeveloped farmland until Constant Ponnet built a greenhouse complex in 1891. By 1902, five large greenhouses were on the area of Lot 9 and the southern portion of Lot 8. The two westernmost buildings were a mushroom house and a greenhouse, and these existed until about 1912. The eastern three greenhouses were expanded in 1907 and were described as "Dilap'd" in 1941.
17, 18 19, 20 25, 26 27, 28 S, Y Z	Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866 Richard Rotchford, 1866-1895 Samuel Spencer, 1895-1897 Southern Railway, 1897-1915+	Use unknown; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period. The northern 10' of Lots 17, 18, 19, and 20 was condemned and taken by the Orange & Alexandria Railroad in 1850-1851; this strip was used for railroad purposes until the 1970s. The remainder of the lot was used for railroad purposes from about 1899 to the 1970s.
21, 22 29, 30 T, U V, Z1 Z2	Harrison Emmerson, 1851/1852-1879 Harrison Emmerson Heirs, 1879-1882 George and Lewis Peverill, 1882-1895 Samuel Spencer, 1895-1897 Southern Railway, 1897-1915+	Emmerson built a house on Lot T or U in 1860, and it remained until at least 1880. The northern 10' of Lots 21, 22, T and U was condemned and taken by the Orange & Alexandria Railroad in 1850-1851, and this strip was used for railroad purposes until the 1970s. The remainder of the lots was used for agriculture until about 1899; thereafter, it was used for railroad purposes.
A1a	Samuel Catts Heirs, 1863-1872 Rozier D. Catts, 1872-1903 Norman Call, 1903 Washington Southern Railway, 1903-1915+	The Drover's Rest hotel was on this lot from the 1820s until it burned in 1896. Any buildings on the lot were demolished in 1903 to allow construction of the Washington Southern Railway tracks.
A1b	Benjamin Dulany Heirs, 1818-1903+	West End School was at the base of Shuter's Hill by 1921, possibly in the southwest portion of this lot.
A2	Benjamin Dulany Heirs, 1818-1878+ [Title research was not completed for this property after 1878]	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
B	Samuel Catts Heirs, 1863-1872 Rozier D. Catts, 1872-1903 Norman Call, 1903 Washington Southern Railway, 1903-1915+	Dwelling on this tract by 1796, ground floor used as a tavern ca. 1805-ca. 1872.

Table 8-2 : Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1866-1915

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
B1a B1b	Samuel Catts Heirs, 1863-1872 John E. Catts, 1872-(?) William & Mary Rogers, (?) -1903 Norman Call, 1903 Washington Southern Railway, 1903-1915+	A house may have been on this lot in 1872 (or on lot B1b); a slaughterhouse and stable may have been on this lot in 1872 and 1903.
C	Walter Jones Heirs, 1861-1867 Cornelia Jones, 1867-1872 Andrew Jamieson, Lewis McKenzie, and S. Ferguson Reach, 1872-1885 Cornelia Jones, 1885 William Rogers, 1885-1903 Norman Call, 1903 Washington Southern Railway, 1903-1915+	Probably agricultural; evidence has not been found that buildings existed here during this period.
C1a	William Beirs, 1821-1872 William Beirs Heirs, 1872-1884 Mary E. Bruin, 1884-1915+(?)	2-story brick house on this lot before 1821. This house may have remained on site until after 1915.
C1b	William Beirs, 1828-1872 Mary E. Riley, 1885-(?) (lot with frame house, western part of Lot C1b) Magnus Schuller, 1885-(?) (extreme eastern part of Lot C1b containing slaughter house)	Dwelling house and a slaughter house on the lot by 1796. In 1823 the lot contained a large dwelling house, kitchen, meat house, barn, stables, slaughterhouse, warehouse, and garden. At least the dwelling and slaughterhouse remained on site until after 1885.
C2a	Louisa Lieberman and Heirs, 1857-1902 Walter and James Roberts, 1902-(?)	Substantial buildings, probably including a house, were on the lot in 1830; a house remained on the lot in 1857.
C2b	John Sherer, 1864-ca. 1870 (west part) Jonathan Roberts, 1864-ca. 1870 (east part) Charles Mankin, ca. 1870-1883 (both parts) William Bloxham, 1883-1896 William Grillbortzer, 1896-1902 Joseph F. Watkins, 1902-(?)	In 1849, the west half contained a 2-story brick slave prison, and a 1-1/2 story brick wash house. The east half contained a 2-story brick dining room and a 2-story brick house. The house may remain on the site in 1996.
C3a	William Wilson, 1864-ca. 1870 Charles Mankin, ca. 1870-1881 Constans Ponnet, ca. 1880-(?) (west half) Henry Majors, 1881-(?) (east half)	Use unknown. Evidence has not been found that buildings existed on this property during this period.
C3b	Louisa Lieberman and Heirs, 1857-1902 Walter and James Roberts, 1902-(?)	Evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.
C4	Walter Jones Heirs, 1861-1867 Joseph Packard, 1867-(?) Constant Ponnet, ca. 1902-(?)	A blacksmith shop stood on this property in 1879.
C5	Louisa Lieberman and Heirs, 1857-1902 Walter and James Roberts, 1902-(?)	The Emerson Steam Pump Company operated a machine shop on this lot from at least 1902 to 1941.
C6	Louisa Lieberman and Heirs, 1857-1902 Walter and James Roberts, 1902-(?)	Reinecher lived in a house on this property in 1902.

Table 8-2 : Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1866-1915

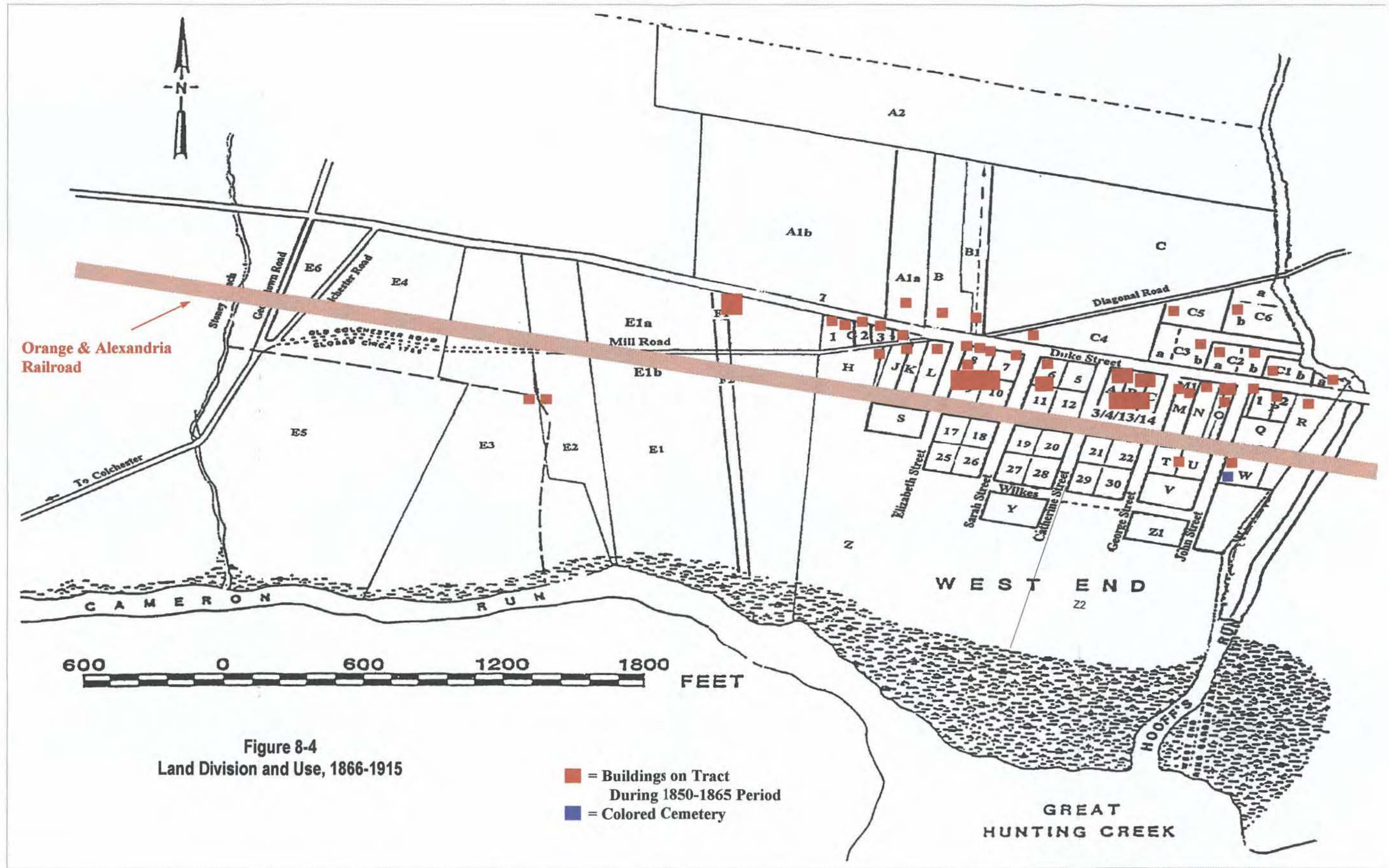
Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
E1-E5	[Title information for these tracts after 1850 is not available for this history, but the lands remained in Roberts/Hunt family until after 1900]	Mills stood on Lots E2 and E3 until at least 1902.
E6	Peter C. Tresler 1864-ca. 1871 David G. Watkins, 1871- [Title information not compiled after 1871]	Information not available.
F F1, F2	[North of O&A Railroad] David G. Watkins, 1849-1874 George L. and J.F. Watkins, 1874-1903 Norman Call, 1903 Washington Southern Railway, 1903-1915+ [South of O&A Railroad] David G. Watkins, 1849-1874 Robert F. Roberts, 1874-1884 [Title information not compiled after 1884]	A combined slaughterhouse and stable existed on this property in 1874. Portions of this tract were condemned and taken by the Orange & Alexandria Railroad in 1850-1851 and by the Alexandria & Fredericksburg Railway in 1871. This tract was used for railroad purposes after 1903.
G1-G3	David G. Watkins, 1847-1874 David Watkins Heirs, 1874-1903 Norman Call 1903 Washington Southern Railway, 1903-1915+	A brick house, a frame house, two stables and a corn house were on the site in 1847. Four houses were on this tract in 1901; all were demolished or removed in 1903-1904 during construction of the Washington Southern Railway's curve to the northeast.
G4	Rozier D. Catts, 1863-1903 Norman Call, 1903 Washington Southern Railway, 1903-1915+	Use unknown, probably commercial and possibly a butcher shop. Two small frame buildings were on the lot in 1872. Buildings were not shown on this lot on a 1901 map. This lot was used for railroad purposes after 1903.
H, I	David G. Watkins, 1851-1874 David Watkins Heirs, 1874-1903 Norman Call 1903 Washington Southern Railway, 1903-1915+	Houses may have existed on this property in from 1901 to 1903; after that date the lots were cleared for construction of the Washington Southern Railway line.
J, K	Thomas J. Watkins, 1854-(?) Thomas J. Watkins Heirs, (?) -1904 Washington Southern Railway, 1904-1915+	At least one substantial building was on this property by 1856, and it probably remained on the property until at least 1874. The property was used for railroad purposes after 1904.
L	Thomas Dwyer, 1864-1866 Richard Rotchford, 1866-1872 Thomas Skinner, 1868-1872 (lease) George L. Watkins, 1872-1915+	High lease costs and tax values indicate one or more substantial structures were on this lot from 1874 to 1915, but the use of the property in that period is unknown.

Table 8-2 : Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1866-1915

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
M, M1	Thomas Javins, 1847-1869 Edward Javins, 1869-1871 Cassius Auger, 1871-1875 Wesley Makely, 1875 Ida L. Watkins, 1875-1901 Ida Watkins Heirs, 1901 Charles W. Nichols, 1901-1915+	“Tenements and improvements” were on the lot in 1847. Building probably remained on the lot until after 1915, and Nichols probably constructed a house around 1902. The Alexandria & Fredericksburg Railroad condemned the south 40’ of Lot M in 1871; this strip was used for railroad purposes until the 1970s.
N	Harrison Emerson Heirs, 1879-1882 Michael Nash, 1882-1891 Clara S. Millen, 1891-1901 James B. Brown, 1901-1902 Robert F. Knox, 1902-1915+ (?)	Emerson’s estate in 1880 included a 2-story frame dwelling house with attached back building. This structure appears to have remained on the lot until at least 1902. The Alexandria & Fredericksburg Railroad condemned the south 40’ of Lot N in 1871; this strip was used for railroad purposes until the 1970s.
O	George Bontz, 1832/1840-1900 George Bontz Heirs, 1900-1901 [Subdivision into 5 lots in 1901] [Lot 1] Elizabeth Martin, 1902-1929 [Lot 2] George Bontz Heirs, 1900-1929 [Lots 3, 4, 5] Elizabeth Martin, 1901-1912 Elizabeth Martin and Lavinia Patterson, 1912-1914 Ella and Arthur Brown, 1914 John and Laura Haring, 1914-1919	House probably by 1798; occupied by Baker in 1817, probably remained on the lot in 1850. Two houses were on this property in the 1860s, one brick and one frame. The brick house may have remained on the site until 1960. The wood frame house was divided into two tenements and stood until after 1950. The Alexandria & Fredericksburg Railroad condemned the south 40’ of Lot O in 1871; this strip was used for railroad purposes until the 1970s.
P1, P2	James M. Watkins Heirs, 1853-1872 John H. Watkins, 1872-(?) John H. Watkins Heirs, (?) -1903 Fannie A. Catts, 1903-1915+	This tract may have had one or more buildings on it beginning in the 1870s, and it almost certainly had at least one building from 1872 to 1915.
P3	Richard Rotchford, 1857-1858 John H. Watkins, 1858-(?) John H. Watkins Heirs, (?) -1903 Fannie A. Catts, 1903-1915+	This tract may have had one or more buildings on it beginning in the 1870s, and it almost certainly had at least one building from 1872 to 1915.
Q	Harrison Emerson, 1834-1870 John H. Watkins, 1870-(?) John H. Watkins Heirs, 1870-1903 Fannie A. Catts, 1903-1915+	The Orange & Alexandria Railroad bought a 17’ strip along the southern edge of Lot Q in 1851. The Alexandria & Fredericksburg Railroad condemned about another 40’ of Lot Q in 1871; these strips were used for railroad purposes until the 1970s.

Table 8-2 : Ownership and Use of West End Tracts, 1866-1915

Tract	Owners/Years	Uses
R	William Biers, 1825-1850/1872 William Biers Heirs, 1872-1885 Magnus Schuller, 1885-1910+(?)	Substantial building existed on this lot by 1830, possibly a brick house. One or more buildings existed on this lot until at least 1910.
W	George A. Bossart, 1853-1870 William J. Holland, 1870-1883 George W. Keys, 1883-1895 Baptist Cemetery Association of Alexandria, 1895- Thomas Mann, 1895 Samuel Spencer, 1895-1897 Washington Southern Railway, 1897-1915+	House on this property by 1802, may have been a slaughter house after 1804. A house remained on the property in 1823, and a barn and other buildings were on the property in 1865. These buildings probably remained on the property until around 1900. 1-acre tract at SW corner of Lot W was used as a "Colored Cemetery" at least as early as 1895.
X	George A. Bossart, 1855-1870 William J. Holland, 1870-1883 George W. Keys, 1883-1895 Thomas Mann, 1895 Samuel Spencer, 1895-1897 Washington Southern Railway, 1897-1915+	Agricultural use; evidence has not been found that this lot contained buildings during this period.



Orange & Alexandria
Railroad

600 0 600 1200 1800 FEET

Figure 8-4
Land Division and Use, 1866-1915

- = Buildings on Tract
During 1850-1865 Period
- = Colored Cemetery

WEST END
GREAT HUNTING CREEK

9.1 West End After 1915

West End was annexed to Alexandria in 1915, along with a larger area to the west and south of Alexandria's old limits. The annexation essentially recognized that West End and much of the rest of the area had become an inseparable part of the city. The expansion of Alexandria had reached West End, and there was little intervening open space.

Fire insurance maps indicate that West End changed very little physically from 1915 to World War II, except that a number of houses were built between Diagonal Road and Telegraph Road, probably to house workers in the Fruit Growers Express shops to the south. This stability or stagnation for most of West End in this period may have reflected the hard times of the Great Depression in general, but it also must have reflected the local loss of jobs resulting from the closure of the Virginia Glass Company factory by 1915 and Ponnet's greenhouse probably in the late 1920s. By far the largest loss of jobs in the immediate area occurred in 1925, when the Southern Railway shifted its car sorting activities to Potomac Yards.

By 1941, times were again changing for West End, as the rail age made way for the automobile age. Fire insurance maps of that year show a number of private garages but also two commercial filling stations, at 1912 and 1939 Duke Street. At that time, Ponnet's greenhouses had apparently not been used for some time, and the buildings were marked "Dilap'd." These buildings would not appear on later maps. Elizabeth, George, and John lanes had been instituted as 15-foot wide alleys leading south from Duke Street (not in the same locations where John West had laid out streets by those names in 1796), and Holland Lane was a 20-foot wide road where John Street had initially been located. Most of the area that had previously contained the Virginia Glass Company plant remained vacant. On the north side of Duke Street, Reineker's Lane was a 15-foot wide road running directly north from Duke Street to Diagonal Road (Sanborn 1941).

By the early 1950s, most of the 2000 block on the south side of Duke Street was cleared and redeveloped in large, steel frame buildings. This area had formerly included Ponnet's greenhouses and at least two dwelling houses. Fire insurance maps indicate the substantial new buildings were occupied by the government, but other information concerning their use or uses has not been found. These buildings remained on the property until the 1980s, when they were demolished and not replaced. By 1958, at least four automobile sales companies, at

least four automobile repair shops or service stations, a wholesale plumbing supply warehouse, and a news distribution company were located in West End. Many of the old houses still stood along Duke Street and Elizabeth Lane, but West End was definitely dominated by industrial and retail commercial features by that time (Sanborn 1958).

The Builders and Developers Corporation began buying lots in West End around 1958, probably with the intention of redeveloping the properties. In 1960, Ruth Baer purchased the 1700 block, on the south side of Duke Street, demolished the old tenements and other buildings, and constructed a strip shopping center (Cromwell et al. 1989:171). Portions of that shopping center remained until 1997, when the buildings were demolished for construction of features of the Carlyle Development. With the exception of the railroad roundhouse, the diesel engine repair shop, and perhaps two houses on the eastern edge of West End, all pre-1950 buildings had been removed by the early 1990s. Most of the track and ancillary buildings in Cameron Yards had been removed by the 1970s, and a portion of that area was used by a metal salvage company for its shredding operation. Alexandria used escarpment and lowland areas of Cameron Yards as a landfill in the mid-1970s, which had the effect of further obscuring the natural landscape on the south and east sides of the area.

The West End that existed before 1915 is nearly unrecognizable. Interstate 95 courses northwest-southeast across former wetlands adjacent to Cameron Run and Great Hunting Creek, which once defined the southern boundary of West End. Telegraph Road, which defined the western limit of West End has been reconstituted as Route 241, and it is a major connecting artery between Duke Street (Route 236) and Interstate 95. Duke Street is a four to six lane highway, much wider and busier than it was during its existence as the Little River Turnpike. Eisenhower Avenue has been constructed as an east-west route between Interstate 95 and Duke Street, and large warehouses, office buildings, and a Holiday Inn hotel have been constructed along Eisenhower Avenue. A federal courthouse was constructed in 1993-1994 between Eisenhower Avenue and Duke Street, in one of the blocks of Alexandria Southern Properties' Carlyle Development. Construction of other large office, residential, retail, and educational buildings is on-going as part of the Carlyle Development at the time of this writing in 1996. Nearly the entire area of West End to the north of Duke Street has been redeveloped into multiple-story office and residential buildings since 1970.

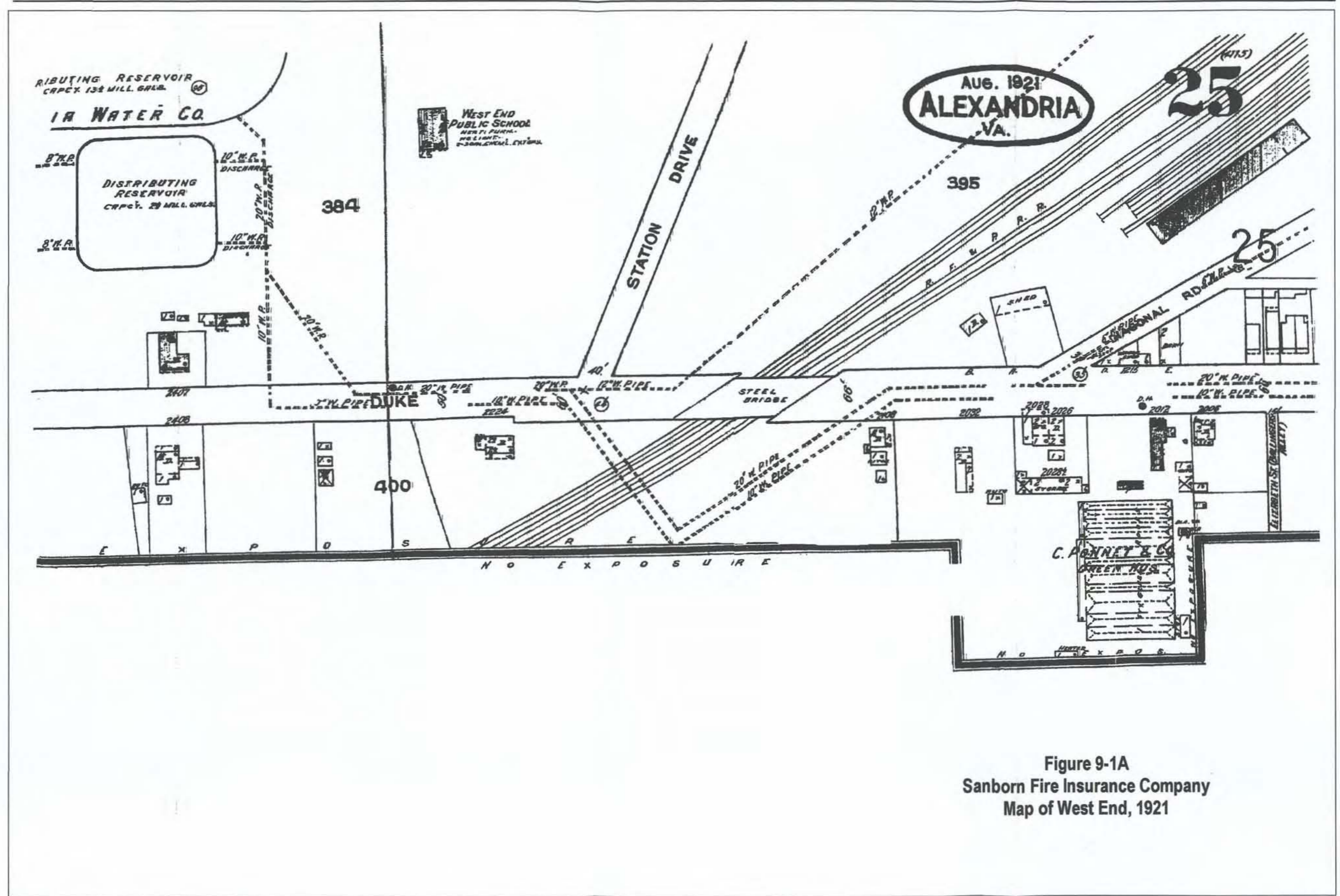


Figure 9-1A
Sanborn Fire Insurance Company
Map of West End, 1921

SECTION NINE

WEST END AFTER 1915

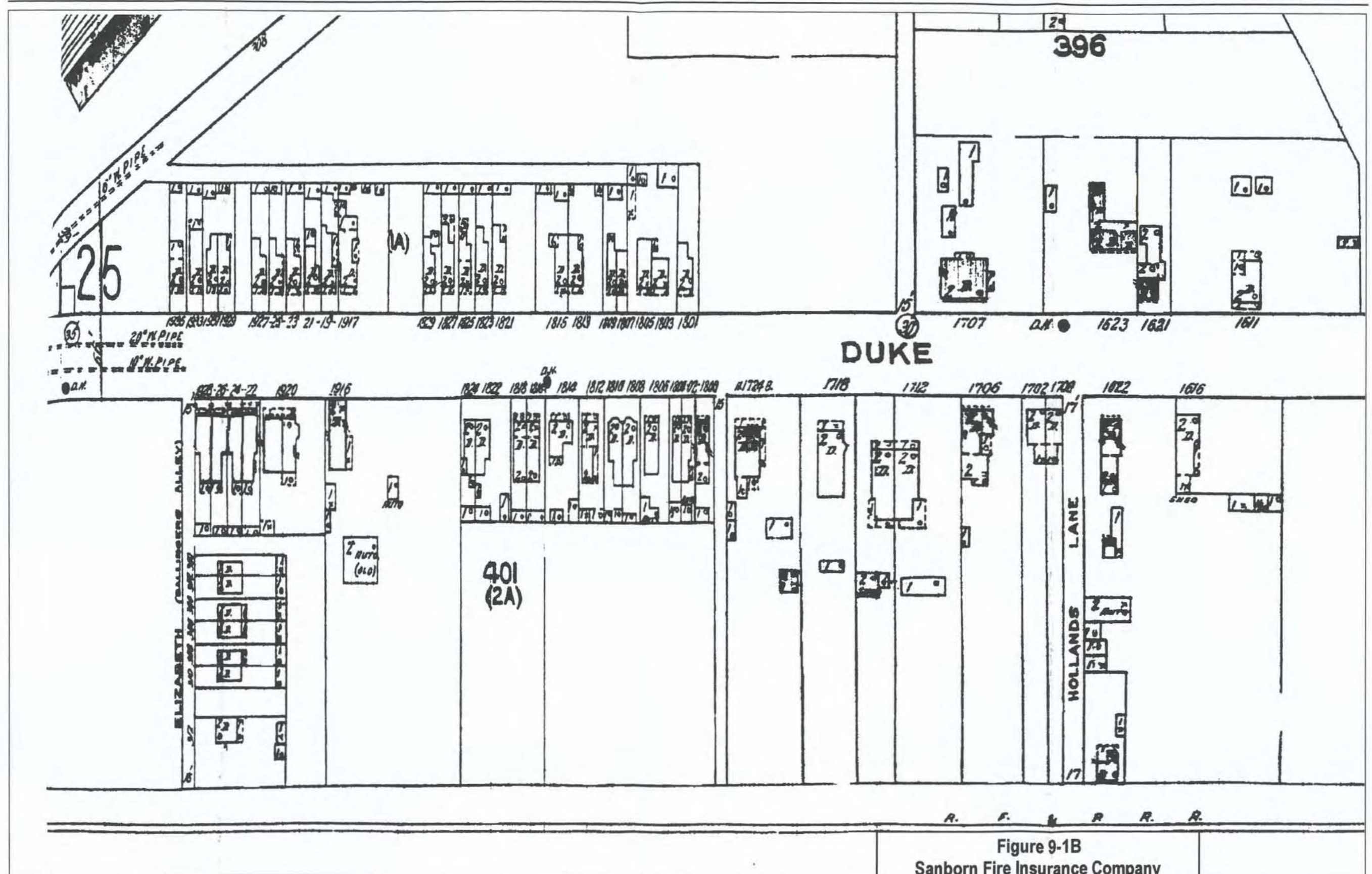


Figure 9-1B
Sanborn Fire Insurance Company
Map of West End, 1921

SECTION NINE

WEST END AFTER 1915

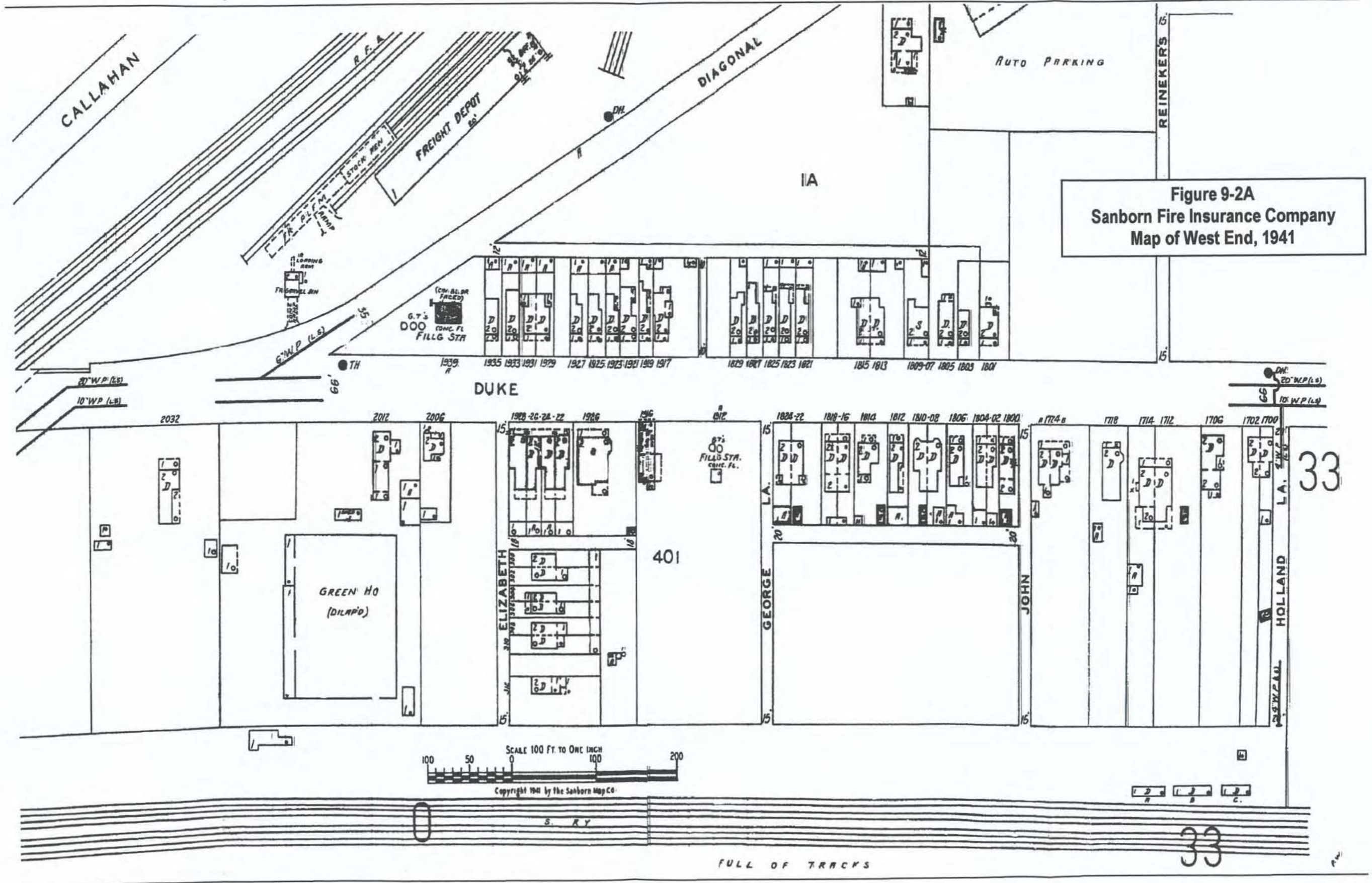


Figure 9-2A
Sanborn Fire Insurance Company
Map of West End, 1941

33

33

FULL OF TRACKS

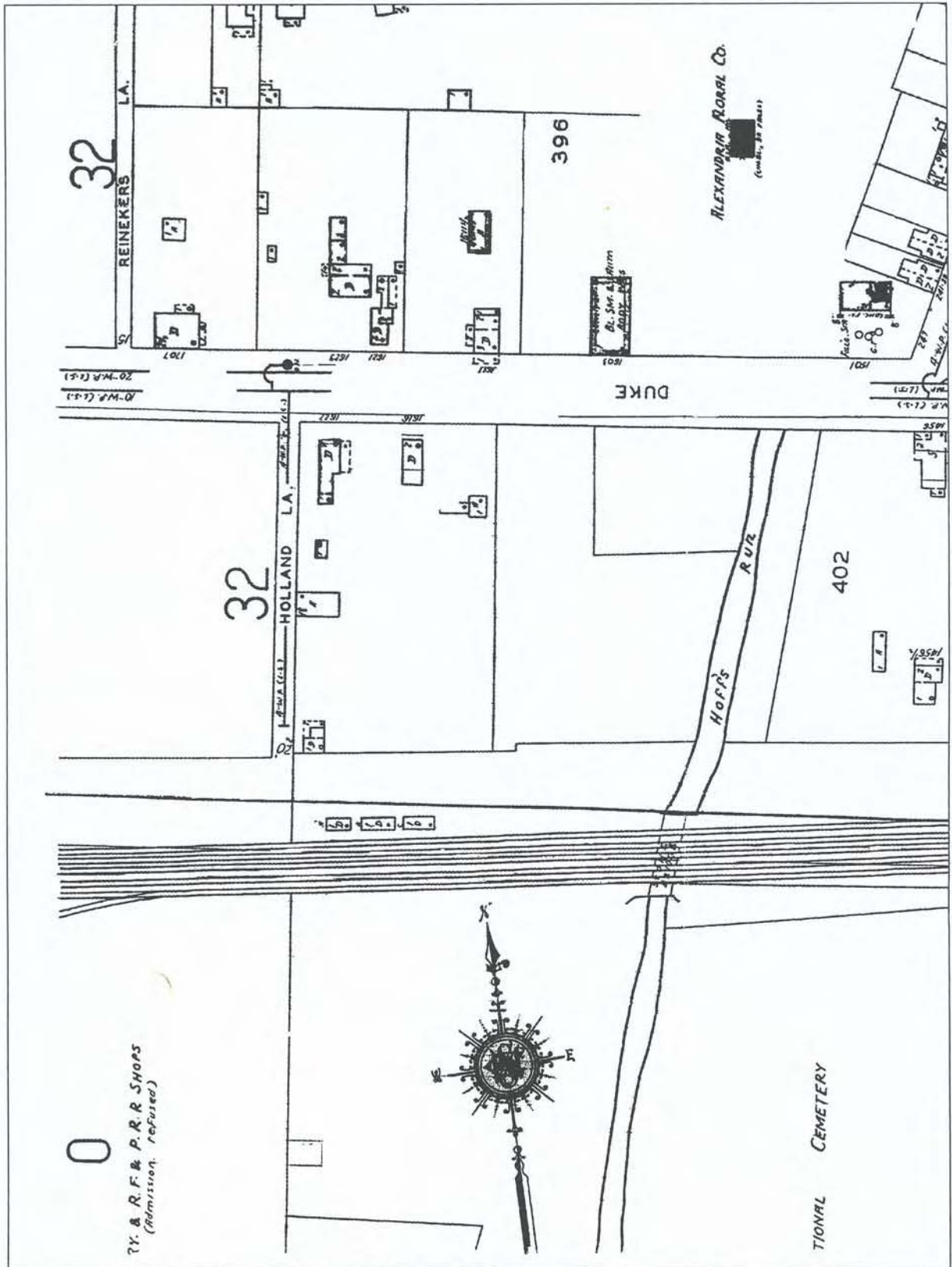


Figure 9-2B
Sanborn Fire Insurance Company
Map of Eastern Portion of West End, 1941

SECTION NINE

WEST END AFTER 1915

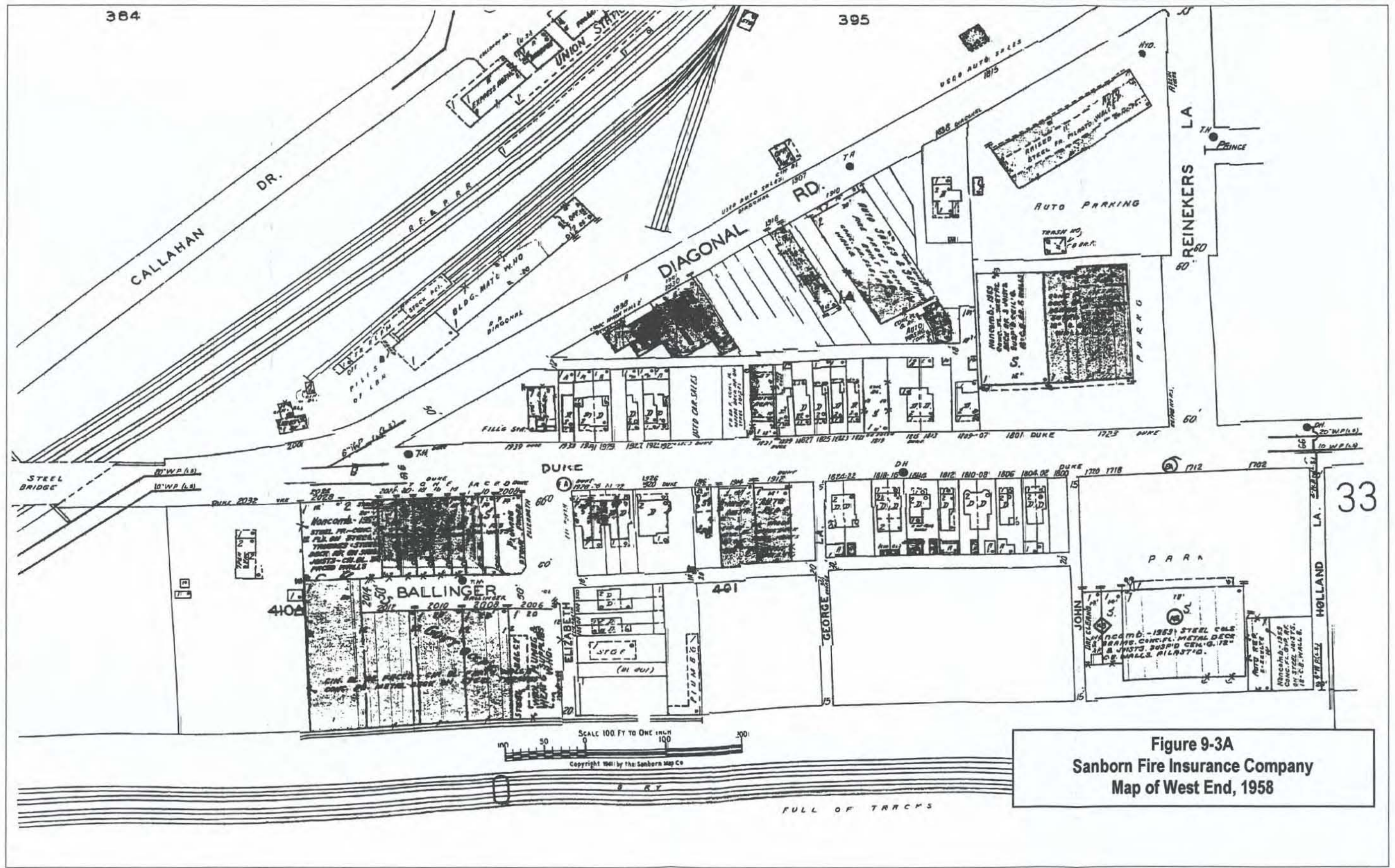


Figure 9-3A
Sanborn Fire Insurance Company
Map of West End, 1958

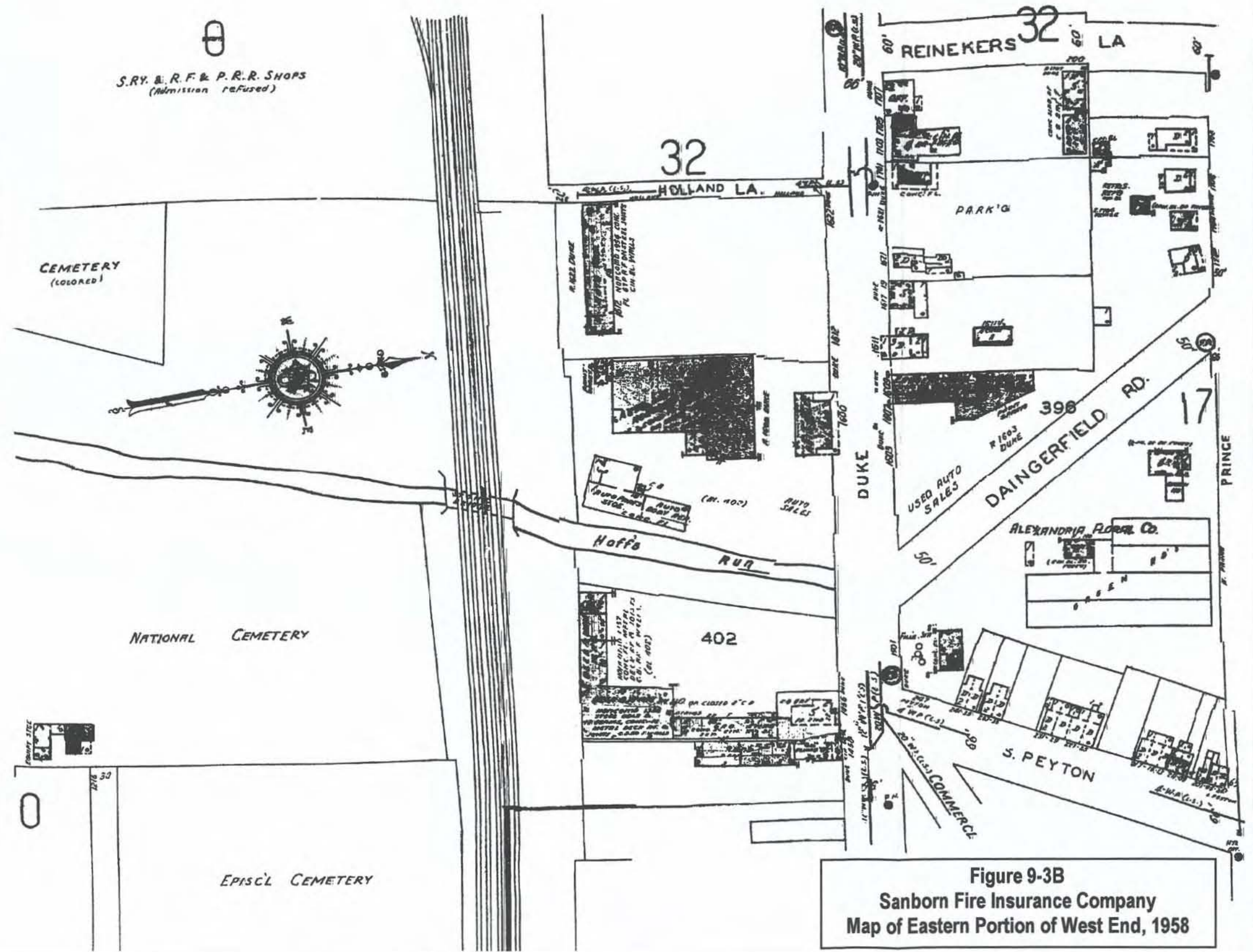


Figure 9-3B
 Sanborn Fire Insurance Company
 Map of Eastern Portion of West End, 1958

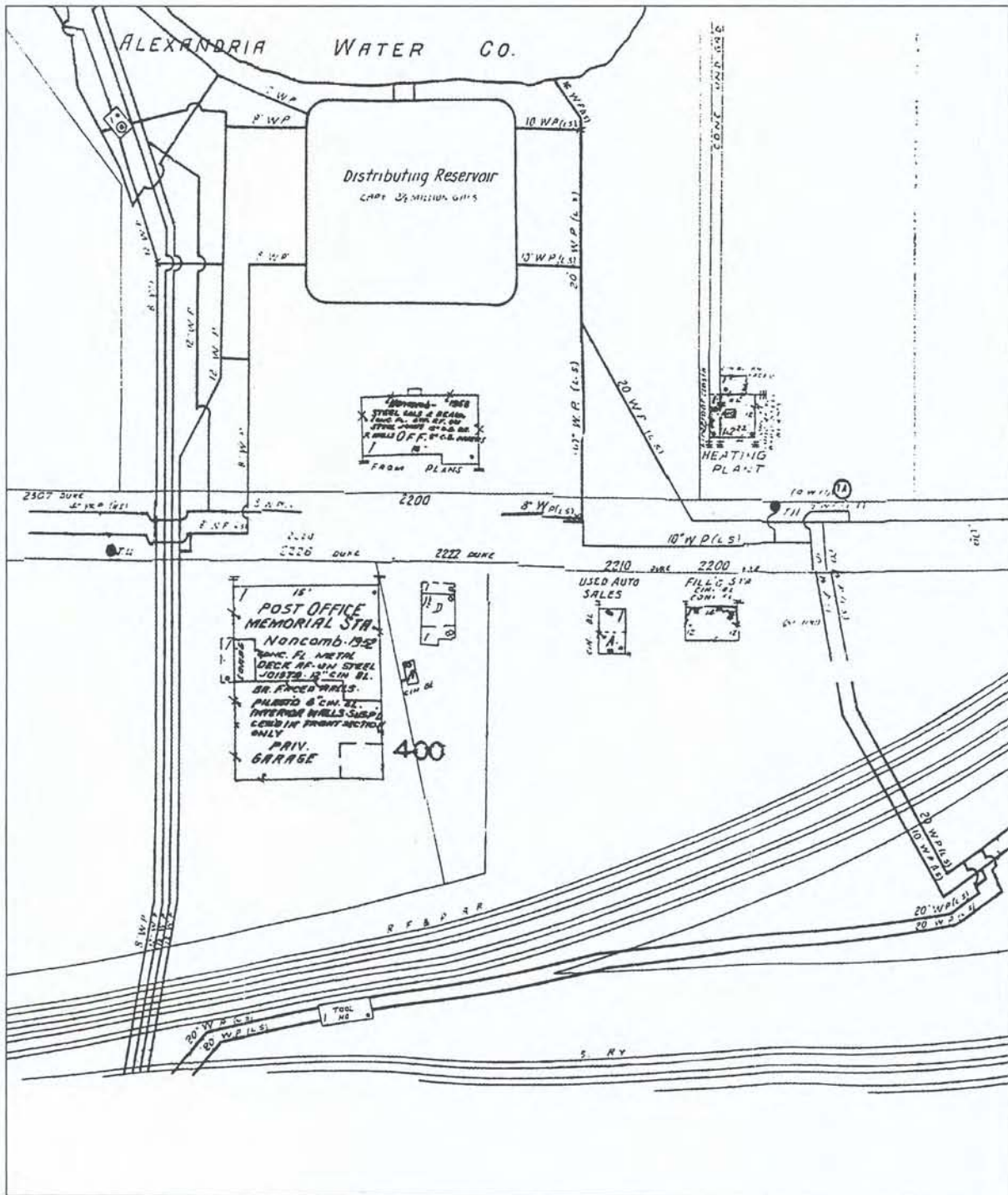


Figure 9-3C
Sanborn Fire Insurance Company
Map of Western Portion of West End, 1958

West End's long and in some ways unique history is an important part of the history of Alexandria and the region. Physical remains of West End's history, in both archaeological and architectural contexts, might be extremely valuable for elucidating the lives and activities of West End residents. The history of West End is not as well documented in archival sources as that of Alexandria, and the discovery, analysis, and interpretation of the physical remains of West End would provide a richer and more meaningful description of Alexandria's most important suburb before 1915. However, nearly all of the pre-1915 buildings have been destroyed, and most of the areas that could have contained important archaeological remains have been extensively disturbed during post-1960 redevelopment. Any remaining physical representations of West End are therefore rare and potentially very valuable for their scientific and cultural information.

To protect its important cultural resources, the City of Alexandria has ordinances that have required investigation of proposed project areas prior to the issuance of permits for virtually any construction or demolition project in West End since 1989. Some projects, including widening of Duke Street and construction of the federal courthouse, have federal agency involvement and are subject to investigation and consultation requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. In compliance with these laws and ordinances, developers have supported archaeological and historical investigations in West End, and these investigations have provided most of the information currently available concerning the archaeology of West End.

By 1986, a need had become evident for widening Route 236 (Duke Street) through much of West End. John Milner Associates, Inc. conducted a Phase I archaeological survey of the area proposed for widening from the 1100 to the 1900 blocks of Duke Street, as part of an environmental assessment prepared by Tippetts-Abbett-McCarthy-Stratton on behalf of the Virginia Department of Highways and Transportation. Documentary research indicated that prehistoric and historic archaeological resources could exist throughout the study area. Subsequent field investigations of previous disturbance indicated areas in which prehistoric and historic archaeological deposits might remain undisturbed (Cheek and Zatz 1986).

A Phase II investigation of the area proposed for the Duke Street widening was conducted by James Madison University Archeological Research Center between December 1987 and April 1988. The Phase II investigation combined an extensive historic document search and an

archaeological investigation of portions of the 1700 block along Duke Street, where archaeological resources were expected to exist. The entire 1800 and 1900 blocks were eliminated from the Phase II archaeological investigations because of the narrow width of right-of-way in this area and the extent of previous disturbance in those areas. Excavations in the 1700 block revealed brick foundation remains of two buildings and a broad scatter of artifacts that reflected a backyard deposition pattern; these resources were designated as the Bontz Site, 44AX103. The recovered artifact assemblage included 784 ceramic shards dating from 1780 to the mid-20th century; 1,793 glass fragments dating from the early 19th through the mid-20th centuries, and 692 metal artifacts dating from the 1820s to present (Cromwell 1989).

Phase III mitigation of the Bontz Site was conducted by James Madison University Archeological Research Center in 1988-1989. The Phase III mitigation included preparation of an extensive historical context for the property and extensive excavations to recover information from the archaeological context. The extensive artifact assemblage recovered from the site reflects 170 years of site occupation by persons of modest economic means and social status. Occupants of both structures on the site were able to build rear additions to their homes prior to the Civil War, and artifacts of the post-Civil War era suggest a stable middle class existence throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries (Cromwell et al. 1989).

As part of planning for improvements to transportation systems, the Environmental Quality Division of the Virginia Department of Transportation contracted with Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. in 1988 to accomplish a Phase 1A study of a 2,000-acre area including most of West End. The study area was bounded by Holland Lane on the east, the north side of Duke Street, the West side of Van Dorn Street, and the north side of Interstate 95. The study included a literature search, cartographic study, preliminary archaeological inspections, and an architectural reconnaissance. This study identified a several locations that might contain prehistoric and historic archaeological resources (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc. 1989).

In 1990, Hoffman Management, Inc. proposed to use a 1.8-acre parcel for storage of fill dirt removed from nearby construction sites. The parcel in question was thought to be the location of the Cameron Mills, and Engineering-Science, Inc. conducted a Phase I cultural resources survey and assessment of the property. Foundation remains of both Bird's Mill and the Ricketts/Stump mill were found, along with foundation remains of another mid-19th

century building and artifacts dating from the 1790s to the 20th century. Several prehistoric quartz flakes were also found. The proposed use of the property was recommended to be non-disturbing to the historic resources, and the resources apparently remain intact in 1996 (Knepper and Pappas 1990).

The Carlyle Project is a planned development of about 76 acres that was formerly Cameron Yards. Archaeological investigations for the Carlyle Project were conducted from May 1990 to January 1994. In 1991, Tellus Consultants, Inc. prepared a Phase I cultural resources and documentary assessment for the entire Carlyle Development area. This assessment relied heavily on historical research that had been as part of the Bontz Site mitigation, and on results of soil borings that had been done in several episodes throughout much of the Carlyle Development area. The report of this assessment identified a potential for the development area to contain remains of the Civil War era Slough Hospital, Shuter's Hill Brewery, several dwellings and businesses dating from the 1790s to the early 20th century, and prehistoric cultural resources (Westover and Miller 1991).

The existence of the African-American cemetery near Hooff's Run was a special problem and opportunity for the Carlyle Development. The cemetery had been buried as a result of railroad-related filling and/or land-filling by the City of Alexandria. Dr. Pamela Cressey, of Alexandria Archaeology, conducted a documentary search for information concerning the cemetery in 1985, and Allan Westover, of Tellus Consultants, conducted a survey in 1990 that identified headstones and footstones (Cressey 1985; Westover 1990). By 1992, the developers had proposed to dedicate the area to an African-American heritage park, if the area contained African-American burials. Alexandria Archaeology conducted limited excavations in the cemetery in 1992 and recovered coffin parts, a portion of a burial vest, and nine grave markers. On the basis of these discoveries, Alexandria Archaeology recommended that the cemetery was highly significant as perhaps the oldest surviving African-American cemetery in the city (Bromberg and Shephard 1992).

Later in 1992, Tellus Consultants conducted more extensive excavations to determine whether the proposed development of the heritage park would impact any of the interments, and to provide a better understanding of the location of the interments for interpretive purposes. These excavations yielded evidence of 28 graves, some of which were covered by a deposit of

oyster or clam shells, which was a traditional African-American burial custom (Anderson 1992).

By 1990, one block of the proposed Carlyle Development had been identified as the preferred site for the construction of a federal courthouse. Engineering Science, Inc. conducted a Phase I historical and archaeological investigation of this area in 1991 for the General Services Administration. The Phase I investigation included documentary research and limited examination of the proposed project area to determine the integrity of historic land surfaces. A combined Phase I archeological survey and Phase II archaeological testing and evaluation were accomplished by Engineering Science in 1992. The Phase I/II investigation yielded evidence of a multi-component archaeological site (44AX164) dating from the Late Archaic Period (ca. 3000-1000 B.C.), the Woodland Period (ca. 1000 B.C.-A.D. 1600), and 1780 or 1790 to the Civil War. Phase III mitigation was conducted on this site by Engineering Science in November and December 1992. A total of 6,765 artifacts were recovered, most of which were associated with a residential occupation of the property (or nearby property) from about 1780 to 1850 (Pappas et al. 1991; Artemel and Walker 1992; Walker 1992a, 1992b; Walker et al. 1993).

Phase II investigations for the remainder of the Carlyle Development in the former Cameron Yards area were conducted by Tellus Consultants, Inc. in 1992 and 1993. These investigations included extensive documentary research, mapping of areas that could contain important archaeological resources, and extensive trenching and hand excavations. These investigations also included evaluation of the railroad roundhouse and diesel locomotive shop on the property. Archaeological excavations yielded the footings for the ca. 1902-1906 ice storage facility, a portion of the original embankment for the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, scatters of historic and prehistoric artifacts, and many railroad-related features. Although thousands of artifacts were discovered, virtually all of these items were found in disturbed and mixed contexts, which appear to have resulted from grading, filling, and construction activities related to use of the site for the Cameron Yards and later for land-filling. Definitive evidence of Slough Hospital was not found. Alexandria Archaeology completed a summary report for investigations in this area in 1994 (Alexandria Archaeology 1994).

Phase II investigation of the remaining area of the Carlyle Development, between the old Cameron Yards and Duke Street, was accomplished by Engineering Science, Inc. in 1993-

1994. Historical documentation was used to select areas that were most likely to contain important archaeological resources. Testing of these areas yielded information that most of the area had been extensively disturbed by 20th century grading. Evidence was found of the Shuter's Hill Brewery, late 19th century and 20th century rowhouses, the Virginia Glass Company factory, and later 20th century buildings. Of these, only the brewery remains were considered to have sufficient information potential to warrant Phase III data recovery. Phase III data recovery for the brewery was accomplished by Engineering Science in late 1993 and early 1994. Architectural features recorded during Phase III investigations provide information on 18th century brewing operations. Most artifacts recovered from the site reflect use of the building as a tavern. Following excavation, the vaulted beer cellar was again buried, as it remains at this writing in 1996 (Walker and Dennee 1994).

Remains of the Virginia Glass Company factory between Duke Street and the former railroad right-of-way were excavated in 1997 by Dames and Moore, after the last of the Station Shop shopping center buildings were demolished. A report of those excavations is in preparation by Dames and Moore in 1998. Completion of cultural resources studies for the Carlyle Development also included historical photographic documentation of the Southern Railway roundhouse and the preparation of the current historical overview.

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