

MARITIME ALEXANDRIA

An Evaluation of Submerged Cultural Resource Potentials
at Alexandria, Virginia

*Report
prepared for
Alexandria Archaeology
Office of Historic Alexandria
City of Alexandria, Virginia*

by

Donald G. Shomette
January 1985

City of Alexandria
Virginia
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This River divides
Maryland from Virginia,
and is one of the largest
and most considerable
in these parts
being Navigable for Frigates
as far up as Alexandria,
a place noted
in this Country...

Lord Adam Gordon
1765

ABSTRACT

The historic cultural dynamics of the City of Alexandria, Virginia, is deeply rooted in a maritime tradition. The city was born, grew, and flourished as a result of its early and successful affinity for commerce. Founded by merchants, the city became a singularly important key to colonial Virginia's development, and a competitor of international import. As a transfer point between the commodities producers of the Virginia hinterland and the ports of the world, Alexandria profited as few other Tidewater towns would during her colonial years. She survived three brutal wars--the Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Civil War--with little physical damage. Yet as competition for the western trade increased, the city was forced to struggle for survival. As a stepchild of the District of Columbia, she was ignored by the federal government. Domination of the western trade by Georgetown, and of her ocean commerce by Baltimore, began to signal collapse of Alexandria's once-great maritime influence and commercial greatness. Failure to evolve and develop a manufacturing capacity further impugned her chances for prosperity. Although the city became the hub of the Potomac River fisheries, and a brief resurgence of hope came with the Alexandria Canal, even nature conspired against the city. A continuing battle with siltation, once the nemesis of Georgetown and Washington, threatened to further reduce the port's stature. Only a brief affair with shipbuilding during World War I, however, would provide Alexandrians with a glimpse of their once-great maritime heritage. By the end of World War II, the city whose very birth depended on the sea and its commerce had witnessed the demise of its seafaring legacy.

The heritage of Alexandria's maritime past, though little remembered or reported on, is significant to an understanding of the city's place in the modern world. That such a heritage has actually helped shape the physical form of the waterfront and the cityscape can be seen in the evolutionary progress of the waterfront as it migrated eastward, first between West Point and Point Lumley, and later with the filling in of Battery Cove. Beneath this reclaimed land lies the physical evidence of the city's early history, particularly its maritime history. Unhappily, as a consequence of much of this reclamation process, a significant portion of the pre-20th-century submerged cultural resource base has been destroyed, principally by dredging. Yet in certain sectors, such as Oronoco Bay, and possibly amid the myriad assortment of pilings, wharves, and docks of the waterfront, shipwrecks of earlier times remain. Indeed, the remnants of the late-18th- and 19th-century waterfront itself may exist beneath the river waters and the silts of the harbor bottom.

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PART I

MARITIME ALEXANDRIA: A HISTORIC OVERVIEW

THE SWEETEST AND GREATEST RIVER

In May 1588, the year of the Spanish Armada, a small Spanish reconnaissance expedition, under the command of one Captain Vincente Gonzales, and manned by 30 soldiers and sailors under the direction of Sergeant Major Juan Menendez Marquesas, sailed from the presidio of Saint Augustine, Florida. Their vessel was a "long bark," or dispatch boat, which had been brought from San Lucar to Havana the year before expressly for the mission. The objective of their voyage was to penetrate the uncharted region of the North American coast known as Ajacan. Their directives called for their craft to run as far north as the recently discovered Bahia de Madre de Dios, now known as Chesapeake Bay, to obtain information of and reconnoitre a reported English settlement and fortification (Lewis and Loomie 1953: 185).

In June the Spanish arrived in the Bay, lingered for awhile in the vicinity of a fine harbor (which later became known as Hampton Roads), and then continued their journey of exploration into the far reaches of the Chesapeake. In his very descriptive Relacion of the Spanish explorations and brief missionary settlement attempts on the Chesapeake, the Spanish priest Fra Luis Geronimo de Ore wrote, between 1617 and 1620, of Gonzales's discoveries:

As they continued to sail north, the land from the east jutted into the bay. It became narrower in such a manner that at its narrowest place, from the western shore whence it stretched toward the eastern part it was 2 leagues. After that they discovered inlets and coves as well as rivers along the western shore. Then they came upon a large fresh-water river, which, where it entered the bay, was more than 6 fathoms deep. To the north there was very high land, with ravines, but without trees,

The Ribero-Weimar Map.

1529.

This Spanish map shows the Bahia de Santa Maria (later referred to as the Bahia Madre de Dios) in what is possibly the earliest known cartographic reference to the body of water now known as the Chesapeake Bay. The bay is shown as "b:de S. M^a" just below "playa" and above "R:del espu sto," and is favored by Lewis and Loomie, chroniclers of the early Jesuit settlement attempts in Virginia, as actually being the bay despite conjecture to the contrary. The map is from the Kohl reproduction in the Peabody Institute Library, and reprinted in Lewis and Loomie.

delightful and free, which had the aspect of a green field and was pleasant to behold. On the south shore of this river the beach is very calm and is lined with small pebbles. Farther up on the south bank of the same river there appeared a delightful valley, wooded, and pleasant land which seemed to be fertile and adaptable to stock-raising. This river was located in a latitude of 38°. They named it San Pedro (Lewis and Loomie 1953: 186).

Although there is some question as to whether the river visited by the Spanish was the Potomac or the Rappahannock, noted authorities on the subject, Clifford M. Lewis and Albert J. Loomie (191, n. 30), strongly suggest that it was the former. There is, however, little doubt that the Gonzales expeditionaries were the first Europeans to lay eyes upon that noble estuary. Closer examination of the river by Europeans, however, would not come for another two decades.

With the establishment of the first permanent English settlement in America, at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, it seemed likely that further explorations of the Chesapeake region would be forthcoming. On June 2 of the following year, as soon as the spring planting had been completed at the infant settlement, Captain John Smith, one of the colony leaders, in an open barge of two tons burthen set forth with six "gentlemen," four soldiers, a blacksmith, a fisherman, a fishmonger, and a doctor as crew to explore the Bay. Smith had much to say about his examination of the Potomac.

The fourth river is called Patawomeke & is 6 or 7 miles in breadth. It is navigable 140 miles, & fed as the rest with many sweet rivers and springs, which fall from the bordering hills. These hills many of them are planted, and yeelde no leese plenty and variety of fruit then the river exceedeth with abundance of fish. This river is inhabited on both sides. . . . The river 10 miles above this place maketh his passage downe a low pleasant valley overshadowed in manie places with high rocky mountains; from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant springes (Smith 1624: 23-24).

Exploring as far as the depth of water would permit, presumably as high as the fall line, Smith's party encountered many parties of Indians at settlements at Patowomek, Cecocawonee, Moyaones, Nacotchtant and Tougs, where they were treated with kindness. Here, several miles above the vicinity of what was later to become the City of Alexandria, the explorers savored the richness of the land and the friendship of the natives.

Hauing gone so high as we could with the bote, we met diurse Saluages in Canowes, well loaden with the flesh of Beares, Deer and other beasts, whereof we had part, here we found mighty Rocks, growing in some places aboue the grownd as high as the shrubby trees, and diuers other solid quarries of diuers tinctures: and diuers places where the waters had falne from the high mountaines they had left a tinctured spagled skurfe, that made many bare places seeme as gilded. Digging and growne aboue in the highest clifts of rocks, we saw it was a claie sand so mingled with yeallow spangles as if it had beene halfe pin duste (Smith 1624: 58).

The bounty of the river itself deeply impressed Smith and his men, for in many places they found fish in astonishing abundance,

lying so thicke with their heads aboue the water, as for want of nets (our driuing amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a frying pan: but we found it a bad instrument to catch fish with: neither better fish, more plenty, nor more variety for small fish, had any of vs euer seene in any place so swimming in the water. . . . (Smith 1624: 58).

As a result of his exploratory voyage, Captain Smith ultimately produced the first reasonably accurate map of the Potomac River as part of a delightful chart of the entire Chesapeake Bay region. Indicated on the map were the names of numerous Indian towns and villages which dotted the Potomac shoreline, 21 of them on the Maryland side and 14 on the Virginia side. In the immediate vicinity of what would later become the City of Alexandria, two Indian settlements, Assaomec and Namassingakents, were noted.

Virginia.

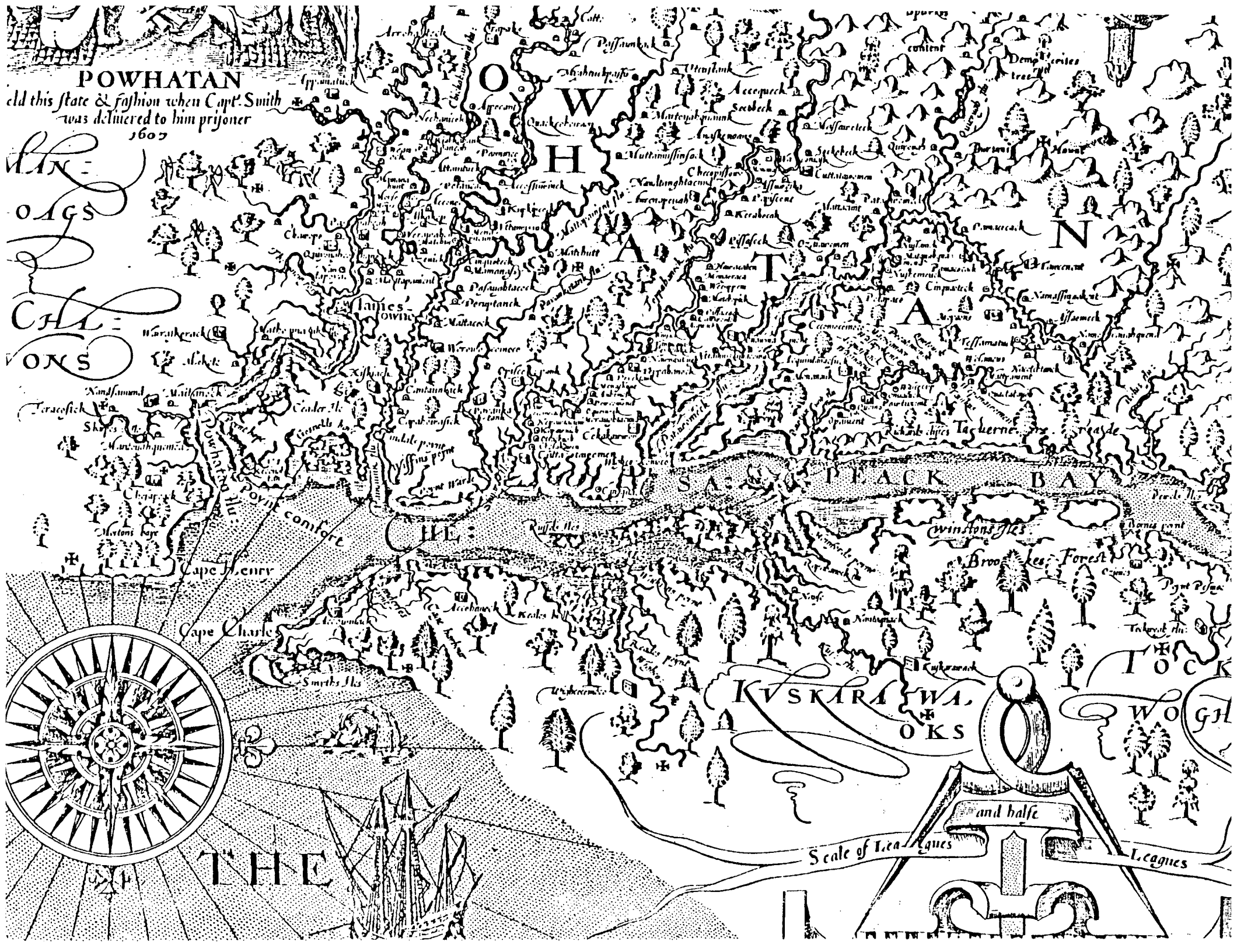
Captain John Smith
1624.

This quite interesting map of the Chesapeake and its sundry tributaries, including the Potomac River, was drawn from data gathered by Captain John Smith during his exploratory voyages of the region begun in 1608. The Potomac River is noted as Patawomeck flu.

POWHATAN

old this state & fashion when Capt. Smith
was delivered to him prisoner
1607

Handwritten notes in cursive:
OAGS
CHL
ONS



In 1621 Captain Henry Fleet established a post on the Yeocomico to trade with the Indians as far north as the fall line of the Potomac. Fleet noted that the river "aboundeth in all manner of fish . . . in one night over 30 sturgeon are commonly caught. . . . And as for deer, buffaloes, bears, turkeys, the woods do swarm with them, and the soil is exceedingly fertile" (Beitzell 1979: 2).

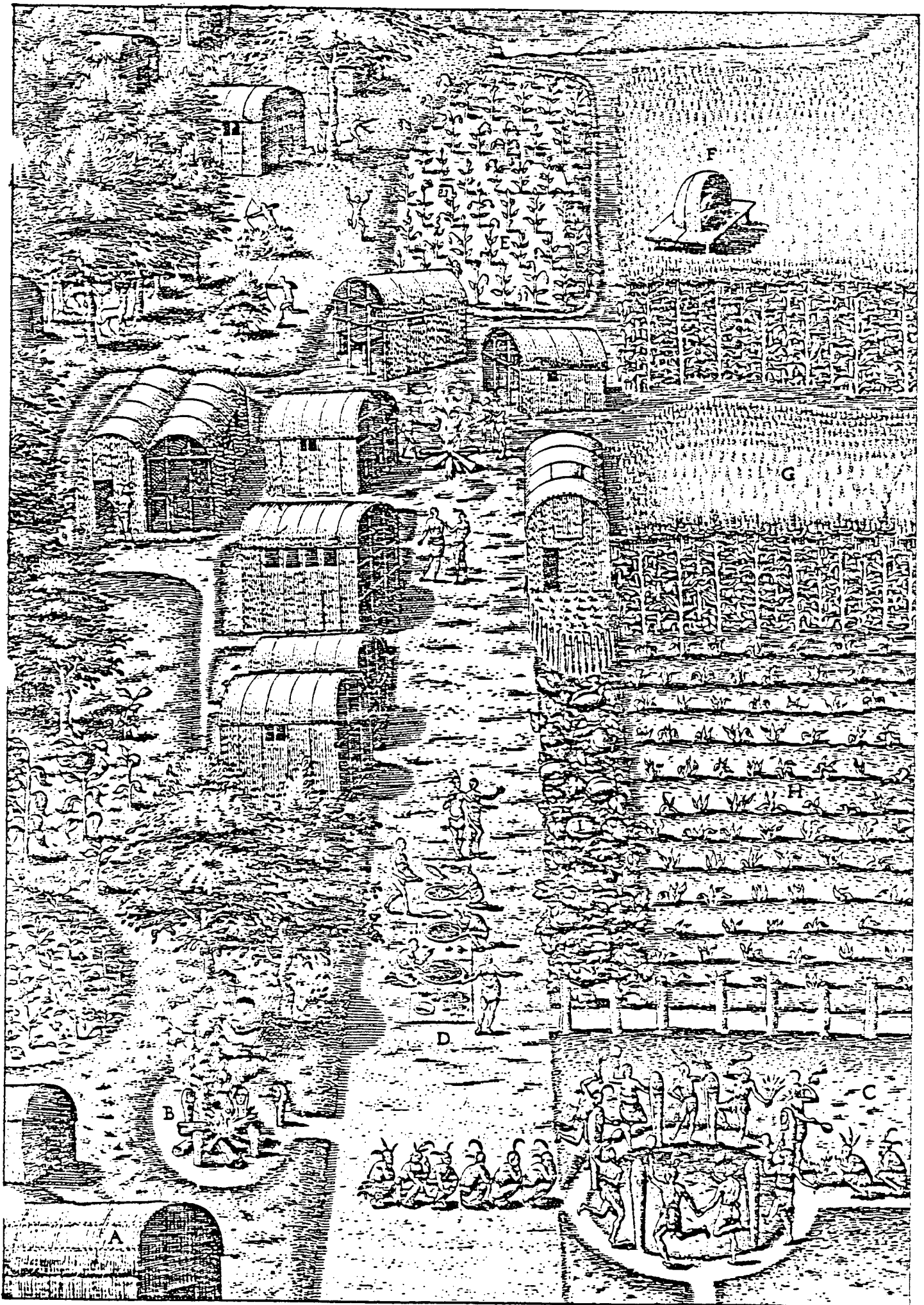
In 1622 Captain Henry Spilman, said to be the best interpreter in the colony and a veteran cclony-hand, visited the upper reaches of the Potomac in a bark manned by 26 men. His intention was to trade with the Indians of the region, among whom he had lived for years. Unhappily for Spilman, the Indians of Virginia had taken up arms against the white settlers and fell upon his party while ashore and then attacked his ship. Spilman and 21 of his men were killed (Smith 1624: 161). His was the first European blood to be spilled on the upper Potomac.

Not many years after Spilman's death, a colonizing expedition to found the colony of Maryland, sent out by Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, and governed by his brother Leonard Calvert, arrived in the lower Potomac aboard the ships Ark and Dove in 1634. Accompanying the settlers was a Jesuit priest, Father Andrew White, who called the Potomac

the sweetest and greatest river I have ever seene, so that the Thames is but a little finger to it, with great variety of woode, not chocked up with undershrubs, but comenly so far distant from each other as a coach and fower horses may trouble without molestation (Hall 1953: 40).

Governor Calvert, guided by Captain Fleet and three of his barks, sailed as far up the Potomac as Piscataway Creek, where he was met by the Emperor of the Piscataway Indians and 500 bowmen to negotiate for

Contemporary illustration of a late 16th century Indian village, probably similar to many village sites of the Virginia Tidewater. From Harriot, A brief and true report of the new found land of Virginia.



land upon which to settle (Hall 1953: 41-42). For the most part, the Indians of the Potomac proved to be a peaceful people, serenely settled in villages along the river's shores, farming corn, and gathering oysters, fishing and hunting fowl in their canoes. Aside from the occasional raids from hostile Susquehannocks and Senecas from far to the north, their existence might have been termed idyllic.

The river the Indians and the English settlers lived upon was large by European standards, draining an enormous area of 5,960 square miles. It had 98 navigable bays and creeks, 49 on either shore. The farthest creeks suitable for navigation on the Virginia shore were Great Hunting Creek and Four Mile Run (Beitzell 1979: 1, 3). And the Potomac was only the most dominant of 47 major tributaries feeding the Chesapeake Bay, providing English settlers and Indians alike with not only a source of food, but trade and communication as well. For most it was to become a source--indeed, the only source--of rapid communication, transportation, and commerce until the onset of the middle 18th century.

"Into these Rivers," wrote one descriptive chronicler nearly 90 years after the founding of the colony of Maryland,

run an abundance of great creeks or shore Rivers navigable for Sloops, Shallops, Long-Boats, Flats, Canoes and Periaguas. These Creeks are supplied with Tides (which indeed does not rise so high as in Europe, so prevent their making good Docks) and also with fresh water runs replenished with Branches issueing from the Springs and soaking through the Swamp; so that no country is better watered for the conveniency of which most Houses are built near some Landing Place, so that any Thing may be delivered to a Gentleman there from London, Bristol &c with less trouble and Cost, than to one living five miles in the Country in England (Brewington 1953: 2).

Though some colonists who would later move to the banks of the Potomac

Ould Virginia.

Captain John Smith
1624.

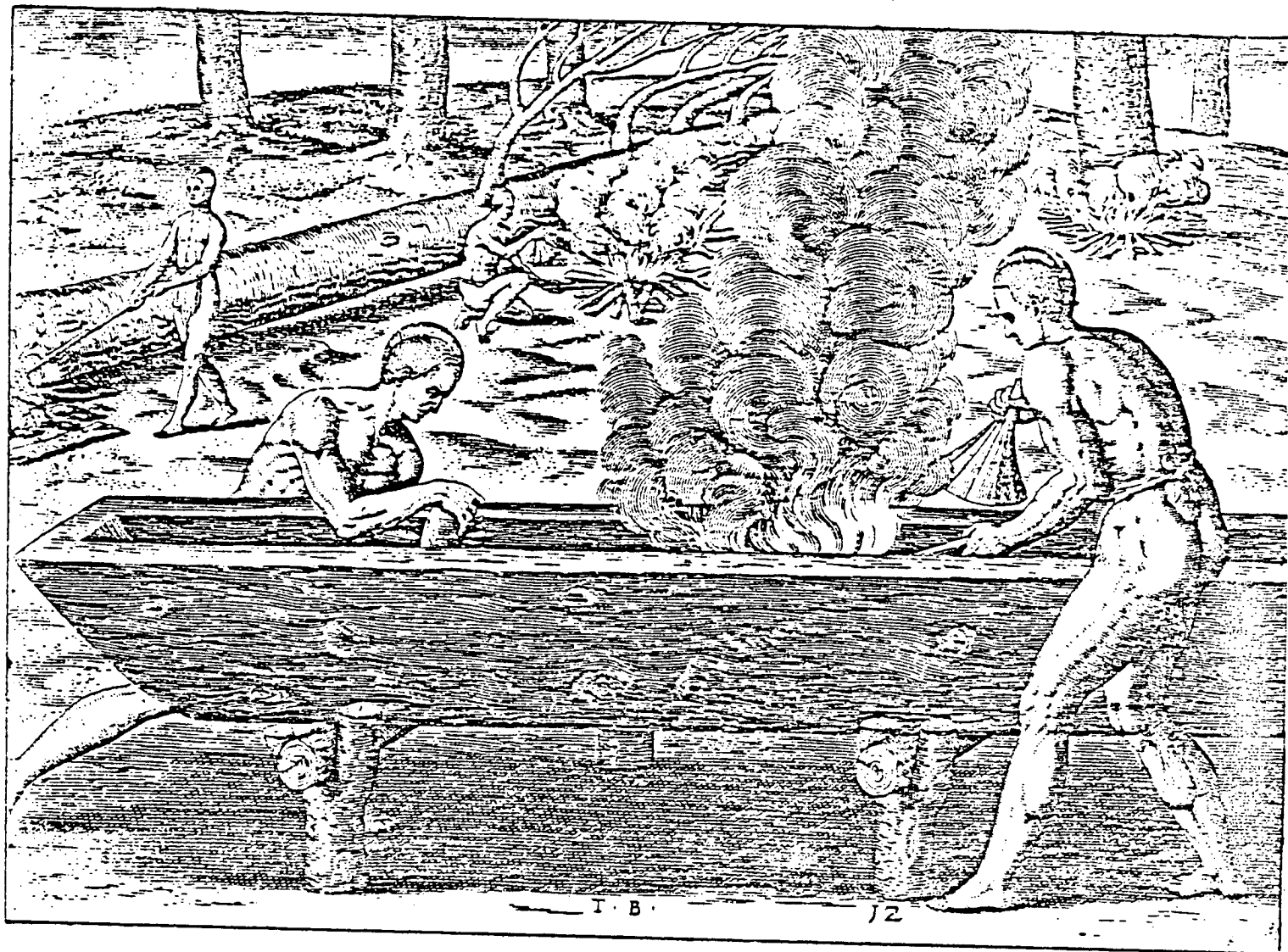
might have disputed the statement concerning cheap transportation from Europe, almost none would have rebutted the description and utility of the waterways of the Tidewater, especially when discussing the Potomac. In fact, travel during this early period was practically impossible except by water. Inland, where the land was, in fact, densely forested, only old animal and Indian trails sufficed to permit passage. But where navigable creeks, suitable to permit even moderate-size watercraft, existed, development ensued at a rapid rate. Each plantation established along the Potomac's shorelines had access to its own or its neighbor's landing, which in turn insured an early and continued employment of the river and its tributaries as a means of communication and transportation.

Early travel along the waterways of the Potomac region by the white man was facilitated by his ready adoption of Indian watercraft and watercraft construction. The principal craft in question was the dugout canoe, a cheaply produced vessel that could be manufactured from readily available resources. The Indians of both Maryland and Virginia employed such craft widely in the Tidewater.

"The manner of making their boates in Virginia," wrote Thomas Harriot, the first European to record the construction of the dugout,

is verye wonderfull. For wheras [the Indians] want instruments of yron, or other like unto ours, yet they know howe to make them as handsomelye, to saile with whear they liste in their Rivers, and to fishe with all, as ours. First they choose some longe, and thicke tree, accordinge to the bignes of the boate which they would frame, and make a fyre on the grownd about the Roote thereof, kindlinge the same by little, and little with drie mosse of trees, and chipps of woode that the flames should not moute opp to highe, and burne to muche of the lengte of the tree. When yt is almost burnt through, and readye to fall they make a new fyre, which they suffer to burne untill the tree fall of yt owne accord. Then burninge of the topps, and

A contemporary 16th century
illustration of Indian
manufacture of a log dugout
canoe. From Harriot's A briefe
and true report of the new
found land of Virginia.



I. B.

12

boughs of the tree in such wyse that the bodie of the same may Retayne his iust lengthe, they raise yt uppon potes laid over cross wise uppon forked posts, as such as reasonable heighte as they may handsomelye work upon yt. Then take they of the barke with certayne shells: they reserve the innermost parte of the lonnke, for the nethermost parte of the boate. On the other side they make a fyre accordinge to the lengthe of the bodye of the tree, sawinge at both the endes. That which they thinke is sufficientlye burned they quenche and scrape away with shells, and makinge a new fyre they burne yt agayne, and soe they continue somtymes burninge and sometymes scraping, until the boate have sufficient hollownes. This god indueth these savage people with sufficient reason to make thinges necessarie to serve their turnes (Harriot 1972: 55).

Though the white man's tools alleviated much of the labor, and though certain improvements were made in the design, the dugout canoe--forerunner of the Chesapeake Bay bug-eye--remained basically intact as an individual craft type, widely employed throughout the Tidewater and on the Potomac, surviving in some areas well into the 19th century.

The white traders and settlers of the Potomac region, however, did not rely on indigenous vessel types entirely, and employed European vessels whenever possible. Captain Fleet maintained a flotilla of barks, while shallops and pinnaces were commonly employed. In 1642 the Jesuit chronicles describe a typical voyage in such a craft.

We are carried in a pinnace, or galley, to wit: the father, the interpreter, and a servant--for we use an interpreter, as will be stated hereafter--two of them to propel the boat with oars, when the wind fails or is adverse; the third steers with the helm. We take with us a little chest of bread, butter, cheese, corn, cut and dried before it is ripe, beans and a little flour--another chest, also, for carrying bottles, one of which contains wine for religious purposes, six other holy waters for the purpose of baptism; a casket with the sacred utensils, and a table as an altar for performing sacrifices; and another casket full of trifles, which we give the Indians to conciliate their affection--such as little bells, combs, fishing-hooks, needles, thread and other things of this kind. . . . In our excursions we endeavour as much as we can, to reach by evening

some English house, or Indian village, but if not, we land, and to the father falls the care of mooring the boat fast to the shore. . . . (Hall 1953: 136-137).

The idyllic serenity of the Potomac, unfortunately, was to be short-lived. With growing dissension between Catholics and Protestants running high in England and with civil war threatening to break out and spread to the far reaches of the Chesapeake frontier, the stage was set for the first shipwreck disaster in Potomac history. It would be the beginning of a practically unbroken chain of such unhappy events.

During the winter of 1642 Father Andrew White, a Jesuit missionary in the Maryland colony, betook himself from St. Mary's City to travel to the Indian town on the Piscataway to convert the heathen natives. The trials of Father White which followed were recorded in the Jesuit's Annual Reports to the General of the Society at Rome.

Father Andrew suffered no little inconvenience, from a hard-hearted and troublesome sea-captain of New England, whom he had engaged for the purpose of taking him and his effects, from whom he was in fear a little while after, not without cause, that he would be either cast into the sea, or be carried with his property to New England, to the Puritan Calvinists--that is, the very dregs of all Calvinist heresy. Silently committing the thing to God, at length in safety he reached Potomac--which in the vernacular is called Patomake--in which harbor, when they had cast anchor, the ship stuck so fast, bound by a great quantity of ice, that for the space of seventeen days it could not be moved. Walking on the ice, as if on land, the Father departed for the town; and when the ice was broken up, the ship, driven and jammed by the force and violence of the ice, sunk, the cargo however being in a great measure recovered (Hall 1953: 135).

Thirteen years later, on February 28, 1657, a second shipping tragedy occurred in the Potomac when an English ship called the Seahorse of London ran aground during a storm off the mouth of Mattox Creek and foundered. One of the ship's officers, a man history has called John the Immigrant,

a resident of South Cave, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, England, decided to stay, along with his brother, in Virginia. The brothers purchased land in Westmoreland County, on the Northern Neck, between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers. John married a Miss Anne Pope of the same county and took up residence on Bridges Creek near its confluence with the Potomac. John prospered, became a member of the House of Burgesses, and acquired high military rank in the colony. It was fortunate for the future history of Virginia and the yet-to-be-conceived city of Alexandria that John the Immigrant had chosen to settle, for among his numerous progeny of later generations was one George Washington (Irving 1: 24-25; Tilp 1978: 110).

The Sea of China and the Indies.



S^r Francis Drake

was on this sea and landed

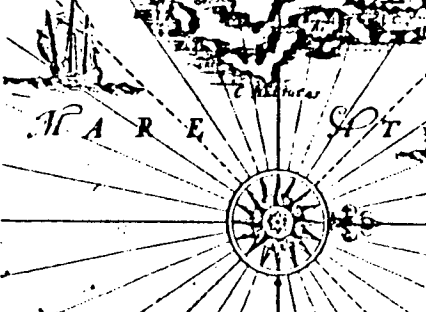
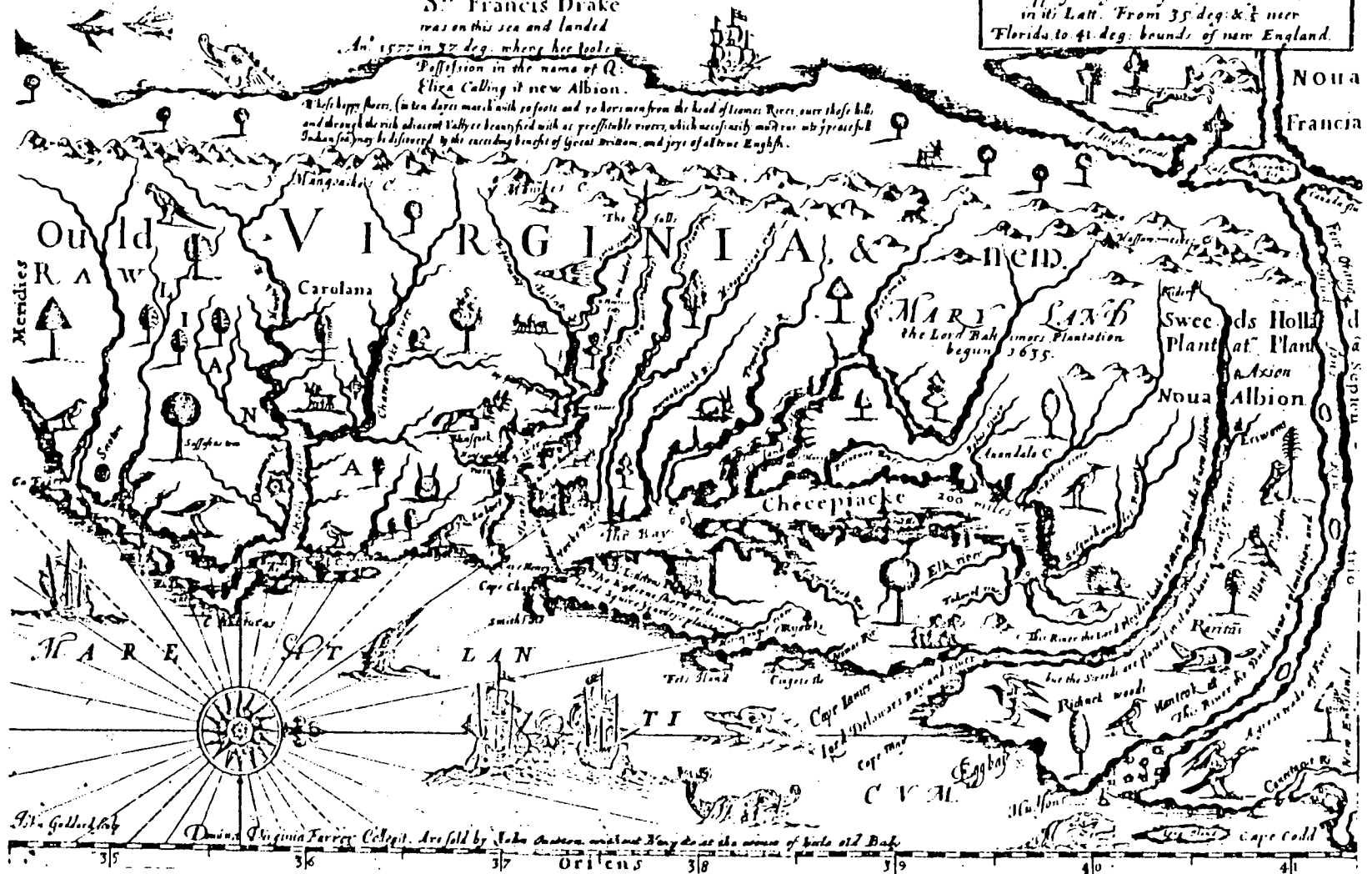
An. 1577 in 37 deg. where he took

Possession in the name of Q:
Elizabeth Calling it new Albion.

A soft happy Soere, (in ten dayes march with porters and 90 horsemen from the head of James River, over these hills, and through the rich adjacent Valleys beautifed with as profitable rivers, which necessarily must raise up greatfull Indian trading to be discovered, to the exceeding benefit of Great Brittain, and joye of all true English).



A map of Virginia discovered to S^r H. and in its Lat. From 35 deg. & 1/2 near Florida to 41 deg. bounds of new England.



Printed by W. Blaeuw in Amsterdam. Anno 1675.

Divina Virginiae Cartae. Are sold by John Andrew without Newgate at the corner of White Hall.

A mapp of Virginia discovered
to y^e Hills, and in it's Latt:
From 35. deg: and $\frac{1}{2}$ neer Florida,
to 41. deg: bounds of new England.

John Farrer
Ca. 1667.

II

SIXTY ACRES OF LAND

Despite early English visitations to the upper navigable reaches of the Potomac River, it would not be until another 44 years after Captain John Smith's expedition that permanent settlement of the region now incorporating the City of Alexandria would begin. In 1651 the Brent family, which had left St. Mary's City, Maryland, to settle on Aquia Creek, Virginia, became the earliest English landholders on the upper navigable reaches of the Virginia shores of the Potomac. Margaret Brent, her two brothers Giles and Fulke, and her sister Mary would over the next fifteen years secure right to a vast wilderness empire totalling 9,610 acres of prime Virginia land, which extended northward along the Potomac shore as far as Great Hunting Creek (then known as Indian Cabin Creek, and in 1669 as Great Mussle Creek) (Tilp 1978: 9; Court of Appeals: 18).

Among the choicest sites awarded to Mistress Brent, on September 6, 1654, was the 700-acre tract upon which the port City of Alexandria would be established nearly a century later. Brent's patent was reissued in November 1662, but seven years later, in 1669, a substantial dispute over title to the land arose when a subsequent patent was awarded by Governor Berkeley to one Robert Howsing, a Welsh sea captain, in return for transporting 120 immigrants to Virginia. The land was surveyed by a Scottish merchant named John Alexander, who promptly purchased the land from Howsing on November 13, 1669, for 600 weight of tobacco. Not long afterwards, Alexander, much to his chagrin, discovered Brent's prior claim to ownership of part of his recently acquired tract, and in 1674 he was obliged

to pay 10,500 pounds of tobacco for clear title (Stephens: 1; Miller: 1).

One of the first white men to erect any sort of permanent establishment in the region later to be incorporated as part of Alexandria was one Calwalder Jones. In 1682 Jones established a trading post on the point of land that would one day bear his name, Jones Point (Beitzell 1979: 201). But Indian trading in the region, especially after a number of murders and raids in Stafford County, was already on the wane. Soon the advance of the plantation society that would dominate the countryside for the next two centuries would begin its march. Gradually, as the great tracts of land on both sides of the Potomac were granted and settled, the inroads of civilization began to appear, and the needs for communication and transportation were never more important. By the beginning of the 18th century, the demand for public transportation across the Potomac, linking the Maryland and Virginia shores, was increasingly felt. In 1705 the Virginia Assembly published a list of ferry operations to be established and the rate of ferriage for crossing the various rivers of the colony. For the first time, a ferry operation on the Potomac River, from Colonel William Fitzhugh's Landing, near Metomkin Point in Stafford County to the Maryland shore, was noted (Evans 1964: 39-41).

The eventual settlement at the mouth of Great Hunting Creek, several miles upriver from Fitzhugh's Landing, by John Alexander, his brother Phillip, and one Hugh West, facilitated the taming of the navigable reaches of the Potomac shores. Here they planted and collected tobacco for export to Scotland, and the first permanent foothold on lands that would become the City of Alexandria was established. In 1721 a warehouse was established on Pearson's Island, a mile north of Great Hunting Creek (Tilp 1978: 201).

Three years later the Virginia Assembly, in a blatant effort to encourage development of a port on the upper Potomac, designated Great Hunting Creek as the site where a public warehouse for the inspection, storage, and shipment of tobacco was to be erected upon lands belonging to Charles Broadwater. The site proved inconvenient, and in 1732 the location was moved to the property of Hugh West, at the site of the foot of modern Oronoco Street (Miller: 2; Stephens: 2). Though an earlier Act of Assembly, enacted in 1713, ordered that all public warehouses be established alongside public wharves, the documented presence of a wharf in 1732 at West's Point, the site of the warehouse, is uncertain but probable. By 1740 the first ferry operation in the vicinity, running between West's Point, near the Hunting Creek Warehouse, across the Potomac to Frazier's Point (also known as Addison's), Maryland was opened by West. By 1748 two of the 15 ferry operations on the Potomac were running from West's property--one from Hunting Creek Warehouse, the other noted only as "From the land of Hugh West." Both terminated at Frazier's Point, and both charged a shilling for a man and another shilling for his horse (Hening 6: 19).

The management of public ferries had numerous advantages for an operator such as West. By an Act of Assembly in 1702 all persons attending on ferryboats were not only free from public and county levies, but from such public obligations as military musters, constable service, impressment, highway cleaning, etc. Licenses were necessary, but fees were not required. Ferrymen were also permitted to establish and maintain ordinaries at the ferry landings, without license, but were required to post bond as security. Such a tavern or ordinary was virtually assured of a monopoly on local trade, since competition was legally barred within five miles

of the ferry landing. No other individuals were permitted to establish an ordinary within the area of that maintained by the ferry master. Warnings were published forbidding anyone other than the ferryman from transporting persons across the river and charging a fee where there was an authorized ferry. The only exceptions were in the case of persons going to church. A penalty of five pounds sterling for every offense was to be exacted from violators, of which half was to go to the informer and half to the ferry operator. In 1705 the county courts were authorized to direct ferry masters to transport county militiamen on muster days. Compensation to the ferry operator would be paid for by a county levy. Public messages and expresses to the government were exempted from payment, as were ministers of churches (Evans 1964: 38-39).

The earliest vessel types employed in the ferry service at Hunting Creek Warehouse and at West's may well have been variations of the Indian dugout canoe. Two such vessels lashed together, and secured by a heavy wooden cross piece, were documented in service in Virginia waters by Thomas Chalkey as early as 1703, and the type, like the log canoe itself, undoubtedly survived well into the 18th century. "We put our horses," Chalkey wrote, "into two canoes tied together, and our horses stood with their fore feet in one and their hind feet in the other" (Evans 1964: 39). Later, such craft were undoubtedly replaced by flatboats, scows, barges, or planked boats. In 1748 the county courts were required to designate specific and proper craft types to be kept at ferries for various types of services. The cost of transportation of wheeled vehicles, such as carts, chaises, coaches, and wagons, was based upon the rates for horses. Ferriage charges for coaches, chariots, or wagons

A Plan of Patowmack River
from the mouth of
Sherrendo, down to
Chopawamsick.

Robert Brooke
1737.

Four Mile Run is indicated by
number 33, Hunting Creek Warehouse
by number 35, and Great Hunting
Creek by number 36.

Indian Plantation
at the Mouth of this River

at Goose Creek
Longleake Quarter

and Quarter

the

the

and

of the

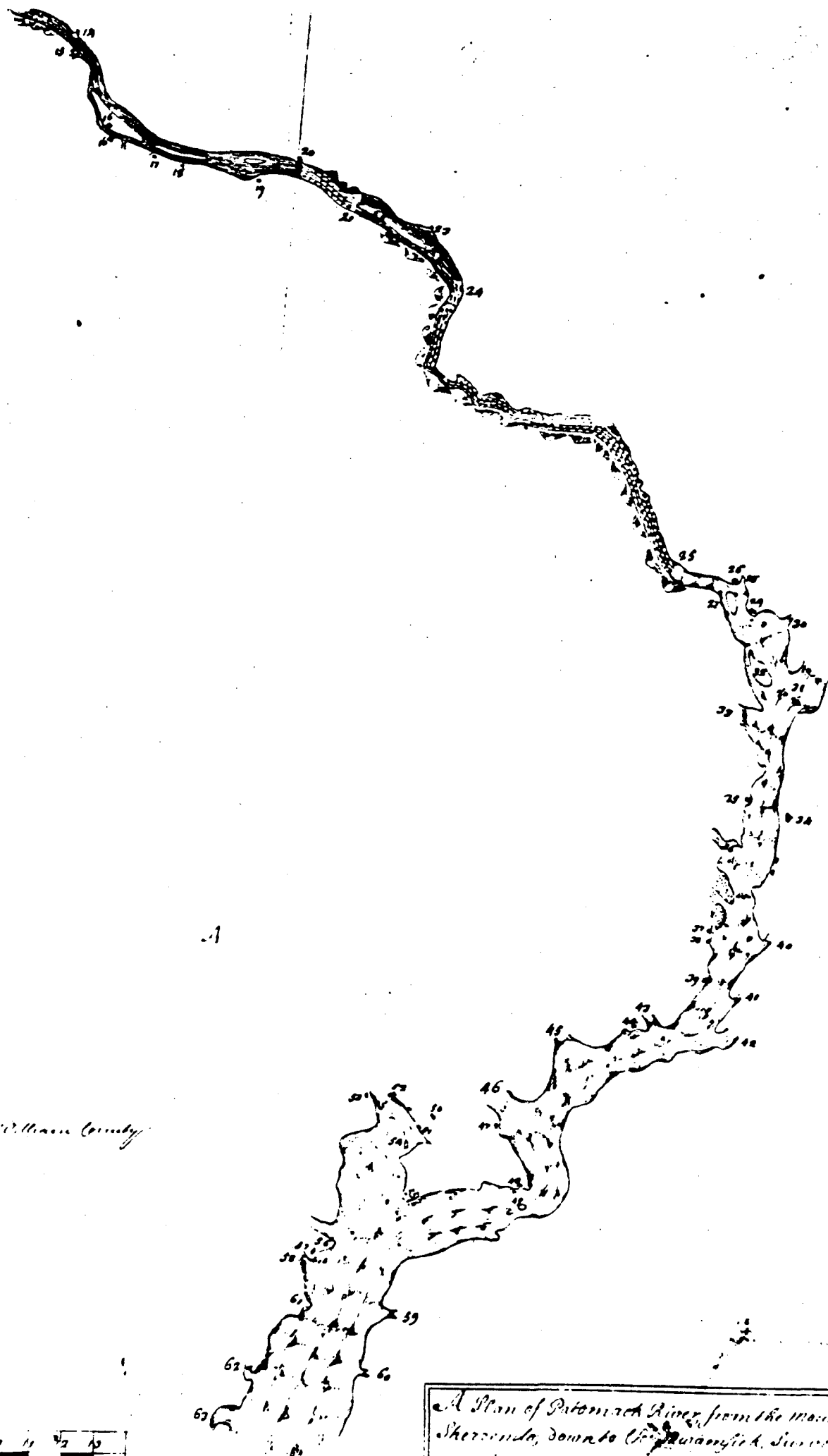
and Creek

Station
at left

with of Navigation

boundary of Prince William County

Miles



A Plan of Potomack River from the Mouth of
Sherando, down to the Chesapeake Bay, Surveyed
in the Year 1737.

were the same as for six horses; for carts or four-wheeled chaises or chairs, the same as for two horses. The rate for one horse was charged for every hogshead of tobacco carried. Every head of cattle was rated as one horse; every sheep, lamb, or goat was one-fifth the horse rate; and every hog was one-fourth the horse rate (Hening 6: 19-23). The average crossing time from Hunting Creek to the Maryland shore was one hour (Castellux 2: 401; Van Closen 1958: 197).

That the ferry landings, warehouse, and inspection station at Hunting Creek were strategically and profitably situated was a fact to which the unfolding history of Virginia commerce was already bearing testimony. With the end of the long War of Spanish Succession and the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 by the belligerent nations, many English and Scottish merchant houses, as well as numerous independent speculators, reasoning that a lasting peace had finally been achieved, began to search for avenues of commercial expansion in the English-speaking colonies of America. One of the most lucrative and potentially dynamic fields of investment was the tobacco trade of the Maryland-Virginia Tidewater (Shomette 1978: 19). Coinciding with this movement was the alteration of traditional settlement patterns. Hitherto, settlement had been limited to the Tidewater shoreline. On the Potomac it had seeped northwestward to the fall line, where seagoing ships must terminate their voyages. Following the Treaty of Utrecht, however, a powerful surge both northward and westward began to push the frontier back across the piedmont, the Appalachians, and finally into the Ohio Valley (Munson: 24).

By the late 1740s tobacco production had accelerated at an inordinate

rate. With the lands along the Potomac proper already taken up, expansion into the back country was soon an ongoing reality as settlers pushed further and further westward. The early importance of the Potomac Valley as a tobacco-producing region was already being eclipsed by its value as a trading conduit between the hinterland and the marketplaces of Europe. With that gradual realization came a core of capable merchant factors and entrepreneurs ready and able to seize upon, manage, and capitalize upon that trade. Typical of this core were men such as William Ramsay, a native of Galway, Scotland, John Pagan, and John Carlyle.

John Carlyle was the son of Dr. William and Rachel (Murray) Carlyle. Born in Annandale, Dumfrieshire, Scotland, on February 6, 1720, he arrived, barely 20 years of age, at Dumfries, Virginia, in 1740. By 1744 he had already established himself as a merchant and moved northward to the shores of Great Hunting Creek (William and Mary Quarterly, I-18: 2, 209). There was much to be said for Carlyle's move, for the area in which he and others like him settled provided one of the finest anchorages on the Potomac, just inshore of the main navigation channel and on a bank overlooking the river. The shallow bay fronting the site was of sufficient depth to host coasting scows, tobacco droughers, and flats which plied the river trade, while but a short distance further out the depth would permit a substantial population of deep-draft seagoing ships to anchor simultaneously. The nearshore anchorage in the winter provided considerable protection from river ice which drove past the southeast opening to pile up harmlessly on the Maryland shore. The banks of the Hunting Creek shoreline rose abruptly to such an elevation that the prevailing northwest winds were broken. Though in later years the Port of Georgetown

would provide an anchorage of somewhat inferior sufficiency, and the Port of Bladensburg would assert a brief moment of note as an important Potomac River port, in 1748 the Hunting Creek anchorage was the last major one before the fall line 16 miles to the northwest. Converging with the landing at this most convenient terminal point of navigation were two primitive roads from the west and northwest frontiers. A mile to the west, and running north and south, was a third roadway known as the Potomac Path, later to become the King's Highway or Post Road (Charlotte Brown Journal 1980: 1; Carne 1880: 27-28).

Located 290 miles from the ocean, but with access to the interior of America as well as deep-water navigation, the Hunting Creek site selected by John Carlyle as the focal point of his future commercial endeavors could not have been better chosen.

The tiny settlement which began to form around West's Point was soon dubbed Belhaven by its largely Scottish settlers, in honor of John Hamilton, the second Baron of Belhaven (1656-1708), one of the most eloquent and popular Scottish patriots of his era. Spurred by the growing importance of such a potentially valuable site for trade, most of the leading planters and merchants in the region north of Fredericksburg, including such notables as Lord Thomas Fairfax and Lawrence Washington, began to petition the Virginia Assembly for the creation of a town at Belhaven. With the fulcrum of their tobacco business shifting ever westward, and as several of their number, such as Carlyle, were members of the speculative Ohio Company, there was considerable incentive to include in the petition not only the request that a new marketplace, in the form of a town, be added to the region's status quo, but that it

serve as an outlet to the people of the frontier (Munson: 29).

In 1749, after a period of formal evaluation, the Virginia Assembly finally passed an "Act for erecting a Town at Hunting Creek Warehouse in the County of Fairfax." The act stated that

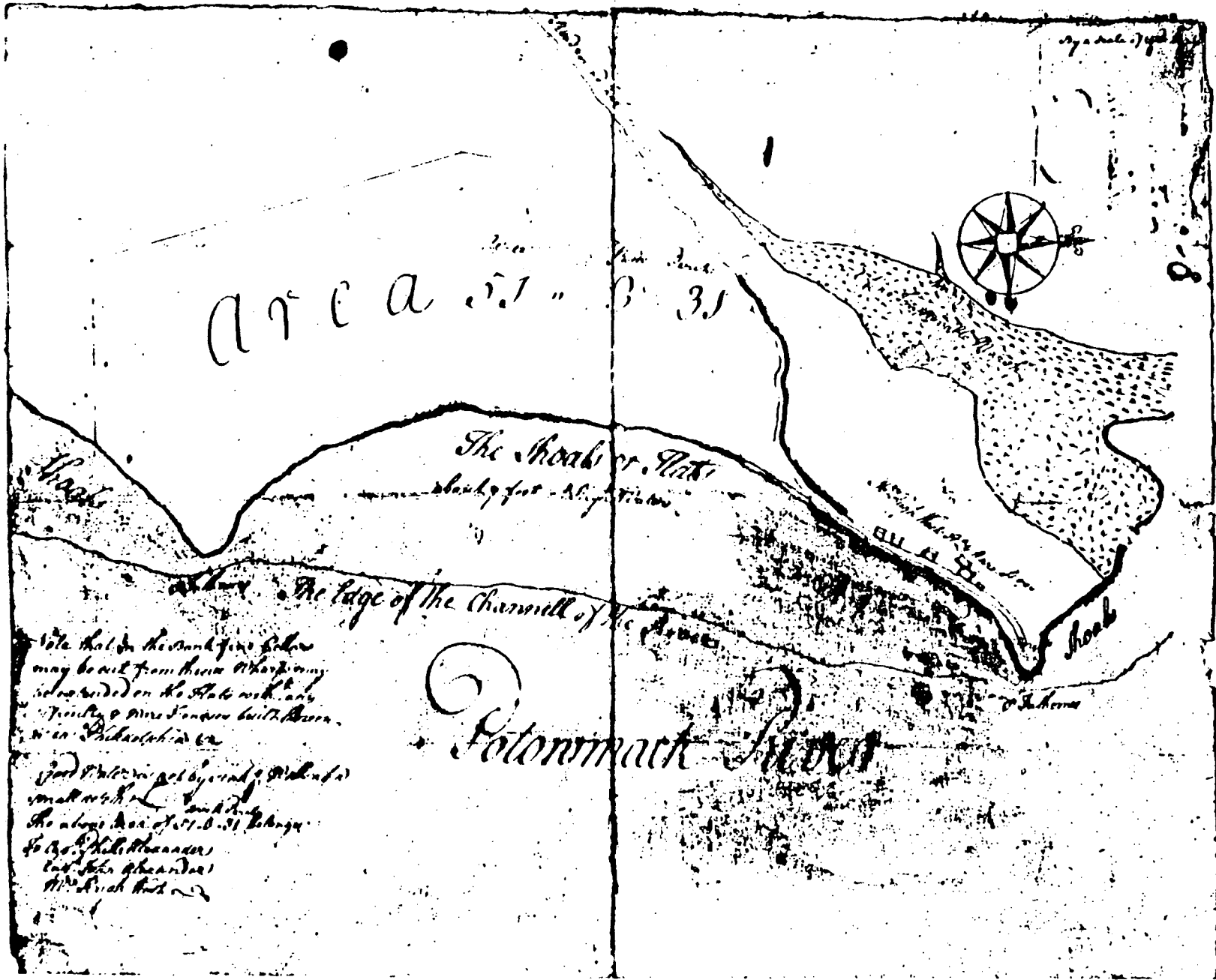
Sixty Acres of Land, parcel of the Lands of Philip Alexander, John Alexander, and Hugh West . . . shall be surveyed and laid out by the Surveyor of said County, beginning at the Mouth of the first Branch above the Warehouses, and extended down the Meander of the said River Potomack to a Point called Middle Point, and thence down the said River Ten poles, and from thence by a line parallel to the dividing line between John Alexander's Land and Philip Alexander, and back into the Woods for the Quantity aforesaid. And the said Sixty Acres . . . shall be and is hereby vested in the Right honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax, Richard Osborne, Lawrence Washington, William Ramsay, John Carlyle, John Pagan, Gerrard Alexander, Hugh West . . . and Philip Alexander . . . And the said Trustees and Directors . . . shall lay out the said Sixty Acres of Ground in Lots and Streets, not exceeding half an Acre of Ground in each Lot, and also to set apart such Portions of the said Land for a Market Place and Public Landings. . . . (Hening 4: 268).

By the summer of 1749 the surveyor for Fairfax County, John West, with the assistance of a young aide named George Washington, then studying surveying, had completed his work for the trustees of the town. The sale of lots was promptly announced, and young Washington (whose brother Lawrence would eventually purchase several lots in the town), who had mapped the site in 1748, now prepared a comprehensive plat of the town for him. The town was laid out in a regular gridiron pattern typical of many such "new" towns of the Tidewater. Eight streets running east-west were intersected by three streets running north-south. Washington noted in his 1748 map that there was a marsh with two springs and a road leading to the tip of West Point already extant (the point then being designated as Warehouse Point). On the point he noted there were

Plat of the Land where on
Stands the Town of Alexandria.

George Washington (ca. 1748).

Note the depth of the shoals
and the distinctive edge of
the Potomac River Channel.
The road from the west leads
directly to West Point, with
several buildings situated at
its edge.



Area 51 - B-31

The Shoals of the Potomack
about 9 feet - 10 feet

The Edge of the Channel of the Potomack

Potomack River

Note that on the bank of the Potomack may be seen from this Wharf many islands on the State with only a few feet of water between them - Potomack etc

Good water in the Potomack is small water
The above map of 51-B-31 belongs to the U.S. Hydrographic Office
and is the property of the U.S. Navy

five buildings, one of them West's house and the others warehouses. Of the high banks fronting the water he noted that "fine cellars may be cut and from these wharves may be extended to the flats without any difficulty and warehouses built thereon as in Philadelphia. Good water is got by sinking wells at a small depth" (Washington, Plat of the Land where on Stands...Alexandria). Fronting the town on the Potomac side was the small shallow bay referred to by Washington as "flats." This intrusion curved inward, carving out a belly-shaped embayment between West's Point on the north and Middle Point (later known as Lumley Point) on the south and bisecting the seaward-most of the north-south avenues, Water Street. This bay was noted as a flat of barely four or five feet deep (Washington, A Plan of Alexandria, ca. 1749, LC), which was adequate to host shallow-draft scows and river flats common to the Tidewater.* Immediately seaward of both Middle and West's Points the main channel of the river sloped from 18 feet to an extreme of 48 feet.

The sale of the $\frac{1}{2}$ -acre lots, which was set for July 13 and 14, 1749, was exceptionally brisk. A total of 84 lots were available, and on the first two days of the auction 41 lots were sold. By September 20, when the next general auction was over, the total had risen to 58, and by 1750 all but eight properties had been disposed of (with two of the remaining reserved for a courthouse--lot 43--and a market--lot 44)

*Research being carried out on Baltimore Harbor for the period 1783-84 has shown that an average depth of three feet was suitable to comfortably host the visits and commerce of Bay scows (Heintzelman, p.c.). Flaherty (p. 32) indicates that the depth of water on the flats at high tide was seven feet, a depth quite adequate to host even coasting sloops.

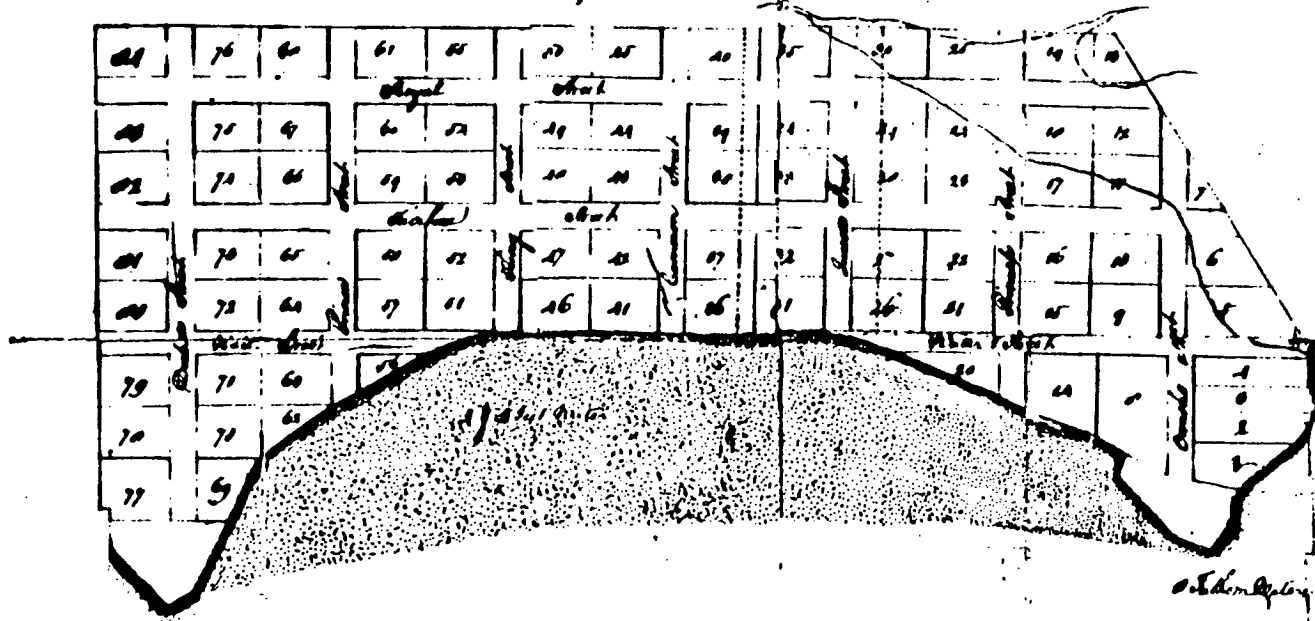
A Plan of Alexandria now Belhaven.

George Washington
1749.

This plan, the first to show the street layout of the new town of Alexandria, was drawn by Washington while serving as an assistant to John West, Jr., Deputy Surveyor of Fairfax County. The map indicates the names of 58 lot-owners, and the prices paid for each lot between July 13 and September 20, 1749.

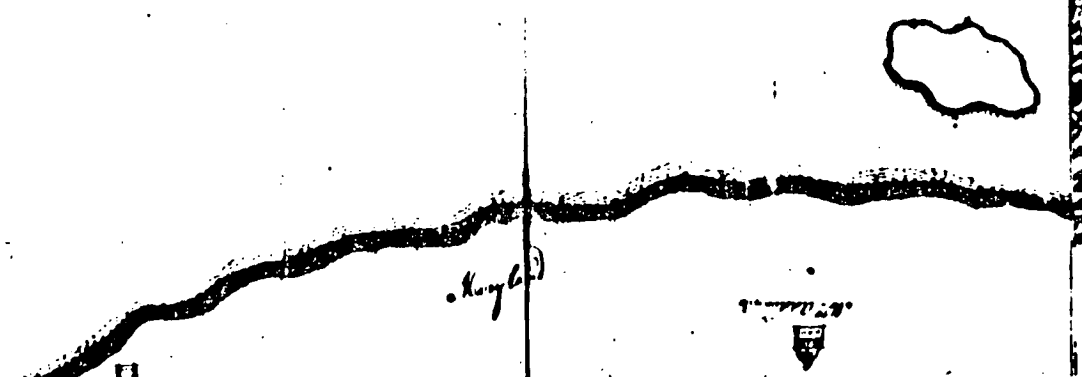
Note the shoals fronting the town, with the only deep water access being limited to the two extremities of the place.

A Plan of Alexandria now Belhaven



1	St. Andrew	16
2	St. George	16
3	St. James	16
4	St. John	16
5	St. Peter	16
6	St. Paul	16
7	St. Stephen	16
8	St. Thomas	16
9	St. Timothy	16
10	St. Titus	16
11	St. Tiberius	16
12	St. Ursula	16
13	St. Veronica	16
14	St. Zenobia	16
15	St. Zephania	16
16	St. Zosima	16
17	St. Agatha	16
18	St. Agnes	16
19	St. Anastasia	16
20	St. Barbara	16
21	St. Bridget	16
22	St. Catherine	16
23	St. Elizabeth	16
24	St. Euphemia	16
25	St. Eustachius	16
26	St. Felix	16
27	St. Gall	16
28	St. Genesius	16
29	St. Giles	16
30	St. Ignace	16
31	St. Isidore	16
32	St. Joseph	16
33	St. John the Baptist	16
34	St. John the Evangelist	16
35	St. Jude	16
36	St. Lawrence	16
37	St. Mark	16
38	St. Mathew	16
39	St. Michael	16
40	St. Nicholas	16
41	St. Patrick	16
42	St. Raphael	16
43	St. Romanus	16
44	St. Sebastian	16
45	St. Servasius	16
46	St. Valentine	16
47	St. Vincent	16
48	St. Vitalis	16
49	St. Xiphias	16
50	St. Yves	16
51	St. Zeno	16
52	St. Zita	16
53	St. Zita	16
54	St. Zita	16
55	St. Zita	16
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91	St. Zita	16
92	St. Zita	16
93	St. Zita	16
94	St. Zita	16
95	St. Zita	16
96	St. Zita	16
97	St. Zita	16
98	St. Zita	16
99	St. Zita	16
100	St. Zita	16

Potomack River



(Reps 1972: 207, 315). Not all of the lots were of equal size or of equal desirability. Lots 8 and 14, immediately south of West's Point and positioned between Water Street and the river, were well over half an acre in extent. Other lots, through which the marshes of the Orinoko Creek cut, though of value as pastureland, were of questionable commercial value. By far, the most valuable properties were those directly on the waterfront, and the men who purchased them would be among the most influential citizens of Belhaven, and many would serve as trustees to the infant town. Among the most dominant of these men were John Carlyle, John Dalton, and William Ramsay, who had purchased several of the choicest lots on the waterfront, numbers 36, 41, and 46, as well as several adjacent properties.

The management of the new town of Alexandria, as it soon came to be called, was entrusted to the board of trustees, who directed all physical developments, from the repair of streets and landings to the erection and maintenance of public wharves. The trustees had authority over such diverse operations as marsh drainage, boundary disputes, roads, locations of houses, and in general the management of an orderly economic development for the new community (Flaherty: 35).

Imperative to Alexandria's commercial survival and growth was a ready access to the deep water at its northern and southern extremities. West's Point already had a road, but no avenues had yet been erected to the end of Middle (or Lumley) Point. On August 3, 1751, the trustees addressed the issue and appointed John Carlyle "to have a good road cleared down to point Lumley and to see the street kept in repair"

(Trustees: 16). Soon, access to the commercially strategic point doubled the town's deep-water reach.

The following year the trustees ordered the bounds of the town permanently settled as many of the original markers had been lost. John West was directed to survey the marshland adjoining the town "and annex it to a plan of the Town" for service as a pasturage. The General Assembly was petitioned to include it in the town limits and to compel its drainage. The petition was refused "on account of the King's having Assented to the Act as before passed." Thereafter, the marsh, an extension of Orinoko Creek, apparently navigable for small craft, was dubbed "King George's Marsh" (Trustees: 17; Powell 1928: 34-35).

Development of the town proceeded with unvarnished vigor, and from the outset its maritime character was ever-present. Shipbuilding began under the hand of a master shipwright, Isaac Fleming, and in 1752 the first seagoing vessel to be built at Alexandria was launched. She was the ship Ranger, of 154 tons burthen, mounting eight guns and manned by a crew of twelve. Owned by Thomas Hartley & Co., Ranger was destined to be home-ported at Whitehaven, England. The 119-ton snow Jane and Nancy, owned by William Hicks & Co., and also to be home-ported at Whitehaven, was the second ship to be launched from the town's infant shipyard (Preisser 1977: Table No. 5).

Individual property holders began to build their homes and establish commercial facilities. Some, such as John Carlyle, whose estate values in Virginia had doubled in seven years, perceived the future of his commercial endeavors in Alexandria as bright, but not without cost. "In this Country," he wrote in 1753, "A Man has So many Advantageous

Prospects & Ways of Laying out money that I cannot Say but I am more Anctious after money & Sumtimes Repine at the Want of it Then I Shoud doe" (Carlyle to his brother, May 23, 1752, Papers). Nevertheless, Carlyle soon had erected a noble residence (which survives today as one of the town's most notable landmarks), and prospered. He married the daughter of the powerful William Fairfax and his influence came to mirror the phenomenal rise of the young town to international prominence.

By 1755 Alexandria boasted of a bustling population of 1,711 citizens (Flaherty: 28), and physical growth was hard-pressed to match the creature comforts of citizens and visitors alike. In March, Alexandria would find itself playing host to far more visitors than could have been imagined only a few years earlier. The commotion caused by the sighting of a Royal Navy squadron of ships sailing up the Potomac and coming to anchor off the town can only be imagined. The fleet was composed of H.M.S. Norwich, Sea Horse, Nightingale, and Garland, and was commanded by Admiral Keppel. Aboard this flotilla, the largest fleet of armed warships to come to anchor off the town to that time (but certainly not the last), was an army of British regulars under the command of Major General Edward Braddock, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in America. It was Braddock's assigned mission to drive off French encroachers from the Ohio.

Those that arrived in America had mixed reactions to the little town that greeted them. One such visitor, Charlotte Browne, who had come with the fleet, described her visit on March 22 thus:

Went on shore to Bellhaven with Mrs. Bass. Extremely hot, but as agreeable a Place as could be expected it being

but 4 years. Went to every House in the Place to get a Lodging and at last was Obligated to take a Room but little larger than to hold my Bed and not so much as a Chair in it (Browne Journal, 22 March 1755).

Others, such as General Braddock himself, would have far better lodgings with the likes of John Carlyle. Through the influence of his father-in-law, Carlyle had been appointed to the post of commissary of stores and provisions for any expedition that might start for the Ohio. As a consequence he had developed a peculiarly clear insight into the events leading to the grim defeat of George Washington at Fort Necessity the year before. He thus viewed Braddock's arrival with a mixture of bemusement and disdain. "Troops & Men of War," he noted,

All arrived Safe as did Braddock, they was ordered up here (the highest Landing upon the Continent) & were Landed In high Spirits about 1600 men, besides a fine train of Artillery 100 matrosses &c. & Seemed to be Afraid of nothing but that the French & Indians woud not Give them A Meeting, & try their Courage, we that knew the Numbers &c. of the French, Indeavour'd to Sett them right, but to no purpose, they differd us & them & by Sum means or another came In So prejudiced against us, our Country, &c. that they used us Like an Enemy Country & Took everything they wanted & paid Nothing, or Very little for it, & when Complaints was made to the Comdg Officers, they Curst the Country, & Inhabitants, Calling us the Spawn of Convicts the Sweepings of the Gaols &c., which made their Company very disagreeable--The Generall & his Aid de Camps Secretary & Servants Lodged with Me, he took everything he wanted abused my home, & furniture, & made me little or No Satisfaction, tho Expressed a Great deal of Friendship for me & Gave me a Commission as Keeper of the Kings Storehouses, which he assured Me Shoud be worth 100 L p Anno to me & paid me 50 L for the use of my house for a Month, but to our Great Joy they Marched from hence Abt the 20t of April (Carlyle to his brother, August 15, 1755, Papers).

Braddock's defeat soon afterwards may have caused great alarm throughout the British colonies, but to many Alexandrians there was undoubtedly an air of "good riddance."

Despite the British defeat, 1755 proved a noteworthy year in the

maritime history of young Alexandria. The first main vessel specifically built in the town for an Alexandrian and home-ported in Virginia, the 130-ton, four-gun snow Alexandria was launched. Her proud owner was none other than John Carlyle (Preisser 1977: Table 5).

As the town took its first bold steps into the European trade, the public and mercantile import of her citizens were also expanding, as were their needs for shipment and storage facilities. On July 18 the trustees directed Carlyle to erect a public warehouse at Point Lumley. The structure was to be "One hundred feet long twenty four feet Wide thirteen feet Pitch'd. To be three Divisions double studded, the sills to be rais'd four feet from the ground & so compleatly finished." The accounts for the building, upon completion of the construction work, were to be examined by the trustees and the expenses incurred paid from rents taken in when the warehouse was finally in service. William Ramsay, John Dalton, and George Johnston were directed to inspect the work. On September 30 the trustees "agreed that the Ware house at point Lumley be filled with Sand & Rubbish from the Point but in such a manner as not to prejudice the foundation of the said house" (Trustees: 26, 27, 28).

That the commerce of the town was thriving and its maritime import increasing was attested to by the variety of goods offered for sale, wholesale or retail, for cash or bills of exchange, by its merchants. Typical of the merchandise offered was that which John Copethorn, one of the major supporters of the shipbuilding industry in the town, offered in 1757. Items sold included:

Broad-Cloths of all Sorts, with suitable Buttons and Trimmings;
Duroys, Sagathies, and German Sergies with suitable Buttons and

Trimming; Irish Linens of all Sorts; Hempen and Flaxen Osnabrigs; plain and napt Cottons; Rugs of all Sorts; Blankets; Boys and Men's felt hats, and Castors, Silk Lined; Shalloons, Allopeens, and Tammies; Mens, Boys, Womens, and Girls Shoes of all sorts; Mens and Womens Silks, Cotton and Thread Hose; Mens worsted hose; 6d, 8d, 10d and 20d Nails; Broad and Narrow Hoes and Axes; Scarlet New Market Jockey Coats; black and buff-colour'd knit Breeches; Coopers, Carpenters, and Joiners Tools; Some Ship Chandlery, Gunpowder, Shot of all sorts and sundry other goods (Maryland Gazette, 30 June 1757).

By 1759 the town's commerce had increased to such an extent that on July 10 the trustees readily agreed to a representation from Carlyle and his neighbor, John Dalton, for permission to build "a good & convenient Landing at Cameron Street in the Town of Alexandria," on the condition that it "be made of General Utility to the Town" (Trustees: 32). Carlyle, Dalton, and their heirs were, in consequence of the expenses incurred during the construction, permitted to apply one-half of the landing for their private use. The solid oak and pine timbers of the cribbed wharf which was laid horizontally five feet deep (Carlyle-Dalton Landing) formed the basis for a third major town access to the deeper waters of the Potomac--directly across the flats from the heart of the waterfront.

Shortly before the construction of the Cameron Street wharf, the Reverend Andrew Burnaby, a traveler in the English colonies of America, called at the town after a visit to the Great Falls of the Potomac. Burnaby was charmed by the new town almost as much as he was awed by the majesty of the river. "In the evening," he wrote,

we returned down the river about six-teen miles to Alexandria, or Bel-haven, a small trading place in one of the finest situations imaginable. The Potowmac above and below the town, is not more than a mile broad, but it here opens into a large circular bay, of at least twice that diameter. The town is built upon an arc of this bay; at one extremity of which is a wharf; at the other a dock for building ships; with water sufficiently deep to launch a vessel of any rate or magnitude (Burnaby 1963: 36).

Figure 1.

VESSELS BUILT AT ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA, 1752-1776

Year	Name	Type	Home Port	Tons	Guns	Men	Owners
1752	Ranger	Ship	Whitehaven	154	8	12	Thomas Hartley & Company
1752	Jane & Nancy	Snow	Whitehaven	119	-	10	William Hicks & Company
1755	Alexandria	Snow	Virginia	130	4	10	John Carlyle & Company
1757	Neptune	Brig	Virginia	80	10	20	John Carlyle & Company
1758	Potomack	Schooner	Virginia	30	-	3	John Dalton & Company
1760	Hero	Ship	Whitehaven	200	6	16	J. Dixon and Isaac Littledale
1763	Lovers	Ship	Bristol	150	-	10	John Copithorn & Company
	Adventure						
1763	Tryall	Ship	London	150	-	13	John Stewart & Company
1764	Triton	Snow	Virginia	115	-	12	Thomas Kirkpatrick & Company
1764	Fairfax	Ship	Virginia	150	-	12	John Copithorn & Company
1765	Swift	Schooner	Virginia	60	-	7	John Carlyle & Company
1765	Adventure	Brig	Virginia	70	-	8	Robert Adams & Company
1766	Nillum	Snow	Whitehaven	100	-	11	James Whitfield & Company
1767	George	Schooner	-	-	-	-	-
1768	Jeanie	Ship	Glasgow	170	-	16	Archibald Henderson & Company
1770	Fairfax	Brig	Virginia	50	-	5	John Carlyle & Company
1770	The Farmer	Brig	Virginia	50	-	6	Colonel George Washington
1772	Betty	Brig	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Preisser 1977: Table No. 5.

The Alexandria shipyard was apparently kept quite busy as one sizable vessel after another was launched into the Potomac. In 1757 the 80-ton brig Neptune, owned by Carlyle and Company, slipped down the ways. The following year the 30-ton schooner Potomack, belonging to Carlyle's neighbor and later business associate John Dalton, was launched. Such launches became an excuse for festivities, and many persons traveled from the surrounding countryside to the town to participate in the occasions. On May 19, 1760, George Washington traveled to the town "to see Captn. Littledales Ship Launchd wch went off extreamly well." The launching in question was of the 200-ton, six-gun ship Hero, the largest vessel to be built at Alexandria prior to the American Revolution. Belonging to John Dixon and Isaac Littledale, the vessel was to be primarily instrumental in helping the latter establish his trade between his home in Whitehaven, England, and the Potomac Valley. Littledale personally took command of the vessel on her maiden voyage and of the 14 crewmen who manned her (Preisser 1977: Table No. 5; Washington Diaries 1: 281).

Though little data has come to light regarding Alexandria shipbuilding operations for the period 1752-1760, or of the exact locations of such operations in the town, the size and types of main vessels being launched, as well as the coincidence with the upsurge of Tidewater shipbuilding in general, and Virginia vessel production specifically, suggests production was sustained and facilities permanent. Normally, in the southern colonies, shipwrights, unlike their New England counterparts, preferred the isolated areas of a waterfront to conduct their work, and well away from the hubbub of commercial activity. If a cove or inlet was available, as it was at Alexandria, such places were believed ideal for their

operations. Burnaby noted that there was a dock for building ships in 1759 at the opposite end of the town from the wharf, presumably the West's Point Wharf (Carlyle and Dalton's having not yet been completed). As Fleming's shipbuilding operations of later years are well documented as being carried out at Lumley Point, it might thus be presumed that such operations had been initiated there as well, perhaps as early as 1752.

The physical needs for operations capable of building and launching a vessel of 200 tons, such as that witnessed by George Washington in 1760, would not have been substantial. There may have been a large double sawpit covered by a shelter or house to permit work in all weather, as well as tool sheds and a few support buildings. It is unlikely that a permanent launching way would have been constructed, as colonial shipbuilders normally preferred to erect temporary ways for each individual vessel built. A small wharf, however, suitable to provide workmen with easy access to a newly-launched vessel was often constructed, and as Burnaby indicates, such was certainly the case at Alexandria in 1759.

The manpower needs and variety of skilled craftsmen necessary to build a ship such as Littledale's Hero were considerable. The Alexandria constructor that was contracted to build her may have employed anywhere from four to six shipwrights, as well as joiners, caulkers, trunnelmakers, pumpmakers, riggers, blockmakers, and other craftsmen. Masons were needed to lay bricks for the galley, tinmen to line the scuppers, and glaziers to install the glass ports. There would have been mastmakers, sailmakers, and ropemakers, all of which were usually independent contractors, supplying their own special products. Painters, coopers, tanners, carvers, and boatwrights were also a necessity. Before sailing,

the services of instrumentmakers, chartmakers, upholsterers, brewers, bakers, and butchers were to be employed in providing the final needs of a sailing ship. Indeed, a very specialized and highly skilled community of specialists, whose technologies were all necessary for the construction, launching, outfitting, and sailing of a ship, was required (Goldenberg 1976: 68-75, 89). In Alexandria, such was apparently the case as early as 1752, barely three years after the founding of the town.

The wisdom of speculation in waterfront property, for those who entered such activities in 1749-50, was soon to be apparent. On September 1, 1760, the Alexandria Board of Trustees reexamined the town records and noted:

we find an Omission in not entering what was agreed on before the sale of any of the said Lotts, that is, that every purchaser of River side Lotts by the terms of the sale was to have the benefit of extending the said Lotts into the River as far as they shall think proper without any obstruction from the Street called Water Street. . . .

Furthermore, owners of such property were permitted to "build on or improve under his Bank as he should think proper" (Trustees: 34).

Such actions, primarily by a Board composed of property-owning members that would benefit most by such a right, opened the way for the eventual enlargement of the town through land reclamation from the Potomac, and the development of waterfront facilities necessary to encourage the growth of town commerce. Among the first to barge ahead with such developments were Carlyle and Dalton, who erected a warehouse at the water's edge. Their activities were, of course, monitored by the trustees,

as were their expenses (Trustees: 36, 38).

In 1762 the trustees petitioned the General Assembly for the authority to enlarge the town as "all the lots . . . within the bounds of said town are already built upon, except such of them as are situated in a low wet marsh, which will not admit of such improvements." What with "divers traders and others" clamoring to settle in the town, the Assembly approved and enacted an act to enlarge Alexandria. Not only was additional land added to its upland side, two and a half acres, later to become lots 85, 93 and 94, were added to its shore frontage, immediately south of Lumley Point (Hening 7: 604-605).

The waterfront of Alexandria during its infant years was typified by the bustle of activity of shipping and commerce: loading and offloading, shipbuilding, public vendues, trading, and all forms of public intercourse relating to a dynamic commerce. Advertisements pertaining to the young town's maritime activity frequently appeared in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania newspapers.

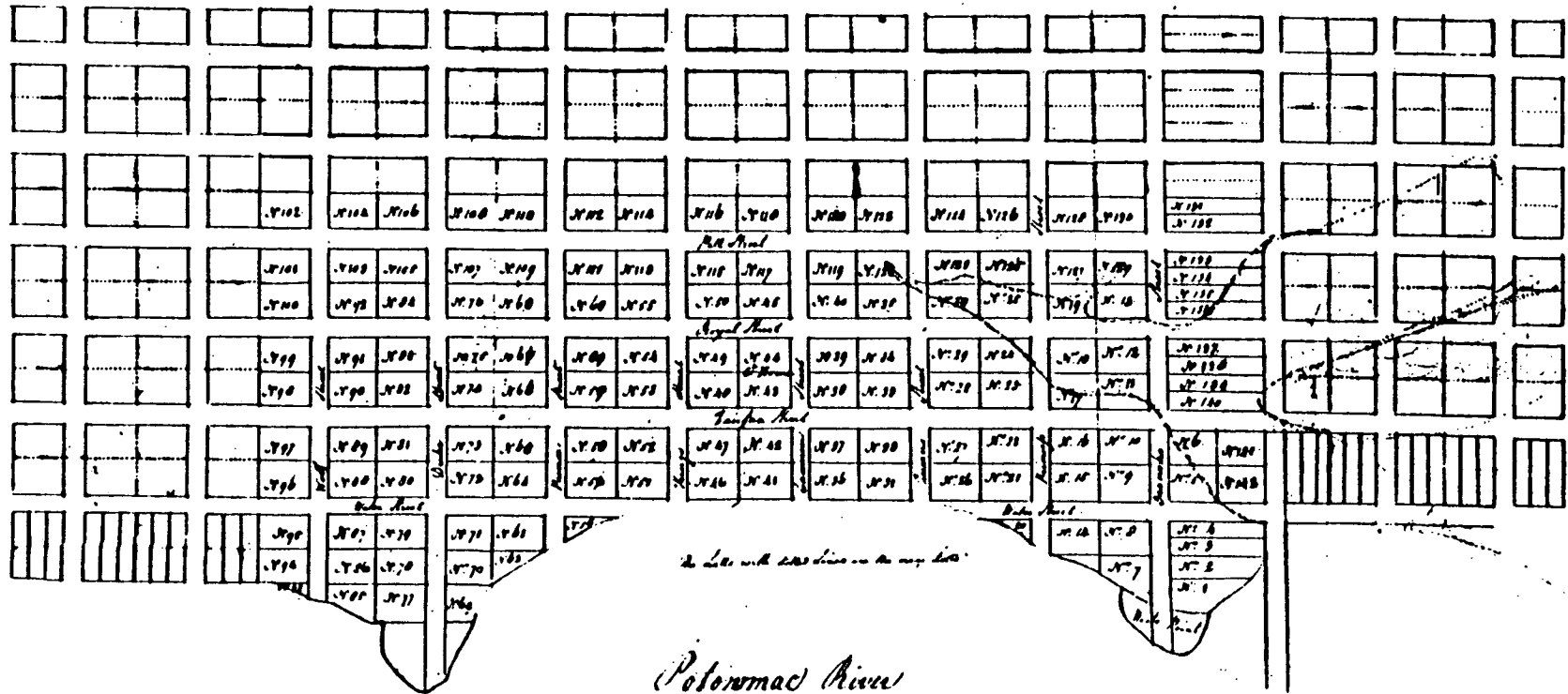
"The Brigantine HAWKE," read one such advertisement,

John Craig, Master, now lying at Alexandria, will take in Tobacco for Liverpool, at Twelve Pounds per Ton, with Liberty of Consignment. She is one Year old, and a prime Sailer. For Freight or Passage apply to the Master, or Carlyle & Dalton (Maryland Gazette, 4 September 1760).

Another such advertisement, indicative of the trading and sale of sailing vessels, read:

TO BE SOLD At ALEXANDRIA, on Monday the 21st of July, The Brigantine MOLLY, with her Appurtenances. She has only made one voyage, and is a prime Sailer, &c., &c. Our Inventory of Her Materials may at any time be seen before the Sale in the Hands of CARLYLE & DALTON (Maryland Gazette, 26 June 1760).

Alexandria



Alexandria.

George West
March 10, 1763.

West's map, made for the use of the city trustees in the sale of lots on May 9, 1763, delineates by dotted lines the new lots added to the city in November 1762. Although the map fails to indicate any waterfront facilities, it does outline more fully than the earlier Washington maps the great area covered by the marshes and waters of Orinoko Creek.

It is not surprising, then, that as the individual merchant firms such as Carlyle and Dalton promoted their activities, the Alexandria Board of Trustees (comprised of town merchants), promoted their town in the regional press. "This Town," boasted one such promotional advertisement,

is beautifully situated near the Falls of Potowmack, one of the finest Rivers in North-America; it affords good Navigation for the largest Ships in Europe up to the Town, where there is an excellent Harbour. The Country back is very extensive, and the Soil capable of producing Tobacco, Corn, Wheat, Flax, Hemp, &c in great Perfection. Its equal Convenience for transporting any Commodity to the Waters of the Ohio, is obvious to any One that will give himself the Trouble of examining the Draughts of the Country (Pennsylvania Gazette, 10 March 1763).

Waterfront development continued unabated. In August 1764 the trustees agreed to grant Thomas Fleming, the town's industrious shipwright, permission to construct a warehouse, at his own expense, "under the Bank of Point Lumly as near the Bank as convenient." The structure was to be 40 feet long by 20 feet wide, and Fleming was to have the right to the site for three lives (63 years). This "Indulgence," however, was granted with the stipulation that the shipwright "serve this Town to the utmost of his Power." To do so, he was directed to make an addition to the public wharf at West Point. The wharf work was to be completed and finished in a workmanlike manner, "Twenty six foot Wide from the Outer end to the length of the Wharf on Shore & to be supported by the said Fleming in good repair during the Space of Seven Years" (Trustees: 44, 45).

In 1765 the increasingly profitable Alexandria shipping trade was enhanced by the General Assembly enactment of a tobacco inspection law

which obliged all tobacco to be taken to public warehouses for inspection prior to shipment (Hening 8: 69, 78). Such help was welcomed, for rival commercial interests, such as at Dumfries and Colchester, though not nearly as well-endowed geographically, had continued to offer a challenge to Alexandria's dominance. Though such challenges would eventually fade as a result of siltation of waterway access to these towns and the inability of their merchants to adapt to changing trade patterns, Alexandria welcomed every assist offered. Yet the town's economic growth seemed unstoppable. In 1771 the population of Alexandria had grown to 1,086, less than a hundred more citizens than its 1755 population. The figure, however, belied the active commercial growth that was taking place, a growth which insured permanence and stability. It was also a growth that was capitalizing, unlike that of its rival neighbors of Dumfries and Colchester, upon the changing complexion of trade. Produce from the Virginia interior, principally from the Shenandoah Valley, such as wheat, oats, barley, and corn, was rapidly replacing tobacco as the major export from the upper Potomac region. The Alexandria merchants were quick to realize the transition underway and to profit from it. Thus it was not surprising that in 1771, when authority over the county wharf at West Point was transferred to the town trustees, the town readily assumed the responsibility. Though the wharf was in great disrepair, when the General Assembly directed that control over the facility be shifted to the trustees and that they direct its repair, the Alexandrians acted with promptness. The trustees advertised a contract to the lowest bidder for "erecting and carrying a breastwork fully in the same for the south side of the warehouse at Point West so as to include the old

Figure 2.

MERCHANTS AND FACTORS RESIDING IN ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA, IN 1775

Robert Adams & Company	Wheat purchaser
John Allison	Wheat purchaser
Brown & Finley	Tobacco and wheat purchasers Import goods for Philadelphia
Carlyle & Dalton	Sellers of rum and sugar
Robert Dove & Company	Distillers
Fitzgerald & Piers	Wheat purchasers
George Gilpin	Wheat purchaser Flour inspector
Harper & Hartshorn	Wheat purchaser
William Hayburne	Wheat purchaser
Henby & Caldee	Wheat purchaser
Hooe & Harrison	Wheat purchaser
James Kirke	Wheat purchaser
Thomas Kilpatrick	Wheat purchaser
John Locke	Tobacco purchaser Seller of British goods
McCawley & Mayes	Importer of British goods for sale wholesale
John Muire	Tobacco purchaser Seller of British goods
William Sadler	Wheat purchaser
Steward & Hubard	Wheat purchaser
Josiah Watson	Tobacco and wheat purchser Import goods for Philadelphia
William Wilson	Tobacco purchaser Seller of British goods

wharf." William Ramsay was given the job for £150 and was also appointed to collect wharfage fees (Powell 1928: 36; Miller, Brief History: 7). Inducement for a ready acceptance lay in the trustees' right to extract taxes from all such vessels as were not taking in tobacco from the county's warehouse. And since wharf facilities were still quite limited, it seems likely that usage of the old wharf had been, and would continue to be, for other purposes than the loading of tobacco, and would thereby provide an additional source of revenue to the town.

On the eve of the American Revolution Alexandria basked in an enviable mercantile situation. In 1772 the Virginia legislature made special provisions for the upkeep of roads leading to the town from William's and Vestal's Gap in the west, thereby ensuring continued access to the rich new staple of trade--wheat (Hening 8: 549-550). The complexion of the merchant community of the town itself was also changing. Of the 20 merchant firms operating in Alexandria on an international basis, only three now exported as factors for English or Scottish firms. Twelve purchased wheat for the West Indian trade, one sold sugar and rum, one was a distiller, and two imported goods for the Philadelphia market and purchased tobacco and wheat (William and Mary Quarterly, Series I, 9: 248). Indeed, wheat had become the very lifeblood of the town's export economy. "Great quantities of this article," wrote one visitor to Alexandria while seeking a wheat commission,

brought down from the back country in wagons to this place as good wheat as ever I saw in England and sell from 2/9 to 4/6 sterling per bushel. It is likewise sent to the eastern markets. Great quantities of flour are likewise brought from there but this is generally sent to the West Indies and sometimes to Lisbon and up the straights (Cresswell 1924: 47).

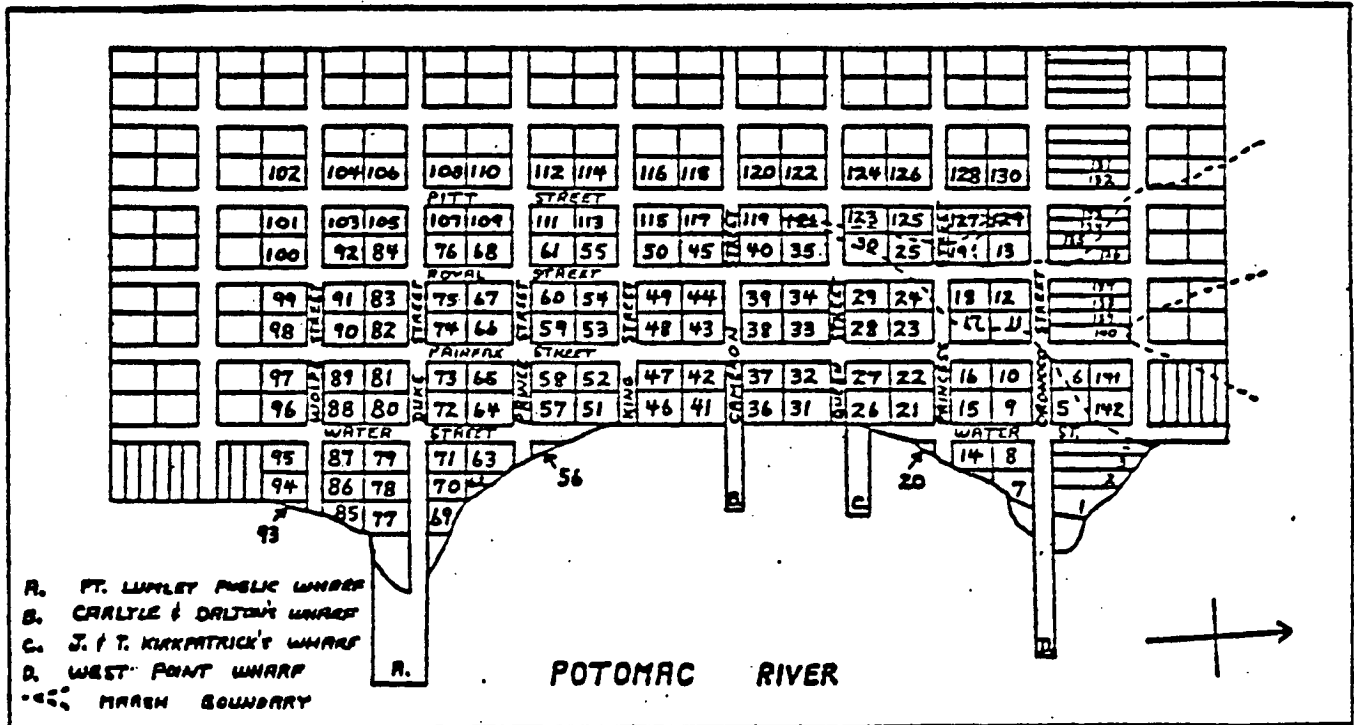
Alexandria was now becoming a serious commercial competitor of Norfolk and had totally eclipsed her closer neighbors, Dumfries and Colchester. She had, indeed, grown to dominate the maritime commerce of the Potomac, and was rapidly becoming one of the major ports of call in English America.

The physical growth of the Alexandria waterfront did not parallel the town's boom. Not until 1774 was the second major wharf constructed. Finally, the town fathers having already approved of the erection of a public wharf at Point Lumley, Richard Harrison and Company was awarded the construction contract. At least nine subcontractors, besides jobbers working on the wharf, were engaged as suppliers or supply carriers for the construction. The needs for the construction were considerable. Such materials as scantling, stone, logs, piles, lumber, nails, bolts, etc., had to be procured. Stone was brought down from Great Falls, and shingles were carried up from Norfolk aboard the galley (also noted as ship) Baltimore. Ironmongery came from the Snowden ironworks on the Patuxent River in Maryland, while tree logs were brought in from Port Tobacco (Harrison Ledger Book, LC).

When completed, the Lumley Point Public Wharf was a formidable addition to the town's waterfront facilities. It presented a river frontage of "55½ feet or thereabout where vessels of burthen may load alongside, and extends back 110 feet or thereabouts." Twenty-five feet of this property, extending from the river to the back line, was formally leased to Thomas Fleming on January 1, 1775, for a term of 63 years. For the first 21 years of the term Fleming was to pay an

Alexandria, Virginia: 1775.

Thomas M. Preisser
1977.



This conjectural drawing illustrates the positions of the four main wharves which had been erected at Alexandria by the outbreak of the American Revolution. Though Preisser has drawn his data from the Proceedings of Alexandria Trustees and Reps' Tidewater Towns, the actual scale of wharf production, judging from later developments, may have been somewhat inferior to the stated scale pictured here.

annual rent of six pence for each foot contained in front; for the next 21 years, he was to pay an annual rent of seven shillings per foot; and for the remainder of the term he was to pay an annual rent of 14 shillings per foot. The other part of the wharf was termed "a fee simple estate," and was to be leased for a term of years to any prospective renter (Alexandria Gazette, 11 July 1793).

The waterfront of Alexandria slowly began to broaden its commercial scope as the era of the Revolution crept ever nearer. By 1774 a sizable distillery complex had been erected below the bank on property acquired by Daniel Roberdeau. The main building was a structure of stone 71 feet by 39 feet. A second building, 50 feet by 50 feet, served as a store, with the two stories above the main floor serving as granaries, with a sail or rigging loft above the whole. A third building, a wooden-framed structure, not of stone like the first two, served as a warehouse for molasses stores and was capable of housing 140 hogsheads. There was also a framed cooper's shop 16 feet by 23 feet "with a suitable chimney." Adjacent to this building was a woodyard surrounded by a seven-foot-tall fence "into which the wood may be thrown from the water." The distillery was furnished with two new stills capable of holding 2,500 gallons, and 20 working cisterns (above the high-water mark of the river). A third still, with a capacity of 600 gallons, was deemed suitable for the production of "low wines." Each of the stills was provided with suitable worms and worm tubes. There was also a "suitable low wine cistern, and 5 very ample return cisterns outside of the house, and under cover." The works were supplied with "good cool water from an ample spring" by two pumps with brass chambers

six inches in diameter. The cisterns were outfitted with two more pumps with suction pipes of yellow poplar. All of the pumps were worked by a horse "and an adjoining millhouse of large diameter well constructed." The entire complex was situated on a 66-foot wharf on part of lots 93, 94, and 95, which, adjoining the public wharf, made an extent "of more than 200 feet in width, 156 feet of which run 300 feet into Potowmack" (Virginia Gazette, December 1, 1774).

Barely days after the firing of "the shot heard round the world," on Lexington Green, Massachusetts, the sale of the first products of the distillery were advertised.

Roberdeau & Jackson have for sale at the new Distillery--
ALEXANDRIA RUM which they engage to be equal in quality,
flavour, agreeableness of smell, to any made in this Country.
They propose to sell for CASH ONLY delivered to ship at the
distillery wharf (Virginia Gazette, April 21, 1775).

By the onset of the American Revolution, as forces were mustering in far-off New England to begin that epic conflict, Alexandria had become the third largest town in Virginia, with its now principal rival on the Potomac, the equally infant village of Georgetown, barely boasting 433 inhabitants, running a distant second (Flaherty: 27). Yet the town continued to produce for the visitor a most beguiling picture. "Alexandria lies," wrote Robert Honeyman in that fatal month of April 1775,

on a high and level bank. It is built in a stragling manner, with large spaces between the houses, though I believe the plan is very regular. Two or three brigs and a few small craft ly there. The seat of the town is extremely level . . . and the opposite side of the river makes a fine appearance, rising gently into the hills (Honeyman Diary, April 1775, LC).

A Map of the most Inhabited
Part of Virginia containing
the whole Province of
Maryland (Detail).

Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson
1755.

This chart, first published in 1755, revised and republished in 1775 by William Faden, Geographer to King George III, illustrates the superb position held by Alexandria on the eve of the American Revolution as the crossroads of the east-west road system of Virginia and Maryland. Two roads lead to Vestal's and William's Gap, providing access to the rich and fertile Shenandoah Valley. One road leads south to Fredericksburg and Richmond via Colchester and Dumfries. A third, via the Alexandria-Maryland ferry, leads to Londontown, Maryland, Annapolis, and points north such as Philadelphia and New York.

III

ALEXANDRIA BEING THE PRINCIPAL POST

With the institution of the Stamp Act in 1765 the soon-to-be-familiar clamors of "no taxation without representation" were given birth in the American colonies. In Virginia opposition to the act was nonviolent at first but forceful, as vessels cleared the colony ports carrying mere certificates noting that the stamps were not available, until finally the act was repealed. In 1767 Parliament's passage of the Townshend Acts led Virginians to boycott certain English goods through a Virginia Nonimportation Association. The Association was weakened by a failure to include a means of enforcement in its matrix, and as a consequence, by the spring of 1770 the boycott had collapsed at Alexandria as it soon would throughout the entire Potomac region, and indeed the rest of Virginia (Preisser 1977: 285-288). "I perceive," wrote one Alexandrian in May of that year, "all the Stores on this side [of the Potomac] have imported goods as usual, & hitherto no notice have been taken of them" (Piper Letter Book, 12 May 1770). The following June the Association was resurrected and a committee of inspection established in Fairfax County to enforce its objectives. By August 1771, however, the Association, sputtering along with considerable non-compliance, was finally repealed at Williamsburg (Preisser 1977: 289-290).

In the spring of 1774 news of the passage of the Boston Port Act reached Virginia and a commercial boycott was again established throughout the colony. In Fairfax County, a meeting was called and held at the court house in Alexandria on July 18. Presided over by George Washington,

the conferees drew up a set of resolutions which history would call the Fairfax Resolves. The resolutions which were adopted called for the selection of a congress of representatives from each colony to concoct a uniform plan for the "Defence and preservation of our Common rights," a boycott of all English goods beginning September 1, price stabilization by Virginia merchants to prevent unfair competition, an oath binding merchants to enforce the boycott, and a pro-tem prohibition of slave importation into the colony (Mason 1: 201-209). The influence of the Fairfax Resolves, which served as a model for the Virginia Association drafted two months later for the First Virginia Convention, were far-reaching, nourishing even the foundation of the Continental Association established by the First Continental Congress.

In Alexandria the mercantile community was largely supportive of the Association, influencing those whose loyalist sentiments may have been great to betray their political beliefs. Transgressions, it would appear from contemporary observers, resulted in the humiliation of tarrings and featherings or in the destruction or burning of property (Cresswell 1924: 43-44; Smyth 2: 205-07).

That the crisis had grown to dangerous proportions was a fact accentuated in 1775 by the drilling of local militiamen outside town limits by George Washington. As the escalating actions and reactions continued to feed the fires of revolution, Alexandria remained relatively calm. Finally, when the Royal Governor of Virginia, the Earl Lord Dunmore, was forced to flee from the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg to the sanctuary of H.M.S. Fowey, many Virginians openly rejoiced. But as

loyalists began to flock to his banner, some citizens began to fear an open attack upon their town. On January 1, 1776, Dunmore's naval forces and patriot Virginians engaged in battle at Norfolk and that town was burned to the ground in a terrible conflagration as a result. Fearing a similar attack, many Alexandria women and children, along with a great deal of valuable goods, were carried from the town and into the interior for safety (Writings of Washington, 4: 133-34, 446, n.82).

On January 27, 1776, only weeks after the destruction of Norfolk, the Virginia Committee of Safety, as concerned over the security of Alexandria and the communities along the navigable reaches of the Potomac as were the citizens of these areas, informed the Maryland Council of Safety of its desire to attend "to the operations which may be necessary for our mutual defence." A constant channel of communication, it was felt, must be kept open between the two neighbors. But defense was foremost in Virginian minds. "We think it proper," they wrote,

to inform you that we have resolved to build for the protection of Potomac River two row gallies one of them to carry one 24 pounder, and [the] other a twelve pounder & both swivels-- also three vessels carrying one of them four six pounders & some four pounders the other two vessels four pounders & swivels.

The Virginia Committee stated its needs to provide for the defense of three other rivers, and, noting that Maryland shared in the need for security on the Potomac, suggested that Maryland should participate in the project and invited that colony's assistance. The invitation was repeated by Virginia's naval agents for the Potomac, George Mason and John Dalton, four days later (NDAR 3: 1019-20, 1068).

Virginia's efforts to seduce Maryland into a compact for the defense of the Potomac met with only partial success. The Maryland

Council of Safety, pleading inexperience in naval matters, declined to approve or disapprove of Virginia's plan, but volunteered the Maryland ship Defense as a sop, informing the Virginia Committee that they would be pleased to send the ship into the Potomac from time to time (NDAR 3: 1179).

That Alexandria was vulnerable to naval attack, or that it might serve as an all-too-tempting target for Royalist forces became disturbingly clear in March 1776 when H.M.S. Otter merely passed the mouth of the Potomac while en route to Annapolis to bring off Governor Eden of Maryland. A great alarm spread up the river, even though the Otter never ventured in. As a consequence the Virginia Committee grew even more concerned over the river's defenses, and on March 9 the chairman of the committee, Edmund Pendleton, noted that the

great length of Potomack River from its mouth to Alexandria where men of war can go & the probability of some attempt being made by the enemy in that Quarter make it prudent in our opinion to erect beacons or signals for communicating intelligence of their approach up the river in a more speedy manner than can be done by land.

Colonels Hugh Mercer and William Peachey were appointed to examine the river and establish, with the aid of Maryland (which had agreed to cooperate and assist in the funding), a number of posts and modes of passing signals upriver rapidly (NDAR 4: 273, 414).

Even as the signal system was being established, John Dalton and George Mason, employed by the Virginia Committee to fit out the Potomac Flotilla, began the monumental task of providing a naval force for the defense of the river. Three sloops were purchased at Alexandria in March, the largest being the 110-ton American Congress, which mounted 14 carriage guns and was manned by 96 men. Her sister ships were much

smaller, between 40 and 50 tons. Mason, who had little knowledge of maritime affairs, admitted to being guided by the Alexandrian John Dalton in all matters concerning their assignment. Yet both men thrust themselves into their tasks with zeal. They busied themselves with such projects as raising a company of marines for the flotilla. These were soon placed under the command of Captain John Allison. They saw to the manufacturing of shot, which was cast at a nearby furnace. Though neither Dalton nor Mason could locate gunpowder, they did not hesitate to beg assistance from the Maryland Council, which readily agreed to the loan of ten pounds of that most rare commodity in the Tidewater (NDAR 4: 357-58, 634; 5: 56).

Undoubtedly guided by Dalton, the two agents also saw to the contracting for the construction of two row galleys, which were soon being built at Alexandria, presumably at Fleming's Point Lumly shipyard. On April 2 Dalton reported that the construction "goes on very well and [the two galleys] will Soon be built, though [I] am Apprehensive of being at a loss for heavy Cannon." Though shortages continually cropped up, Dalton, "a steady diligent Man," managed to cope with each situation as it arose (George Mason to George Washington, 2 April 1776, Washington Papers, LC; Red Book 13, MA). Dalton and Mason also secured a most competent commander for the Potomac Flotilla, almost stealing him away from the Maryland Navy. The commodore-to-be was Captain John Thomas Boucher, formerly second in command of the Maryland ship Defense. Boucher secured his appointment on March 27, 1776, with the blessings of the Maryland Council, which hoped that in his role as commander of the Potomac Flotilla he might still provide "Assistance to our Province" (Maryland Council of

Safety Letter Book, No. 1, Council to Boucher, 27 March 1776, MA).

In late May Captain Boucher, in command of American Congress, sailed from Alexandria, in concert with a tender, for the Yeocomico. On June 6 another vessel purchased for the Potomac Flotilla, the schooner Liberty, Captain Richard Taylor commanding, set sail for the Rappahannock. Liberty would ultimately prove herself by being the first vessel in the Virginia State Navy to capture an enemy ship (NDAR 5: 404, 554). Soon the entire flotilla had sailed. Now, aside from the militia and the unfinished galleys, Alexandria was lacking in any serious naval defense.

In July 1776 Alexandria's worst fears began to materialize. Lord Dunmore, in command of an armada of nearly 90 ships, which included a number of powerful men of war, entered the Potomac River and seized St. George's Island. The citizens of the town were terrified at the appearance downriver of such a large hostile force. On July 18 John West of the Fairfax Committee of Safety wrote that "it was presumed, his intention was to make this place an object worth his attention" (NDAR 5: 1137). Ultimately, Dunmore and a strong force of warships detached from the main fleet and pushed up the Potomac as far as Dumfries. Everyone seemed to conjecture that it was Dunmore's design "to destroy Alexandria, or the gondolas building there." Fortunately, it was not to be (Pennsylvania Gazette, 31 July 1776; NDAR 5: 1246).

The last Royal Governor of Virginia had ascended the Potomac not for military purposes but to obtain water for his thirsty loyalist supporters who had fled aboard his fleet. Having achieved this objective he would ascend no higher than Dumfries.

The inhabitants of Alexandria, however, had been entirely unnerved

by the close call. They petitioned the Virginia Council of Safety that because of their vulnerability to ships of war of up to 50 guns, they wished to be permitted to purchase, at the public expense, 16 iron cannons (ten 18-pounders and six 9-pounders) to be mounted on

two substantial Batteries which had been lately erected on advantageous situations in that Town, and which were now compleated with proper embrazures for Cannon directly under which the Channel of the river runs, so that no ships can pass as much more than a Quarter of a mile distant; And that they may be also allowed to purchase in the same manner two small Forges for casting the nine pound shott, with a sufficient Quantity of Ordnance Stores. . . . (McIlwaine, Journals of the Council of State of Virginia 1: 148-49).

Though the Council gave its blessing and approval to the request, it might well have wondered where the town hoped to secure the artillery for its defense, for such items were rare indeed. In fact, it was not until early August that the two row galleys outfitting in Alexandria for the Virginia State Navy were about to receive their own guns. These were produced from Daniel and Samuel Hughes at a cost of \$429.33 (McIlwaine, Journals of the Council of State of Virginia 1: 111-12).

Despite occasional invasion scares, Alexandria would remain far from the scenes of action being played out in other sections of the Tidewater. In fact, the very remoteness of the town made it a relatively secure place for the detention of captured soldiers--although not secure enough to prevent occasional escapes from the town jail (Purdie's Virginia Gazette, 30 May 1777). It was also found suitable for the establishment of a hospital in which patriot soldiers might be treated (Blanton 1931: 283). But above all, it was still a port town whose principal purpose was commerce, and whose livelihood relied on free access to the sea. Unhappily,

throughout much of the Revolution, the Chesapeake Bay and, on occasion, the Potomac River were blockaded by British or loyalist cruisers, and Alexandria's trade suffered correspondingly. There were, however, occasional alarms, though the war remained at arm's length.

Fearing invasion, Virginia constantly shifted its militia forces about. On November 2, 1780, Governor Thomas Jefferson directed that all militia units from the proprietary counties of the state be recalled to the east to converge on "Alexandria should the scene of invasion be shifted to that quarter" (The Papers of Thomas Jefferson 4: 91). Jefferson considered Alexandria one of the key shipping centers in the state. On November 30, 1780, he wrote to Benjamin Harrison informing him that he had in contemplation the placing of two to four guns at the principal ports within the state to protect the shipping lying in them. He was of the opinion that Alexandria, Portsmouth, Hampton, Yorktown, and Hobbs Hole should be considered. The town was considered equally important by the Virginia Quartermaster Department in the line of communication from Philadelphia to the Southern Army. It was thus directed that as the great line of communication "will be from Alexandria to some part of Staunton, or Dan rivers, there be one principal post at Alexandria, one at Fredericksburg, one at Carters ferry on James river, and one at some convenient place on Dan, or Staunton. . . ." (The Papers of Thomas Jefferson 4: 169, 285).

In April 1781 a fleet of Tory privateers ascended the Potomac River, raiding, burning, and plundering as they came. One of their targets was the Alexandria waterfront anchorage, where they hoped to

cut out several moored vessels. On Monday evening, April 1, a small schooner, a tender to the privateer Trimmer, with a complement of 21 men commanded by a Captain Dickson, arrived off the town and attempted to cut out of the town harbor a vessel belonging to the port of Baltimore. The loyalists boarded the vessel and confined her crew, but were unable to carry out their escape with success. They were immediately spotted by another vessel in the harbor, and the alarm was sounded. At that moment, the wind shifted, and the loyalists jumped into a boat alongside their erstwhile victim and tried to flee. Two armed schooners set off in pursuit and, owing to a favorable northwest wind, overtook the tender before she could reach the Trimmer and another sloop-of-war lying at Cedar Point. The privateersmen, seeing that escape by water was impossible, took to their boats and made for the shore at Boyd's Hole. Sixteen were captured by the inhabitants and the remainder taken aboard the tender. Eight were sent as prisoners to Fredericksburg and then to Winchester, and the remainder, including Captain Dickson, were brought back to Alexandria and confined to the town jail (The Papers of Thomas Jefferson 5: 336, 393).

The vulnerability of Alexandria had again been pointed up by the temerity of the loyalist raiders. Three days later one citizen wrote to Governor Jefferson informing him that "the defenceless situation of the Town of Alexandria induced me, at the particular request of the Inhabitants of the said Town and County" to apply to the Governor of Maryland for the loan of ammunition and cannon. Maryland promptly responded with several barrels of powder and two nine-pounders. There were already the two 12-pounders belonging to the State of Virginia there, and when

properly deployed, it was hoped, "we shou'd be able to prevent any of the small Vessels doing Damage at Alexandria" (The Papers of Thomas Jefferson 5: 335). Apparently, the two batteries erected in 1776 had been abandoned or were deemed unsuitable for service.

Virginia's intentions to protect the town had been well meant. In November 1779 Jefferson proposed to the Board of War that two cannons be mounted for the town's defenses, and the cannons had been mounted (The Papers of Thomas Jefferson 3: 194), but it was not enough. Now, motivated by the second close call of the war, the government reassessed the situation. On April 12, 1781, James Hendricks, evaluating the prospects, noted to Governor Jefferson that there was not one place on the entire Potomac suitable to prevent the passage of enemy vessels, "and Alexandria being the principal post, we fixed on that as the proper place to have a defensive Work." Hendricks, then Mayor of the town, proposed a new battery of two guns to drive off hostile vessels, and that a redoubt and block house sufficient to house from 50 to 80 men be built. These men could readily be employed to defend the battery, or the town itself if necessary. "The construction of these," he said,

will require About 10 Artificers (Blacksmiths, Carpenters and bricklayers) and require 40 Labourers three Months. We should rely on the Town to man the Works in Case of Alarm, the State only stationing there a sufficient Guard of regulars to keep Centinels on Constant Duty. I shall get the favour of Colo. Senf a skilful Engineer to go to Alexandria, examine the Ground, and form a Plan of what can be done in this small Way to furnish Protection for the vessels of Patowmac, which shall be obliged to run there for refuge.

The laborers were to be paid by the state, and it was hoped that the construction time would be minimal (The Papers of Thomas Jefferson 5: 419-20).

Even as Hendricks wrote, however, the city was again imperiled. On April 11 a small fleet appeared off the town--three ships, two brigs, and a pair of schooners. Two of the ships were of 18 guns apiece, and one of the ships was believed to be a frigate. The lieutenant of the local militia, expecting a sufficient number of militiamen to arrive before the shipping could come to off the town, had the colors hoisted above "the Fort," probably the remains of one of the earlier works erected in 1776, or possibly a hastily-constructed defense work. But "finding the Militia did not come in so fast as he had reason to expect, by the persuasion of the inhabitants the colours were taken down." Soon afterwards two of the ships, a brig and a schooner, flying French colors, came to anchor under the "Fort." One of the vessels coming up ran ashore on the Maryland shore, an accident which obliged those vessels which had anchored off the town to get under way again to go to her assistance. One of the town's defenders, Colonel John Fitzgerald, attempted to move one of the 12-pounders from the fort to a point opposite the stranded brig, but apparently was unsuccessful. Within a short time, fortunately, Alexandria had swollen full with militiamen (The Papers of Thomas Jefferson 5: 423). The expected attack never materialized as the enemy now focused his attentions first on freeing the stranded ship, and then on foraging along the Maryland shores.

As a consequence of the continuing peril of enemy naval attack, the Common Council of Alexandria rushed ahead with defense construction. On May 7 Hendricks informed Governor Jefferson that a considerable part of the work necessary for the completion of the battery had been executed, and one nine-pounder and two 12-pounders had been mounted on travelling

carriages at private expense (though the donors expected reimbursement from the government). A platform was still to be constructed of planks for one of the nine-pounders, but the project could not be completed for want of cash. Taking no chances, the local militia were sent down below the town to watch for the approach of any enemy. A constant guard was also maintained in the town to prevent sabotage (The Papers of Thomas Jefferson 5: 612-13).

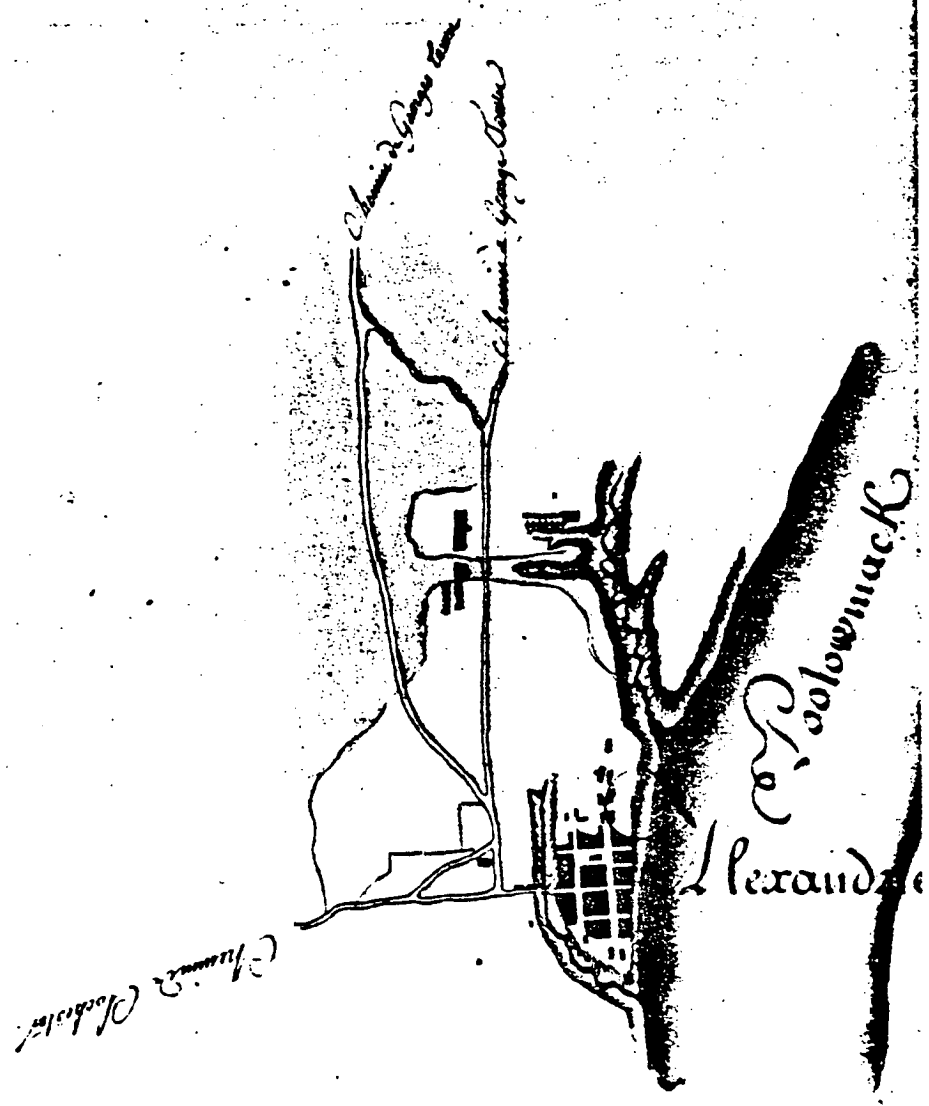
As Alexandria toiled to prepare a suitable defense, a distinguished French visitor, the Marquis de Lafayette, with a rag-tag army destined for the James River, arrived in town. The army was being dispatched to counter British forces under Generals Phillips and Arnold, but found its march difficult in the extreme. Lafayette had dispatched his aide-de-camp from Baltimore, ahead of the army, to Alexandria to secure wagons from the civil authorities. Upon his arrival, however, he found "that Not One Single Waggon Could be obtained." The town offered little in the way of assistance, probably owing to its own concerns for the construction of the defense works. "Under these Circumstances," Lafayette informed Governor Jefferson on April 21, "I thought it was Better to Use Military impress" (The Papers of Thomas Jefferson 5: 522-23).

Happily, Lafayette was to prove but a vanguard of a far greater force destined for combat with the British. In the late summer and early fall the combined armies of Washington and Rochambeau would descend to the Virginia Tidewater, via Alexandria, to lay seige to the forces of the Earl Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. The American victory brought about by the encounter on the York River all but assured American independence,

Camp a Alexandrie le 17 Juillet
19 Milles de Clochester.

This map, from the Rochambeau Map Collection in the Library of Congress, was first published in 1782 in Amerique Campagne 1782: Plans des Differentes camps occupes par L'Armee aux Ordres de Mr. le Comte de Rochambeau. Although the map does not provide a comprehensive layout of the City of Alexandria, it graphically depicts the town as being situated on a height above the waters all along its Potomac and Hunting Creek frontage. It does not show the twin bays on the site's Potomac shore, but provides an even shoreline. Filling in of the waterfront did not actually begin until several years after the publication of this map.

15. ³² Carte de Alexandrie le 17 Juillet 15. e Millas de Chocheur



though the war would continue until 1783.

Many of the allies of the patriot cause would pass through Alexandria, recording their impressions in diaries and journals during the period 1780-82. Baron Ludwig Von Closen wrote, on July 19, 1782:

Some miles down the river [Potomac] the city of Alexandria, built like an ampitheater on the right bank, presented a very beautiful sight (Von Closen 1958: 213).

The Marquis de Chastellux was perhaps a little more descriptive, noting that

at Alexandria, about fifty miles lower down, the Potomac rolls its majestic stream with sublimity and grandeur, sixty-gun ships may lie before the town, which stands upon its lofty banks, commanding, to a great extent, the flatter shore of Maryland. This town, which stands above 200 miles from the sea, is rapidly on the increase, and from the lavish prodigality of nature, cannot fail of becoming one of the first cities of the new world (Chastellux 2: 583).

As the war began to wind down in other regions of America, the Chesapeake Bay continued to suffer, not from the incursions of regular troops of the enemy or ships of the Royal Navy, but from loyalist picaroons, or sea-raiders, from the Eastern Shore. These Tory guerrillas waged war in small open boats and barges, principally against small commerce vessels. On occasion, however, they were known to attack even larger armed ships. By mid-1782 Alexandria was again finding that her open window to the sea, the Potomac River, was as menacing as ever for her ships to traverse. One such unfortunate vessel was the Alexandria privateer Ranger, commanded by Captain Thomas Simmons. In early July Ranger sailed from Alexandria for Boston. At 1:00 a.m. July 5, while lying at anchor off St. George's Island in the lower Potomac, she was

surprised by two loyalist barges commanded by a deserter from the Royal Navy named John Anderson and a certain Barret (or Barry). The "refugee" barges were crewed by 30 men each and outnumbered Ranger's crew by three to one. Shielded by the dark of night the loyalists came alongside and attempted to board by surprise. Ranger's crew offered a stout resistance in a battle lasting three hours. When dawn arrived the bargemen had disappeared, having suffered, according to one report, 27 men killed. Another account claimed 15 killed and 34 wounded. A third report claimed seven dead. Captain Simmons, having been severely wounded and his ship injured, returned to Alexandria (Beitzell 1976: 22; Footner 1944: 56; Calendar of Maryland State Papers No. 4, Part 3, 162, no. 1034).

Though such attacks were becoming fewer and fewer, they nevertheless continued to plague the Chesapeake, its rivers, and towns like Alexandria which were situated upon them. Finally, on March 29, 1783, joyful news reached the Tidewater. The war was over.

IV

LUXURY ABOUNDS

The conclusion of the War for American Independence left much of the Virginia Tidewater in a state of disrepair. Yet unlike other major Virginia ports such as Norfolk, Portsmouth, Yorktown, and Richmond, the town of Alexandria had survived, having been virtually untouched by the fires of combat. Her community of merchants, their warehouses, the shipyard, and the town's harbor facilities were ready and able to thrust Alexandria into a postwar era of prosperity entirely out of proportion to its size and population. Growth would follow, and indeed the precursor to physical expansion was the enlargement of the merchant community itself. Between March 1784 and March 1785 a total of 43 Alexandria-based merchants advertised their wares in the pages of the town's infant newspaper, the Virginia Journal and Alexandria Gazette. Ships, brigs, snows, sloops, and schooners were soon entered and cleared at a tempo which ridiculed that of the pre-war era. During the period March 1784 to March 1785 a total of 131 vessels was entered and 163 vessels cleared the Port of Alexandria. It is not surprising so soon after the war that the bulk of trade was American. Nearly half of the entries, 47.38 percent, had sailed from American ports. The greater portion of those vessels which cleared were also destined for American ports (74.23 percent). Of these the largest portion (24.54 percent) were bound for neighboring Maryland. The second largest departure objectives were for Massachusetts' ports (15.95 percent). Alexandria, however, did not ignore its pre-war West Indian and island trade, and a total of 13.74 percent of entries was from the Caribbean, Bermuda, Madeira, and South America. This trade

Figure 3.

ALEXANDRIA MERCHANTS ADVERTISING COMMODITIES FOR SALE IN THE VIRGINIA JOURNAL
AND ALEXANDRIA ADVERTISER BETWEEN MARCH 18, 1784 AND MARCH 3, 1785

James Adams	James and Dummer
Robert Allison	Joseph Janney & Company
S.M. Brown	Leetouwer, Huyman and Huberts
Samuel Butler	James Lownes
B. Dade	William Lowry
Doctor E. C. Dick	Robert Lyle
Dow, MacIver and Company	M. Madden
Dunbar and Primm	McCrea and Mease
John Dunbar and Company	Samuel McKean
William Dunscomb	Daniel and Isaac McPherson
John Fitzgerald	William Mooklar and Company
Joseph Greenway	John Murray and Company
Harper & Fenner	Joseph Marie Perrin
Samuel & Thomas Harrison	Potter and Ingraham
William Hartshorne and Company	Dennis Ramsay
James Hendricks and Company	John Sutton and Company
William Hepburn	Jesse Taylor
Herbert and Potts	Jonah Thompson
Hooe and Harrison	Z. Vowles and Company
William Hunter, Jr.	William, Cary and Williams
Hunter, Allison and Company	William Wilson
David Jackson	

was constant, and the number of clearances for these areas, 13.50 percent, almost equalled the entries. It is also not surprising that Alexandria merchants were quick to reopen ties with British and Irish trading houses, and by the spring of 1785 trade with the British and Irish accounted for 15.27 percent of all entries at Alexandria and 7.98 percent of all clearances. By contrast, trade with America's wartime allies, France and Spain, accounted for a sum total of only 6.11 percent of entries and a paltry 1.27 percent of all clearances. Yet such opportunities for outlets in French and Spanish ports were not ignored and soon took on a growing import. Holland was also to enjoy considerable influence and a sizable proportion of Alexandria's trade (6.87 percent of entries), as would such ports as Gottenburg, Lisbon, Genoa, Hamburg, and Leghorn.

As a result of an ever-enlarging trade network, the merchants of Alexandria were soon offering a far wider assortment of goods for sale than in pre-war days. Ironically, nearly half of those items imported were from British ports, again reflecting Alexandrian merchants' willingness to resume old ties. During the same 1784-85 period noted earlier, a total of 367 major item categories was advertised for sale by town merchants. More than half of these categories, 210, were imported from London, 39 from Whitehaven, 37 from Liverpool, 19 from Manchester, and five from Glasgow. By contrast, 65 category items were imported from Holland (principally from Amsterdam), eight from Portugal, six from France, and three from Bermuda. The types of imported items ranged from the mundane to the exotic--from aprons and awls to china and artificial flowers. There were precious silks from the Orient (via London and Amsterdam), savory Catalonian wines, and astronomical telescopes.

Figure 4.

VESSELS ENTERED AT AND CLEARED FROM THE PORT OF ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA FROM
MARCH 18, 1784 TO MARCH 3, 1785 BY VESSEL TYPE AND PORT OF ORIGIN OR DESTINATION

	Entered							Cleared							
	Ships	Brigs	Schooners	Sloops	Snows	Poleacres	Total	Ships	Brigs	Schooners	Sloops	Snows	Poleacres	Unknowns	Total
EUROPE															
FRANCE															
Bordeaux	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Havre de Grace	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lorient	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
GERMANY															
Hamburgh	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND															
Belfast	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cork	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Cowes	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Glasgow	2	1	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Ireland*	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Liverpool	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
London	5	2	-	-	2	-	9	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	5
Whitehaven	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	2
HOLLAND															
Amsterdam	5	3	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Holland*	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ITALY															
Genoa	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Leghorn	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PORTUGAL															
Lisbon	2	5	-	-	-	-	7	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
SPAIN															
Cadiz	1	2	-	-	1	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
SWEDEN															
Gottenburg	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub-Total	20	23	0	1	5	0	49	9	5	0	0	1	0	1	16

	Entered							Cleared							
	Ships	Brigs	Schooners	Sloops	Snows	Poleacres	Total	Ships	Brigs	Schooners	Sloops	Snows	Poleacres	Unknown	Total
NORTH AMERICA															
CANADA															
Halifax	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
New Brunswick	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nova Scotia	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
UNITED STATES															
Connecticut															
New Haven	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
New London	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Eastern Shore (Md. & Va.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	4	-	-	-	9
Maryland															
Annapolis	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3
Baltimore	1	-	3	2	-	-	6	5	3	10	4	-	-	-	22
Maryland*	-	-	5	2	-	-	7	-	-	7	5	-	-	-	12
Oxford	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Patuxent	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Massachusetts															
Beverly	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Boston	-	2	1	4	-	-	7	6	4	2	5	-	1	-	18
Cape Ann	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Newbury	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Plymouth	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Salem	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	3
Gloucester	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	5
New YORK															
New York	-	2	-	4	-	-	6	5	4	-	1	-	-	-	10
Pennsylvania															
Philadelphia	-	1	7	7	-	-	15	3	1	10	10	1	-	-	25
New York & Philadelphia**	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rhode Island															
Newport	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Providence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	3
Rhode Island*	-	1	-	3	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South Carolina															
Charleston	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Virginia															
Accomac	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Back Creek	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Norfolk	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
James River	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Rappahannock	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub-Total	1	10	26	26	-	-	63	22	18	45	35	2	1	-	123

	Entered							Cleared							
	Ships	Brigs	Schooners	Sloops	Snows	Poleacres	Total	Ships	Brigs	Schooners	Sloops	Snows	Poleacres	Unknown	Total
WEST INDIES															
ANTIGUA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	3
BARBADOES	-	3	2	2	-	-	7	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
GRENADA	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
GUADALOUPE	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HISPANIOLA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hispaniola*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3
Port Au Prince	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MARTINIQUE	-	1	3	-	-	-	4	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	4
NEW PROVIDENCE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
ST. MARTINS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
ST. VINCENTS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOBAGO	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Sub-Total	-	6	6	2	-	-	14	-	9	7	2	-	-	-	18
OTHER															
BERMUDA	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
MADEIRA	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SURINAM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
Demarara	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Surinam*	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub-Total	-	1	-	3	-	-	4	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	4
DESIGNATION OF QUESTION***															
GEROGETOWN	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
TOTAL	21	40	33	32	5	0	131		31	34	54	39	3	1	163

* Specific port of origin or naval district not designated.

** Both ports listed simultaneously for the same vessel.

*** No designation of the state or nation of origin for Georgetown is given. It is possible that the vessels may have entered from and cleared for either Georgetown, Maryland, or Georgetown, South Carolina.

And there were the items of everyday life such as sugar, carpenter's tools, shoes, and clothing. Alexandria had, in every respect, truly emerged from the Revolutionary era as a town on the rise.

In 1788 the Marquis de Warville expressed the consensus concerning Alexandria's bright future.

The inhabitants now plan to surpass Baltimore. Luxury abounds, and we see slaves clothed in livery, and their masters in silk and velvets. Notwithstanding the heavy war taxes, with the fine harbor and rich back country, they expect to make their town the center of commerce (Powell 1928: 272).

If Alexandria's commerce depended upon its fine harbor and the rich hinterland of Virginia, its successful exploitation of its commerce depended in large measure upon its communication systems. Every effort was thus made to insure that open lines of communication, and hence business and trade, were established and maintained to all points--north, south, east, and west. In April 1784 a post rider began weekly runs to Winchester via Leesburg. The following month, another post express operation was opened (via the Alexandria ferry) to points in Southern Maryland (Alexandria Gazette, 15 April 1784; 13 May 1784). In June a regular stage line was established between Alexandria and New York, via Baltimore and Philadelphia. A second line was opened to the south with a terminal point at Richmond (Alexandria Gazette, 3 June 1784). In October 1785, as a consequence of growing complaints that the public roads from Alexandria to northwest Virginia were often impassable, the state government appointed commissioners to establish tollgates on roads leading from Vestal's and Snigger's Gaps. The tolls collected were to defray expenses incurred in cleaning and keeping the roads in repair (Hening 12: 75-76). Yet of

equal, if not more, importance, was the opening of the first regularly scheduled packet operation to another major port, Baltimore, Maryland. It was to be but the first of many intercoastal packet operations based at Alexandria.

"Baltimore Packet," read the announcement in the pages of the town newspaper on June 17, 1784,

THE Schooner JOLLY TAR, John Humphries, Master, will ply a Packet from Baltimore to Alexandria once a Fortnight.— She is very commodiously and comfortably furnished for Passengers, who may depend on good Treatment, sails remarkably well, and is completely rigged.—Any Gentleman wanting a Passage or Freight to Baltimore, or any Part of Potomack, may depend on the Captain's Care and Punctuality.— She will sail from Alexandria every 10th and 20th of each Month.

Two years later, on August 29, 1786, the opening of a packet line to Norfolk was announced. By 1795 Alexandria was serving as the terminus for regular packet operations to such far-off coastal ports as Charleston, South Carolina, and to such nearby towns as Georgetown (Alexandria Gazette, 29 June 1786; 9 July 1795; 26 May 1796).

The town's maritime potential also began to expand in terms of ship production. Though native materials, most notably timber, were in temporary short supply, Alexandria's shipbuilding capabilities, and the demands for those capabilities, were on the increase. Shortly after the close of the Revolution, a shipyard was established by one John Hunter at the foot of what would soon be Wilkes Street, adjacent to property owned by Daniel Roberdeau. This yard was destined to remain in service and to become one of the principal shipbuilding centers on the Potomac for more than a century. As a consequence, a large community of associated trades and crafts sprang up along the waterfront adjacent to the Hunter

yard. Such enterprises as blockmaking, flour and biscuit wholesaling, and rope manufacturing were soon in operation (Tilp 1978: 82). Equally significant was the fact that Alexandria's bustling maritime character began to attract craftsmen from other towns less fortunately situated on the river. Typical of these was Adam Bence, a sailmaker, formerly ensconced at Bladensburg, who advertised in June 1786 the opening of a new sail loft on Colonel Gilpin's Wharf, between Duke and Prince Street. Here, he stated proudly, orders would be filled with the greatest dispatch. Bence also offered for sale such items as sewing twine, paints, needles, palms, and glasses (Alexandria Gazette, 8 June 1786).

For the first time the bounty of the Potomac River itself, that vast repository of shad, herring, sturgeon, oysters, and other marine life, began to attract commercial attention. Though long recognized as a storehouse for marketable fish and shellfish, the river had been ignored by virtually all but those obliged to subsist on its bounty. With the exception of a few such small-scale entrepreneurs as George Washington, the river had remained largely untapped as a food source. That the river had remarkable commercial potential was only first recognized during the years of the American Revolution. One speculator, John F. Mercer, wrote of some of the attractions and difficulties involved during these early years of commercial fish distribution on the Potomac:

To cure the fish properly requires two days in the brine before packing and they can only lie packed with safety in dry weather. These circumstances joined with the heading and drawing almost all the fish (a very tedious operation) will show that no time was lost--only 9 days elapsed from his arrival here to his completing his load of 15,000 herrings, a time beyond which many wagons have waited on these shores for 4,000 uncured fish and many have been obliged to return without one, after coming 40

and 50 miles and offering 2 and 5 dollars a thousand. Several indeed from my own shore and six who want 36,000 herring will, I believe, quit this night without a fish, after waiting all this storm on the shore at Marlborough Point five days (Tilp 1978: 15).

Mercer wrote of this bounty and the difficulties of distribution on April 19, 1779, from the shores of Potomac Creek, well below Alexandria. Such travails, however, were typical and would not be alleviated until a central curing and distribution point was established. Alexandria, of course, was a most likely selection for that point. That the town would ultimately benefit from the Potomac's rich bounty in much the same way as it had as middleman for the rich flour production of the Virginia hinterland was inevitable. In view of its preeminent position on the river, it is somewhat surprising that such commercial activities in the town were so long in coming. In early March 1784 the firm of Alexander Chisholm and Company advertised that their catch would be sold at Alexandria. Chisholm's objective was to service a wide region of the Virginia market from outlets established in the town. It was to become one of the first commercial fishery establishments to be centered in Alexandria and the precursor of a permanent fish market. Chisholm hoped to service an ambitiously broad region. "To the Inhabitants of Fairfax, Loudon, Shenandoah, Fauquier, Berkley, and Frederick Counties," read the company advertisements,

THE Subscribers intend to keep several Boats running from the different Landings on the River, in order to supply the abovementioned Counties, in the most punctual Manner with FISH, either SHAD or HERRINGS, during the Season, at the current Prices of Alexandria, which they will deliver at the Wharves of Mr. Thomas Kirkpatrick, Capt. John Harper, or Mr. Thomas Fleming. They will take in Payment, Wheat, Flour, Butter, Bacon, or Tobacco, at the current Prices of the Town

(Alexandria Gazette, 11 March 1784).

At the outset of the American Revolution Alexandria had already begun to develop an awareness of her blossoming domination, as an urban commercial center, of the Potomac River, even as lesser rivals teetered on the brink of decline. Yet there were a number of obstacles which emerged in the path of the town's growth. Prior to 1779 ships calling in the South Potomac Customs District were obliged to anchor at Lower Machodoc Creek, 60 miles below Alexandria, to register their cargoes. The anchorage there was particularly dangerous during the spring, fall, and winter when winds blew violently out of the north. During the years of the Revolution, of course, there was the continual danger of attack by British or loyalist raiders. The mercantile communities on the upper Potomac chafed under the awkwardness of the situation. As Alexandria, Dumfries, and Colchester "own almost all the Vessells on this River, and there is scarcely a foreign Vessel but what comes addressed to some Merchant on one part of these towns," it was obvious to all merchants and "Adventurers to Sea" that a separate naval office should be established in the most important and convenient place on the upper river. On October 19, 1779, Alexandria, Dumfries, and Colchester petitioned the Virginia General Assembly to "pass an Act for a separate Office to be erected and established in the Town of Alexandria, and the Officer to be appointed, to be obliged to reside in the said Town and the Office not executed by a Deputy" (William and Mary Quarterly, Series II, 2: 292-93).

As a consequence of this petition, Alexandria became an official

Virginia port of entry and one Charles Lee became its first naval officer. Actually, Lee had already been the officer, in absentia, for the South Potomac District since January 17, 1777, and despite the requirement that he personally attend to the office, his command was apparently relegated to an assistant on various occasions (Cox 1971: 26; Miller, Charles Lee: 34).

When Lee finally began his duty and established a permanent residence in Alexandria, he found his duties to be considerable. Among other tasks, vessels had to be inspected to see if they were properly registered; all embargoes had to be heeded; all ballast properly disposed of; and import and export duties had to be properly displayed, not only in English, but in Dutch and French as well (Hening 9: 184-91).

To improve the port's capabilities of detecting vessels violating port regulations, smugglers and the like, the inhabitants of Alexandria suggested that a Searcher be appointed. They recommended one James M. McRae to the position. Upon his confirmation, McRae proceeded to hound port violators, but frequently tempered his pursuits with pragmatism and, occasionally, mercy. In August 1786, for instance, he seized a vessel from North Carolina for violation of port regulations. Upon examination of the master he advised that the violator be released "on the ground of ignorance and poverty of the master and owner" (CVSP 4: 115, 165).

Despite Virginia's efforts to put its own house in order regarding the Potomac and Alexandria's commercial development, there were considerable problems to be faced with neighboring Maryland over such matters as

mutual boundaries, tolls, riparian rights, and fishing rights. The inadequate wartime agreements between the two states, which had been approved in 1778, concerning the river were no longer viable--especially with commercial development of the Potomac fisheries now becoming a reality. Taking the lead, on June 28, 1784, James Madison, a Virginia politician on the rise, moved in the Virginia Assembly that four commissioners be appointed to meet with representatives from Maryland to discuss and produce "concerted regulations between this State and the State of Maryland, touching the jurisdiction and navigation of the river Potomac" (Gutheim 1968: 120).

The Virginia commissioners designated were George Mason, Attorney General Edmund Randolph, James Madison, and Alexander Henderson of Fairfax County. Sent to meet the Virginians were Thomas Stone, Samuel Chase, Thomas Johnson, and State Treasurer Daniel St. Thomas Jenifer. On March 20, 1785, amid a raging snowstorm, the delegates arrived at Alexandria. The meeting was convened in the town hall, but was adjourned four days later. Little success was achieved until the commissioners were invited by George Washington to reconvene at Mount Vernon. After four more days of negotiations, an agreement was reached.

Maryland extracted the first concession--the abandonment of tolls on Maryland vessels passing through the Virginia Capes--and in response proved willing and ready to concede on other points to Virginia. Such matters as lighthouses, buoys, and other aids to navigation, river tolls, and piracies were discussed and agreed upon. Both states agreed to adopt a uniform valuation of foreign currency and interest rates on domestic bills of exchange. A common naval protection agreement was

established, as were uniform schedules of tariffs.

Marylanders were used to the right to fish commercially from both sides of the river and were not willing to part with that right. Since the established legal boundary between the two states, reaffirmed during the 1778 convention between the two states, lay at the high-water mark on the Virginia shore, Maryland's right to the entire river was obvious. Virginia did not ardently dispute that right as she sought concessions on other issues and Maryland's support in larger arenas of concern. Thus, she willingly conceded Potomac fishing rights to her neighbor.

The success of the Alexandria and Mount Vernon meetings was to have far-reaching consequences that extended well beyond the confines of the Potomac. Ultimately the unanimity and spirit of compromise exhibited in the establishment of the Potomac River Compact, and its ratification by both state legislatures in the fall of 1785, would influence other states of the Confederation that labored similarly under the Articles of Confederation. As a direct consequence, in 1787 a constitutional convention was held, and the Constitution of the United States was adopted (Gutheim 1968: 120-23).

In 1789 the new Constitution became effective. Among its stipulations was the prohibition of states from collecting duties on imports or the right to tax exports. When Congress passed the Tariff Law on July 4, 1789, the consequent result was the dismemberment of state naval collection districts. Soon after the passage of the Tariff Act Governor Randolph of Virginia was informed by President Washington of its enactment. Randolph immediately issued a proclamation directing naval officers, collectors of duties, and searchers to cease operations as of August 1.

This, of course, included those offices in Alexandria. However, with the establishment of the United States Treasury Department Customs Office for the Port of Alexandria, the change was only one of bosses. Charles Lee, whose family ties and political influence greased the way to many openings, moved into the new federal post of Collector of Customs almost immediately. By the end of the same month that his state position was abolished, he had become Collector of Customs, and was now answerable to Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury. He would remain in that post until 1793, and was to be succeeded by Colonel John Fitzgerald, a notable citizen of Alexandria (Miller, Charles Lee: 35-36).

That Alexandria's golden era was at hand was clearly marked not only by her commercial rise, but by the growth of her population and the physical extension of the town itself. The virtues of the place were recorded by numerous visitors. Johann David Schoepf, calling at the town in 1783 and 1784, wrote:

Alexandria, formerly called Belhaven, was settled later than Georgetown but grew incomparably faster. Like Georgetown it stands on the high and almost perpendicular banks of the Potowmack, which for the great convenience of shipping not only ebbs and flows at this place but also somewhat about Georgetown . . . the situation of the town is as said, not only very high towards the river, but rather elevated above the surrounding country, open and agreeable and better placed for defence, should the necessity arise, than many other Virginia towns. The streets are straight and there are some two hundred not unpleasing houses; the number of the inhabitants may be about two thousand. This was next to Norfolk, even before the war, one of the wealthiest and most respectable towns in Virginia; its trade was flourishing and apparently is reviving again. Ships of all sizes are vigorously building there, and the carpenters are so greatly employed that they are not to be hired for less than two Spanish dollars a day. Many new buildings, wharves, and warehouses have gone up within a

brief space, and new settlers are every day coming in, drawn by the activity of trade in which item Alexandria will perhaps in future, as hitherto, have the advantage of all other places on the Potomack (Schoepf 2: 359-60).

As the town prospered, pressure for waterfront development increased commensurately--and with some justification. Though the shallow cove lying between West Point and Lumley Point along the main frontage of the town, which had been noted by Washington in 1748 as "The Shoals or Flats," may have provided only minor obstruction to maritime access in the town's early years, its limitations upon trade in the years following the Revolution were becoming obvious. Hitherto, offloading and onloading of ships' cargoes was facilitated by the use of scows and flats as lighters to carry them across the shoals. Direct deep-water access to shipping was possible only at such places as the West Point Wharf or at those few new wharves, such as the Carlyle-Dalton Wharf. The shoals, noted as seven feet deep at high water in 1748 and barely four to five deep a year later by George Washington, were now a hindrance to increasing trade. In the past, the utilization of scows and flats as lighters throughout the Tidewater had been a common practice, but now, with the rise of several key urban ports in Maryland and Virginia, reliance upon such modes of carriage had become time-consuming, expensive, and a relic of the past. For Alexandria to effectively compete with her maritime rivals, direct deep-water access to shipping became imperative.

Alexandria's physical situation, with banks perhaps as high as ten feet tall running along the waterfront and shoals along its main frontage, posed certain physical drawbacks--but they were not unalterable. Remedies could be found. As early as May 1782 the Virginia legislature moved to

pave the way for the grading and development of Water Street and the addition of a new avenue named Union Street along lots 31, 36, 41, and 46. "That it shall and may be lawful for the mayor, recorder alderman and common council of the said town," read the act,

and they are hereby required to open and extend water street through the said town from north to south as far as the limits of the said town extend, and also to lay off Union street from north to south as far as the limits of the said town extend. Provided always, That the proprietors of the ground through which Union street may be extended shall have the liberty of making use of any earth which it may be necessary to remove in regulating the said street (Hening 11: 44-45).

The methodology of accomplishing one of the most dynamic acts of land reclamation in the Tidewater on a planned basis is, unfortunately, left largely to supposition owing to the lack of records of the Mayor and town council between 1780 and 1815. Powell (224) indicates that George Gilpin served as the town's engineer in charge of grading the streets down. By 1785, she notes, Cameron Street had been leveled and its soil used as fill in reclaiming the river. That slave and indentured labor was employed in such work is suggested by several articles in the Gazette noting death or injury to blacks and laborers caused by the collapse of the bank of earth into which they were digging (Alexandria Gazette, 14 April 1785; 15 September 1785). Just how Gilpin reclaimed the river from Union Street as far as Oronoco Street remains a mystery. One clue is offered in an advertisement appearing on July 21, 1785, in the Gazette, suggesting that large piles be driven on the outside walls of wharves, but in view of the paucity of wharves along the enormous reach of land that was eventually reclaimed by 1791, such a method seems inadequate.

One strong possibility for ready waterfront extension, a mode which was practiced widely in England, Bermuda, New York, and elsewhere, is the sinking of derelict watercraft, scows, shallops, barges, or other vessels to form bulkheads behind which fill could be placed. In England such practices as utilizing even full-sized ships as breakwaters and foundations was almost institutionalized by the Royal Navy as early as 1655 and continued until 1873. The recorded tonnage of decommissioned Rpyal Navy vessels sunk as breakwaters and foundations for harbor extensions at Sheerness, Harwich, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Bermuda, and Jamaica by the Royal Navy alone accounted for 48 ships totalling over 26,000 tons of shipping. In New York City, the recent discovery and archaeological excavation of one such vessel, found lying beneath the earth in an area that had in the 17th century been waterfront, pointed up the Americanization of such practices specifically for the purpose of reclaiming land from the water. In California the Gold Rush Era Levi's Plaza Ship, pointed up the continued employment of such practices well into the 19th century (Colledge 1969; Pastron 1979: 4-8; Reiss 1983: 20-22).

Whatever the methodology may have been, progress in reclaiming the lands from the Potomac River was prosecuted with diligence and rapidity. As early as 1783 Lot 63 was probably filled in to make Union Street, and an indenture by George Gilpin in this year first mentions the street by name. Lot 14, which had been inherited by Thomas and Ann West, who had also gained the ferry and rights to build wharves into the river, was transferred to the ownership of William Hepburn in 1786. Mention is made in this indenture of Union Street also, thus securing

its northern end at Princess Street. By 1789 the reclamation process had most certainly moved toward filling the areas east of the central part of the waterfront, for the first mention of Union Street there occurred in an indenture for Lot 46 which had belonged to William Ramsay. It had been conveyed as property to his heirs, who maintained ownership until 1792. By 1790 as much as 400 feet of land had been added to some areas of frontage, and some wharf owners, such as Colonel John Fitzgerald, were obliged to extend their facilities even further eastward (Miller, A Brief History of the Alexandria Waterfront: 10-11).

In 1785 the Virginia General Assembly again extended the boundaries of the town, this time from a point on Great Hunting Creek running parallel to Fairfax Street to Four Mile Run, so as to intersect King Street (extended) a mile west from the courthouse, thence eastward down the run to its confluence with the Potomac River, thence southward down the river to the mouth of Great Hunting Creek, and thence westward up the creek to the beginning (Court of Appeals: 22-23).

By 1790 development of the town was one of visible prosperity.

"Alexandria," wrote one visitor, William Loughton Smith,

is now thriving rapidly . . . the situation of the town will soon make it a very important post . . . there are about 3,200 inhabitants; the houses are principally brick; the streets are not paved and being of clay, after rain they are so slippery it is almost impossible to walk in them (Smith 1917: 62-63).

Yet it was also a town whose situation offered a view of some grandeur. From the roof of Colonel Hooe's house, it was reported, one could see the town laid out at right angles, the harbor, the wide expanse of the Potomac with its winding creeks, and the great plain contiguous to the

Laid off the within lots of
the proprietors.

James Dermott
October 12th 1791.

Dermott's manuscript map in the
Library of Congress shows lots
one through eighty eight between
Water Street and Washington
Street. Although filling in of
the waterfront was well underway
by this date, the map does not
note such extensions.

George Town Road - 13
1795



Potomack

River

city, all of which "formed a fine scene" for any viewer (Smith 1917: 63).

Expansion along the waterfront required wharves, and wharves required wharf builders skilled in their craft. In 1786 the town's oldest skilled shipwright and wharf builder, Isaac Fleming, died. There were others to take his place. Among them was Baltimore wharf builder David Sharon, who began to advertise in the Gazette as early as July 21, 1785. Sharon,

Whose profession it is, being here for the present season, and desirous to be as useful as possible to the inhabitants whilst he stays, invites the earliest application to him at Mr. Roberdeau's wharf, of such who would not be disappointed, when it may not be in his power to serve them, as now he can command any reasonable number of good workmen from Baltimore, who await his orders. He professes also the capacity of building a complete pile driver, one being sufficient for the whole place, and recommends the driving of large piles on the outside walls of every wharf, which is the custom in Baltimore even in the Bason; but is more peculiarly suitable here from the steepness with which the channel of Potomack is formed. Such a machine is too expensive to be born by an individual, therefore if made at more general expence he will give proof of the disinterestedness of his advice (Alexandria Gazette, 21 July 1785).

Daniel Roberdeau's Wharf was advertised in 1790 as capable of accommodating vessels of the deepest draft of water, and had the capacity to provide convenient stores for their cargoes. He offered to accept ballast in compensation for wharfage, for Roberdeau was even then in the process of extending his wharf to the edge of the Potomac channel (Alexandria Gazette, 23 September 1790). Six months later he advertised for materials to be employed in its construction:

D. Roberdeau Will contract for the delivery and regular disposition of any kind of sound Wood into his wharf, as soon as the season will admit of such an undertaking, and

as will consist with the safety of the article, subject to the impending storms of wind, at this critical period, and, while the weather continues cold, to a more dangerous element (Alexandria Gazette, 10 March 1791).

Roberdeau's wharf was nearing completion when he advertised in May:

Drift-wood wanted, For which the Subscriber will pay, as soon as delivered and deposited into his wharf, as he shall direct, at the rate of ONE DOLLAR per cord. He can accommodate some of the best seats for stores on his wharf, and many within 30 feet of navigable water, as he intends to finish said wharf this spring: which has for some time accommodated vessels of various burthens, as the deep water is sufficient for any. He has also a large Store-warehouse, with eleven or twelve different apartments, all private, and a Sail-Loft 50 feet square; either of these unoccupied may be immediately entered upon, monthly or yearly; or the whole let together. He also has other Lots more distant, and some on the bank, to accommodate dwellings, as well as store-house (Alexandria Gazette, 12 May 1791).

Among the dwellings and storehouses on the bank Roberdeau had available was one which was 28 feet 4 inches long and 40 feet deep. It was a three-storied structure, "well and substantially built" with a kitchen and smoke house, and an "extensive" dry cellar eight feet deep beneath the house. The property possessed a yard, stables, and a carriage house. One of the storehouses was advertised as being suitable for a counting house as well as for other purposes. Roberdeau's property holdings in Alexandria were situated not only on the waterfront but along Water, Union, Potomac, and Wolfe Streets (Alexandria Gazette, 8 November 1792).

That Roberdeau was typical of the successful Alexandria merchant in the years following the American Revolution is probable. That his industry was typical of those involved in waterfront development is certain, for by the years 1794-1795 no fewer than 26 wharves had sprung up along the now deep-water frontage of the town (Miller, A Brief History

of the Alexandria Waterfront, 12). The wharves themselves were substantial in construction, and were often large enough to accommodate the storage of large quantities of materials and/or the erection of sizable structures. Merchants, such as Shreve and Lawrason, leasing store space from a wharf owner such as George Gilpin, were able to carry on their business, wholesale and retail, at the most convenient places in the town--where the cargoes of ships were loaded and unloaded. Sailmakers such as Adam Bence did likewise (Alexandria Gazette, 4 August 1791). Even structures of brick were constructed on the wharves. Such was the case of a warehouse erected adjacent to Shreve and Lawrason's store, on Gilpin's Wharf, and occupied in 1793 by the firm of Janney and Irish (Alexandria Gazette,

Adding a further touch to the growing Alexandria waterfront were taverns and public dining places specializing in the finest delicacy the Tidewater had to offer--oysters.

"EVAN M'LEAN, At the Sign of the ORANGE-TREE, on Harper's Wharf," read one advertisement for just such a place,

BEGS leave to inform his Friends and the Public, that he has opened an OYSTER-HOUSE, where gentlemen may be provided with Oyster Suppers, in the genteelest manner and on the shortest notice.--He has also laid in an assortment of the best Liquors, which he hopes will enable him to give satisfaction to those gentlemen who may be pleased to honor him with their company (Alexandria Gazette, 26 March 1789).

By 1796 the land had been extended, in a number of places, at least one hundred feet eastward of Union Street (Hahn: 16), and in some areas considerably further. The active waterfront by 1798 extended from Oronoco Street southward to present-day Wolfe Street. One block further down the town's shipbuilding operations were to be encountered. Further south stood the remains of the fortifications from the Revolution at the

tip of the marshy peninsula projecting into the Potomac. Rounding the tip and entering the shoals of Great Hunting Creek, the signs of development vanished. Here, close to the town, was a place "convenient to fishing and fowling" which had "the advantage of a fine hill, from which there is a beautiful prospect of Alexandria, the River Patowmack, and the Country of Virginia and Maryland around" (Alexandria Gazette, 27 May 1790).

Imports and exports passing through Alexandria continued to climb in volume. In one quarter, between January 20 and April 20, 1789, the following exports were reported by Charles Lee: 6,700 barrels of flour, 465 barrels of bread, 27,979 bushels of wheat, 6,450 bushels of corn, 250 bushels of beans, 38 barrels of tar, 165,000 shingles, 10,000 staves, and 63 tierces 6 hogsheads of ginseng. The principal purchasers of bread, flour, shingles, staves, and corn were in the West Indies, primarily the islands of Barbadoes, St. Eustatia, St. Kitts, and Martinique. The principal outlets for wheat were Spain followed by England (CVSP 4: 61). By 1791 Alexandria was rated as the 11th busiest port in the United States, and by 1795 it ranked 5th (Hahn: 16). The last decade of the 18th century would see nearly 1,000 vessels docked annually at the city wharves, and there was prosperity, brought on in some measure by the European wars of the era, and to a minor extent by America's own military adventures such as the Quasi-War with France and the adventures against the Barbary Pirates.

Everywhere were signs of the town's maritime character, from seins and cables or salt suitable for the fisheries offered for sale by such firms as D. & I. McPherson or Robinson, Sanderson and Company to plays such as The Waterman premiering in the town's new theater. Such

accoutrements to the maritime import of Alexandria as the publication of the prestigious Pelosi's Marine List and the establishment of the Marine Insurance Company of Alexandria (the first of its kind in the state) reinforced the cement of entrepreneurial spirit to commercial success (Alexandria Gazette, 8 February 8 1787; Ibid., 22 April 1790; Ibid., 1 July 1790; Ibid., 12 May 1791; Ibid., 31 October 1799).

Immigrants from Europe bound for the west began to arrive at Alexandria, hopeful of a new life in America. Some, such as the French who passed through, fled violent political upheavals sweeping across Europe. Most were met by Alexandrians willing to assist them in every way.

"On Monday last," recorded the Gazette of one such group of refugees from the gathering storm of revolution in France,

Arrived here, in 74 Days from Havre de Grace, the Ship Patriot, Capt. de Gras, with 200 Passengers, Natives of France. We are informed they are on their Way to the Western Country, and that a much larger Number may be hourly expected in the Patowmack, in order to purchase the shortest and most eligible Route to that Country. We flatter ourselves that their Reception among our Countrymen, added to the Fertility of the Soil upon which they are about to settle, will be such as to induce thousands to emigrate to the land of Peace and Plenty (Alexandria Gazette, 6 May 1790).

The warm reception afforded this particular shipload of immigrants was doubly returned on the night of Friday, June 18, 1790, when the schooner Friendship, Captain Stowe, lying at Harper's Wharf, was discovered to be on fire in her steerage. The sleeping captain and crew were unaware of the danger, and the flames had soon reached the cabin. Finally, the fire was discovered, and the bells of the town were sounded in alarm. As in any such conflagration, the danger of spreading to other ships and wharves along the waterfront was great. Repeated attempts to subdue

the flames were made, with Frenchman and American turning out together to fight the fire. Finding their efforts in vain, they scuttled the schooner, albeit with great difficulty, and effectively extinguished the fire. Praise was lavished not only upon the inhabitants of the town and the seamen of the port but also upon the immigrants who had joined in the fight that had saved much of the vessel (which was later raised) and eliminated the danger to the waterfront (Alexandria Gazette, 24 June 1790; 1 July 1790).

At the close of the War for Independence, the leaders of the new nation began to consider the selection of a site for the capital city of the United States. On October 6, 1783, Congress officially began to examine propositions for a permanent seat of government and proceeded to draw up certain specifications it considered necessary. Principal among these was navigational access to the Atlantic, a regard for access to the west, and a healthy, convenient environment. Ultimately, in the long struggle that ensued, no less than 24 different sites were proposed. Prominent among the listing was the City of Alexandria, Virginia. For years the debate continued, but thanks to the influence of such prestigious personalities as Washington, Jefferson, and others, the search closed upon the sites in the Tidewater region.

"No place in the world is more generally healthy than the banks of this river," espoused one proponent of a Potomac River site (Alexandria Gazette, 14 January 1790). But there were equally formidable supporters for such locations as Georgetown, Baltimore, Annapolis, and Williamsburg. Some were for a site near Little Falls, and others for an undetermined

location between the Susquehanna and the Potomac. The House of Representatives finally proposed a bill to establish the seat of Congress at Baltimore, but the provision was struck out by the Senate. On December 3, 1789, the Virginia Assembly donated a portion of Fairfax County to be incorporated, along with acreage provided by Maryland, to form the new District of Columbia. On July 1, 1790, by a vote of 14 to 12, a site on the Potomac River "between the mouth of the Eastern Branch and Connogochegue" was fixed upon as the new seat of government. On March 3, 1791, Congress amended its earlier act and incorporated the city of Alexandria with the ceded territory.

As Stephens points out, the decision to include Alexandria in the Federal District in 1791 was to have a direct effect on the rights of landowners on the Alexandria waterfront. "The physical development of Alexandria," he writes,

remained in the hands of the Town Council, subject to limitations imposed by Congressional authorities. These limitations included jurisdiction over the harbor and vessels in it restricting Council's authority to the prevention of nuisances and control of sanitary conditions, "and for no other purpose" . . . Congress later specified that the Council "shall have power to preserve the navigation of the Potomac River, within their jurisdiction; to erect, repair, and regulate public wharves, deepen docks and basins, and to limit the extension of private wharves, into the harbor" (Stephens: 2).

The inclusion of Alexandria into the matrix of the Federal District was hotly contested in certain arenas, for ultimately, its inclusion, almost a foregone conclusion owing to the preponderance of commercial and political support for the measure, was bound to have unforeseen effects, both beneficial and detrimental. For the next 55 years, Alexandria would share its brilliance, and then be eclipsed and almost obscured

by its new neighbor, Washington, and its old rival, Georgetown, as its golden age peaked and then waned.

TO STOP ALL VESSELS

On April 28, 1792, Lund Washington, in a letter to his illustrious relative George, wrote that the port of Alexandria "has seldom less than twenty square-rigged vessels in it and often more. The streets are crowded with wagons and the people all seem to be busy" (Washington Papers, Force Collection, LC). It was indeed a heady period in the town's history as ships of innumerable nationalities unloaded cargoes from the West Indies, the far East, the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and Central European ports in what seemed an unending stream.

Shipbuilding, marine repair, and marine supply were becoming increasingly important in the waterfront commerce of the 1790s. By 1794 cordage of a large size and of the best quality was being produced at the town's first ropewalk, and sold at both the ropewalk or at Thomas Irvin's store on Harper's Wharf. Nails were being manufactured by Martin Hagner on King Street, opposite Messieurs Ricketts and Newton's store. John Bogue had established a business as ship and house joiner on Princess Street next to Hepburn's Wharf (Alexandria Gazette, 19 April 1794; 28 October 1794; 6 August 1795). And vessels constructed at the town's shipyards were advertised proudly in the town newspaper.

"A Ship for Sale," reads one such notice on September 15, 1795,

I WILL dispose of a ship now building in this town, which will soon be ready to launch. Her timbers which are of white oak and perfectly seasoned, it may be asserted with truth, are equal if not superior to those of any ship ever built at any place of that kind of wood, and the whole of her plank is of a prime quality and well seasoned. Wm. Hickman.

The city could now afford to attend to internal improvements which

were long overdue. In October 1793, the city fathers announced that they would pay a

Half and a Dollar for every Ton of Stone suitable for Paving, delivered upon such wharf in the town as shall be directed when brought into port. The stone shall be best calculated for paving of the oval kind, weighing 60 pounds and upwards. The money shall be paid as soon as the stone is landed
(Tilp 1978: 242; Alexandria Gazette, 7 May 1795).

No longer would complaints such as those espoused by William Loughton Smith about slippery town streets of a few years earlier be heard.

The improvements were demanded, in fact, as a consequence of the influx of persons wishing to settle in the town. By 1800 the population of Alexandria would swell to 4,971 persons, partially as an offshoot of the land boom resulting from incorporation of the town into the District of Columbia, and in some measure from early speculations that the town itself might even be named as the new capital (Green 1: 21). Sadly, the town was to receive only a consolation prize: the laying of the cornerstone for the new District in 1791 at Jones Point.

The importance of the national government's decision to establish a permanent seat near Alexandria, at the confluence of the Anacostia and Potomac Rivers was made apparent in 1794 to most Alexandrians. Europe was in turmoil as the flames of revolution spread across France, erupted in war, and threatened to engulf a neutralist America. The government was obliged to consider the need for defense works for the principal ports of the United States, and for the defense of the site of the as-yet-unbuilt capital city. The principal cities of the Chesapeake Tidewater, Alexandria, Norfolk, and Baltimore topped the list.

In March 1794 Major John Jacob Ulrich Rivardi was selected by

President Washington to fortify those cities. Norfolk was considered the most important, undoubtedly owing to its strategic position near the mouth of the Chesapeake. But in Rivardi's instructions, issued on April 3, it was noted that "Alexandria was inserted by the Legislature and not contained in the Original estimate," suggesting that the town was not initially designated as a place suitable for defense. Nevertheless, pressure was apparently brought to bear and the Major was directed to fortify the town by erecting works suitable for the mounting of twelve cannon. Colonel Fitzgerald, he was informed, would mount the guns once the works were completed. In addition to the works, a "reveratory furnace for hot balls must be erected for each battery" (CVSP 7: 87, 93, 95).

By June preliminary work on the batteries had begun. Secretary of War Henry Knox was able to report to the Governor of Virginia that one John Vermonnet was now in charge of the construction "which will be upon a small scale, upon Jones' point, below the Town." On June 17 Vermonnet wrote to the Governor directly, informing him, "I have chosen Jones' Point for the seat of a good battery, which will protect the place against the enemy by water. . . ." Materials were already being collected, and a cross-way through the marsh that covered the narrow peninsula leading to the point, "to enable the land carriage for earth," was being prepared (CVSP 7: 174, 186). The guard established at the construction site faced an uncomfortable duty at best, especially during the cold winter. In December 1795 a sum of 69 shillings 13 pence was appropriated for the purchase of four pieces of raven duck "for making a Marque for the accommodation of the guards at the Point" (CVSP 8: 326).

Yet the work was delayed in its progress. On February 6, 1796, it was announced that construction was finally halted as "an examination of the works by an engineer, other than the one first employed, produced an unfavorable report of the place of the works" (Alexandria Gazette, 6 February 1796). Such work would not be taken up again until the Civil War.

With the inordinate increase in shipping activity, the visitation of vessels from practically every sector of the globe, and a mini-population explosion on its hands, Alexandria faced, for the first time, a threat that had already begun to engulf other major ports of America--contagious disease, both home-grown and imported. As a consequence of one particularly alarming outbreak of pestilential fever imported from the West Indies and the high mortality rate which resulted in the Port of Philadelphia during the summer of 1793, the Mayor and Council of Alexandria "deemed it necessary to adopt measures for preventing its introduction into this Town." The Virginia Assembly had already acted in desperation to order vessels to enter a quarantine before landing either personnel, passengers, or cargo at any state ports. Alexandrian leaders, however, felt the act and its means of implementation too tardy and inappropriate to deal with the crisis. "We have therefore," wrote Mayor Dennis Ramsay to the Governor on September 13, 1793,

given authority to certain persons to stop all vessels bound to this port, and oblige them to Anchor one mile below the Town, there to remain until Doctor Elisha C. Dick (whom we beg leave to recommend as Health officer,) shall make the necessary enquiry whether there be any infected persons on board, or goods likely to be impregnated with infection, and further as the nature of the case may require (CVSP 6: 533).

Dick's authority was soon endorsed and approved by the Governor,

but not before the first test of a town-imposed quarantine of shipping was encountered. When a vessel from Philadelphia, under the command of a certain Captain Elwood, arrived off the city, it was prohibited from entering and was obliged to come to anchor a mile away. Though the captain and his crew had, by September 22, been 17 days out of Philadelphia without showing signs of sickness and appeared to be in perfect health, their cargo was another matter. Among the materials aboard was a supply of woollens and clothing destined for the use of the soldiers under the command of Captain Hannah at the Jones Point Battery. The clothing had come from an infested part of Philadelphia, and it was feared that it might bear the contagion which was running rampant in that city. Dr. Dick was unsure of how the situation should be handled, and was faced by other such problems as time went by. Although a state Quarantine Station had been established at the mouth of the Elizabeth River, off Craney Island, lower down the Bay and adjacent to its mouth, where all vessels arriving from the West Indies or Philadelphia were obliged to drop anchor and face inspection, Dick feared some would fail to heed directions and approach Alexandria. His authority was still unclear, and he requested assistance (CVSP 6: 541-42).

By November Dick's authority had been clarified and his mission endorsed by the Governor. He moved quickly to prevent any vessels from landing at the town unexpectedly. A lookout boat, manned by a master, William Patterson, and three hands, was hired by the city for two months at a guinea per day. Dick refused to permit goods from Philadelphia to be landed at the town, although passengers and crewmen who passed the inspection were permitted ashore. As a consequence, the doctor came under

increasing pressure from town merchants to permit cargoes to be landed, but refused to acquiesce to their demands until the will of the Governor was known. "For my own part," wrote the good doctor on November 24, "notwithstanding the confidence reposed in me, compelled me to act in conformity to a different opinion, yet it has always been my belief that the malignance of the Philadelphia disease was entirely local and not transportable" (CVSP 6: 648-49).

By January 1, 1794, Dick had entered a total of 55 vessels into quarantine, and the contagion did not reach Alexandria (CVSP 7: 1). The danger eventually subsided as the disease ran its course elsewhere. But Dick remained vigilant. In 1795 the Virginia Assembly authorized him to erect a house on isolated Jones Point for quarantine service to house infected persons. Not until 1796, however, did the doctor find need for such a building, and "on his own responsibility built one" (CVSP 8: 519).

In the fall of 1798 another serious threat of contagious disease imperilled Alexandria. This time it struck Dick's family as well as others. A vessel from Philadelphia brought the disease thought to be yellow fever. A student of the doctor's visited the afflicted, accompanied by Dick himself. The student contracted the disease and passed it to two members of Dick's family, who contracted it but recovered. The contagion was apparently contained, but in late 1800 the Port of Norfolk experienced an outbreak of the disease, and several persons from that town died at the Alexandria Quarantine Station. When a packet ship arrived from Norfolk in September 1800 with a score of persons aboard, among whom a quarter had fallen ill and one had died,

Dick again erected "a house at the extreme end of the point [which] had been procured for a hospital." Baltimore, too, had become infected, and the doctor directed that all communications with the inhabitants of that town be interdicted, not only at sea but ashore as well. Several more victims were to die at the Quarantine Station before the crisis had passed (CVSP 7: 519-20; 9: 137, 139).

Although by September 26, 1800, Dr. Dick could report to the Governor that the general health of the townspeople of Alexandria was improving, a great danger of disease still existed, and he accused the free black population of the city, most of whom had emigrated from Maryland, of bringing the disease (CVSP 9: 178).

Again, in September 1803 malignant fever struck the Potomac region, and this time it took its toll of Alexandria citizens in payment. And again the quarantine was brought into effect, but this time, unfortunately, such efforts were employed too late and the contagion spread. Not until 1835, more than three decades later, would the city again suffer the scourge of contagion.

As the last decade of the 18th century progressed, Alexandria's star continued to rise. In 1795 the Duc de Rochefoucauld wrote glowingly of the town's growing trade with Great Britain and Europe, noting somewhat admiringly that Alexandria was, indeed, the handsomest town in Virginia, and perhaps the finest in the United States. Another visitor, Isaac Hild, called it "one of the neatest towns in the country." Not all comments, however, were favorable. One Englishwoman visiting there called it well-situated, but added that its citizens were haughty

Plan of the Town of
Alexandria in the District
of Columbia.

Colonel George Gilpin
1798.

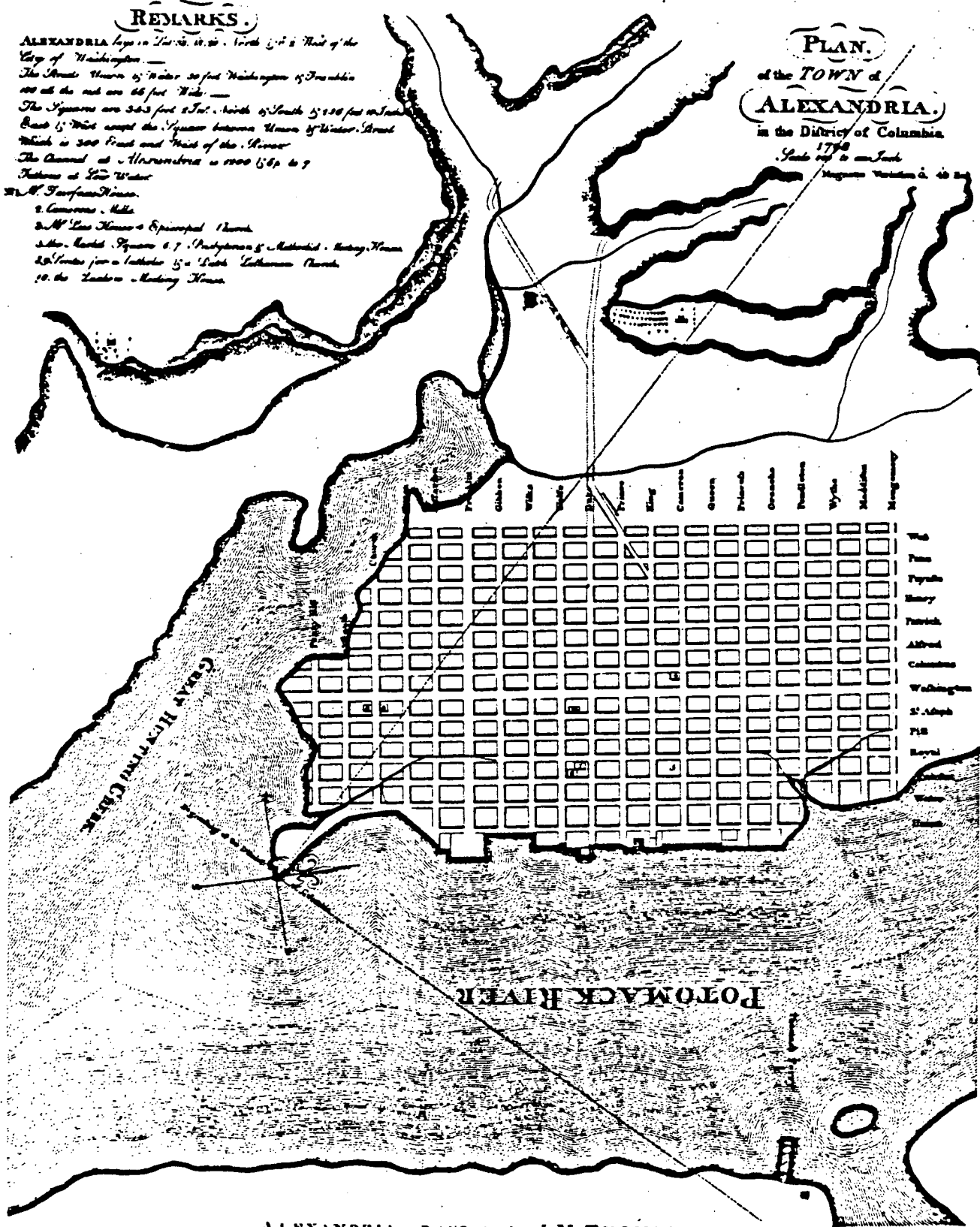
This map, the first published chart of the town ever produced, shows the "beginning of the District of Columbia" at Jones Point as surveyed by Andrew Ellicott in 1791, and the southeast and southwest boundaries of the new territory extending from that point. The map is also the first to show the extent of reclamation of land from the Potomac River and the new profile of the town waterfront. Note the fortification on Jones Point, and the long wharf, Thomas's Ferry, opposite the town.

REMARKS.

ALEXANDRIA lies in Lat. 38. 26. North 77. 2 West of the
 City of Washington. —
 The Streets 14 or 15 feet 20 feet Washington & Franklin
 100 all the rest are 66 feet Wide. —
 The Squares are 343 feet 2 feet North & South 15 150 feet 10 feet
 East & West except the Square between Union & Water Street
 which is 300 feet and West of the River
 The Channel at Alexandria is 1000 1500 to 2
 Fathoms at Low Water
 Mr. M. Fairfax House.
 2. Cameron's Mills.
 3. Mr. Lee's House & Episcopal Church.
 4. Mr. Becht's Square 67. Presbyterian & Methodist Meeting Houses
 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.

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

1778
 Scale 1/2 inch to one Foot



and proud. In a reference to the original Scottish makeup of its first founders, she suggested that the town's ancestry ought to be forgotten and that its current citizenry did not know how to make use of the fine opportunities they possessed (Powell 1928: 272).

The Englishwoman's somewhat biased views may have been colored by Alexandria's frequently warm association with France. Though America's Revolutionary ally was subjecting itself to revolution, war against England, the Reign of Terror, and frequently-challenged American neutrality, Alexandria warmly received her refugees and victims of war. One incident illustrating that generosity was the reception afforded a shipload of French citizens victimized by a British privateer in the West Indies. On November 25, 1793, the ship Harriot, Captain Bradbury, of Newburyport, carrying 13 French and black immigrants to St. Domingo, was captured at sea by the British sloop Arm, Captain Harvey, of Bermuda. Though Harriot was an American vessel, she was nevertheless taken as a prize to Bermuda. There the immigrants were plundered of their belongings-- money, jewels, plate, and clothing. Finally released, they were allowed to sail for the United States. Upon their arrival in the Chesapeake, they were forwarded to Alexandria, penniless, sick, and in need of every assistance. The Vice Consul of the French Republic in Alexandria, P.O. Cherui, requested, in their behalf, the assistance of Virginia. Speaking in their behalf, Mayor Dennis Ramsay brought the attention to the Governor, noting that many of the immigrants wished to return to France, while others, such as a black whose feet had to be amputated by Dr. James Craig, needed medical attention. A few even possessed holdings in the town, but all were in dire straits. As a consequence

of such assistance to France, many Englishmen and Anglophiles undoubtedly viewed Alexandrians with something less than admiration (CVSP 7: 23-25). Ironically, relations between France and the United States would also become strained to the point of near-war by the end of the century as a consequence of the official neutralist stance of the federal government and the degeneration of Franco-American commercial ties.

The interlacing of Alexandria with the communities along the Potomac in an ever-evolving communications complex proceeded at an accelerated pace. In June 1795 an announcement was made that subscriptions for building a bridge over the Potomac River linking Alexandria and Georgetown would be accepted. Shares would be sold for \$200 each. One Timothy Palmer, "an artist eminently distinguished by the bridges he has lately built over the rivers, Merimick, in the state of Massachusetts, and Piscataque, in New Hampshire, has undertaken the erection of the bridge, and engages its completion before the end of next year" (Alexandria Gazette, 11 June 1795). Although the bridge would not finally be erected until much later, the inter-relationship of the two towns was becoming increasingly apparent.

Though a direct road link between Alexandria and Georgetown lay in the future, a regular line of communication was established in May 1796 with the opening of a regular packet line. The Georgetown Packet Boat, it was advertised,

Leaves the county Wharf every morning, half an hour after sunrise (Sundays excepted) for Alexandria; touching in her way at Greenleaf's Point, and Parts from Alexandria for George-Town, by the same rout at half past three in the afternoon. Passage may be engaged by applying to Mr. Robert Henderson, Harper's Wharf, Alexandria, and to Mr. H. G. Ludington, County Wharf, George-Town. THOMAS QUAID (Alexandria Gazette, 26 May 1796).

Georgetown, which had been incorporated in 1789, was destined to become a serious competitor to Alexandria, even as other Potomac towns slipped into complete decline. By 1796 the navigation of Quantico Creek, for example, was becoming increasingly difficult, with a consequent decline in trade for the town of Dumfries.

Quantico creek, in the county of Prince William, has become so obstructed by the quantity of mud and sand settled therein, as frequently to occasion considerable delays and difficulties in shipping the produce of the country, from the town of Dumfries (Alexandria Gazette, 19 March 1796).

As a consequence, the Virginia General Assembly enacted legislation to open and improve the navigation of the creek, but to no avail. Other towns, such as Colchester, had already succumbed to decline and oblivion, and the new nation's capital had yet to rise from the swampy terrain settled upon for its establishment by Congress. Thus, more often than not visitors, both foreign and domestic, preferred the civilized hospitality of Alexandria to the near-wilderness environment of Washington or still-rural Georgetown.

"The reason of my settling here [in Alexandria]," wrote one English immigrant to the town,

is, that I could not find any thing to do with my while at Washington, for it has more the appearance of a desert than a City! There are not more than forty good houses in the whole place, and these not furnished. Three fourths of Alexandrians are Scotch, and they are unanimous in assisting each other from the St. Andrew's Society which has an able fund (Alexandria Gazette, 22 October 1796).

Yet signs of deterioration began to appear in Alexandria and along the waterfront, as some of the older structures and facilities began to betray signs of age and use. In April 1797 the County Wharf and

the County Warehouse, which had fallen into considerable disrepair, were offered up for rent by the city. The City Council appointed a committee, Jonah Thompson, Dennis Ramsay, and John Dundas, to rent the warehouse "and that part of the Wharf lying on the south side of Oronoke street, for any terms not exceeding ten years." The renter was obliged to give satisfaction that he would, within two years from May 15, 1796, "put the wharf and ware house in complete repair" (Alexandria Gazette, 29 April 1797).

Indeed, the harbor itself was, in certain sectors, taking on a somewhat tired visage as derelict and abandoned vessels began to cluster and sink at anchor. Many vessels were stripped of their upper structures and the product of such activities sold for fuel. By 1799 the problem had become so serious that navigation was being obstructed, and the accumulated filth which had accrued was becoming a health hazard to the town's citizenry. Finally, the city government passed "An Act To preserve the navigation of the Public Docks in the town of Alexandria" on July 2, 1799.

WHEREAS it is represented to the mayor and commonalty of the town of Alexandria, that divers persons, inhabitants of the said town, and others, have been and still are in the habit of introducing into the public docks adjacent to the several wharves in said town, the decayed and rotten hulks of old vessels, boats, and craft, of different descriptions, under pretence of repairing same, but in reality to serve the purpose of fuel, which when cut down to the surface of the water are wilfully and negligently suffered to sink to the bottom of said docks where they remain obstructions to the navigation, for the accumulation of filth and receptacles, endangering the health of those residing in the neighborhood, and in every instance injurious to the interests of individuals, and the community at large. For remedy whereof, Be it enacted by the mayor and commonalty of the town of Alexandria, aforesaid, That if any person or persons shall bring or cause to be brought

into any of the public docks adjacent to the wharves, aforesaid, any hulks or part of a hulk, or any vessel, boat, or craft, whatsoever, and suffer the same to sink to the bottom of said docks, and there remain any longer time than ten days, such offender shall upon conviction, forfeit and pay the sum of fifty dollars, to be recovered by action in the court of Hustings, and the further sum of five dollars for every twenty four hours (after the expiration of ten days heretofore specified) such nuisance and obstruction shall remain unremoved out of the said docks, which fine, or forfeiture of five dollars shall be recovered by warrant, before any single magistrate of the law aforesaid.

It was further enacted that the harbor master should, from time to time, inspect the public dock area for any obstructions that might impede navigation or prove prejudicial to the health of individuals who owned property or lived near the docks. The harbor master was also directed to remove obstructions already lying in the docks at the earliest opportunity, and at the expense of the city government. Whether such measures were successful is not documented, but the continuation of the practice of derelict disposal, despite the city ordinance, seems likely, for in August 1808 the law was again published in the town newspaper (Alexandria Gazette, 27 August 1808).

By 1798 relations between the United States and France had begun to degenerate to such an extent that war threatened to erupt. Indeed, at sea, fighting between the two nations did occur, and the United States moved to field its tiny Navy. On May 22 Captain Thomas Truxtun, U.S.N., then at Baltimore, preparing to take the U.S. Frigate Constellation to sea, directed Lieutenant James Triplett to proceed to Alexandria with all expeditiousness "and engage as many Seamen and Marines as he can find disposed to enter on board the Frigate Constellation." Triplett

was ordered to hire a boat and bring the recruits to Baltimore as quickly as possible. The United States Navy had been ordered to mobilize and there was not to be the least delay in getting its ships to sea (NDQW 1: 77-78).

Triplett's recruitment visit to Alexandria was but the first impact the so-called Quasi-War with France would have upon the town. Soon the shipyards of the city were abustle as privateers were being constructed for service against the enemy. Between July 9, 1798, and February 17, 1799, at least three privateers, totalling 511.58 tons burthen, carrying 22 guns and 54 crewmen, were commissioned at Alexandria, nearly a fifth of all privateers fielded to that date by Virginia (NDQW 2: 364). More were on the ways.

As the country rushed toward what appeared to be the inevitable, Congress authorized the building of six brigs of 18 guns each. On April 10, 1799, the Secretary of the Navy authorized Captain Richard Conway, the Federal naval agent in Alexandria, to have one of these vessels built there. The ship was to be constructed of the best materials available and capable of mounting 18 nine-pounders. Her burthen was not to exceed 360 tons and, wrote the Secretary, "I think she may be made as formidable a Vessel, as any in the World of her size." It was desirable that she be a swift-sailing vessel and yet have enough room in her holds to carry six months' water and provisions for 100 to 120 men. She was to be butted, bolted, and sheathed with copper. Conway was given the latitude of selecting her dimensions, model, and so forth. He was to receive funds from time to time, although the specifications of payment were never elucidated by the Secretary. "This will be no object with

you," he assured, "compared with the gratification you will feel in contributing to the addition of our Navy, by a valuable Vessel built under your own Superintendance. . . . Too much expedition cannot be used, in getting her ready for Sea" (NDQW 3: 38).

Nearly three weeks later, on April 30, the Navy Department did a complete about-face. Captain Conway, undoubtedly already having set the wheels of the project in motion, was directed to cease operations. "Sir," wrote the Secretary of the Navy, "I have been divided between my desire to get one of the 18 Gun Vessels built at Alex.^a and my anxiety to get her quickly into service. . . . Upon the whole I believe I must decline getting the Vessel built at Alex.^a as her service next winter in the West Indies may be material." He nevertheless requested Conway to secure 40,000 lbs. of ship bread from an Alexandria baker named Jameson, who, boasting that he was an excellent baker, had informed the Secretary that he had some on hand. "I want to judge whether Bread cannot be sent from Poto.^k cheaper [to Philadelphia] after paying freight & Commission--the quality also considered--than it can be supplied by the Bakers here, or Eastward--who in general make very bad bread."

As a consequence, Alexandria bakers were soon supplying bread to the Navy in Philadelphia, and later to Boston as well (NDQW 3: 113; 4: 427).

Despite the loss of the naval shipbuilding contract, privateers continued to slip down Alexandria's ways. On November 19, 1799, the Gazette announced one such launch.

The protection afforded to the commerce of America by the armed vessels of the Union has been sensibly felt by the Town of Alexandria--Several new vessels are fitting out at this port. The schooner MOUNT VERNON, pierced for 14 guns

(built by Mr. John Hughes for Messrs. Robert and James Hamilton) was launched a few days ago with peculiar magnificence. She is elegantly moulded, and may truly be said to be as handsome a vessel as ever graced the bosom of the Potomac. A pilot boat, (built on a new construction, under the direction of Messrs. George and Charles Gough) has also been launched, and bids fair, from her appearance, to do honour to the ship builders of the town. Exclusive of these vessels there are several new ones now in port ready for sea, several on the stocks, and some expected from below.

Apparently any suitable space available along the waterfront was converted to use for the construction of vessels during the shipbuilding boom that resulted from the Quasi-War, even the County Wharf, which had apparently been taken over and refurbished to suit the needs of naval construction. With the end of the Quasi-War, however, there was a temporary lull in the boom, and vessels under construction, both merchant and military, were placed on sale even before their completion. On November 11, 1800, for instance, a public sale set for 8:00 p.m., Saturday, November 15, was announced. To be sold was

the SCHOONER Now on the stocks at the county wharf, with the rigging now on her, two new anchors, and a camboose. This vessel is upwards of sixty tons burthen, will carry 550 to 600 barrels; built entirely of good seasoned materials--will be launched in two weeks from the day of sale. To be finished and delivered with all her spars and every thing customary for a ship builder to finish (Alexandria Gazette, 11 November 1800).

The conclusion of the Quasi-War with France and the patriotic fervor that it had elicited were soon resurrected in the United States when national sovereignty was again challenged by the Barbary powers. Naval action was once more required and again Alexandria was called on to supply the U.S. Navy with bread "fit for navy purposes." The first order for bread from Alexandria bakers was authorized on January 18, 1802,

when the Secretary of the Navy directed Captain Thomas Tingey, Superintendent of the Washington Navy Yard, to proceed to Alexandria and contract for 65,000 lbs. of bread for the frigate Chesapeake. The war, however, was short-lived, and city-built shipping played little part in the conflict. On November 29, 1805, as the war neared its end, the U.S. warship Hornet, Captain Isaac Chauncey commanding, in passing the town, honored Alexandria with a five-gun salute. It was to be the last military salute fired off the town until the Civil War (NDBP 2: 25; 6: 313).

In June 1804 the Baron Alexander von Humboldt, an occasional visitor to Alexandria, wrote:

Alexandria has increased considerably since my last visit to it in the Revolutionary war--it was then composed of a few Scattered buildings, and chiefly along the River and which was bordered by a high bank, said bank is now cut away to make long wharfs, and the streets here are paved . . . the Houses, mostly of brick, and many of them a good stile of architecture (Friis 1963: 24).

Having experienced nearly two decades of unbridled growth, Alexandria now stood at the apex of her golden years. Between 1800 and 1810 she continued to attract inhabitants, and the city's population increased by 45 percent. She continued to enjoy a profitable trade in wheat, flour, corn, beans, and peas to American ports such as New York and Boston, and to foreign ports in England, Spain, the West Indies, and, in the later portion of the decade, Portugal. Indeed, Portugal had begun to replace the West Indies as a principal customer for American wheat, and Alexandria provided a sizable proportion. Yet there were ever-increasing portents of deceleration. The various epidemics which had plagued American ports, and the consequent practice of quarantining

incoming vessels, tended to retard maritime commerce. Increasingly, as a result of westward expansion, the wheat trade was finding a new heartland in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys rather than in Virginia. And in 1807, as a consequence of a degeneration of relations between the United States and Great Britain, culminating in the disastrous Chesapeake-Leopard Incident and the subsequent blockade of Chesapeake Bay by a British fleet, the institution of a trade embargo added further problems to Alexandria's bag of woes (Hahn: 17-18).

There were other, more long-term challenges developing that were destined to influence the course of Alexandria's maritime affairs. The port of Baltimore had, since the American Revolution, commenced a phenomenal rise that threatened to displace the other Tidewater commercial centers from their positions in the marketplace and to cut short the rise of developing urban areas before their maturity. As a consequence, there appeared a surprising unity among the Potomac River ports concerning the development of trade (as pointedly expressed in the bonds established by the Potomac River Compact). But unity began to crumble as internal state development in both Maryland and Virginia induced competition rather than cooperation. On the Potomac this competition was soon illustrated by a growing rivalry between Alexandria and Georgetown. Whenever efforts to improve development of the western trade down the Potomac were initiated, either through the development of a new road system or a canal, such rivalry erupted into political and economic warfare.

Beginning with the harmony of the Potomac River Compact, recognition of the need for development of the river access to the west became

widespread. Schemes to establish a navigation company that would open the river by removing obstructions and rocks, cut channels, and bypass falls were quickly put forth. Others proposed that roads be constructed connecting the headwaters of the Ohio and Potomac, thus joining the Potomac Tidewater with the wheat fields of the Mississippi valley. Both Maryland and Virginia had readily found funds for road development. To make the Potomac navigable, the Patowmack Company was founded, a fifth of its expenditures underwritten by Maryland and Virginia, and the remainder through stock purchases by private citizens. By the spring of 1785 shares were being sold in Alexandria, Richmond, Georgetown, Annapolis, Frederick, and Winchester. Direction of the first phase of operations, the construction of a canal to Great Falls and the removal of obstructions between Harpers Ferry and Cumberland, was entrusted to James Rumsey of Shepherdstown, Virginia, on July 14, 1785 (Gutheim 1968: 192-93; Flexner 1978: 87).

Rumsey encountered considerable difficulties, and as time progressed, new stocks were issued but were not well received. Finally, in 1802, a segment of the canal and five locks were opened at Great Falls. As a consequence, the cost of river freight was immediately reduced to less than half the equivalent cost by wagon, and traffic increased threefold (Gutheim 1968: 194).

Unhappily, as the canal construction slowly inched along, problems mounted--financial, physical, and political. Every effort was made to raise funds, from the sale of stocks to aliens such as the merchant community of Amsterdam (Gutheim: 1968: 194) to the sponsorship of lotteries. (One such lottery scheme, with a prize of \$200,000, was announced in

the pages of the Gazette on September 10, 1810.) There were problems over the management of the company itself, and the strategic scheming of its members. As a consequence of the ever-increasing danger to Alexandria's trade, as early as 1805, Alexandrians had begun to agitate for a canal from their city to Georgetown. The agitation had been largely triggered by Congressional authorization for the construction of a causeway across the Potomac between Virginia and Mason's Island. The structure not only obstructed channel passage between Alexandria and Georgetown, but made navigation extremely hazardous. The extension of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal construction to Georgetown instead of halting it at Rock Creek, as first planned, only added to Alexandrians' frustrations, as the city was now bypassed entirely. Now, sea-going ships usually bypassed the city for Georgetown and the wealth of the west to be had there. When Thomas Mason addressed the Governor of Virginia he had this very danger in mind:

A majority of the Directors at present reside in Alexandria, and nothing can be more clear than that the completion of the navigation will tend to reduce the commerce of that Spot, for the Boats that bring the produce cannot navigate the river so low down. The Alexandrians have obtained an act of Assembly for a Turnpike road from the Great Falls, which is a proof that they wish the navigation to stop there, to which place it is now complete (CVSP 8: 378).

It was becoming increasingly clear to all that the principal benefit of the C&O Canal would be to the town of Georgetown, and that Alexandria would bear the loss, with or without a turnpike to the Great Falls.

Despite the ill omens that had begun to appear concerning Alexandria's future, the town's maritime industry carried on as always. In January 1810 Charles Slade and Thomas Grimshaw opened a rope-making business on

Merchant's Wharf, and two months later, on March 19, announced the establishment of a ship chandlery and rope sales store at the corner of Union and Prince Streets. Additions to the waterfront continued to appear. In April an extension of Duke Street, adjacent to Hamilton's Wharf, bordering on Wolfe Street, was announced. Waterfront property and wharves continued to be bought and sold. "Public sale on Monday the 23rd inst. at 10 o'clock," read an advertisement for one such sale,

the subscriber will offer for sale at public auction on Hooes Wharf the following property. The unexpired lease in a water lot adjoining Hooes Wharf fronting 25 feet on the river and running back beyond the Potomac Strand. A wharf is extended from this property, which may be made immediately productive by expending, a very small sum in repairs. There is also a good framed dwelling house two-stories high--and there are nearly thirty years of the lease unexpired. A ground rent is now on this property to the corporation (Alexandria Gazette, 16 April 1910).

On May 10, by virtue of a deed of trust from William Hartshorne, a facility called Kirks Wharf was sold. A lease for the wharf and a building thereon was let for the term of three years and four months and subject to an annual rent of \$500 payable quarterly. Upon the expiration of the lease, the purchaser was to have the privilege of removing the several buildings on and adjacent to the property. At the same time as the Kirks Wharf sale, a framed warehouse on Hooe's Wharf was offered for sale with similar privileges (Alexandria Gazette, 27 April 1810).

On May 17 Joseph Rowen announced the opening of a new cordage store on Merchant's Wharf, between King and Prince Street in the old U.S. Custom's House. Rowen informed the public that he intended to carry a general assortment of cordage made by John Chalmars, Senior Rope Maker for the United States Government, which would "bear a comparison with

any made on the continent." Rowen was prepared to accept orders from any part of the nation, and offered an additional line of ship chandlery, as well as salt, sugar, coffee, fine flour, and so forth. He also bought ham, wheat, and corn, undoubtedly for trade (Alexandria Gazette, 17 May 1810).

Catering to the seafaring trade had become an integral part of town life. "Mrs. Mary Ann Martin," records one advertisement,

respectfully informs the public, and particularly SEAFARING GENTLEMAN [sic], that she intends keeping a boarding house, in a convenient house near Marstellar & Young's wharf, on Union Street, where she will be prepared to accommodate a few borders on good terms (Alexandria Gazette, 1 to 10 June 1810).

Sadly, the docile, day-to-day calm which pervaded the seaport on the Potomac only tended to mask the events of national consequence that were about to rage across the Atlantic and into the Chesapeake Tidewater. They were events which, like those of nearly a decade earlier, threatened to throw the United States into an unpopular war against her former master, Great Britain. This time, however, the brink would be crossed and the City of Alexandria would ultimately face humiliation and total surrender.

VI

THE SAFETY OF THEIR CITY

On June 1, 1812, when President James Madison presented his war message to the Congress of the United States, in which he detailed for the nation a strong indictment of British policies and actions inimical to the well-being of America, he set in motion currents that would inexorably sweep up the Potomac and deeply affect the City of Alexandria. On June 4 the House of Representatives passed the war bill, and was followed on June 17 by the Senate. On June 18 President Madison signed the declaration of war against Great Britain. The War of 1812 had begun.

The United States had entered a war against the mightiest naval power on earth, while possessing a navy of only seven frigates and a handful of smaller vessels. Great reliance was thus placed on the fielding of a force of privateers--that is, private ships of war authorized to attack the enemy's commerce at sea for private gain. The Chesapeake Bay region soon became one of the key privateering centers in the United States and as a consequence drew the almost undivided attention of a major segment of the Royal Navy. A blockade was established on February 24, 1813, and from that point on, the Chesapeake Tidewater was a virtual British lake.

Considerable attention was paid to the Potomac River by the British, and frequent raids were carried out on the lower reaches of the river in 1813. Alarms on the upper river, however, were not taken too seriously. A strong stone fortification, Fort Warburton, had been erected in 1808 to guard the channel not far downriver from Alexandria on the Maryland shore, and in July 1813 the works were deemed to be in perfect condi-

tion. Below that, off Cedar Point, were the treacherous Kettle Bottom Shoals, a maze of oyster bars that was practically impossible to navigate without a seasoned pilot.

Alexandria did its patriotic best for the war effort. In October 1812, a volunteer company was raised in the town, amounting to about 70 officers and men, clothed by voluntary aid and donations from the citizens of the town, and though intended for the Canadian front, they were ultimately stationed at Fort Warburton. The Alexandria Volunteers remained on garrison duty at the Fort, which was soon renamed Fort Washington, until December, at which time they were sent to Annapolis and a short time afterwards discharged. In March 1813 a company of artillery, under Captain Marsteller, was raised in the town and stationed at Fort Washington for three months (ASPMA 1: 593).

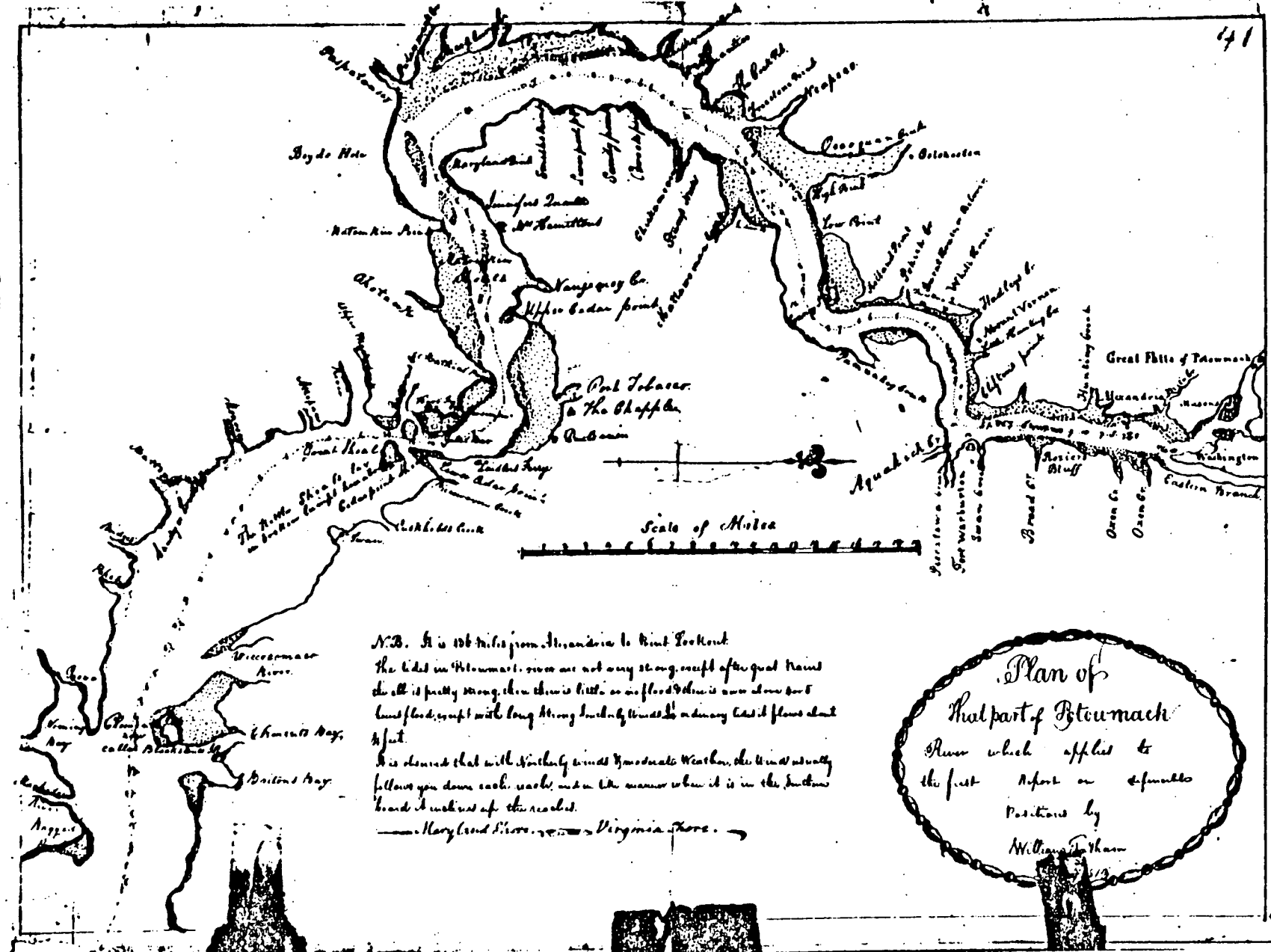
While Marsteller protected the approach to Alexandria and Washington via the Potomac, neither town possessed much in the way of defenses of their own. On March 21, 1813, a committee of Alexandria councilmen called on the Secretary of War to request arms and munitions for the defense of their city. On May 8 they waited on the President himself to apprise him of the defenseless state of the town. Madison acknowledged that attention was due "to the representation of respectable men, and the proper attention should be given." The councilmen suggested that with Washington itself endangered, every town in the region, and in particular Alexandria, might suffer as a consequence. Yet they also asserted their willingness to participate in the common defense of the region. Their volunteerism was accepted but the plea for aid was ignored (ASPMA 1: 594).

Plan of That Part of
Potowmack River which
applied to the first Report
on desirable Positions.

William Fatham
27 May 1813.

In this map sketch of the
Potomac River, the anchorage
area off Alexandria is
clearly indicated as being
between six and seven fathoms
deep, or 36 to 42 feet.

This map was drawn as part
of American preparations to
defend Washington City from
British attack during the
War of 1812.



N.B. It is 106 miles from Alexandria to Point Lookout
 The tides in Potomack river are not very strong, except after great rains
 the tide is pretty strong, then there is little, so in flood there is more than two feet
 low flood, except with long strong winds by the mouth of a bay, but it flows about
 4 feet.
 It is deemed that with westerly winds moderate weather, the wind usually
 follows you down each reach, in the manner when it is in the further
 head it makes up the reach.
 ————— Maryland Shore. ————— Virginia Shore. —————

Plan of
 That part of Potomack
 River which applies to
 the first report on the
 positions by
 William M. Shaw

On May 8, 1813, the Common Council of Alexandria, out of the funds of the Corporation, appropriated \$1,500 to pay for the mounting of some cannons which were in the town. Three days later the Council appointed a deputation (designated the Committee of Vigilance) to confer and cooperate with similar committees in Georgetown and Washington in "requiring" assistance from the United States Government for the general defense of the District of Columbia. A deputation from the three committees then visited the Secretary of War to discuss the defenseless situation of the District. The committee urged the Secretary to improve and strengthen the works of Fort Washington. Secretary Armstrong promptly directed Colonel Decius Wadsworth, a U.S. Army engineer, to examine the works. On May 28 Wadsworth reported that "an additional number of heavy guns at Fort Warburton (Washington), and an additional fort in the neighborhood, are both to be considered unnecessary." The battery of the fort was in such a state as to effectually command the channel of the Potomac. He assured the War Department "that it was not to be apprehended that the enemy would attempt to pass it while its present defences remain entire. Its elevated situation should prevent dread of a cannonading from ships; that, in case of designs against the District of Columbia, an assault by land was most probable." He recommended only that some minor work be done to strengthen the land defense (ASPMA 1: 533, 594).

Despite the War Department's unwillingness to act, the City of Alexandria, on its own, continued to seek some means of protection. In July 1814, as British forces under Admiral Sir George Cockburn raided the lower Potomac in a continuous series of sorties against both Maryland and Virginia shores, the Common Council again took measures to secure an

adequate defense. A delegation was sent to wait on the military commander of the Tenth Military District, with a view to ascertaining what defensive measures had been taken or were intended to be adopted for the protection of Alexandria. The delegation was told by that officer, General William Winder, that all he could do was provide a militia force. "This," complained the delegation, "was a species of defence which certainly could be of no use against an attack by water. It is too obvious, that the town of Alexandria could not be defended in any other manner than by a proper fort or forts below it, with a competent garrison." Winder then visited Alexandria on July 25 to see what the Common Council had in mind. The mode of defending the town was pointed out, but the general suggested that to carry out such measures required money--a commodity which the government had not seen fit to supply him with. The Common Council immediately secured loans from three banks in the town, totalling \$50,000, for the purpose of constructing the proper water defenses. On August 5-6 and on August 13 the town loaned the U.S. Government \$10,000 and \$25,000, respectively, which the government readily accepted, from the Bank of Alexandria and the Bank of Potomac, upon the condition that the same be applied to the erection of fortifications south of Alexandria. The government did nothing, for the enemy was already preparing his march against the capital (ASPMA 1: 533, 566, 592, 594).

On August 17, Thomas Swann, the government agent assigned to a forward observation post established at Point Lookout, at the mouth of the Potomac River, observed a forest of masts and sails blanketing the mouth of the river. A British fleet, totalling nearly 50 vessels and

carrying nearly 4,000 British troopers, had arrived under the command of Admiral Alexander Cochrane. The British plan of operations called for nothing less than an attack on the City of Washington (Thomas Swann to John Armstrong, 17 August 1814, RG 45, M 222, R 14, NA).

The plan of attack was complex. Devised by Admiral Sir George Cockburn, the strategy called for a major thrust up the Patuxent River in Maryland. The army was to be landed at the town of Benedict on that river, march overland, and attack Washington from the rear. This expedition was to be commanded by General Robert Ross and assisted by a force of Royal Marines and seamen under Cockburn. A second expedition, designed as a feint, under the command of Sir Peter Parker, would be sent up the Chesapeake to menace the lines of communication between Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. A second feint would be sent up the Potomac River to destroy American strongpoints along that waterway, draw off and confuse American forces, and provide an alternative escape route for Ross's army if necessary (Gleig 1821: 88; Albion Log, 17 August 1814; Marine 1965: 72-73).

Direction of the Potomac River Expedition was given to Captain James Alexander Gordon. His command was comprised of the frigate Sea Horse, 38, which he commanded; the frigate Euryalus, 36, Captain Charles Napier, second-in-command; the bomb vessels Aetna, Devastation, and Meteor; the rocket ship Erebus; and the dispatch boat Anna Maria. The squadron's total complement numbered 1,004 men (Muller 1964: 85, 86).

As Gordon was preparing to ascend the Potomac, Cockburn's naval force landed Ross's army at Benedict. The British promptly began their march against Washington. Informed of the landing, the United States

Government issued an urgent callup of all militia units in the Tenth Military District. On August 19 a levy en masse was made of the militia of Alexandria town and County. On August 20 and 21 they were ordered to cross the Potomac and take station between Fort Washington and Piscataway. The Alexandria Militia took with them all of the artillery which had been mounted for the defense of the town at the expense of the corporation, except two 12-pounders which were left without ammunition, and nearly all of the arms belonging to the town. They left no men behind but the exempts from age and other causes and a few militiamen who had failed to report or who had found no substitutes. With the departure of the militia, it was later stated, fewer than one hundred armed men could have been mustered for the town's defense (ASPMA 1: 590).

As Captain Gordon's forces slowly began their ascent of the Potomac, General Ross and Admiral Cockburn, having been witness to the self-destruction of Commodore Barney's Chesapeake Flotilla near Upper Marlboro, Maryland, commenced their overland march on Washington. Between them and the national capital stood a growing army of men under the command of General Winder. Alexandria had, to its great dismay, been made aware of the squadron ascending the Potomac. On August 24, as the American forces entrenched at the town of Bladensburg, Maryland, to meet the approaching British Army, "the Commanding General and President of the United States were, by the authority of the committee of vigilance of Alexandria, reminded of the destitute state of the town as to the means of defence, and informed what would be the deplorable alternative the citizens would be reduced to if the British squadron, which was approaching the town, and was then from twenty to thirty miles below,

should find their town unprotected as it was at that time." The President and General Winder, however, were obliged to lend a deaf ear, for the battle with Ross was at hand (ASPMA 1: 594).

Shortly after the delegation from Alexandria called on the President, the Battle of Bladensburg was fought and the British emerged victorious. The American Army fled in panic, without order, and abandoned the City of Washington. Soon the town and its facilities, including the Washington Navy Yard, were in flames. That same night, the Alexandria Militia was ordered to recross the Potomac from their stations on the Maryland side. This was done with alacrity, though they were not permitted to halt in Alexandria. They were marched into the country "without giving information to the authorities or inhabitants of the place of their destination." The town was now open to attack from both Ross and Gordon (ASPMA 1: 590).

A delegation from the town's committee of vigilance, despairing of their situation, deemed it their duty to recommend to the Common Council a resolution to the following effect:

That, in case the British vessels should pass the fort, or their forces approach the town by land, and there should be no sufficient force, on our part, to oppose them, with any reasonable prospect of success, they should appoint a committee to carry a flag to the officer commanding the enemy's force, about to attack the town, and to procure the best terms for the safety of persons, houses, and property, in their power.

The recommendation was unanimously adopted the same day by the Common Council (ASPMA 1: 590).

Upon learning of the defeat at Bladensburg, the Alexandria Common Council was also soon to learn of the panic that followed. General Winder had retreated from the capital deep into Montgomery County,

Maryland, and was said to be ensconced near the county court house, and was later reported to be 15 miles west of it. The President and the various heads of his departments were in hiding, and Washington was in total possession of the enemy. There were no military commanders anywhere that were able to direct or advise. Thus, the Common Council resolved to send a delegation, under a flag of truce, to call upon the British commander in Washington "to know what treatment might be expected from him, in case his troops should approach Alexandria, and should succeed in obtaining possession of the town." There was deep concern among them, as they were fully aware of numerous outrages already perpetrated by the enemy against citizens of Maryland and Virginia, that with Alexandria being left defenseless, there was nothing to restrain the foe from committing equally brutal "outrages upon the female portion of society" in the town. Admiral Cockburn, to whom the communication was made, assured the delegation that private property, of all descriptions, should be respected; that it was probable that fresh provisions and some flour might be wanted, but that whatever they did take should be paid for (ASPMA 1: 590).

The following day, August 25, an order was received in the town from General Robert Young, commander of the Alexandria Militia. Young directed that the two iron cannons remaining in the town be removed to prevent being taken by the enemy. The same day the long bridge joining Washington with the Virginia shore was burned by a panic-stricken sentry on the Virginia side and an equally nervous British sentry on the Washington side. The panic increased, and a stand of nearly 600 guns on the Virginia side was blown up to prevent capture. One of the Alexandria

committeemen, however, had the foresight to collect those arms which were uninjured, about 200 guns, and send them to the Little Falls of the Potomac where they would remain safe for later use (ASPMA 1: 592; Lord 1972: 178-79). There were also a number of vessels at Alexandria whose capture seemed imminent. In all, three ships, three brigs, several bay and river craft, totalling more than 21 vessels, lay in the harbor. These were scuttled to prevent capture. The scuttling proved to be an exercise in futility (ASPMA 1: 533).

On August 27 Captain Gordon's squadron, having fallen behind schedule by more than a week owing to the treacherous Kettle Bottom Shoals, storms, and other difficulties, hove to off Fort Washington. The fort was commanded by Captain Samuel T. Dyson and manned by a complement of 60 soldiers. Gordon was entirely unaware that only the evening before Dyson had received orders to abandon the works if threatened by a land attack. The works could withstand a sea assault, it was felt, but a thrust from the rear, where the works were weak, could not be withstood. Gordon ordered a bombardment of the works. Two hours after the opening shot was fired, Fort Washington was blown up--not by British bombs, but at the command of Dyson, who was under the false impression that he was to be attacked by a land army of 6,000 men (Muller 1964: 88; Lord 1972: 197).

"The relinquishment of the fort," the Common Council later acknowledged, "decided the fate of Alexandria. Nothing was left to oppose the progress of the squadron. . . ." By the morning of August 28 British barges were already sounding a passage above the fort. The City of Alexandria had little option. About 10:00 a.m., as the squadron pushed on, the committee

appointed by the Council to bear a flag to the enemy in the event they passed the fort, set out upon their mission. Progressing the nearly six miles downriver to the squadron, the committeemen boarded Gordon's flagship, H.M.S. Sea Horse. They asked to know what his intentions were in regard to Alexandria. The captain informed them that he would communicate his terms when he came to opposite the town. He assured them, however, that if the squadron was not molested by the inhabitants, the persons, houses, and furniture of the citizens would not be injured. One of the delegation was Mayor Simms of Alexandria (ASPMA 1: 591).

Upon the committee's return, the mayor was informed that a small detachment from the army of General Hungerford had been in town to reconnoitre the enemy only a short time before. The army was at that time only 16 miles from the town and on the march for that place, having followed the British squadron along the shores of the Potomac a great part of its way up. Hungerford's force was composed of infantry and cavalry, with two or three small pieces of artillery, which the Alexandrians now felt would be more of a danger to the town than a help. The municipal authorities had received no advice of the approach of the army, and now, after their visit to and directions from Captain Gordon, it was believed, any defense efforts in the town's behalf would only result in its ultimate destruction (ASPMA 1: 515, 591; Lord 1972: 201).

Late on the evening of August 28 the British squadron arrived off Alexandria, Virginia, and came to anchor. The following morning the fleet arranged itself in a line of battle a few hundred yards from the town wharves and houses, and "So situated that they might have laid [the town] in ashes in a few minutes." At about 10:00 a.m. Captain

Gordon sent the following terms of surrender to the mayor and Common Council:

Gentlemen:

In consequence of a deputation yesterday received from the city of Alexandria, requesting favorable terms for the safety of their city, the undermentioned are the only conditions in my power to offer:

The town of Alexandria, with the exception of public works, shall not be destroyed, unless hostilities are commenced on the part of the Americans; nor shall the inhabitants be molested in any manner whatever, or their dwelling houses entered, if the following articles are complied with:

Article 1. All naval and ordnance stores, public and private, must be immediately delivered up.

Article 2. Possession will be immediately taken of all shipping, and their furniture must be sent on board by the owners, without delay.

Article 3. The vessels that have been sunk must be delivered up in the state they were in on the 19th of August, the day of the squadron passing the Kettle Bottoms.

Article 4. Merchandise of every description must be instantly delivered up; and, to prevent any irregularities that might be committed in its embarkation, the merchants have it in option to load the vessels generally employed for that purpose, when they will be towed off by us.

Article 5. All merchandise that has been removed from Alexandria, since the 19th instant, is to be included in the above articles.

Article 6. Refreshments of every description to be supplied the ships, and paid for at the market price by bills on the British Government.

Article 7. Officers will be appointed to see that the Articles Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5, are strictly complied with; and any deviation or non-compliance, on the part of the inhabitants of Alexandria, will render this treaty null and void.

I have the honor to be, &c.

James Gordon,

Captain of his Majesty's ship Seahorse, and
Senior Officer of his Majesty's ships
before Alexandria (ASPMA 1: 591).

Upon the mayor's receiving the terms, he sent for the committee of vigilance. The terms had been carried by an officer of the Sea Horse, who informed the mayor that one hour would be allowed for him to reply. Upon the terms being read by the mayor and the committee, it was stated

to the officer by the mayor and one of the committee that it would be impossible for the Common Council to accede to several of the terms. For one thing, the municipal authority of the town had no power to recall the merchandise that had been sent out subsequent to August 19. The officer agreed and approved of the deletion. "He was further informed, that it would not be in the power of the Common Council to compel the citizens to assist in getting up the sunken vessels." The officer answered that the sailors could do it. The officer was asked what was intended by the term "merchandise" in the fourth article. He answered that it embraced those items intended for export such as tobacco, flour, cotton, bale goods, and so forth. With these and several other questions addressed, the terms were submitted to the Common Council and approved (ASPMA 1: 591). The City of Alexandria was now under the command of an enemy who had declared his "purpose to employ the force under his direction in destroying and laying waste such towns and districts upon the coast as may be found assailable" (ASPMA 1: 592).

The Common Council, therefore, were obliged to yield to the terms, and in so doing passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Common Council of Alexandria, in assenting to the conditions offered by the commander of the British squadron, now off the town, has acted from the impulse of irresistible necessity, and solely from a regard to the welfare of the town; that it considers the assent given as only formal, inasmuch as the enemy had it already in their power to enforce a compliance with their demand by a seizure of the property required from us; and believing the safety of the persons of the inhabitants, of their dwellings, and of such property as is not comprehended within the requisition, to depend entirely on the compliance of the terms of it, the Common Council recommends to the inhabitants an acquiescence, at the same time that it does expressly disclaim the power of

doing any act on its part to enforce compliance, its authority, in this particular, being limited to recommendation only.

Then the plunder of Alexandria commenced (ASPMA 1: 592).

Though the British expertly looted the city for days and diligently raised the scuttled merchant fleet lying in the harbor, the citizens of Alexandria offered no cause for retribution beyond the terms agreed upon. They offered no assistance, either, in removing plundered material or in raising the sunken ships. No individual willfully attempted to turn the attentions of the enemy from plundering his own property to the property of any other citizen. The British lacked horses or carriages to assist them in their pillage, and thus confined the bulk of their depredations to the warehouses along the waterfront in which large quantities of produce were contained, belonging to inhabitants as well as strangers (ASPMA 1: 593).

Gordon continued to hold Alexandria for five days. There was almost no opposition from the town's 7,000 inhabitants, although General Hungerford, whose directions from the government called for him to strike the enemy, hovered nearby. Concerned that a violation of the treaty by the Virginia Militia would result in the destruction of the town, the Common Council requested that the general remain at a distance. Hungerford replied that it was his duty to face the enemy. The town fathers ordered him to stay away, but he refused. Finally, the general received countermanding orders from the federal government, and he retired well away from the town. Again, on September 1, the treaty was endangered when two U.S. Navy officers, Commodore David Porter and Captain

John O. Creighton, captured a British midshipman, John West Fraser, near the town. The midshipman escaped to his ship. Instantly, Sea Horse hoisted a flag to prepare for battle, and the squadron's guns were again trained on the town. Only after some frantic apologies were scribbled by Mayor Charles Simms did Captain Gordon annul the call to battle (Muller 1964: 88; Lord 1972: 200-201).

By August 31 the British had carried aboard their ships from 15,000 to 18,000 barrels of flour, 800 hogsheads of tobacco, 150 bales of cotton, and a quantity of sugar, wine, and other commodities valued at over \$5,000. Gordon's seamen had "weighed, caulked, and masted" 21 prizes which the Alexandrians had scuttled earlier. Among this number were three brigs, three ships, a number of river craft, and some coasting bay vessels. A number of other vessels which could not be fitted were burned (Muller 1964: 89).

Not long after the affair over the captured midshipman, Gordon's squadron was joined off Alexandria by H.M. Brig Fairy, Captain Henry L. Baker commanding. Fairy carried a "hurry-home" message from Admiral Cochrane. In addition to the admiral's order, Baker noted to Gordon that he had observed Americans cutting down trees and building batteries south of Alexandria. They were, it appeared, preparing to contest the British descent down the Potomac. Thus, on Friday, September 2, Gordon ordered the fleet to sail for the Chesapeake with its 21 prizes and its fortune in plundered goods (Muller 1964: 89).

Well before the arrival of the British, the Alexandria Post Office had been removed from the town and into the countryside. Now, ironically, as Gordon prepared to depart, the Postmaster discovered in the house then

being used as a Post Office a letter addressed "to the committee of vigilance or safety of the town of Alexandria" which bore the following:

Gentlemen: Motives of a personal nature prevent my delivering the enclosure. You will best judge of the propriety of doing it in your official character, without loss of time.

The enclosure was nothing less than a direct order from Rear Admiral Edward Codrington, dated August 28, 1814, aboard H.M.S. Iphigenia to Captain Gordon.

The object of the expedition being accomplished, and the inhabitants of the country upon the banks of the Potomac being alarmed for their property, on account of the presence of the British squadron in that river, the Commander-in-chief has directed me to forward openly, by the hands of one of the inhabitants, this order, for the ships in the Potomac to retire and rejoin the fleet (ASPMA 1: 594).

Unfortunately for Alexandria and the forces then in motion to challenge the British retreat, the letter did not come into the hands of the committee until after Gordon had upped anchor, although it was determined that the epistle had been in the Post Office early on August 31 and that it had there been read. The Alexandria committee was then shocked to find out that among those who had read the letter on that morning were members of Congress, and that it had already been circulated through the Department of State (ASPMA 1: 594).

The British were not to be permitted an easy escape down the Potomac. A strategy had been developed by Commodore John Rodgers and Secretary of the Navy William Jones to harass the enemy's retreat by establishing batteries at White House Landing, immediately below Mount Vernon, on the Virginia shore, and at Indian Head, Maryland. Captain David Porter, and 500 American seamen and marines, armed with three 18-pounders and two 12-pounders, were sent to construct the works at White House Landing.

They were soon reinforced by General Young's Alexandria Militia. Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, with another force of seamen and marines, was dispatched to Indian Head to erect the works there. Commodore Rodgers and 650 picked seamen and marines set themselves to work improvising a fleet of fire ships at the burned-out remains of the Washington Navy Yard to attack the British squadron. Though the enemy fleet might not be entirely destroyed, it might at least be hampered in its retreat (Muller 1964: 89; ASPMA 1: 566, 567).

Misfortune now fell upon the British. As the fleet upped anchor and headed down the Potomac, H.M.S. Devastation ran aground on a shoal between Alexandria and Fort Washington. Commodore Rodgers saw his opportunity and launched a fireboat attack with three burning vessels against the British. The wind failed. Gordon's small boats towed the drifting fire ships away and pursued the five barges that had brought them down back up the Potomac. While Gordon worked to free Devastation, H.M.S. Meteor and Fairy attacked the White House Battery on September 2 from beyond the range of the battery's guns. The battery had been reinforced by General Hungerford's forces, and was now also under the eye of Secretary of War James Monroe. On September 3 the battery was attacked by Aetna and the rocket ship Meteor. Porter made do with his own guns and five four-pounder and six-pounder field pieces brought down by Captain George Griffith's Alexandria Artillery. Heavier guns were called down from Washington even as Porter constructed a furnace for heating hot shot. Finally, several 32-pounders and two mortars arrived from Washington--but without carriages and ammunition. The British continued their attacks, on one occasion pouring in an immense quantity

of round shot and grape for two solid hours, killing six or seven defenders and wounding 15 (CVSP 3: 386; Muller 1964: 90).

While the battles at White House Landing continued unabated, H.M.S. Devastation remained stranded below Alexandria. Commodore Rodgers determined to launch another naval attack. On the night of September 4 he sent out four barges and a lighter with 60 musket-armed seamen. The foray was intercepted by H.M.S. Fairy and forced to retire. The following morning Rodgers sent out another attack force of barges and set a fire ship adrift against the enemy. Again the attack was repelled. Finally, on September 5, Devastation was clear of the shoals below the town and Gordon prepared to move his fleet downriver. On the morning of September 6, led by Sea Horse and Euralyus, the Royal Navy attacked the White House Battery in force, driving Hungerford's Virginia Militia into the woods. Then, the fleet attacked the battery directly. Porter's and Young's forces returned the fire. Two units of Alexandria Militia, under the command of Captain Janny, flanked the battery, and despite weapons that had been condemned as unserviceable a short time before, were able to clear the enemy's decks and rigging of men. But American marksmanship, after two more hours of battle, and accounting for seven enemy killed and 35 wounded, could not fail to stop the fleet's downriver drive. American losses at the White House Battery eventually totalled 12 killed and 17 wounded, of which two killed and two wounded belonged to Captain Janny's command (ASPMA 1: 567; Muller 1964: 90-91).

Fairy escorted the 21 prizes downriver and came to anchor near Indian Head. The rest of the fleet followed suit. Unaware of Commodore Perry's battery there, they were surprised by another American bombard-

ment. Perry's forces numbered 500 seamen and marines and were supported by infantry units commanded by Major George Peter. Now, as the British attempted to pass this battery, H.M.S. Erebus ran aground. Unhappily for Perry, his commanding position and utter dominance of the British fleet below was of little use. No ammunition or powder had been forwarded from Washington, and on the morning of September 7 the enemy proceeded on its way to the Chesapeake without further molestation (Muller 1964: 91).

For the most part, aside from a few raids on the lower Potomac, the war was over for the Alexandria region. For their part in surrendering the town to the Royal Navy, Mayor Simms, the Common Council, and the people of Alexandria were roundly castigated. Their actions were called disgraceful by the press, and a federal investigation was launched to determine guilt in the affair. On September 28, 1814, Mayor Simms, at the direction of the federal government, produced a documented account of the affairs surrounding the capture of Alexandria which left little doubt that there had been no alternative for the city fathers but to have surrendered the city when they did owing to the totally defenseless state of their situation. Their defense, left in the hands of the federal government, had been totally ignored, and the Mayor and Common Council, not wishing to replicate the fate of Washington, had, in fact, saved the town (ASPMA 1: 589-595).

"We yielded," wrote 117 memorialists from the Alexandria community at large to the federal government, "to superior power. Our weakness has been our crime. Our reliance upon the protection of our Government has been our misfortune." In the calumny that was to be heaped upon

the federal government in the days following the British departure from the waters of the Potomac and the Patuxent, the dreadfully embarrassing surrender of Alexandria was to be mercifully forgotten (ASPMA 1: 593).

VII

TO RUN BETWEEN THE TWO PLACES

On January 13, 1813, less than a month before the British blockade of the Chesapeake Bay was established, Captain Edward Trippe sailed out of Baltimore Harbor in command of a 130-foot-long Baltimore-built ship called Chesapeake. The unique feature of this vessel was that she sallied forth not at the grace of the winds, but under her own power—steampower. Indeed, Chesapeake was to have the distinction of becoming the first steamboat to commercially ply the great Bay that was her namesake (Burgess and Wood 1968: xvii, xix). The new age of steam afloat, born in 1787 with the experimental steamboat of James Rumsey on the Potomac River at Shepherdstown, Virginia (now West Virginia), and matured by Robert Fulton in 1807 with his North River Steamboat of Clermont, had finally come to the Tidewater (Flexner 1978: 129-30). Within a few years of the maiden voyage of the Chesapeake, commercial freight and passenger transportation on the Potomac, on the Chesapeake, and along the myriad waterways of the United States would be introduced to and then dominated by this revolutionary form of water travel.

Almost from its birth, commercial steamboating was welcomed on the Potomac, and endorsed by progressive Alexandrians. In the spring of 1813, one of the first mentions of a steamboat on the Potomac River appears as a notification of the sale of the steamboat Columbian in the pages of the Washington Daily National Intelligencer. This vessel, described as being 48 tons burthen, flat-bottomed, and drawing a small draft of water, was offered for sale at Tyber Creek Wharf on Friday, April 11 (later delayed to April 16). Despite the fate of the

Columbian, the fact that the Potomac had been exposed to steam power afloat at such an early date is significant. As a consequence of such flirtation, the promulgation, and, for awhile, the domination, of steamboating on the Potomac was almost a certainty (Daily National Intelligencer, 7 April 1813; 12 April 1813).

Well before the sale of the Columbian, significant moves were afoot to raise money through public subscription and stock sales for the establishment of a regular Potomac River steamboat line. On December 14, 1812, the Daily National Intelligencer published an announcement of the formation of a company to operate a steamboat line between Washington and Potomac Creek, whose passengers might also embark or disembark at Alexandria. The announcement was signed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Agent for Messrs. Livingston and Fulton. In fact, Latrobe was one of the first franchise holders permitted to employ Fulton's invention. It is significant that on January 2, 1813, shareholders in the infant Potomac Steam Boat Company convened their first meeting at Triplet's Tavern in Alexandria (Daily National Intelligencer, 14 December 1812; 5 January 1813).

The new vessel destined to service the Potomac River route was to be constructed at New York to the design of and under the direction of Robert Fulton himself, at the shipyard of Charles Brown. On June 16, 1813, almost six months after the maiden voyage of the Chesapeake and exactly two months after the Columbian was sold, the new steamboat Washington slipped down the ways at Brown's yard and began outfitting. The Washington, at 130 feet in length, 20 feet six inches abeam, seven feet four inches deep in hold, and 186 tons burthen, was by far more

substantial in size than the Columbian. Her engine, capable of 30 horsepower, was a bell-crank type. Its cylinder was 28 inches in diameter, with a four-foot stroke. Her two 14-foot-diameter sidewheels were capable of propelling her at a speed of up to ten miles per hour, even in rough weather. Washington's appearance was imposing on the water, though her outline was low and sleek. A single smokestack jutted from her midship deck, and her forward and aft decks were open to the weather, though covered by a canvas or possibly sail-duck tarp. One description noted: "Her cabin is superbly fitted up, and [with] every convenience for the comfort and accommodation of passengers, and she is on the whole an object that cannot fail to delight the eye and interest the understanding." Another account called her elegant, well-finished, handsomely furnished, "and her machinery appears to be very excellent and substantial" (Tilp 1978: 55; Heyl 2: 277; Daily National Intelligencer, 29 May 1815; 1 June 1815).

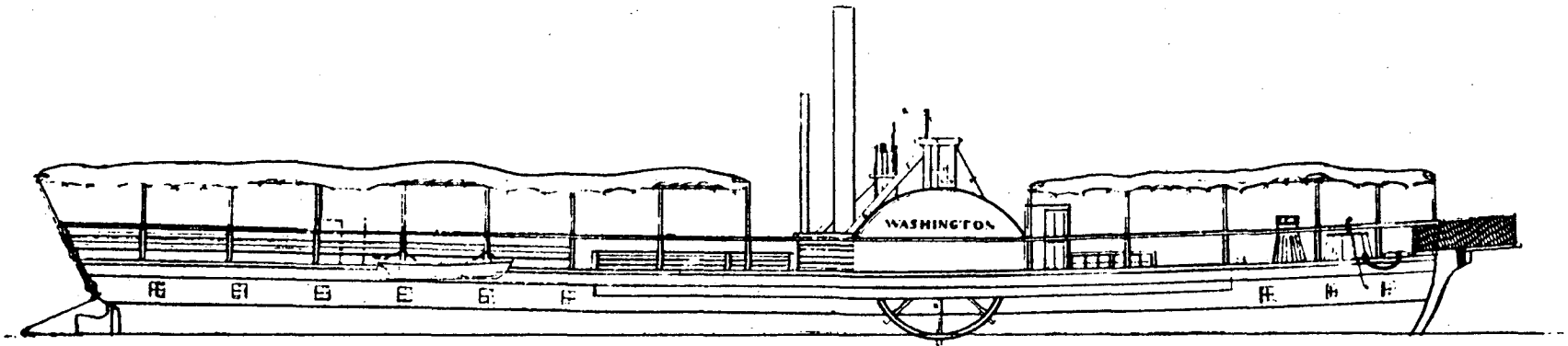
On May 21, 1815, after nearly two years of being locked out of the Chesapeake by blockading British cruisers, Washington finally sailed from New York for the Potomac. On her departure, under the command of a Captain O'Neal, many were doubtful that she would be able to perform the voyage since no vessel of her type had ever tried the open sea before. Though her voyage was undertaken in rough weather and high seas, the trip was made in perfect safety, without the slightest injury "and in a period of only 50 hours" (Heyl indicates that the trip took 52 hours). The \$40,000 steamboat that Latrobe and his associates were acquiring appeared to be well worth the investment (Daily National Intelligencer, 29 May 1815; 1 June 1815; Heyl 2: 277).

The Steamboat Washington.

J.B. Marestier
1825.

The steamboat Washington appears in Marestier's book Memoire sur les bateaux des Etats-Unis, which was published in Paris in 1825. Extracts from the Diary of Captain Blair Bolling of Richmond for July 7, 1815 describe a trip: "I set out in the stage arrived in the evening at Fredericksburg from thence went to Aquia Creek where I got on board the steam boat Washington which landed us safely in the city of Washington early the next morning." On August 2, 1819 he wrote: "To Merry Oaks, Bowling Green, Fredericksburg, the mouth of Potomac Creek, thence on board the steamboat Washington to the city of Washington where I arrived early the next morning." Returning from Washington August 4 Captain Bolling left the city at 12 o'clock noon on the steamboat Washington and arrived at the mouth of Potomac Creek at 8:00 P.M. Thence by stage reaching Fredericksburg at midnight. Setting out by stage at 3 o'clock next morning he arrived at Richmond at 6:00 P.M.

Source: Mordecai 1940: 22.



Upon Washington's arrival at Norfolk, Virginia, on May 24, Captain O'Neal decided to remain a few days, taking several excursions out into Hampton Roads. The boat was "well provided with the best of Liquors" and her captain was willing to stay out as long as the excursionists desired. On May 25 she carried one party down to Hampton Roads a distance of eleven miles and returned in less than three hours, against a strong southeast wind and tide. The Virginians aboard were amazed as they easily passed fast-sailing pilot boats, the swiftest vessels on the Bay (The Norfolk Gazette, 24 May 1815; 26 May 1815).

On or about May 29 Washington arrived at Georgetown, making the trip in 30 hours, half of that time against the tide. Between June 1 and June 7 she received a new commander, a Captain Mix, of the U.S. Navy (apparently on inactive duty) and made two trial runs between Aquia Creek and Georgetown. On June 8 Washington began regular service, taking passengers from Georgetown, Washington, and Alexandria, not to Potomac Creek as originally planned, but to Thorny Point at the mouth of Aquia Creek. At first, trips were scheduled to start from Brent's Wharf at 4:00 a.m. daily with stops at Alexandria, and to arrive at Aquia Creek at noon. The return trip was to depart from Aquia with passengers from the south at 1:00 p.m. The fare, including one meal, was \$5.00. Apparently, early opposition to the 4:00 a.m. departure time obliged an alteration to a 9:00 a.m. run. With the opening of this regular steamer operation, it was now possible for travelers to depart Fredericksburg by stage for Aquia, there to transfer to the Washington, disembark at Washington, D.C., and take stage to Baltimore, covering the distance in approximately 19 hours, an almost unheard-of time (Daily National

Intelligencer, 29 May 1815; 1 June 1815; 8 June 1815; 10 June 1815; 27 June 1815).

Ferry operations between Alexandria and Georgetown were soon also to be influenced by the advent of the Steam Age. By the end of the War of 1812 such operations were being carried out by a primitive horse ferry, a vessel whose paddle wheels were turned by a team of horses that made a circuit in the middle of the vessel and conveyed the power by means of cranks to wheels which turned on each side of the vessel. Captained by John Shrieve in 1815, the ferryboat, named Union, was advertised as "fitted in expensive style of elegance not equalled by any similar passage boat in the United States." The charge per passenger for the horse ferry trip to Baker's Wharf in Georgetown from Butler's Wharf in Alexandria was 25¢ (Glidden 1971:115). In 1816 a 70-foot-long steamboat named Camden began operations in competition with Shrieve on the Alexandria-Georgetown route. Patronage, however, was not overwhelming owing to the novelty and fear of steampower. In June 1816 the first fatal steamboat boiler explosion in America occurred aboard another vessel, ironically named Washington and commanded by a man named Henry Miller Shreve, at Marietta, Ohio. Nine people were killed and 20 more were injured. The disaster did much to discourage patronage of Camden and Washington and other such vessels on the Potomac. Camden's owners were eventually obliged to inform the public "that there is not the least cause to apprehend damage from the bursting of boilers." Although their boilers had "frequently burst" in the past, the owners assured the public that "the only evil experienced has been a little delay" (Glidden 1971: 17-18; Robins 1979: 19). Public fears of steamboating soon dissi-

pated. In 1819 the steam ferries Dandy and Surprise were put in service on the ferry routes. The Dandy made Washington her terminus and made one round trip a day from Smallwood's Wharf to Alexandria. The Surprise made one daily run from Georgetown to Alexandria and carried sail to increase her speed in favorable winds (Beitzell 1976: 111). By 1822 both ferries were making two round trips a day, with Dandy stopping briefly at the Long Bridge. Soon, Dandy and Surprise were joined by two more steam ferries, the Robert Taylor and the Independence, the latter making two runs a day from Thompson's Wharf in Alexandria to Bradley's Wharf, Washington (Glidden 1971: 18-19).

Alexandria readily accepted the steamboat, almost from its introduction to the Potomac, as a progressive step in commercial expansion of its river and Bay trade. On August 11, 1818, a meeting of the citizens of the city was convened at the Exchange Coffee House for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of establishing a major steamboat operation of their own to ply between Alexandria and Norfolk. Jacob Hoffman was made chairman, and W. D. Simms was appointed secretary. At the meeting the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, the establishment of a Steam Boat between this place and Norfolk will be a considerable advantage to this town, and that the amount of stock proposed to be raised will be subscribed;

Resolved, That one hundred dollars be the price of each share of that part of stock to be subscribed for in Alexandria;

Resolved, That a committee of three persons be appointed to wait on the citizens for subscriptions, and that it consist of William Fowle, Hugh Smith and Phineas Janney;

Resolved, That the committee when they deem it necessary, call a meeting of the citizens, to receive their report of the progress of their duties;

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the newspaper of the town (Alexandria Gazette, 13 August 1818; The American Beacon, 17 August 1818; The Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald, 19 August 1818).

Solicitation of subscribers was undertaken not only in Alexandria, but as far south as Norfolk, the terminal point of operations, where meetings of stockholders were convened at the Norfolk Exchange Coffee House or at the Steam Boat Hotel (The Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald, 2 September 1818; The American Beacon, 10 October 1818). On January 6, 1819, shareholders were informed that the first installment of their investment payments, ten percent of the cost, would be due (The Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald, 6 January 1819).

Despite Alexandria's efforts to circumvent the rising importance of Washington by sponsoring its own direct steamboat line to Norfolk, it was inevitable that any steamer traffic ascending the Potomac would readily take the opportunity of calling at the capital city. Thus, Alexandria soon found itself, despite the intentions of its founders, not as the terminus of a steamboat operation between the entrance to the Chesapeake and the egress to the hinterland, but as merely an important stop along the way to the capital of the nation. When the hoped-for operations with Norfolk did begin in February 1819, they were between that city and Washington. The vessel employed, a new steamboat named Roanoke, made her inaugural run and arrived at Washington on February 2, 1819, with 20 passengers (including Captains Warrington and Rodgers of the U.S. Navy). On her return trip she stopped at Alexandria. Her travel time between Alexandria and Norfolk was 27 hours. Thereafter, her schedule was thus: leave Nivison's Wharf, Norfolk, for

Alexandria and Washington at 10:00 a.m. and arrive at her destination the following day in the afternoon. She would return after a layover of a day at Washington and depart at 10:00 a.m. for the return trip, stopping briefly at Alexandria. Apparently, the operation proved unprofitable, for on April 15 she was placed on a regular run between Norfolk and Baltimore (The Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald, 8 February 1819; 10 February 1819; The American Beacon, 8 February 1819; 15 April 1819).

Despite efforts to employ Roanoke on a more profitable route, the vessel itself proved inadequate for the task, as she was plagued by continual engine troubles. Finally, on December 17, 1819, a meeting was called of the stockholders of the Alexandria and Norfolk Steam Boat Company at the Steam Boat Hotel in Norfolk to decide upon the best course of action. Less than a week later the Norfolk Herald announced the public auction of the 60-horsepower Roanoke, which was to be set for Tuesday, February 1, 1820, at Nivison's Wharf (The Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald, 17 December 1819; 24 December 1819).

The Alexandria and Norfolk Steam Boat Company refused to cave in to economic difficulties, public fears regarding steamboating, or defective vessels, and commissioned the construction of another ship specifically for service between Alexandria and Norfolk. Washington was explicitly excluded. The new ship was to be named Potomack and was to be built at the yard of Edmund Allmand in Norfolk. The length of Potomack's deck was 130 feet, her breadth of beam 26½ feet, and her depth of hold nine feet. Her draft was about six feet of water. Her engine was capable of producing 60 horsepower "and is constructed upon the principle of Bolton & Watt, improved with the introduction of an economical piece

of machinery, uncommon here, termed a half stroke, by which one third of her steam may be saved." Specifically outfitted for comfort, she boasted 24 berths. Upon the launch of her hull, she was immediately turned over to Lemuel Langley, "under whose perseverance the stock by which she was raised was created, and under whose inspection and immediate superintendence she has since, in every respect, been completely finished and equipped in superb style." Command of the ship was placed in the hands of the former master of the Roanoke, Captain Joseph Middleton. On September 1, 1820, the Potomack sailed on a shakedown cruise and "performed wonderfully well, making good nearly eight miles an hour, without calling into requisition all her powers" (The Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald, 1 September 1820; 11 September 1820).

That shareholders were sensitive to the competition offered by the Potomac Steam Boat Company, and the rivalry between Alexandria and Washington was made evident by the comment of one such individual in correcting a published misstatement that Washington was to be the northern terminus for the Potomack's run and not Alexandria. "The Potomack," announced the irate shareholder,

built at your place [Norfolk], is owned equally at Alexandria and Norfolk, and built expressly to run between the two places—should it be found that the interest of the Stockholders will be promoted by her going from this place to Washington, the Directors will pursue the course best calculated to accomplish that object (The Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald, 11 September 1820).

The maiden voyage of the Potomack (or Potomac, as the press soon came to call her) was one of some mishap. Sailing from Norfolk on September 21, 1820, on her much-heralded inaugural run under the command of a new skipper, Captain John B. Campbell, a piston rod was broken,

and the ship was obliged to return to port. By November, however, she was back on the Norfolk-Alexandria run, and once again under the command of Captain Middleton, Captain Campbell having taken on the job as skipper of the James River steamboat Norfolk (The Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald, 22 September 1820; 27 November 1820).

Though the service and speed with which the operation of the Alexandria and Norfolk Steam Boat Company ship were usually conducted were usually free of mishaps during her first years of service, there were occasional problems. In January 1822 the winter cold was so severe that the Potomac River and the Chesapeake Bay had become clogged by drift ice. On the morning of January 25 the Potomac left Norfolk as scheduled but was able to proceed only as far as New Point Comfort, having encountered "such a quantity of drift ice in the Bay, as to render it very dangerous to attempt making head against it." Captain Middleton was forced to bring his ship to anchor until the following morning. However, with the daylight came the discovery that a solid sheet of ice had formed between the land and the boat, then in two and a half fathoms of water. So much, in fact, had accumulated in the Bay that the Potomac was obliged to return to Norfolk. When news that the Potomac was frozen up solid reached Norfolk, an alternative run was attempted the following day up the Bay for Baltimore. Middleton could only proceed as high up as Plumb Point, nearly 50 miles below Annapolis, where he landed his passengers, and then dropped back down the Chesapeake. Passage to Alexandria was out of the question, for the Potomac remained so clogged with ice that the river was closed until mid-February (The American Beacon, 26 January 1822; 30 January 1822; 21 February 1822).

In October 1822 the Alexandria and Norfolk Steamboat Company, seeking to expand its markets, invaded the James River route, hitherto the dominion of the James River Steamboat Company. The Potomac soon commenced running from City Point on the James to Norfolk, Alexandria, and Washington. Combined with the establishment of stage runs from Petersburg to City Point and from Washington to Baltimore, a traveler could now cover the entire distance for a fee of \$20.50. The company directors vowed that they would soon extend convenient service to Richmond. To prevent passengers from transferring to the competitor's line at various points, however, a discount was offered with every ticket, but was invalidated by any transfer (The Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald, 9 October 1822).

The Alexandria and Norfolk's extension of service to include Washington and the consequent competition for passenger and freight soon sounded the death knell for the Potomac River Steam Boat Company operations of the Washington. On December 2, the Daily National Intelligencer published an advertisement offering the Washington for sale on December 20, to the highest bidder, together with all the furniture belonging to the boat, her small boats, the furniture of the company tavern at Potomac Creek, and a black cook. The purchaser would be entitled to the privileges belonging to the franchise owners, as related to their exclusive right to navigate the Potomac Creek run, and the leasehold of the tavern and wharf at Potomac Creek (Daily National Intelligencer, 2 December 1822). Since the owners of the Washington were operating under a franchise arrangement granted by the Livingston-Fulton monopoly (which would soon be voided by the courts in 1824), it seems likely that the anticipated

business did not meet expectations, and, with the competition for much of the trade by the Alexandria and Norfolk Line, the company decided to wind up its affairs (Heyl 2: 277).

With the initial success of its expanded operations, the Alexandria and Norfolk Line had soon become the choice of travelers of influence. In March 1823 the Potomac, now under the command of Captain Uriah Jenkins, carried an illustrious body of passengers which included four senators and 16 members of the House of Representatives (The Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald, 6 March 1823). The company's invasion of the James, however, only succeeded in stimulating a price war with the James River Steamboat Company, soon advertising free passenger service on days that the Potomac ran on the James (The American Beacon, 7 March 1823).

Conflict between the two lines was soon so intense that not only did a price and service battle erupt, but tempers occasionally flared when captains would intentionally ram their own ships into those of their competitors. On one occasion, on August 10, 1823, the Potomac actually crashed into the James River steamboat Richmond off Windmill Point on the James. The Potomac struck the larboard quarter of her competitor bow on, crushing a small boat, destroying the larboard quarter rail, and doing other damage. Nineteen passengers of the Richmond publicly announced that they "apprehend from the circumstances that the aggression was not wholly accidental" (The American Beacon, 11 August 1823).

In 1824 the James River Line counterattacked by announcing that on May 25 at 9:00 a.m., the Richmond, Captain William Coffin commanding, would leave Nivison's Wharf for Alexandria and Washington. Fare,

including meals, to Alexandria would be \$7.00, and to Washington \$7.50, nearly a third cheaper than the Alexandria and Norfolk Line price for the same run (The American Beacon, 25 May 1824). The counter-invasion of the Potomac had immediate effects. Within a month the Alexandria and Norfolk Line was forced to lower its prices to counter the invader. Two weeks after the Alexandria and Norfolk Line lowered its prices, the James River Line again slashed its prices for the Potomac River run,

CHEAP, CHEAP, CHEAP! TRAVELLING THE STEAM-BOAT PETERSBURG
Leaves Norfolk This Morning at 9 o'clock FOR WASHINGTON CITY
Will charge (Meals and Table Drink included) to Alexandria
\$3.50--to Washington \$4. D.W. CROCKER, Captain (The American
Beacon, 28 June 1824).

Once again the Alexandria and Norfolk Line countered by lowering their prices to match the competition (The American Beacon, 4 August 1824).

In October 1824 the James River Line produced a publicity coup of considerable proportions that far surpassed the usually upper-class patronage of the Alexandria and Norfolk Line. A celebration was being held at Yorktown to commemorate the Revolutionary War victory, and among the many honored guests was the Marquis de Lafayette. Lafayette, one of the few surviving senior-level officers of Washington's army and a hero who was almost a deity, was on a tour of the United States and was to be received at Alexandria with much pomp and ceremony (unlike his visit during the war). After his reception by the various dignitaries in the town, he was to sail for Yorktown.

On October 17, after due ceremony and celebrations in his honor, Lafayette sailed from Alexandria for the historic town on the York. He departed from the Alexandria town wharf at 11:00 a.m. with his son George Washington Lafayette, his secretary Le Vasseur, Colonels Peyton

and Harvie (aides to the Governor of Virginia), Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, General Macomb, Colonel Daniel Roberdeau, Generals Jones and Mason of the District of Columbia Militia, Colonel Henderson of the Marine Corps, and a superb band of musicians. The party stopped briefly at Mount Vernon on its way down the Potomac to visit the tomb of Washington, and then proceeded to the festivities at Yorktown. The vessel they had selected for the trip was the James River Line steamboat Petersburg (The Norfolk & Portsmouth Herald, 22 October 1824).

The battle for patronage between the Alexandria and Norfolk Line and the James River Line would continue. By 1827 no fewer than three steamboat operations would be calling at or operated from Alexandria, and the competition sharpened even more. Indeed, such competition was to become commonplace throughout the Tidewater as steamboats proliferated, improved in design and safety, and became acceptable to the public. It was nothing less than a classic case of the capitalist system at work, with all the benefits, rough-and-tumble competition, and the detriments inherent in the workings and maturation of an infant republic. It was, in microcosm, one of the very testing grounds of the American free-enterprise system. The steamboats had come to stay, and would remain for more than a century, until they would be challenged, and then replaced, by something better.

VIII

FIRE, PESTILENCE, AND SLAVERY

The end of the War of 1812 saw Alexandria in much the same physical condition that she had been in before the hostilities. The town had been described by one English visitor in 1811 as "well laid out, stands high and healthy; has a good trade in the river, and the back country" (Hosking 1813: 16). It was the same in 1815. The war had left the town, unlike many of its neighbors, without serious scars. The steam age beckoned, quickly becoming an integral part of the waterfront scene. And there was every reason to believe that the city might yet profit from the great canal system promising to link the west to the Tidewater. There were, unhappily, disturbing trends in motion that could not fail to evoke concern from Alexandria's commercial maritime interests.

Most distressing was the unprecedented surge of commercial maritime domination by the Port of Baltimore which had already begun to sap the vitality and trade from every port in the Chesapeake Tidewater--including Alexandria. By December 1815 Baltimore's shipping accounted for nearly 45 percent of all tonnage in the Tidewater. Norfolk could barely claim 14.5 percent, followed by Vienna, Maryland, with only seven percent. Alexandria tonnage accounted for slightly more than six percent. Tidewater production and industrial capacity was entirely focused on the Patapsco. Baltimore's population, a manpower pool hitherto unsurpassed in the region, had skyrocketed. In 1790 the city's population had been documented at 14,000 persons. By the Civil War it would number 212,000 souls (ASPCN 2: 41; Hahn: 18).

Still, the signs of prosperity seemed to return to Alexandria almost

Figure 5.

ABSTRACT OF TONNAGE OF SHIPPING OF DISTRICTS IN VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND
TIDEWATER FOR THE YEAR 1815.

Rank	Port	Aggregate Tons	Percent of Total
1	Baltimore, Md.	107,137.37	44.783
2	Norfolk, Va.	34,705.12	14.507
3	Vienna, Md.	16,360.73	6.839
4	ALEXANDRIA, D.C.	14,956.16	6.252
5	Oxford, Md.	13,204.22	5.519
6	Richmond, Va.	11,068.40	4.627
7	Snow Hill, Md.	7,364.00	3.078
8	Tappahannock, Va.	7,285.07	3.045
9	Georgetown, D.C.	6,795.11	2.840
10	Petersburg, Va.	5,912.07	2.471
11	Folly Landing, Va.	3,447.70	1.441
12	Annapolis, Md.	2,217.78	.927
13	St. Mary's (river), Md.	2,000.49	.836
14	Chester (River), Md.	1,813.02	.758
15	East River, Va.	1,788.80	.748
16	Dumfries, Va.	1,743.83	.729
17	Havre de Grace, Md.	1,636.72	.684
18	Cherrystone, Va.	1,608.30	.672
19	Yeocomico, Va.	1,566.22	.655
20	Hampton, Va.	1,547.21	.647
21	Nottingham, Md.	1,473.78	.616
22	Yorktown, Va.	733.23	.306
23	South Quay, Va.	90.37	.038
Total		239,165.34	100.000

Source: American State Papers. Commerce and Navigation, 2: 41.

as soon as hostilities with England had ceased. In 1816, a year after the close of the war, a total of 992 vessels cleared the port, of which 195 were foreign. Yet shipping tonnage soon began a serious decline as Baltimore continued to displace the other ports in the Tidewater. In 1815 aggregate tonnage for Alexandria was placed at 14,956.16. By 1821 tonnage had declined to 12,992.66. A shifting of priorities was in the making. Of the total tonnage, there had been a sizable proportionate increase in the number of vessels enrolled and licensed in the coasting trade (ASPCN 2: 41, 753). Decline was irrefutably looming. Hahn (19) attributes the beginning of Alexandria's commercial and maritime recession to several factors. The town, he asserts, failed to develop into a distribution center for re-exports, nor possessed an extensive industrial or manufacturing base. The Potomac itself was an increasingly difficult waterway for ships to traverse because of shoaling, ice, flooding, and siltation. Its towns no longer could offer deep harbors to oceangoing ships whose overall size and draft began to creep upwards. And finally, the rivalry of competing towns such as Baltimore, Norfolk, Richmond, and Georgetown served to curtail progress. "Unfortunately for Alexandria," he writes, "the days of the helpful paternalism of Washington, Jefferson, and other prominent Virginians had also come to an end."

There were other factors which influenced decline. Miller (12) suggests that such incidents as the yellow fever episodes of the 1803-1810 period, the Jeffersonian embargo, fire, the diminished markets resulting from the Napoleonic Wars, and even West Indies piracy helped to slow maritime and commercial growth. There were of course many other causes,

Figure 6.

ABSTRACT OF TONNAGE OF SHIPPING 1815-1821 FOR THE PORTS OF ALEXANDRIA AND GEORGETOWN

	Registered		Enrolled & Licensed		Licensed Under 20 Tons Coasting Trade	Agregate	Proportion Enrolled & Licensed in Coasting Trade
	Permanent	Temporary	Permanent	Temporary			
1815							
Alexandria	6,594.80	2,594.80	4,769.79	169.81	1,116.24	14,956.16	4,939.65
Georgetown	2,239.12	137.83	3,704.82	61.70	651.49	6,795.11	3,766.57
1816							
Alexandria	5,545.92	176.10	4,832.70	-	1,256.57	11,811.39	4,832.70
Georgetown	1,841.47	180.40	4,101.61	41.69	674.29	6,839.56	4,143.35
1817							
Alexandria	6,004.91	948.87	4,846.17	-	1,341.67	13,141.72	4,846.17
Georgetown	2,097.19	492.73	4,756.14	84.26	661.75	8,092.17	4,840.40
1818							
Alexandria	6,559.77	728.68	5,235.75	-	1,488.03	14,007.33	5,235.75
Georgetown	867.15	111.91	6,059.75	49.62	657.57	7,746.15	6,109.42
1819							
Alexandria	5,684.89	997.84	5,650.65	232.81	1,578.88	14,145.27	5,883.51
Georgetown	831.38	275.13	5,954.15	262.72	613.25	7,936.68	6,216.87
1820							
Alexandria	5,785.02	2,213.81	5,372.47	68.87	1,645.90	15,086.22	5,441.39
Georgetown	2,281.61	770.82	5,723.20	141.69	674.22	9,591.64	5,864.89
1821							
Alexandria	4,994.10	808.02	5,313.94	169.81	1,706.69	12,992.66	5,483.80
Georgetown	2,427.77	263.44	2,816.57	100.00	155.20	5,763.08	2,916.57

Source: American State Papers. Commerce and Navigation, 2 : 41, 91, 165, 409, 465, 519, 753.

such as the shift in volume and type of major export items and the decline of Alexandria's flour industry brought about by the indirect impact of the abolition of slave importation on the town's West Indian flour trade. Between 1820 and 1824 the Port of Baltimore would inspect and ship nearly three times as much flour as Alexandria (504,650 barrels vs. 178,850 barrels) (Alexandria Gazette, 24 June 1824). Without the West Indian slave markets to consume its flour, the flour trade of Alexandria was doomed, while that of Baltimore, with outlets in Europe and America, flourished. Further damage was induced by the causeway built by Georgetown in 1810 which obstructed ships from coming down the river (Miller, A Brief History of the Alexandria Waterfront: 12).

The only commerce that seemed destined to prosper was the Potomac River fisheries, and even then Alexandria had to fight just to maintain the status quo. That the fisheries were thriving was clear. One fishery operation, for instance, that of George Mason at the mouth of Mattawoman Creek in Charles County, Maryland, was illustrative of the expansion of the commercial exploitation of shad and herring. Mason advertised just prior to the spring season of 1825 that his facilities for curing fish at Mattawoman were very extensive and consisted "of good houses, with stands and vats sufficient to put in salt, at one striking 3,000 barrels." Mason, secure in his faith in the bounty of the Potomac, claimed that he could easily provide a customer with 10,000 barrels of fish a season and was prepared to contract for any number of barrels of fish, deliverable on the shore or at any port on the waters of the Chesapeake (Alexandria Gazette, 15 February 1825).

There were, of course, many rich areas for commercial fishing operators

to work in the Potomac. One such area, off Pamunkey Neck, Charles County, Maryland, just opposite White House Landing, Virginia, was called Fenwick's Bar or Bar Landing. In the spring of 1811, upwards of 100,000 shad had been taken here and nearly as many herring (Alexandria Gazette, 2 September 1844). Alexandria, however, seemed as ideally situated as any locality for fish. In 1832, for instance, a record single haul of 950,000 accurately counted fish was taken directly off the city. The bountiful take, unfortunately, resulted in low prices--for herring, 24¢ per thousand; for shad, \$1.50 per hundred. The normal price was usually \$1.50 per thousand for the former and \$3.00 to \$4.00 per hundred for the latter. Rock fish were equally abundant, and immediately above Alexandria during this year 450 rock fish, averaging 60 pounds each, were taken in a single haul (Beitzell 1979: 90).

Alexandria sought to regulate the curing and distribution of fish within the town limits in 1825. On March 29 of that year an ordinance was published stating that between March 1 and June 1, the commercial fishing season, no person could purchase, within the limits of the town, fresh shad, herring, or other fish for the purpose of reselling it, uncured, within the town limits, except that which was sold at the market house and during market hours. A \$5.00 fine would be levied for each offense. It was further ordered

That any person or persons who shall clean, or cause to be cleaned, during the season of fishing for shad or herrings, any fresh fish within the limits of the corporation, except at the corporation wharf, established as a fish market, shall forfeit and pay for each offence a sum not exceeding five dollars--and it is hereby declared that a continuance of the offence, after each notice or proceeding had thereon, shall constitute a new offence. Provided that nothing herein

contained shall be construed to prohibit the cleaning of fresh fish elsewhere within the limits of the corporation, intended for immediate use, but such fish shall not be cleaned at any of the public pumps of the town, under a penalty not exceeding fifty cents for each offence (Alexandria Gazette, 30 October 1834).

The Common Council once again addressed the issue of waterfront expansion. On February 25, 1831, the city government established limitations on the lengths of wharves, which had hitherto pushed ever further into the Potomac without order or regularity. Structures that threatened to extend to the very edge of the main river channel or beyond would pose a threat to navigation. North of Oronoco Street maximum projection from Union Street seaward was not to exceed 320 feet. South of Wilkes Street wharves would not be permitted to exceed 514 feet in length seaward of Union. Those between Oronoco and Wilkes already ranged in length from 350 feet to 540 feet from Union. Obvious preferential treatment for the more commercially active waterfront areas was being extended, undoubtedly in a brazen effort to assist in attracting maritime commerce back to the city's waterfront (Erickson, p.c.).

As Alexandria began its long struggle against commercial maritime decline, the process was hastened by the twin harpies of fire and plague.

The first of these disasters, the great Alexandria fire of 1827, began by accident in the shop of a cabinetmaker named James Green. Green's shop had stood on the interior of the square bounded by Fairfax, Prince, Royal, and King Streets, and near the intersection of the latter two. When the fire was discovered on the blustery morning of Thursday,

Alexandria Archeology Project
Description of Dock Length Limitations
City of Alexandria. Approved in
Common Council 25 February 1831.

Phil Erickson
July 8, 1984.

Erickson's schematic reconstruction is based upon Alexandria governmental limitations of dock size set on February 25, 1831. Although such efforts were well intentioned, their historical durability, in light of waterfront evolution, appears to have been minimal.

ALEXANDRIA PROCEEDING PROJECT

DESCRIPTION of DOCK LENGTH LIMITATIONS

CITY of ALEXANDRIA.

APPROVED IN COMMON COUNCIL
25 FEBRUARY 1931

RESOLUTION - PHIL FRICKSON - 7-6/89

NORTHWARD
320'
MAXIMUM
INTO
RIVER

380'

ORRISON

280'

ORRISON

280'

CAMERON

380'

KING

280'

380'

PRINCE

380'

430'

ORRISON

540'

540'

WILKINSON

SOUTHWARD →
LIMIT
514'
MAXIMUM INTO
RIVER

UNION

66'

66'

66'

66'

66'

66'

66'

55'

RIVER
POTOMAC

January 18, the alarm was sounded a few minutes before 9:00 a.m. Although the blaze was at first confined to the ground floor of Green's shop, the house was wrapped in flames even before the citizenry could collect in force to combat the fire. Quickly it spread to nearby buildings, particularly to the back buildings of stores and dwellings fronting on King and Fairfax Streets, running back to the alleys on which the workshop was situated. Through great exertion the flames were prevented from reaching the front buildings on King Street, but the kitchens, stables, and other out-buildings of more than half a dozen citizens were burnt or had to later be pulled down (Alexandria Gazette, 23 January 1827).

The fire continued to spread rapidly. The back buildings of several houses fronting on Royal Street were soon consumed, as was a frame dwelling on an alley immediately south of Green's shop. The blaze soon reached Fairfax Street, where it was finally checked on the north by a three-story fire-proof building occupied by Edward Stabler and Son as a drugstore. All of the other houses on the west side of Fairfax Street between Stabler's and Prince Street were almost simultaneously in flames and were speedily consumed. At Prince Street the progress of the fire was arrested south and west, yet the efforts of those who turned out to battle the conflagration were in vain as the flames, carried by the winds, swept over Fairfax Street to the east and began to consume several three-story brick houses. There the fire was again arrested (Alexandria Gazette, 23 January 1827).

A troupe of circus performers, led by the owner of the circus, a man named Brown, offered their services, which proved to be invaluable. Brown's performers were soon battling the blaze alongside the Alexandrians.

One of the performers, Samuel Shrock, "was literally worth his weight in gold" at the very crisis of the disaster, as he mounted the highest and steepest roof in town, which was supposed by everyone to be untenable. Sustaining himself by a shallow gutter within a few inches of the eaves, he received water handed to him through a window, and applied it so judiciously for hours on end that he saved the house and prevented the fire from crossing the street "at a point which was truly regarded as a breast-work to the whole range of property between that and the river." Another circus performer, John Campbell, saved the home of Captain Rhodes, but, more important, checked the fire in its progress toward the Custom House and other property of great value (Alexandria Gazette, 23 January 1827).

Others who volunteered their services and hazarded their lives included Captain Uriah Jenkins, commander of the steamboat Potomac, who was instrumental in saving a vast amount of property, including the offices of the Alexandria Gazette. The alarm, carried by Brown's circus ponies and riders, spread north as far as Washington and Georgetown, whose citizens turned out "by thousands" to join in the fight against the conflagration. Soon reinforcements were on the way from the capital, where Congress, notified of the catastrophe, promptly adjourned. The Washington Navy Yard and other public offices shut down as a consequence of the emergency. Washington and Georgetown dispatched every engine and hose in their fire departments to fight alongside Alexandria's fire-fighters. The Marine Corps detachment at the Washington Navy Yard, under Captain Howle, arrived at the town in a body to pitch in. Artificers from the War Department were sent down with their implements to blow up houses in the face of the fire and pull down ruined buildings in its

wake. The Secretary of War and many members of Congress rushed to the scene of battle to fight alongside common laborers. For the first time, every toll gate in the vicinity was thrown open and inter-city rivalries momentarily forgotten (Alexandria Gazette, 23 January 1827).

Despite the arresting of the flames in certain quarters, the fire-fighters' best efforts were constantly being frustrated by nature. A powerful northwest wind had soon rekindled the flames of some shingles of a burnt-out building and carried them to another part of town, where "a still more awful fire" was born. This blaze began about 400 feet from the east side of Fairfax Street where the fire had been stopped, and on the north side of Prince Street, near the intersection of Prince and Water. Within a few minutes, both sides of Prince Street between Water and Union, together with a warehouse on the east side of Water Street, four more on the west side of Union south of Prince, and three more on the west side of Union north of Prince, were in flames. Every house and structure except two were entirely destroyed, along with their contents. It was here, as Alexandrian spirits began to fail, that the arrival of assistance from Washington and Georgetown turned the tide of battle, "and redeemed the most valuable part of the town, and perhaps the shipping from the inevitable destruction that otherwise awaited." Yet for five hours the flames continued to rush from house to house. Furniture and goods were scattered in every direction in an effort to save whatever property possible. Women and children fled for safety as husbands waged war against the heat and flames. Gradually, manpower and water brought the destruction to an end. After it was over, Alexandria began to assess the damage (Alexandria Gazette,

23 January 1827).

On January 19, the day after the holocaust, the Mayor and Common Council appointed a committee to ascertain the cause of the disaster and the extent of the loss. Another committee was directed to examine the laws of the Corporation relative to the prevention and extinguishment of fires, and report to the council what alterations in the laws, if any, might be necessary. And finally, a resolution was unanimously passed extending the thanks and gratitude of Alexandrians and their city to the citizens of Washington and Georgetown for their unstinting assistance rendered during the emergency (Alexandria Gazette, 23 January 1827).

The committee appointed to investigate the fire (Edmund I. Lee, George Drinker, Thomas Preston, and William Veitch) returned with a report on January 20. They were unable to ascribe the fire to any "marked neglect" on the part of the workmen employed by Mr. Green. The loss of 53 buildings--warehouses, dwellings, and stores, but not including such structures as stables and other outbuildings--was valued at \$60,920. Personal property losses were estimated at \$46,350, thus placing the initial estimate of the total loss at \$107,277. Expectations of the gross cost, when all was said and done, would exceed \$150,000. The calamity was particularly felt, noted the committee, by many now homeless citizens who were obliged to seek shelter during the winter wherever charity would permit. The council accepted the committee's report, and promptly appropriated \$500 for the relief of the many unfortunates victimized by the fire. A sum not to exceed \$400 was appropriated for repairing the town's fire engines (Alexandria Gazette, 23 January 1827).

Financial assistance for the sufferers, money donated by various

Figure 7.

DAMAGES INFLICTED UPON ALEXANDRIA BY THE FIRE OF JANUARY 18, 1827

Owner	Occupant	Location	Structure Type	Service	Loss (Personal)
John Lloyd & Mordecai Miller	George Hill (tinner & coppersmith)	Fairfax Street	Framed warehouse	-	Loss considerable
John Lloyd	Laughlin Masterson (shoemaker)	Fairfax Street	Frame house	-	Loss inconsiderable
Thomas Brocchus	Thomas Brocchus (merchant tailor)	Fairfax Street	Frame front house & 3-story brick back building	Tailor shop & family dwelling	Almost total loss
John Adam	Joseph Dodds	Fairfax Street	3-story brick house	Shoe store, manufacturing & family dwelling	Loss considerable
Dr. William Harper	Dr. William Harper	Fairfax Street	3-story brick house	Apothecary store and family dwelling	Loss considerable
Peter Wise	Captain John Johnson	Fairfax Street	3-story brick house	Millinary store (daughter's) & family dwelling	Loss considerable
Thomas Irwin	Unoccupied	Fairfax Street	3-story brick house	-	-
Captain John Rumney	Captain John Rumney and family	Fairfax Street	3-story brick house	Family dwelling	-
Jane Simmons' estate	Mrs. Murphey	Fairfax Street	2-story brick house	Dwelling	Loss considerable
Mordecai Miller	Mordecai Miller	Fairfax Street	Frame house	Warehouse	Unknown

Owner	Occupant	Location	Structure Type	Service	Loss (Personal)
Jane Simmons's estate	John Rudd (painter) and family	Fairfax Street	2-story brick house	-	\$150.00
George Slacum's estate	Unoccupied	Fairfax Street	Frame house	-	Loss inconsiderable
George Slacum's estate	John Hepburn (confectioner)	Fairfax Street	Frame house	-	Loss inconsiderable
C. & I.P. Thompson	C. & I.P. Thompson & Craven P. Thompson	Fairfax Street	3-story brick house	Wholesale dry goods store & dwelling	Loss inconsiderable
Robert I.T. Wilson and sisters	Robert I.T. Wilson and sisters	Fairfax Street	3-story brick house	Dwelling house	Loss considerable
Bank of Alexandria	Samuel A. Marstellar	Water Street	2-story brick warehouse	Storehouse	Consumed with many valuable goods
Dr. John Vowell	Jonathan Fields and family	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	2-story frame house	Tobacco store & family dwelling	Loss considerable
Matthias Snyder	Matthias Snyder	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	Frame warehouse	Oil and paint store, brass foundry	Loss considerable
Mrs. Slacum	John Hill	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	2-story frame house	Boarding house	Loss inconsiderable
William Harper Sr.	Mr. Gesseling (painter) & family	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	2-story frame house	-	Loss considerable
Edward Sheehy	Edward Sheehy	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	2-story frame and 2-story brick house	Grocery store, soap & tallow chandlery, & dwelling house	Loss very heavy

Owner	Occupant	Location	Structure Type	Service	Loss (Personal)
William Isabell	William Isabell and family	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	2-story brick house	Clothing store and dwelling	Loss considerable
Thomas Vowell	Edward Sheehy	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	3-story brick house	Bacon and pork store	Loss very great
Captain Robinson	Captain Robinson and family	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	3-story brick house with warehouse in the rear	Grocery store with bacon and pork warehouse in the rear	Loss very heavy
Heirs of Joshua Riddle	Mr. J. Brown (seaman) and Mrs. Hunt (widow)	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	Frame house	Dwelling	Loss inconsiderable
Arthur T. Urie	Arthur T. Urie and family	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	2-story brick house	Dwelling	Loss inconsiderable
Norman R. Fitzhugh	Unoccupied	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	3-story brick warehouse	-	-
Bank of Alexandria	Moses Brent and Joseph Williams (colored men)	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	2-story frame house	-	Loss inconsiderable
Anthony Rhodes	Peter Rhodes and David Brewer	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	2-story frame house	-	Loss inconsiderable
Jacob Fottrell	Jacob Fottrell and family	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	2-story frame house	Dwelling	Loss inconsiderable

Owner	Occupant	Location	Structure Type	Service	Loss (Personal)
Jonathan C. May	Jonathan C. May	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	2-story frame house & extensive back warehouse	Cigar & tobacco manufactory	Loss very great
John Lloyd	Richard Horwell (suspender manufacturer) and family	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	2-story frame house	Dwelling	Loss considerable
William McLaughlin	John McFarlen (shoemaker) and family	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	2-story brick house	-	Loss considerable
Jonathan C. May	Jonathan C. May (merchant tailor) and family	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	2-story brick house & extensive back buildings	-	Loss considerable
Heirs of Seth Cartwright	James Nightingale (shoemaker) and family	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	3-story brick house	-	Loss considerable
Susan Douglass	Unoccupied	Prince Street between Union & Water Streets	3-story brick house	-	-
W. Fowle & Co.	Cohagan & Whittle	SW corner of Prince and Union Streets	3-story brick warehouse	Grocery store	Loss inconsiderable
Colonel Francis Peyton	Unoccupied	Union Street south of Prince	3-story brick warehouse	-	Loss inconsiderable
Joseph Dean's estate	John Creighton	Union Street south of Prince	3-story brick warehouse	Store house	Loss inconsiderable
Joseph Dean's estate	George Swaine (carpenter) and Goddard Hill (cooper)	Union Street south of Prince	2-story frame house	Carpenter's shop and cooper's shop	Loss inconsiderable

Owner	Occupant	Location	Structure Type	Service	Loss (Personal)
Daniel Wright	Daniel Wright (hatter)	Union Street south of Prince	2-story frame house	-	Partially pulled down loss of personal property inconsiderable
Norman R. Fitzhugh	Unoccupied	Union Street north of Prince	3-story brick house	-	Burnt
Heirs of Mrs. Boyer	Unoccupied	Union Street north of Prince	2-story frame house	-	Burnt
Anthony Rhodes	Unoccupied	Union Street north of Prince	2-story frame house	-	Burnt
Samuel Smith	-	On the square bounded by Fairfax Street, Prince Street, Royal Street, and King Street, and near the intersection of Royal Street and King Street	-	-	The back buildings, stables, kitchens and other out houses were either burnt or pulled down
William A. Williams	-		-	-	
John Adam	-		-	-	
Archibald Douglass	-		-	-	
Thomas Mount	-		-	-	
Robert Barry	-		-	-	
Thomas Martin	-		-	-	

Persons on Prince and King Streets Suffering Loss by Removal

Francis Murphy	Mrs. Washington	Zachariah Nichols	Samuel Plummer	Joseph Ladd
Dr. William Wedderburn	William Gregory	Mrs. Price	Frederick Koons	John Hoof
Messrs Snowden & Thornton	Messrs. Clagett & Page	Matthew Robinson	Messrs. Miller & Son	Mrs. Mills
W.F. Thornton	George Hill	Henry Mansfield	Daniel Bryan	Robert Masare
Mr. W. Bartleman	Bryan Hampson	John Corse	Peter Hewett	Sundry others

individuals and corporations, began to accumulate in the mayor's office almost immediately. The Corporation of Georgetown donated \$500, while citizens of that town took up a collection and presented a gift of \$216. Smaller sums were forthcoming from the Bank of the United States, the Consul General and the Vice Consul of Great Britain, and various individuals of means. The town newspaper was graciously printed in Washington by rival newspapers, the National Intelligencer and the National Journal, for several days, until order was restored at the singed offices of the Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria Gazette, 23 January 1827).

The damage had been debilitating and must certainly have had a negative effect on town commerce. However, it had not caused any damage to the shipping; and it had claimed no human lives.

In 1832, five years after the great fire, Alexandria was described as "a compact and paved town of 7,000 inhabitants" (Alexandria Gazette, 23 April 1832). Though visitors often found that these inhabitants were somewhat morose owing to the declining fortunes of their city and falling trade, day-to-day life continued in a familiar routine. In the summer of this particular year, however, that routine was to once more be upset by one of those periodic contagions that threatened to incite panic and disorder. This time it was cholera.

The first hint of the impending epidemic arrived from England in June, when it was reported that "the India pestilence, which, in its progress westward, has clad Europe in mourning, has at length appeared in America." Reports of outbreaks in Quebec and Montreal, carried by Irish immigrants, and efforts of the Canadian government to invoke a

quarantine provided many with a hope that the contagion might yet be stayed beyond the borders of the United States. Such hopes proved ill-founded (Alexandria Gazette, 13 June 1832).

Mayor John Roberts of Alexandria moved swiftly to protect his town from the menace as effectively as possible. On June 25 he issued an order

That all vessels coming from or touching at any ports either in the United States, British Provinces in North America, or any foreign port where the Cholera, or any other contagious disease, is known, or suspected to exist, and bound to Alexandria, be brought to anchor at the Quarantine Ground, and there to remain for the inspection and direction of the Health Office.

He further announced that no crews or passengers from such vessels were to be allowed ashore, nor would anyone be permitted aboard without special permission from the town health officer, Dr. Thomas Semmes, with the exception of those persons employed in the execution of the Quarantine Laws (Alexandria Gazette, 25 June 1832).

Reports of the spread of the disease continued to flow in. On June 28, the date of the signing of the Alexandria Canal Bill by the President, reports appeared noting that the disease had appeared in York (now Ottawa), Canada, and was moving southward toward the American border. On July 2 it was in New York City, and by late July it had spread to Albany in the north and Philadelphia to the south. Scores of people were reported dying of the pestilence each day in every city touched. On July 28 it reached Boston, Massachusetts, and three days later two cases were reported at Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia. It seemed that it was only a matter of time until Alexandria would be stricken (Alexandria Gazette, 28 June 1832; 6 July 1832; 28 July 1832; 3 August 1832).

On August 3 the Alexandria Board of Health convened in an emergency meeting to decide on effective measures that might be taken to lessen the impact of the epidemic should it strike the city. An Assistant Health Officer, John Moffitt, was appointed to provide Dr. Semmes with the assistance he would be needing during the impending crisis. A committee was appointed to "rent and properly furnish such houses as may be deemed necessary to be used as Hospitals should the Town be visited by any malignant disease; and also to provide the necessary attendants." Medical recommendations such as abstaining from eating melons, cucumbers, green corn, and unripe fruit or from drinking liquor, and engaging in riotous living were offered as a precaution against weakening resistance to the disease. These recommendations were to be published in the Gazette. Dead animals and pets were ordered removed within two hours of their demise from habitations to some point beyond the town line on pain of fine. Private necessaries, or privies, were to be put in good order, and offensive smells were to be attended to, also on pain of fine for noncompliance. No distiller, soap boiler, tallow candler, hatter, or other person who would normally discharge foul liquids into streets and alleys would be permitted to do so during the crisis. The government moved to repave certain streets and alleys, such as Washington and Columbus Streets running south from Duke and the west side of St. Asaph, where gutters had not been constructed and sewage cluttered the avenues. An 1821 law, ordering that no brick or lime kiln be erected within town limits less than 50 feet from a private or public building, because of the offensive smell, was reintroduced. On August 13 all dram and drinking houses were ordered closed in Washington, and although Alexandria advised

similar measures, the only action taken was to recommend the healthful virtues of abstinence (Alexandria Gazette, 4 August 1832; 10 August 1832; 13 August 1832).

On August 14 the Gazette reported that the disease had broken out in Baltimore. On August 25 Washington was stricken. The epidemic soon spread to Georgetown, and cases began to appear among the work crews along the C&O Canal. But Alexandria remained untouched. "We can attribute," stated the Gazette proudly,

the remarkable good health of our town, and its escape from the pestilence which is afflicting our neighbors, only, under the favor and protection of Providence, to its general cleanliness, and those habits of sobriety, order, and prudence.

The paper recommended that, to maintain the city's health, the streets and alleys be kept clean, chlorides and lime be scattered in profusion, citizens refuse to eat unwholesome fruits and vegetables and remain sober, go to bed early, avoid exposure, and obey the doctor's advice (Alexandria Gazette, 14 August 1832; 25 August 1832; 6 September 1832).

The day after the Gazette's article congratulating the town on its health, the Health Office reported the first two cases of cholera in the town, one a sailor and the other an elderly black man who had died. Suddenly, case after case began to appear; many of them were treated privately, others were cared for at the two emergency hospitals erected to meet the crisis. On September 11 a call went out for women of various religions to assist in preparing food and providing comfort for the sick in the hospitals, and to make provisions for the family of the destitute. The volunteers were to convene at the First Presbyterian Church. Donations of money, flannel, and other goods, such as old clothes, were requested

from the public, and were to be sent to the Potomac Bank or to any church (Alexandria Gazette, 11 September 1832).

Though public records are largely mute on the subject, the public concern over the pestilence apparently exceeded the actual impact of the disease itself. In mid-September Robert N. Grymes, a member of the Board of Health, resigned. It had been he who had discovered the disease when he visited two patients "lying sick at our wharves, without homes or friends, or any of the comforts or conveniences necessary to persons in their situation." He acknowledged that he was the first to identify the patients "laboring under what is called Asiatic Cholera," having already personally seen the epidemic first-hand while in Philadelphia. When questioned by a citizen about the two men, he told him that they had cholera and that he was ordering them placed in the hospital. As a consequence, Grymes was castigated by his peers for spreading the news and some even apparently accused him of admitting the contagion into the town (Alexandria Gazette, 11 September 1832).

Fortunately, the epidemic in Alexandria never reached the terrible proportions it had in other cities. By one account, published on October 6, only 42 people had died of the disease, of which 33 were residents of the town. Seventeen of the victims had been white and 25 black. Proportionately, Alexandria had suffered far less than Washington, Baltimore, Norfolk, or even the clusters of smaller communities nearby. The public workhouse a mile from the town, for instance, with a population of 45 inhabitants, had suffered the loss of nine persons, one-fifth of its population. Though actual losses in Alexandria may well have exceeded the published accounts, by October 6 the Board of Health confidently

declared the town free of cholera and discontinued its daily health reports in the Gazette. But more important to the town's maritime trade, "Clean Bills of Health are now issued at the Custom House, to all vessels clearing this port" (Alexandria Gazette, 6 October 1832).

The complexion of Alexandria had begun to change by the 1830s, in both the nature of its commerce and the character of the town itself. The economic decline which had begun in the early 1820s, compounded by the disastrous fire of 1827 and the epidemic of 1832, had, it seems, sapped the vigor of competition once inherent in its people. By the 1830s a new aspect of commerce, always evident on a somewhat minor scale since the town's inception, began to assert an ever greater influence on Alexandria's character. That commerce was an increased indulgence in the slave trade.

One of the largest companies involved in the Alexandria slave trade was the firm of Franklin and Armfield, whose offices were established at the west end of Duke Street. Franklin and Armfield regularly advertised their desire to purchase, for cash, blacks for the slave market. Typical of their advertisements was one which appeared in the Gazette on September 6, 1832.

Cash for Negroes WE wish to purchase one hundred and fifty likely Negroes, of both sexes, from 12 to 25 years of age, field hands; also mechanics of every description. Persons wishing to sell would do well to give us a call, as we are determined to give a higher price for slaves than any purchasers who are or may hereafter be in this market, and no certificates required.

The firm employed two vessels, the brig Tribune, Captain Smith, and the brig Uncas, Captain Goush, to ship their human commodities from

Alexandria to the rich slave markets of New Orleans. One of the vessels regularly departed Alexandria every 30 days throughout the shipping season. The vessels were described as first-class and commanded by experienced officers (Alexandria Gazette, 1 September 1834). The firm's business was voluminous, and at least 1,000 slaves were bought and shipped in 1833 alone (Tilp 1978: 160).

Alexandria, like the rest of Virginia, had experienced mixed reactions to the slave trade within the United States ever since the abolition of the slave import trade in 1808 and the United States Navy's efforts to suppress the smuggling of African blacks to the United States in 1819. The Nat Turner Rebellion of August 1831 had sent shivers down the backs of many slave holders in the South, and the debate that ensued in Virginia released a stream of anti-abolitionist rhetoric in Alexandria and other urban centers that now depended upon the commerce in and services of slavery. The town, along with a number of other upriver urban centers on the Potomac, was described by some as "the greatest slave mart of the North American continent" and by others as "the Congo of America" (Tilp 1978: 160; Alexandria Gazette, 1831-1832).

One dealer in slaves recalled, in his memoirs, why Alexandria, since the abolition of slave importation, had become so reliant upon the intra-American slave trade.

Whole farms were used as nurseries to supply the market with young mulattoes. Irish and Scotch overseers usually had charge of the gangs. The fertility of the negroes in Virginia seemed to be about the same as in Africa. On a farm near Alexandria I counted thirty about to become mothers and the huts swarmed with pickaninies of different shades (Dow 1968: 264).

Slave breeding had become one of the most profitable businesses of the region, and, like the wheat which had replaced tobacco as Alexandria's principal commodity, slaves were now beginning to replace the waning commerce in flour and wheat. But as Stephens points out, it engendered a negative effect by serving to discourage immigration to the town (Stephens: 4).

IX

DOWN TO DAVY JONES' LOCKER

It was with no little concern that some Alexandrians had witnessed, by act of Congress in 1810, the bridging and closing of the western channel of the Potomac River between Masons Island and the Virginia shore. "Through this arm of the river," noted one irate Alexandrian, "and a shallow channel south of Alexander's Island. . . the river boats had a safe and sheltered navigation to the Town of Alexandria, and . . . Alexandria had a large, if not major, part of the trade of the Potomac" (Calhoun 8: 374). The bridge had indeed proved disastrous to Alexandria, for, as Hahn so aptly observes, the town had been dependent upon access to the navigation of the Potomac Company's improvements in the upper river above Georgetown for the river trade coming and going to and from Cumberland. Now that traffic was impossible because of the obstruction, Alexandria was quick to request that Congress grant permission to build a canal around the west end of the causeway and elsewhere to provide a safe channel to the city. Though Congress consented, passing an act on June 17, 1812, the Declaration of War against Great Britain, signed by President James Madison the very next day, frustrated and ultimately prohibited the beginning of the project (Hahn: 69; Calhoun 8: 374).

The commercial prognosis, as already noted, had not been good for the town after the war. The wealth of the Union, a share of which was at first thought would be provided to Alexandria, was soon being directed entirely toward rebuilding and enlarging the charred Federal City of Washington, and few dollars flowed towards the Virginia portion of the District. Modernization, however, managed to creep in. Alexandria's

streets were soon being lit by oil lamps. In 1817 the Market House was enlarged and a cupola and town clock added. In the same year the town incurred its first debt by obtaining a small loan from one of the banks. By 1819 the debt had swollen to \$74,710.20. Population growth stagnated. Between 1820 and 1830 the number of citizens increased by only 25 souls, from 8,218 to 8,243. A decade later it had increased by barely more than 200, to a total of 8,459 citizens (First Centennial: 39, 41). Not until May 26, 1830, would the city's desire for a link to the C&O system begin to offer hopes of fruition. On that date Congress finally granted a charter to the Alexandria Canal Company "for the purpose of building a canal from the terminus or other point on the C&O Canal to such a place in the Town of Alexandria as the Board of Directors shall permit." It was stipulated that the canal was to be 40 feet wide at the water's surface and 28 feet wide at the bottom. There was to be a towpath sufficiently wide along its entire length to accommodate horses or mules to pull a barge. Negotiations were soon underway with the C&O Canal Company to facilitate the hoped-for linkage (Hambleton 1978: 8).

The expenditure necessary for such an undertaking was enormous, and from the outset it posed a great burden upon the citizens of Alexandria. On July 23, 1830, the Common Council passed an act, the first of many, for the subscription of 500 shares of \$100 each to the capital stock of the Alexandria Canal Company. Subsequent acts were passed authorizing further subscriptions. The mayor and president of the council were frequently authorized to borrow, at an interest rate not to exceed 6 percent, and were thus just as frequently obliged to raise taxes, a necessary but unpopular move with the citizenry (Hambleton 1978: 19, 22).

Alexandria's commercial and maritime prognosis remained grim even as distant prospects of a return to prosperity began to slowly materialize. Disenchantment with her inferior status in the District of Columbia was growing. As early as 1804 agitation for retrocession to Virginia had begun, but was countered with relative ease (Adams 1: 320). By the 1830s, however, supporters of retrocession increased. Twice, at the instigation of Virginia Representative Philip Doddridge, votes were taken among Alexandrians, and twice the majority decided to remain with the District. Yet many citizens were displeased over the city's rapid decline. The town's debts had increased inordinately as the interest payments on loans from Dutch merchants, shouldered by the Corporation in behalf of the Potomac Company's early construction effort, began to climb. By December 1834 the debt to the Dutch was placed at nearly \$400,000, and together with annual interest, disbursements for municipal affairs, and other expenditures, the city debt fell "heavily upon a small community, with a declining commerce" (Calhoun 8: 373). By the middle of the 1830s the city was forced to petition (albeit without success) the federal government for economic relief (Adams 9: 205).

Upriver commerce for Alexandria had all but disappeared. One observer of the impact of Georgetown's domination of the traffic, and the detrimental effects of the bridge to Mason Island, noted:

I know, that for years past not one single boat has reached our wharves [from upriver]. All the produce (and it is but a small portion) that does reach us is transshipped at a heavy expense at Georgetown, and the return trade, which is most valuable, entirely lost (Calhoun 8: 374).

The Alexandria Canal had by this time become a vital necessity for the city. In order to establish a viable link between the proposed

canal and the C&O, an aqueduct would have to be erected across the Potomac. Such a tie would permit coal- or produce-carrying barges to cross the river to unload at Alexandria for transferral into outward-bound ships. Finally, in 1833, construction of the aqueduct, under the direction of Major William Turnbull and Lieutenant Maskell C. Ewing, was begun. The aqueduct, almost a quarter of a mile long, mounted on eight massive piers founded on solid rock 35 feet below the water, was an engineering marvel of the day. Running between Georgetown and Rosslyn, the structure was designed to sustain a towpath with a highway and a canal flume of heavy timbers resting on top of the stone piers (Hahn: 1; Tilp 1978: 239-40).

Civic boosters, such as the publishers of the town newspapers, were cognizant of some of the diverse potential presented by the canal. "As Alexandria is, and undoubtedly, from its excellent situation, must continue to be," remarked the editor of the Phenix (Alexandria) Gazette,

the Commercial depot of this populous District, so, it seems to us, it also ought to be the MECHANICAL and MANUFACTURING mart for all this section of country. Much of our prosperity, in our opinion, depends upon this consummation; and we rejoice to think, that with the success of the Alexandria Canal, furnishing such a water power and such excellent sites as it will, this must ensue. . . . (Alexandria Gazette, 30 October 1834).

Despite the initiation of construction on the aqueduct, the demeanor of the city at large continued to be one of despondency. One visitor to the town in the spring of 1835 revealed in his notebook the tenor of the times.

Visited Alexandria. Was prepared from what I heard of it to see an almost dilapidated and depopulated place--was most agreeably disappointed. It is a beautiful city and admirably

located. The business of this place was once very considerable, but owing to its proximity to Baltimore, and the tedious navigation of the Potomac, it has fallen off of late years very much, and the effects of this declension are beginning to be perceived in the great depreciation of the property-- I was assured that the very best houses in the place (and there are many excellent edifices) would not command a higher annual rent than 250 to 300 dollars. Whether the declension of business is as great as represented, and produced by the above causes alone, I would not undertake positively to assert, for there were some things which struck me as being exceedingly impolite in the Alexandrians. I allude to their "want of faith," in the prosperity of their city, and the ceaseless remarks as to its eventual decline; a stranger to hear them talk would suppose that all business had left them, and that the city, inhabitants and all, were going down to Davy Jones' locker at the rate of ten knots an hour. . . . (Alexandria Gazette, 22 May 1835).

Yet life along the waterfront continued as it had in the past, albeit at a far less hectic pace. In late 1834, the launching of a new ship down the ways of one of the town shipyards, as always, became the focal point of festivities and the gathering of crowds. On October 27, the Gazette dutifully reported the affair:

SHIP LAUNCH.--The fine and beautiful Ship COLUMBIA was launched on Saturday last from MURRAY'S Ship Yard, in this place. At the appointed hour, the vessel glided gracefully from the stocks into her destined element, amidst the cheers of a vast concourse of spectators which had assembled to witness the interesting sight. The COLUMBIA is a first rate ship in every respect, and the largest class of merchantman. This is the second ship that has been launched from our Ship Yards within the last two or three weeks. The Columbia is owned by W. Fowle & Co. of this place.

By 1836 a major ropewalk, one of the largest in the Chesapeake, had been erected on Jones Point. Merchants and other dealers in cordage were informed by the ropewalk's owner, James Fitzgerald and Company, in 1844 that all kinds of cordage of patent manufacture, as well as lines and twine of every description, would be produced "in a style equal if not superior to any in the country, and at such prices as cannot fail to

please." Orders could be taken at the ropewalk or at R. & W. Ramsay's in Alexandria (Alexandria Gazette, 2 September 1844).

The Potomac fisheries continued to assert their own seasonal influence on town activities. As would become normal, before the advent of the commercial fishing season, beginning in March, sealed proposals were invited from private citizens or firms for the rental of the Public Fish Wharf for the coming year (Alexandria Gazette, 13 February 1835). The season usually opened with a flurry of activity, and, as noted earlier, its impact on the town was considerable.

Alexandria is the principal mart for the Potomac Fisheries. Wharves are prepared here expressly for the unloading of the fishing smacks, which come up full freighted from the landings, and a little village of shanties soon springs up at these wharves. No place in the District is so populace, noisy and busy as this part of our town, during the fishing season (Alexandria Gazette, 21 March 1835).

As years passed, the unsightly shanties became a permanent fixture which the city fathers repeatedly ordered removed, but to no avail. By the middle 1850s the upper end of the Alexandria waterfront in the vicinity of the town wharf was known as Fishtown, an area which soon became synonymous with squalor and low-life activities during the off-season and frenetic industry during the height of the fishing season of March 1 through June 1.

Alexandrians, who owned the majority of landings and valuable fisheries on the Potomac, continued to thrive during the otherwise declining years of the city's maritime history. Alexandria fishermen, occasionally called "chips," carried on their livelihoods with vigor and a keen sense of competition with Maryland fishermen. Frequently,

conflict between the two sides erupted on Potomac waters, in violation of the spirit of the Potomac River Compact. Occasionally, the Virginia government was obliged to step in to ensure tranquility. On March 9, 1835, the Virginia General Assembly passed the Potomac Fisheries Act. The act stipulated that if any vessel should "maliciously violate" the Potomac Compact in relation to the fisheries

by permitting such vessel, boat or craft, to be anchored within the limits of any of the fisheries on the said river or its tributary streams during the fishing season, so as to interrupt, molest or hinder, any persons engaged in the said fisheries,

fines of \$2.00 per hour would be levied for every hour the violator remained after being told to depart. The keen competition, however, failed to subside (Alexandria Gazette, 19 March 1835; 29 April 1835; 23 March 1836).

Alexandria maintained a Fish Inspector whose duty it was to examine the catch, and to insure that all barrels or casks of fish offered for inspection were evenly filled. The duty of evening out the barrels was his responsibility, for which work he was allowed to receive a compensation of 5¢ for each cask inspected and filled. In March 1836 the inspector was permitted to appoint a deputy "skilled in quality and curing" of fish to assist in the filling-out process (Alexandria Gazette, 25 March 1836). The fisheries provided seasonal work for hundreds of cutters and packers, who, together with the mariners and fishermen, provided income for the plentiful bars, eateries, and boarding houses which had grown up around the waterfront. The produce from the fisheries was not only used as food, but the offal was employed as fertilizer for nearby farmlands and was later commercially exported for the same purpose (Powell 1928: 36).

As the prosperity of the fisheries increased, competition for the annual lease of the Public Fish Wharf at the foot of Oronoco Street became vigorous. In 1844 sealed bids were to be addressed to the Superintendent of Police at the Auditor's Office and submitted no later than January 22. The company with the winning proposal would be permitted to rent not only the Public Fish Wharf but also the adjacent Jameison Wharf, which was leased to the city by a private owner,

together with all the extensive and well adapted warehouses for curing and storing of fish on said wharf, belonging to the Corporation, with the privilege to the renters of shipping their barreled fish free of wharfage, and of storing the same in said warehouses free of charge, until 1st day of March, 1846.

The property possessed a front on the river of 500 feet in length with numerous docks and berths, extending back for the "greater part of Union Street--a distance of 240 feet." In addition to the wharves and warehouses, the city also included in the deal a sufficient supply of boards to construct a temporary platform which was usually erected on the waterfront for the purpose of cleaning fish. The adjacent Jameison Wharf already boasted of a board platform 24 feet by 84 feet in size.

"This Wharf," bragged the city about its facilities,

as a fish market, is well known to be the principal depot in the District for Shad and Herring during the fishing season; and the Alexandria Canal and the free bridge across the Potomac will afford all persons, residing in the upper Counties of Virginia and Maryland a convenience to avail themselves of the many superior advantages. . . .

It was understood, however,

that all the Shanties or other buildings now located on the said wharf, east of a line drawn north and south with the line of the east end of the Corporation warehouse on said wharf, shall be removed . . . that no privilege or

countenance whatsoever, shall be extended to the unlawful sale thereon of spiritous or other liquors (Alexandria Gazette, 15 January 1845).

That liquor was forbidden is not surprising, for the Potomac fishermen were apparently a rough and ready lot. Their return from the landings were "signalized, as usual, by several interesting skirmishes." Fights were common, and the Gazette frequently commented on the pugilistic skills of the rivermen. "One man," noted the paper in 1845, "had his nose knocked somewhere between his mouth and eyes, and precious little [was] left of it to be seen at all." Yet when the season came to a close, the raucous activity at the Fish Wharf and along the waterfront was replaced by a silence that, to some, bordered on "melancholy" (Alexandria Gazette, 7 May 1845).

Decline did not reduce the daily and weekly rhythm of steamboat service to and from the town, and Alexandria continued to be served by several steamboat lines. In 1836 the steamboat Joseph Johnson left the wharf at 8:00 a.m. bound for Steamboat Landing at Potomac Creek. The fare was \$1.50. From the landing, overland passage by stage to Fredericksburg could be had for 75¢. The steamer Columbia, connecting Washington, Alexandria, and Norfolk, departed Alexandria every Monday and Friday at 12:00 p.m. and departed Norfolk on the return trip every Wednesday and Sunday at 3:00 p.m. Fare for the trip was \$5.00 (Alexandria Gazette, 14 May 1836).

As work progressed on the Potomac Aqueduct, engineers began to take a close look at the navigability of the upper Potomac River in general.

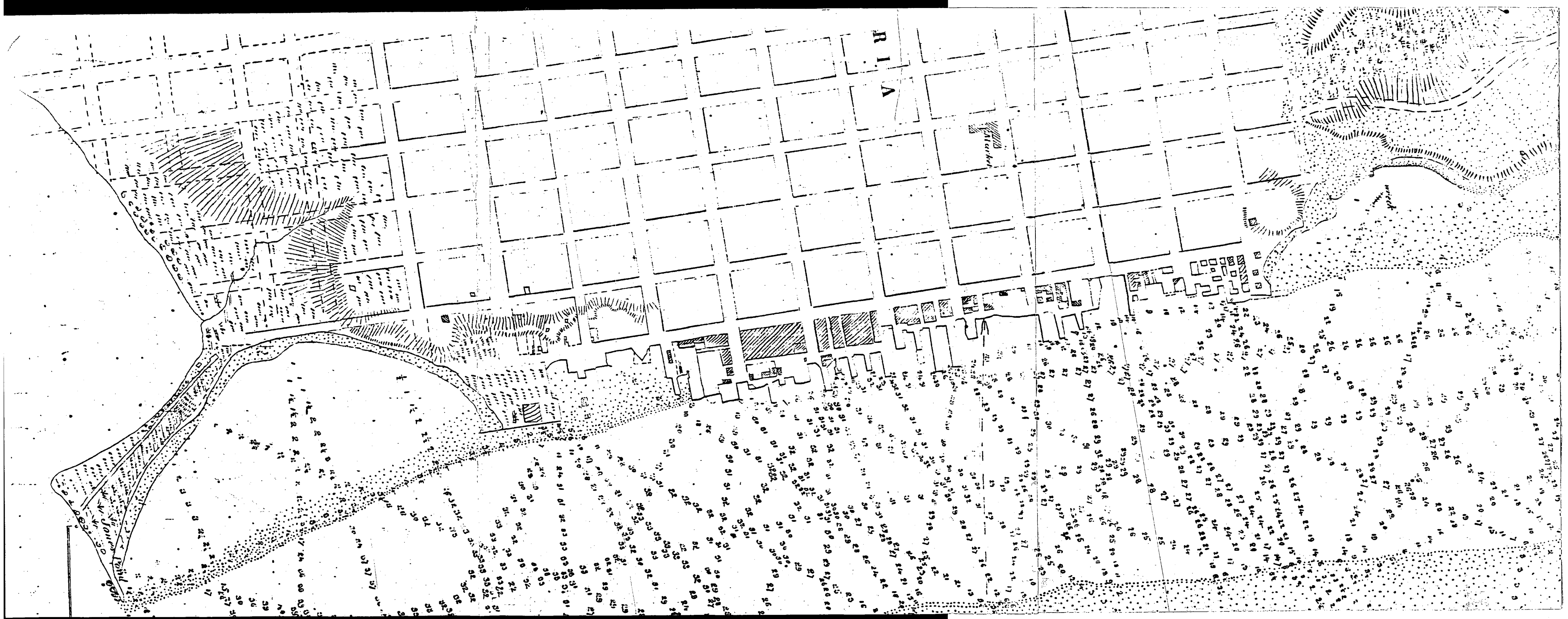
In 1835 a survey was made under the orders of the Topographical Engineer Department of the Army by Colonel James Kearney. It was discovered that the channel of the Potomac at Alexandria had been without variation "for a long Series of years." Maskell Ewing, an engineer who participated in the survey, conducted an additional survey for Washington in 1837 and produced a chart of the river extending from Georgetown to the Eastern Branch as far up as the Navy Yard and south to Alexandria. Ewing discovered, in observing the tidal flow nine miles above Alexandria, that since 1795 there had been "a curious change in the draft of water for vessels opposite Washington, & within the last 10 years the draft of water had diminished below what is required for over 250 tons." Yet the main channel from the Eastern Branch well past the Alexandria wharves had remained without any material change at all. As in 1816, when the last major survey of this sector of the river had been carried out, there was still 30 to 45 feet of water in the center of the river and a channel width of several hundred feet, suitable for navigation of vessels of any class (Ewing to Smith, et al., 26 January 1846, LC). Washington's and Georgetown's days as seaports were definitely numbered if the silting continued. Given the benefits that the completion of the Potomac Aqueduct and Alexandria Canal might bring, combined with the unsullied depths of the city harbor itself, Alexandria, it was felt, might yet resume her former status as an important seaport.

On July 4, 1843, the first full spade of earth on the canal construction was thrown up and in less than four months, on December 2, the waterway connecting Alexandria with the C&O and the trade of the west

Map of the Potomac & Anacostia
Rivers between Washington D.C. &
Alexandria Va. (Detail).

Topographical Engineer Department,
United States Army
1836.

This manuscript map is of considerable interest in that it shows the presence of a wrecked vessel in Alexandrian waters, as well as extensive details pertaining to the city waterfront. Nearly a score of vessel slips are illustrated along with the numerous wharves, soundings of depth along the Potomac frontage, shoal areas north of the County Wharf at the upper end of the city, and between Keith's Wharf, at the foot of Franklin Street and Entwhistle's Wharf, at the foot of Wolfe Street. It is also the first plan to picture the long ropewalk on Jones Point.



R.I.A.

Gatehouse

Workshop

Workshop

Workshop

Workshop

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was officially opened. The December 4, 1843, issue of the Gazette described the ceremonies.

The President and Directors of the Canal Co., the Mayor, and a large number of our fellow citizens, went up to the Potomac aqueduct in the morning, and there with the Engineers and other officers of the Company, embarked in the Canal Boat Pioneer, and after a pleasant and short passage of a little upwards of an hour, down the Canal, reached its terminus at the Corner of Washington and Montgomery streets. The boat stopped amidst the cheers and congratulations of a large crowd assembled to witness the interesting sight, and the heartiest tokens of satisfaction were given on the ground and throughout the whole town.

In honor of the event a salute was fired, the national flag was hoisted at the Public Square, and the vessels in port were decorated with flags.

We repeat, now at the completion what we said at the commencement of the Canal.--May this important work succeed and prosper--may it more than realize our warmest hopes--and may it RESTORE and PERPETUATE the TRADE and PROSPERITY of ALEXANDRIA.

The Alexandria Canal was 50 feet wide at Four Mile Run and 60 feet wide from there on to Alexandria. A total of seven streams, as well as Four Mile Run itself, had been traversed by the engineers in the construction; the smaller streams encountered were carried under the canal in culverts. By 1845 the construction of four lift-locks at Alexandria, which lowered canal boats nearly 38 feet to the Potomac to unload their cargoes onto the wharves or sailing ships, was completed (Hahn: 1-2).

In reviewing the project, Maskell Ewing later wrote:

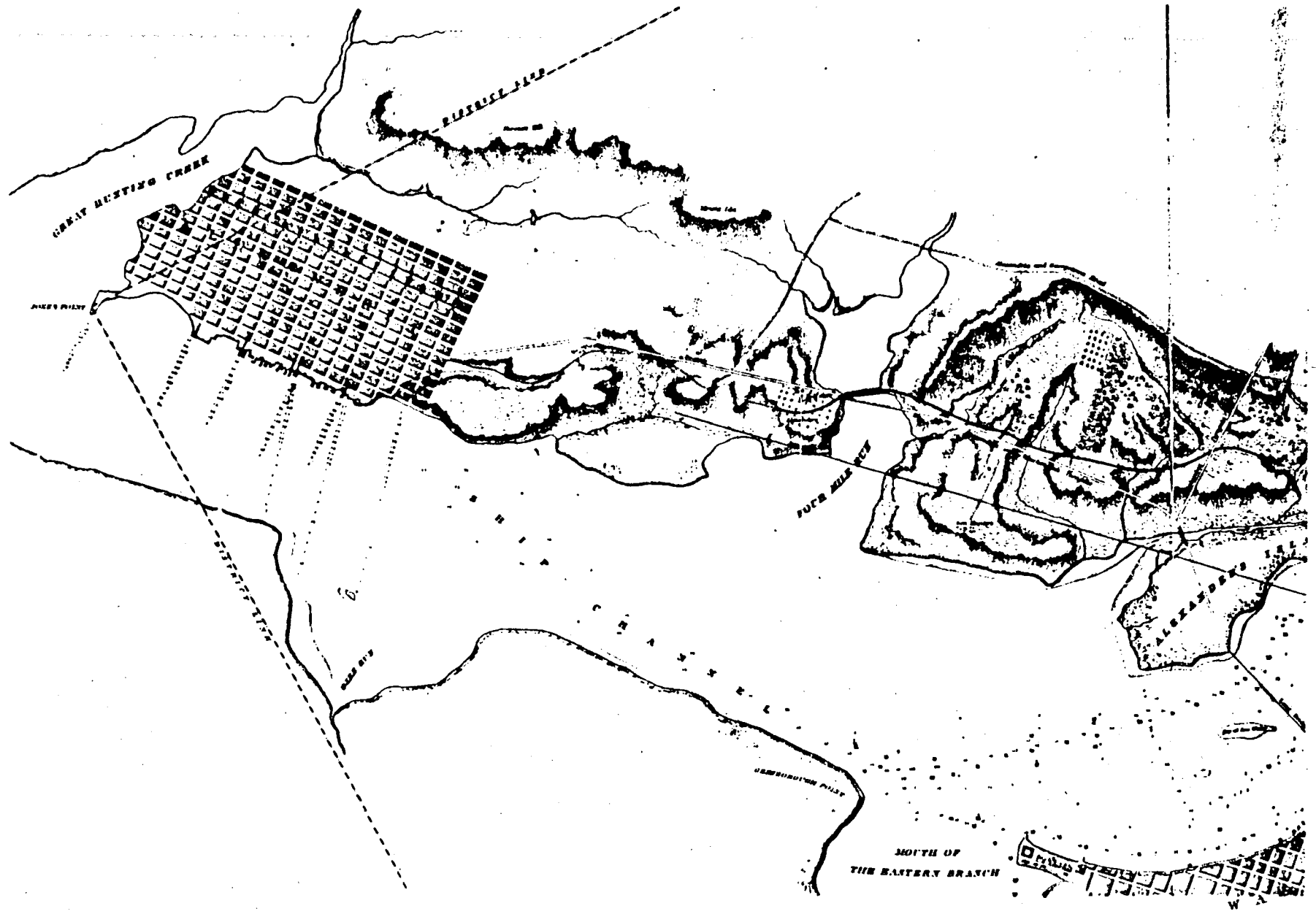
We have been enabled to construct at unusually low prices the Locks & other works of the Alexandria Canal here, owing to the proximity & easy transportation of materials of wood or stone, in abundance & of unsurpassed quality (Ewing to Smith, et al., 26 January 1846, LC).

Nevertheless, the finished canal cost \$500,000, and the Potomac Aqueduct

Chart of the Head of Navigation of the Potomac River Shewing the Route of the Alexandria Canal Made in Pursuance of a Resolution of the Alex.^a Canal Company Oct. 1838.

Compiled from the surveys of Lt. Col. Kearney, Major Turnbull U.S.T.E., W.M.C. Fairfax, M.C. Ewing Civ. Eng.^{rs}, W.J. Stone Sc. Wash. D.C. 1841.

This formal map, which appeared in the 1841 Report from the Secretary of War concerning the Potomac Aqueduct and published as Senate Document 178 of the 2nd Session of the 26th Congress on February 5, 1841, was used to relate the Alexandria Canal and the deep-water port facilities of the City of Alexandria to the linkup with the C&O Canal.



GREAT MEETING CREEK

RAILROAD

MADISON'S POINT

FOUR MILE POINT

ALEXANDER'S ISLAND

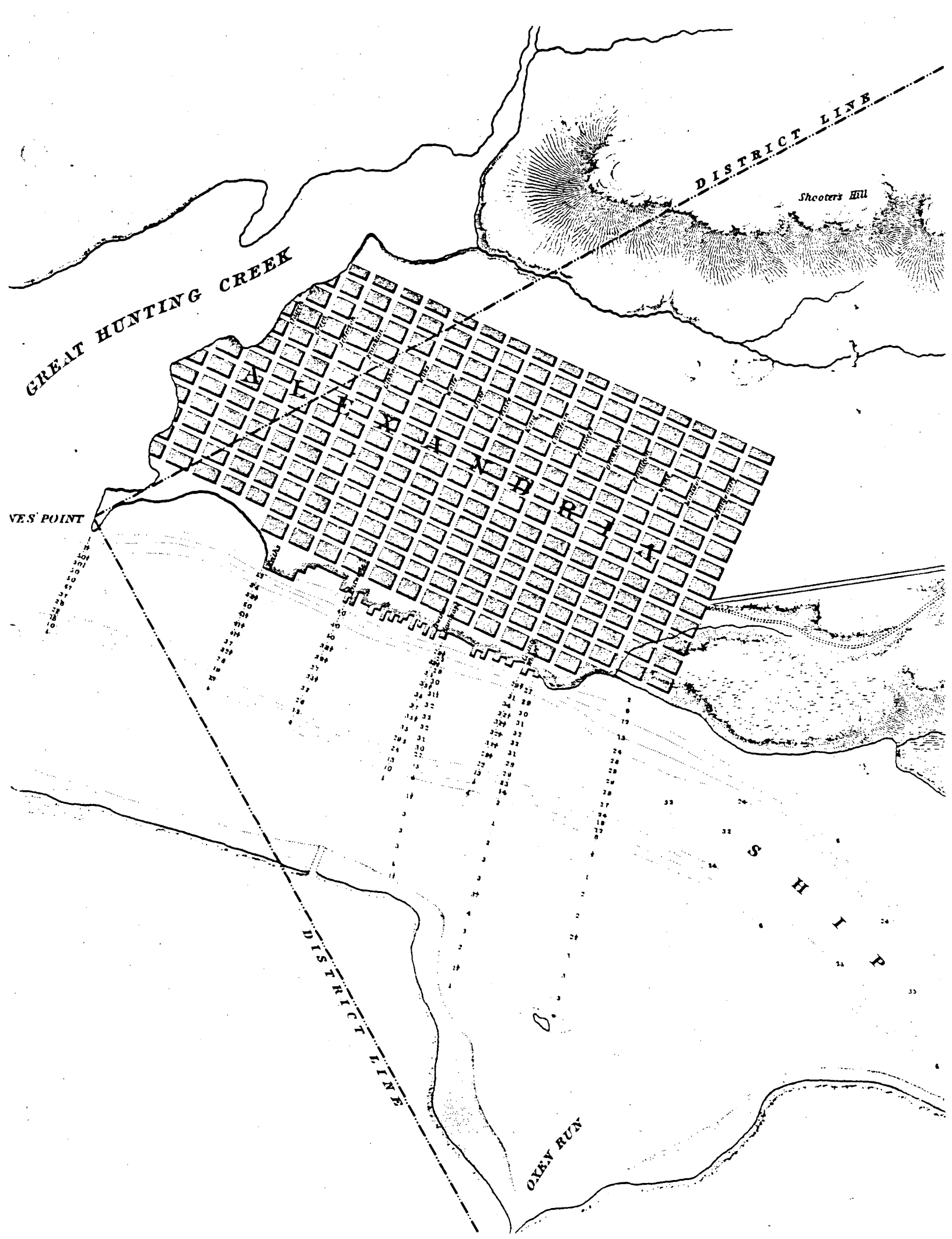
C H A N N E L

MOUTH OF THE EASTERN BRANCH

Chart of the Head of Navigation
of the Potomac River Showing
the Route of the Alexandria
Canal (Detail).

1841.

Although the Alexandria Canal opened in 1843, this map is the first published to show the canal route. It is also of interest to note, in this detail, the controlling depths off the County Wharf, Ramsay's, Irwin's, Entwistle's, Keith's, and Jones Point. This map is also of interest in that it suggests the substantial depth available in the dock areas.



GREAT HUNTING CREEK

DISTRICT LINE

Shooters Hill

VES POINT

DISTRICT LINE

OAKY RUN

S
H
I
P

Bridge more than \$6,000,000 (Tilp 1978: 230).

The completion of the canal was a definite stimulant to the city. Despite a now-nationwide depression, the canal basin was soon presenting a lively appearance, a scene of bustle and business. The arrivals and departures of numerous boats, the unloading of flour, corn, and other produce from the west, and the stowing of fish in bulk for transport back up the canal promised to assist a return to general prosperity. The city wharves were soon crowded with buyers and sellers, and hundreds of wagons ready to be supplied from the boats as fish came up from landings downriver, and produce via barge came down from upriver (Alexandria Gazette, 22 April 1845).

Commodities of a wide and varied nature, such as flour, corn and corn meal, lime, whiskey, wheat, rye, oats, bran, cloverseed, lumber, potatoes, coal, wood, building stone, nails, barrel hoops, and ship stuff began to flow down the canal to waiting vessels at the Alexandria waterfront. In return was shipped fish, salt, plaster, lumber, shingles, and a variety of other things (Alexandria Gazette, 10 May 1845; 2 July 1847). Soon the price of Alexandria flour, which had been steadily increasing before the opening of the canal, now declined and equalled that of Baltimore, permitting merchants to again compete. Indeed, city merchants were once again feeling optimistic. New homes, stores, and warehouses appeared. With the city's fine harbor, it was noted, Alexandria "only needs proper exertions to make it one of the most desirable markets for Valley produce that can be found" (Alexandria Gazette, 23 June 1845). Business was again flourishing, and other depressed towns on the Potomac, such as Dumfries, and people living along the Occoquan, began to eye a

Figure 8.

ALEXANDRIA CANAL FREIGHT VOLUME FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1 - APRIL 30, 1845

Flour	15,000 hogsheads
Corn meal	1,230 hogsheads
Lime	1,200 hogsheads
Whiskey	390 hogsheads
Corn	31,000 bushels
Wheat	11,900 bushels
Rye	1,450 bushels
Oats	3,513 bushels
Ship stuff	2,309 bushels
Cloveseed	48 bushels
Nails	63,000 lbs.
Stakes & hoops	4,350
Lumber	2,200 feet
Leather	2,100 lbs.
Coal	81 tons
Wood	40 cords
Stone	160 perches
Potatoes	500 lbs.

Source: Alexandria Gazette 10 May 1845.

canal of their own (Alexandria Gazette, 22 July 1845).

Maskell Ewing, one of the chief forces in the construction of the Alexandria Canal, was fully taken with the prospects for Alexandria and its superb location, as were certain elements in the U.S. Navy.

The excellence of this Channel, the form of the River Shore & the elevation at which the Alexandria Canal has been maintained on entering the Town, has suggested to many observant gentlemen of the place, the fitness of the Location for a Dry Dock; the subject has attracted the attention of the Navy Department but as yet no detailed Surveys have been made. The Topography at the foot of Pendleton Street shews, that the Shore is peculiarly adapted to the constructions for the Dockage of vessels of any size and to any desired extent (Ewing to Smith, et al., 26 January 1846).

Ewing noted that although the town was uniquely suited for such a facility, it had not hitherto warranted such an expense because the commerce of the place had been minimal. But now, with the completion of the C&O Canal to Cumberland at hand, the picture had changed considerably. The mining companies of Alleghany County in Maryland were making great outlays to develop the rich coal regions of that state. One Maryland company was already constructing nine miles of railroad to Cumberland, and by 1848, it was expected, the canal from Cumberland to Alexandria would be capable of transporting several thousand tons of coal daily. The sulphur-free Maryland coal was considered the very best for use in steam engines, and particularly in those employed by steamboats.

"The importance of a Steam Navy," wrote Ewing prophetically,

on our Coast seems to have attracted the attention of the Country, & the application will doubtless be extended to the great and growing commerce of the Seaboard. In this connection, As the outlet & Depot of this Coal trade, appears an additional argument for the construction of a Dry Dock. The proposed extention of the Canal into the

Town will give a basin of large size within a few hundred feet of the Site of the Dock, elevated about 25 feet above tide, furnishing with facility, any supply of Water required (Ewing to Smith, et al., 26 January 1846, LC).

Alexandrians once again had every reason to feel buoyant, from the watermen who caught crabs at the city wharves, and even in the marshes of Hunting Creek, to the merchants whose years of depression had once threatened them with extinction (Alexandria Gazette, 6 September 1845). The canal had preserved Alexandria's original reason for being--to function as a transfer point between land and water transportation (Stephens: 4).

With the renewed optimism for the future came a resurgence of the retrocession movement. Even before the completion of the canal, a petition was presented from the citizens of the town to Congress by T. B. King asking to be re-ceded to Virginia "so they may enjoy the right of suffrage in the election of members of Congress." Many influential leaders, such as John Quincy Adams, were outright opposed to retrocession, fearing that a precedent might be set leading to a dissolution of the Union (Adams 11: 181). Alexandria appealed to the Commonwealth of Virginia in 1846 to accept her "long estranged child." Finally, Federal acceptance was forthcoming, and in September 1846, with processions, bonfires, illuminations, and a three-day celebration, Alexandria was officially returned to the fold of Virginia. Promoted by Francis L. Smith, Robert Brockett, and Charles T. Stuart, the retrocession movement had succeeded. Alexandria, "which had gone prospering into the District . . . had come back decaying and a beggar. . . ." (First Centennial: 42). Nevertheless,

Virginia welcomed the ailing city warmly by purchasing the city bonds on the Alexandria Canal at par value. This at once relieved the city of 60 percent of its debts.

Virginia began to pay attention to the city almost as intensely as the federal government had ignored it. In 1848 the Virginia General Assembly authorized Alexandria to construct such wharves, piers, basins, and works on the Potomac River at or near its outlet locks as necessary for the accommodation of its trade (Court of Appeals: 23). Ultimately, two double-"F"-shaped wharves were erected into the river to facilitate loading and offloading directly from canal barges.

Yet maritime commerce sputtered back to life more slowly than anticipated, despite the early signs of prosperity's return. As a port of entry, in 1850, the town could boast of only 59 entries, totaling 10,638 tons, and 64 clearances, totaling 11,534 tons, slightly less than a third of the total tonnage for Norfolk (Statistical Gazetteer: 91).

The physical appearance of the port was described thus:

The city is pleasantly situated on undulating ground, with a fine view of the capitol at Washington and of the broad Potomac. The streets cross each other at right angles, and are generally well paved and lighted with gas. The public buildings are a court-house and about 12 churches. There are three banks, 2 newspaper offices, and several excellent schools. The water of the river has recently been introduced into the city by means of machinery. A considerable amount of shipping is owned here, in which corn, tobacco, and stone coal are exported. A canal has been opened to Georgetown intersecting the Chesapeake and Ohio canal. . . . The manufacture of cotton cloths has recently been introduced here, and is carried on quite extensively, a number of mills being in successful operation. Population about 5,000 (Statistical Gazetteer: 161).

In 1851 a momentous, if unheralded, event occurred that was to deal

Figure 9.

ABSTRACT OF VIRGINIA SHIPPING FOR THE YEAR 1850

Port	Entered			Cleared			Total		
	Vessels	Tons	Crews	Vessels	Tons	Crews	Vessels	Tons	Crews
ALEXANDRIA	59	10,638	442	64	11,534	474	123	22,172	916
Norfolk	74	14,281	684	140	26,765	1,163	214	41,046	1,847
Petersburg	9	3,517	131	5	1,946	63	14	5,463	194
Richmond	8	1,811	76	69	24,321	908	77	26,132	984
Tappahannock	7	718	42	7	892	44	14	1,610	86
Total	157	30,965	1,375	285	65,458	2,652	442	96,423	4,028

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Source: Statistical Gazetteer of the States of Virginia and North Carolina 1856: 91.

Alexandria's maritime decline an additional blow--the Alexandria and Fredericksburg Railroad Company was formed. This company was created to fill a rail gap between Aquia Creek and Alexandria which had originally been intended to be completed by the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad. The charter for the A&F Railroad paved the way for the RF&P to construct the final leg in a major north-south railway system. In 1854 the Alexandria & Washington Railroad was chartered to run between those two cities, and tracks were laid to the west end of the Long Bridge. Soon, with state aid, the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, the Manassas Gap Railroad, and the Alexandria, Loudon and Hampshire Railroads were chartered, and all serviced the city, eventually providing considerable competition to waterborne transportation and commerce. As the Civil War neared, tracks extended from Alexandria 90 miles to Gordonsville on the Central Railroad (Mordecai 1941: 20-25; Statistical Gazetteer 1856: 21). As Stephens notes, the railroad was soon "prominently etched into Alexandria's waterfront landscape, with transfer sites situated near the Canal locks on the North side and the Wilkes Street tunnel on the South side" (Stephens: 4).

With Alexandria struggling to maintain her status as a Virginia port of some consequence, the federal government began to attend to the hazards to navigation of the adjacent waters. There were shoals and flats in great abundance, and on both sides of the river, upon which ships might--and did--run aground and become stranded. With the marine traffic of the port itself on the increase, night navigation was done at some risk. Thus, in 1855 the new United States Lighthouse Board, under the leadership of Commodore William B. Shubrick, approved a plan for the erection of a

lighthouse on the tip of the Jones Point peninsula. Aside from the prosperous ropewalk and the old quarantine houses, the point was relatively isolated. The property was soon purchased from the Manassas Gap Railroad and a combination dwelling and lighthouse erected (Tilp 1978: 97). The fixed white light, with black lantern, was lit with gas from the city works and from its 35-foot elevation was visible for ten miles (List of Lighthouses 1859: 46-47).

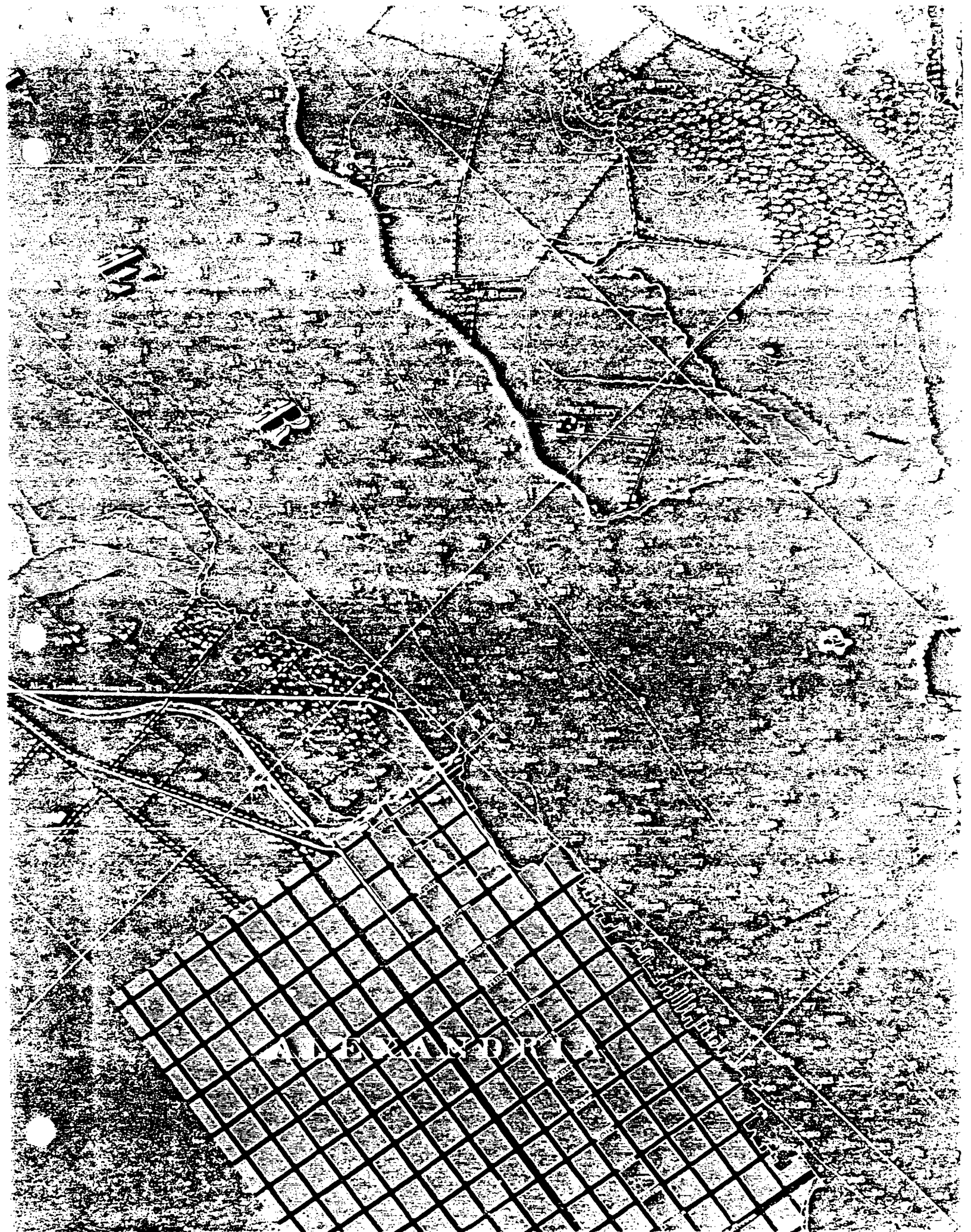
With the vast improvement and diversity of transportation systems now coming to focus on Alexandria--train lines, the canal system, and waterborne shipping--the town seemed secure in preparing for a renewal of its golden age. Waterfront improvements by the city government could again be undertaken. In July 1852 the city advertised for proposals for timber necessary for the rebuilding of the Public Fish Wharf. The specifications called for 50 white oak piles 45 feet in length, 35 of the same 35 feet in length, 36 more 30 feet long, 40 piles 25 feet long, 800 rough white oak backing timbers, 18,000 feet of yellow pine capping, 6,418 feet of pine or gum flooring, 24,000 feet of white oak wharf timber logs, as well as 120 white oak ties of various lengths (Alexandria Gazette, 22 July 1852).

Industry began to improve in the town, and new enterprises were opened: the Alexandria Marine Railway and Shipbuilding Works, the Alexandria and South Branch Boating Company, Mount Vernon Cotton Factory, and Pioneer Mills, to name but a few. By 1858 domestic exports totaled \$325,057, and imports were valued at \$113,265 (Virginia: A Geographical and Political History: 132). In a single year more than 100 new homes were built in the town. By June 1860 there were 77 manufacturing estab-

Topographical map of
the District of Columbia
in the years
1856, '57, '58 & '59
(Detail).

A. Boschke.
Washington, D.C.
McClelland, Blanchard & Mohum.

Note the depths directly fronting
the Alexandria waterfront, which
drops off from what was termed
the controlling depth of 22 to
28 feet, to a mid-channel depth of
32 feet in some areas. Also note the
extensive, long F-wharves above
and below the outlet of the
Alexandria Canal. On the Maryland
shoreline, opposite Alexandria,
can be seen the long stone ferry
wharf extending from Fox's
Landing.



lishments employing 785 persons producing raw materials valued at \$91,000 and manufactured articles valued at \$860,000. Seventy vessels, totaling 18,743 tons, arrived from foreign ports bringing imported goods costing \$273,924, which could be sold on the American market for more than a million and a half dollars. Guano, for instance, imported at \$1.00 per ton, was marketed at \$45.00 per ton. Exports from Alexandria had risen to \$258,889. The trade in coal and other articles brought down from the west via the canal served to stimulate the coastwise trade as well. Within the first decade of its return to the Virginia Commonwealth, Alexandria's population, "a secure meter of its progress," rose from 8,795 to 11,206, an increase of 2,411 new citizens (a total of twelve times the increase in the last full decade as part of the District of Columbia). With routes to the granary and coal deposits of the continent, the city's potential for "holding food and fare for millions in its hands" was becoming a reality (First Centennial: 43). Sadly, the drive toward prosperity was doomed by events that were destined to lead the nation into open warfare--civil warfare.

SURRENDER

At 4:30 a.m., April 12, 1861, a ten-inch bombshell was fired from a mortar battery on Morris Island in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, and burst without effect over the walls of Federally-held Fort Sumter. The echo of the explosion awakened the slumbering city, and indeed the entire world, to the fact that the Civil War had finally begun (Lee: 76-77). The events which followed in rapid succession stunned both North and South. On April 13 Fort Sumter was surrendered. Immediately afterwards, Pensacola Harbor was blockaded by the Union Navy, even as Federal officers were seized and imprisoned by Confederate authorities throughout the South. On April 17 Fort Pickens, Florida, was occupied by Union troops. In Virginia on the same day, Confederates attempted to obstruct passage into Norfolk Harbor. The U.S. Schooner Buchanan was seized in James River by Southern forces and taken to Richmond. And with each escalatory step, Virginia, which had refrained from secession, moved ever closer to declaring for the Confederacy (CWNC 1: 7-10).

On April 19 President Abraham Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring a blockade of Southern ports from South Carolina to Texas. He did so with a degree of bravado, for the City of Washington was surrounded by Maryland and Virginia, two states which had yet to choose sides, but whose loyalties rested principally with the South. On the same day as the issuance of the proclamation Union troops embarked from Philadelphia, New York, and Annapolis to reinforce the Federal capital. On the following day, as Virginia forces menaced the Norfolk Navy Yard and the unmanned Union squadron that lay at anchor and in ordinary there, Federal orders

were given to scuttle the fleet and burn the yard. The abandonment of the Norfolk Navy Yard and its immediate seizure by Confederate forces, together with Virginia's announcement of secession from the Union, obliged Lincoln to extend the blockade even further. On April 27, even as Confederate forces began to muster in Alexandria, Virginia, the President of the United States issued another proclamation.

Whereas, for the reasons assigned in my Proclamation of the 19th. instant, a blockade of the ports of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas, was ordered to be established: And Whereas, since that date, public property of the United States has been seized, the collection of the revenues obstructed, and duly commissioned officers of the United States while engaged in executing the orders of their superiors have been arrested and held in custody as prisoners or have been impeded in the discharge of their official duties without due legal process by persons claiming to act under authorities of the States of Virginia and North Carolina, an efficient blockade of the ports of those States will also be established (Basler 4: 346-47).

The consequences of Lincoln's April 27 Proclamation of Blockade for the Port of Alexandria were to be great, for the strategic position of the town, commanding the Potomac River approach to Washington, D.C., was of much concern to Union military planners. If Confederate forces were able to effectively fortify the town, a major rail depot, and mount artillery at Jones Point, as had been done in earlier wars, control of the main river channel might well fall to the Confederacy, and a blockade of Washington, surrounded by a hostile Maryland and Virginia, would be complete.

The immediate concern over Alexandria's position rested with Captain John A. Dahlgren, Commandant of the Washington Navy Yard. On the day following Lincoln's proclamation, Major George D. Ramsey, commander of

the Washington Arsenal, informed Dahlgren of suspicious activities along the Alexandria waterfront, primarily the visitation of a mysterious steamer. Dahlgren reacted by dispatching several boats to reconnoitre the town from the river. Upon the expedition's return to Washington, around 3:30 a.m. on April 29, it was reported that one of the boats had been fired at twice while pulling along the wharves about 100 yards from the shore. Nothing was seen of the unidentified steamer. Within hours the steam tug Robert Leslie was dispatched to examine the Alexandria waterfront. The Leslie's commander, Lieutenant John H. Russel, reported that everything seemed to be in order. The steamers Collyer and Gipsy, which had been seized by the secessionists, the bark Admiral Bromney, and the schooner Onward were tied up at the wharves. Washington was aware of Confederate activities in and about Alexandria, and Captain Dahlgren was anxious for any excuse to move against the town. "Had the contingency arisen," he informed Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles on the return of the Robert Leslie, "the steamers and troops would have moved at early dawn" (ORN Series I, 4: 437, 438).

Though Virginia would not be admitted to the Confederacy as a state until May 7, Southern forces had indeed occupied Alexandria soon after the opening shots of the war had been fired. By early May the town was in the hands of the Virginia Volunteers under the command of Lieutenant Colonel A. S. Taylor. Taylor's hold on the town, however, was precarious at best. He had at his disposal

two companies of raw Irish recruits, numbering about one hundred and twenty privates in both, armed with the altered flint-lock muskets of 1816, and without cartridges or caps; Captain Devaughn's company (Mount Vernon Guards), eighty-six

privates, armed with the new musket--fifty-two men without accoutrements and fifteen without arms, and very little ammunition; Captain Simpson's company of rifles, numbering in all fifty-three, and well armed with the minie rifle, and about nine rounds of ammunition complete; Captain Herbert's company of rifles, numbering eighty-five, rank and file, armed with the minie rifle, and with an average of five rounds of cartridges and four of caps; Captain Ball's company of cavalry, numbering forty privates, armed with carbines and sabers, and with a very limited amount of ammunition; Captain Powell's company of cavalry, numbering about thirty, and twenty-two horses, no arms or equipments of any kind except a few of Colt's revolvers (ORA Series I, 2: 26-27).

Taylor's difficulties in holding Alexandria against either land or water attack were compounded by the fact that all but Captain Simpson's company were citizens of Alexandria and "were becoming almost useless from home influences." They were scattered all over the city, and it was impossible to assemble them at any particular time to defend themselves or Alexandria "with the slightest possibility of success, or even to have made anything but a disastrous and demoralizing retreat." Thus, when a former U.S. War Department employee, J. D. Hutton, turned over a secret Federal Government plan to seize Alexandria, Taylor decided to evacuate the town. He offered as an additional excuse for his decision that large forces were assembling at Fort Washington and that two Union steamers were anchored off Mount Vernon preparatory to an attack. About May 5, a day before the alleged Union attack was to be made, the Virginia Volunteers prepared to march for Springfield, Virginia (ORA Series I, 2: 27).

When Taylor evacuated Alexandria he did so against the direct orders of Brigadier General Philip St. George Cocke, Confederate commander of the Potomac Department. On May 5 Cocke dispatched a message by rail

from his headquarters at Culpepper, Virginia, to Taylor. The messenger arrived at Alexandria late on the morning of the 5th and delivered the directive directly into the hands of Taylor. The colonel was specifically instructed not to move the troops out of the town unless "pressed by overwhelming and irresistible numbers," and even then was to retire only to Manassas Junction to hold that point, to assist in obstructing and breaking up the road between that point and Alexandria, and to harass the enemy should he attempt to use the road. He was not to retire further into the interior "unless overpowered and forced, as a last extremity" (ORA Series I, 2: 24).

Despite orders, Taylor evacuated Alexandria that afternoon. General Cocke, angered over the direct disobedience of orders, sought permission on May 7 from Major General Robert E. Lee to arrest the colonel. He also dispatched Colonel George Terrett to locate Taylor. Terrett, on reaching Alexandria, discovered the town abandoned of military personnel and pressed on for Springfield. Frustrated, Cocke, sent out his aide, one Giles B. Cooke, to locate both Taylor and Terrett. Cooke was directed to take up a post in Alexandria after communicating with Terrett to enable Cocke "to have one person at least in Alexandria with whom I can converse through the wires." Though General Lee delayed the arrest of Colonel Taylor until he knew the full situation, Alexandria now stood entirely defenseless, held for the Confederacy by a Southern officer, Giles B. Cooke (ORA Series I, 2: 23-26).

Though Confederate forces had abandoned the town and its strategic location, Southern efforts were underway elsewhere to wrest control of other equally important posts along the Potomac. Even as Colonel Taylor was

departing from the city, Southern forces were seizing the railroad junction at Aquia Creek, well down the Potomac, and laying out a battery. Of significance was the rebels' discovery of the one-time Alexandria ferry steamer George Page (which had been requisitioned by the Federal government as an army transport vessel) and two smaller craft lying in the creek. These vessels were promptly snapped up, and the Page converted into a Confederate gunboat (Wills 1975: 21). Though Union naval forces had controlled the Potomac, Confederate challenges to that control now appeared likely. The occupation of Alexandria had suddenly become a strategic imperative, and Southern forces began to trickle back into the city.

On May 11 Captain Dahlgren was informed by a certain Mr. Burch that two small vessels had been detained by rebel forces at Alexandria the previous evening, and one of them had been fired upon. He also informed the captain that telegraphic communications were being altered near the town, undoubtedly by Confederate forces seeking to circumvent possible interception. Dahlgren informed the Secretary of the Navy of the firing on the vessels. Welles immediately ordered him to send off an armed ship to protect vessels in the vicinity of the town from Confederate attack (ORN Series I, 4: 456).

"The river steamers," Dahlgren informed the Secretary,

have each a 32-pounder and some rifles, but they are mere shells and could not resist grapeshot from the wharves. Their weakness might invite aggression. The heavy broadside of the Pawnee is just suitable for the case, as it could overawe all opposition, and I would recommend a steamer to go from here with orders for the Pawnee to take position near Alexandria for the purpose intended (ORN Series I, 4: 456).

The Pawnee was indeed one of the few Federal warships on the Potomac capable of contesting Confederate buildups along the various reaches of

the river during the early days of the Civil War. Her hull had been built at the Philadelphia Navy Yard and her machinery by the firm of Reaney, Neafie and Company of Philadelphia. Launched on October 8, 1859, she had been completed by September 1860, and was thus one of the newest and strongest warships available to the Union. She was a wooden-hulled vessel, classified as a second-class twin-screw sloop-of-war and weighing in at 1,289 tons burthen. Capable of a maximum speed of ten knots and having a draft of 11 feet, she was ideally suited for the duty required of the Federal flotilla in the shoally waters of the Potomac River. Her battery consisted of eight nine-inch guns and two 12-pounders (ORN Series II, 2: 172), making her the most powerful vessel afloat there and superbly suited for the mission assigned her.

Dahlgren himself went aboard the Pawnee, which had just arrived at Geisboro Point, opposite Washington, to deliver the order to the ship's commander, Captain Stephen C. Rowan, "to protect passing vessels" off Alexandria. Rowan immediately turned his ship around and proceeded to Alexandria, reaching his destination by dark the same evening (ORN Series I, 4: 456-57).

Though Alexandria was now effectively sealed off by the Pawnee from approach by water, Dahlgren sought to tighten Union control of the Potomac, and as an obvious spinoff, navigational access to Alexandria. On May 18 he suggested a plan for the erection of batteries on commanding points along the river and "the placing of vessels of some force at two or three intervals from the kettle bottoms to the Yard [Washington] near suspected positions, with communications kept up by some fast light steamers" (CWNC 1: 14).

U.S. Navy vessels were soon seizing any craft on the Potomac suspected of being in Confederate service and operating without specific Federal authority. On May 21 the Potomac River steamer James Guy, a familiar vessel to the waterfront of Alexandria, was seized by the U.S.S. Pocahontas, Commander John P. Gillis, off Machodoc Creek, Virginia. Many more would soon fall victim to Union patrols. Federal authorities in Washington, however, were preparing moves (as Taylor had feared) of significantly greater import--the seizure of Alexandria itself (CWNC 1: 14-15).

The move against Alexandria was not taken without serious concern for the security of Washington. Troops had been flowing into the capital for days, but Washington military planners were unsure what the rebel forces were up to. One thing that was becoming increasingly clear, however, was the strategic significance of the City of Alexandria. The proximity of a rebel port and railway center to the capital of the United States was psychologically unbearable. In practical terms, Confederate control of the town provided rebel forces with access to the logistically important rail lines that terminated at Alexandria, the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, the Loudon and Hampshire Railroad, and the Washington and Alexandria Railroad. With a gunboat on the river and control of the city in their hands, Confederates, if reinforced, might effectively blockade Washington itself. The decision to take the town was thus not one to be set aside, for it was a measure of strategic necessity that must be acted upon.

Union planners prepared their moves with the utmost secrecy, but the mobilization of troops in Washington could not long remain unknown.

On the evening of May 23 the rumors of contemplated movements kept the populace of Washington in a state of excitement. Fresh fuel was added to the reports flying about the capital when word was circulated that various regiments had been ordered to prepare for immediate service. When one Union general dropped a comment at the camp of the Seventh New York Regiment "that the storm was about to burst," the move into Virginia soon was unofficially made public, although no one seemed sure as to the exact objective (The Evening Star: 24 May 1861).

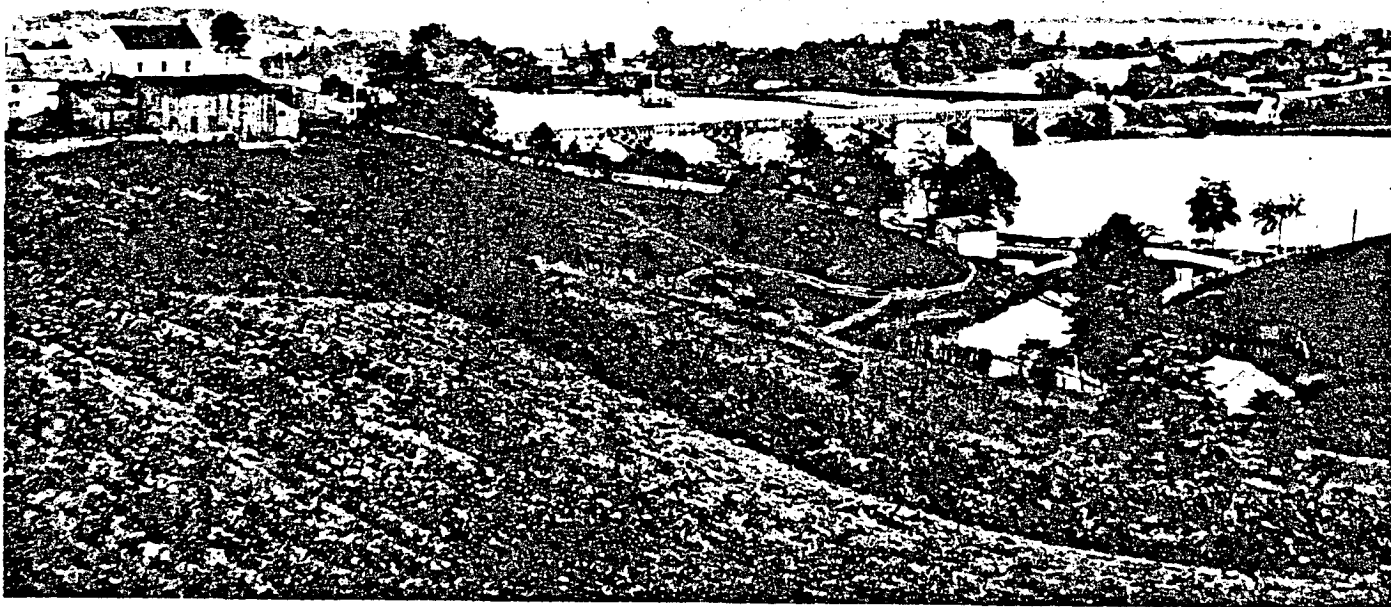
The move against Alexandria and Arlington, Virginia, was well planned. Thrusts would be made across the Long Bridge from Washington; across the Potomac Aquaduct from Georgetown; across Chain Bridge, three miles above Georgetown, all in concert with an amphibious assault directly against the Alexandria waterfront. The entire operation was to be directed by J. K. F. Mansfield, Brigadier General and Commander of the Department of Washington.

The right-wing thrust into Virginia, across the Chain Bridge and Potomac Aquaduct, was the principal responsibility of the 69th Infantry Regiment, Colonel Corcoran; the 5th Massachusetts Regiment, Colonel Lawrence; and the 28th Brooklyn (or New York) Regiment, Colonel Burns. There were, in addition to these units, three engineers and 48 pioneers of the 14th New York Regiment, Colonel Wood; elements of the 5th New York Regiment, Colonel Schwartzwalder; 250 workmen attached to the 69th Regiment; a company of cavalry; and one section of artillery (ORA Series I, 2: 40).

At 9:30 p.m. May 23 the first Union troops to cross into Virginia pushed across Chain Bridge and posted a line of pickets around the approach

to the bridge. This unit, the Anderson Rifles, was under the command of Captain Rodier. Immediately after being posted on the picket line, one of the guards heard a rattling of sabers in the nearby bushes. Soon afterward, two Confederates stepped out of the darkness and said to the guard: "I guess you are our prisoner." One of the pickets cocked his rifle and replied: "I guess not, but reckon you are ours." The two Confederates, named Ball and Kirby, among the first Virginians to be captured in the war, proved to be members of Captain M. D. Ball's Fairfax Cavalry, posted in Alexandria. They were armed with regulation sabers and antiquated rifle carbines altered for percussion locks. Soon afterward, another prisoner fell into Rodier's hands, an infantryman named Smidt. Ball's troopers were dressed in the Fairfax Cavalry's regulation uniforms consisting "of a lead colored flannel jacket trimmed with black, and large white bone buttons, pants of the gray country cloth, with a yellow cord down the sides." Not long afterward the cavalry unit attached to the 69th Regiment crossed Chain Bridge and pressed into Virginia. Their crossing, about midnight, did not go unobserved by other of Ball's scouts, who assumed that their objective was the Loudon and Hampshire Railroad (ORA Series I, 2: 42-43; The Evening Star, 24 May 1861).

At 11:30 p.m. parties of the Georgetown Battalion, Major Hollingsworth, probed across the Potomac Aqueduct towpath to reconnoitre and secure the roads and bridgehead. Three hours later the 69th Regiment, the 5th Massachusetts Regiment, and the 28th Brooklyn followed and established positions on the Virginia side. Some time afterward the Engineer Corps of the 14th Brooklyn Regiment also crossed and commenced fortifying. The 69th took up a position near a culvert of the Alexandria Canal,



The Potomac Aqueduct Bridge and
the Virginia shore, ca. 1865.
From the Quarterly Journal of
the Library of Congress,
Volume 36, Number 4 (Fall 1979),
p. 364.

while the 5th and 28th pushed forward on the road to Leesburg about two miles from the river. One unit, Lieutenant Tompkins's 2nd U.S. Cavalry, supported by two companies of infantry, advanced as far as the Loudon and Hampshire Railroad. Assisted by some engineers, Tompkins intercepted a passenger train bound for Alexandria. The tracks behind and in front of the train and two bridges were blown up, and the train captured (ORA Series I, 2: 38; The Evening Star, 24 May 1861).

The central push was to be across the Long Bridge directly from Washington, D.C. Major General S. P. Heintzelman was to serve as staff commander. His force would consist of the 12th New York Regiment, Colonel Butterfield; the 25th New York Regiment, Colonel Bryan; the 7th New York Regiment, Colonel Lefferts; the 3rd New Jersey Regiment, General Runyon; the 1st Michigan Regiment and pioneers, Colonel Wilcox; several companies of cavalry; and several sections of artillery under Major W. T. Sherman. Heintzelman would also have the services of the District of Columbia Volunteers, Colonel Stone; and the District of Columbia Cavalry, Captain Owen (ORA Series I, 2: 40-41).

Heintzelman had issued instructions for his units to begin crossing the Long Bridge at 2:00 a.m. on May 24, but advanced units were already in motion by midnight. The Washington approach to the bridge had been well-guarded against Confederate attack before the crossing. Sentries from the Washington Light Infantry were posted some distance up Maryland Avenue in the capital city. Another force was stationed around the Washington Monument. Near and on the Washington side of the bridge were encamped companies of Rhode Island and Massachusetts infantry, a company of U.S. cavalry, several pieces of artillery, the Putnam and



The Long Bridge, May 1865.
From the Quarterly Journal of
the Library of Congress,
Volume 36, Number 4 (Fall 1979),
p. 361.

Turner Rifles, and a company of Union Volunteers. At about 11:00 p.m. on May 23 Company E of the Washington Light Infantry (Captain Powell's Zouaves) and 80 men belonging to Captain Degger's Constitutional Guards pressed across the Long Bridge and seized the territory immediately surrounding the Virginia side. An hour later they were followed by Captain Snead's company of National Rifles and the remainder of Powell's Zouaves which advanced to the neighborhood of Roche's Spring. Scouts were dispatched in every direction; all of them managed to pass Confederate pickets without either side discovering the other. "Somewhat later," remarked one observer the next day, "the Virginia pickets, getting the alarm, set spurs to their horses and scuttled down the road towards Alexandria in hot haste" (The Evening Star: 24 May 1861). The District Volunteers, buoyed by their success, having crossed the bridge before the Confederates could fire it, proceeded to spread their forces, closing the gap between themselves and the units that would cross at the Aquaduct, to their right (ORA Series I, 2: 38, 40).

As the District Volunteers pushed ahead, they were encouraged by their commander, who asked them if they would continue to press on, even though they were beyond the District and close to Alexandria. They answered unanimously that they would go anywhere and proceeded to march as far south as Four Mile Run before coming to a halt. The Confederate pickets scattered before them (The Evening Star: 24 May 1861).

At 2:00 a.m., as planned, the main body of Heintzelman's force crossed the Long Bridge, led by the Michigan Regiment under Colonel Wilcox, who was accompanied by a detachment of cavalry and two guns from Sherman's battery. The 7th New York followed, but came to a planned

halt at Hugh's Tavern, on the Virginia side of the bridge, to secure the position, even as Wilcox pressed on toward Alexandria. The 2nd New Jersey pushed as far as Roache's Spring, half a mile from the bridge. The 25th New York, 3rd and 4th New Jersey, 12th New York, and a company of cavalry spread out to the right to occupy Arlington Heights and link up with the forces crossing at the Aquaduct (The Evening Star: 24 May 1861; ORA Series I, 2: 41).

As the right and center of the Union line crossed into Virginia, the left wing was also in motion. The left wing was composed entirely of the 1st New York Zouaves and under the command of a popular young ex-law student from Chicago, Colonel Elmer Ephraim Ellsworth. Still in his early 20s, Ellsworth had single-handedly raised and trained a company of Zouaves in 1860 which had quickly become nationally famous for their drill expertise. Upon Lincoln's election, Ellsworth had accepted the President-elect's invitation to accompany his party to Washington. Ellsworth's rise was meteoric. As soon as Lincoln was inaugurated, the young officer was appointed Chief Clerk of the War Department, but when hostilities threatened sought active duty. Lincoln gave his approval, and Ellsworth traveled to New York where he raised and organized a full regiment of Zouaves, which were undoubtedly the most colorful and disciplined unit to be employed in the May 24 operation (Basler 4: 273n).

Ellsworth, who had been appointed to the rank of colonel on April 15, had encamped his unit on the Eastern Branch where he, like many other Union commanders, waited with anticipation for orders to move. On the afternoon of May 23 he received the first "intimation" that his

regiment would be called upon for "special service during the night." The troops were immediately mustered and issued rations and 40 rounds of cartridges to each man. At about midnight their orders were received. They were to board a small fleet of steamers and proceed across the Potomac and land at the Alexandria waterfront, coordinating their attack upon the city with the thrust from the Union center, even then crossing at the Long Bridge and marching south against the north side of the city (The Evening Star, 24 May 1861).

At the request of General Mansfield, Captain Dahlgren made available several steamers, lighters, and boats from the Washington Navy Yard to transport Ellsworth's force across the river, as well as the gunboat Pawnee to cover their landing. The steamers Baltimore, Lieutenant William C. West; Mount Vernon, Master George Morris; and James Guy, Acting Master David C. Woods were to be employed in transporting the troops and lightering supplies. Between 2:00 and 4:00 a.m. the Zouaves embarked from Giesboro Point for the move against Alexandria (ORN Series I, 4: 477).

As daylight approached and the Union steamers neared the Alexandria waterfront, but only "so near as not to expose the secrecy of the expedition," Commander Rowan of the Pawnee dispatched an officer to shore to demand the surrender of the town. The officer, Lieutenant R. B. Lowry, landed at 4:20 a.m. without incident and proceeded into the town to meet with the Confederate commander of Alexandria, Major George H. Terrett (ORN Series I, 4: 45-46; The Evening Star, 24 May 1861).

Lieutenant Lowry came right to the point. He demanded, in the name of Commander Rowan, the surrender of Alexandria, stating that he was

prepared to seize the place and that resistance would be useless. He noted that Rowan had been "actuated simply by a desire to spare the shedding of blood of women and children." Standing in the open street and surrounded by excited Confederate soldiers, Major Terrett refused to surrender, but informed the naval officer that he was indeed about to evacuate the city (ORN Series I, 4: 46).

Although Lowry was unaware of the strength of the Confederate garrison in Alexandria, Terrett was cognizant of the Union crossing on the Potomac. At 1:30 a.m. he had received information from Captain Ball, commander of the Fairfax Cavalry, that one of his videttes stationed at the Chain Bridge had informed him of the squadron of Union cavalry crossing to the Virginia side. Terrett immediately ordered his force in Alexandria, no more than 500 men, to arms and to await further orders. (The major's force was composed of the Loudon Infantry, the Warren Rifles, the Mountaineer Rifles, the Old Dominion Rifles, and Powell's and Ball's Fairfax Cavalry companies) (ORN Series I, 4: 48; The Evening Star, 25 May 1861).

Aware that a massive move was indeed being made against Alexandria, Terrett informed Lowry that he would evacuate if hostilities were not opened against him. If they were he would respond in kind. He questioned the Union officer as to how much time he would have to evacuate. Lowry answered that he did not know, but that he would have to return to the Pawnee and that no time should be lost. Terrett informed him that he would need until at least 8:00 a.m. to get the women and children out and to remove such property as he would require. Lowry, noticing even as he spoke that small units of soldiers were marching from the town, agreed.

Very well; I will go at once to the Pawnee. Should the troops land and you make no resistance, I have no doubt that no harm will be done to the town and its inhabitants. Should the Pawnee be obliged to open her batteries no one knows better than yourself what would be the result (ORW Series I, 4: 46-47).

Lowry hastened to the river and reached the wharf just in time to witness the approach of the Zouaves under Colonel Ellsworth. The sentries on the wharf fired their muskets; a scattering of fire from onboard the transports came back at them. The sentries instantly fled back into the town "as fast as their legs could carry them." As the troops began to land, Lowry sought out their commander. "Sir," said the naval officer to Ellsworth,

I am an officer of the Pawnee. I have been on shore with a flag of truce, demanding the surrender of the town. The commanding officer is already evacuating. He promises to make no resistance. The town is full of women and children.

Ellsworth responded that he would harm no one.

As the Zouaves continued to land, Commander Rowan sent a party of sailors ashore under the command of Lieutenant J. C. Chaplin to land at the railroad wharf and to jump ashore as soon as the transport steamers landed. Joined by Lowry, their mission was to cut off the departure of the early morning train, but the engine escaped. However, the burden cars, laden with railroad iron, were taken. Another cutter was dispatched to take the steamers Collyer and Gipsy, which had been seized earlier by the secessionists. The vessels had belonged to parties in Washington and Maryland and were soon turned over to their owners. They were eventually returned to ferry operations between Alexandria and the capital (CRN Series I, 4: 45-46).

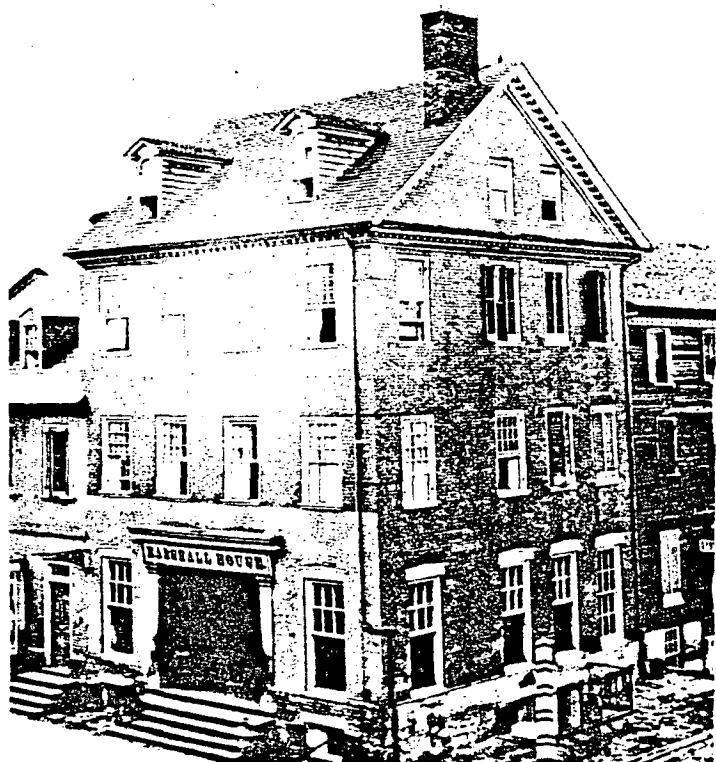
Colonel Ellsworth, in the meantime, had begun to march his troops

into the center of Alexandria. Lieutenant Lowry's sailors, having completed their mission at the waterfront, pushed ahead to join the Zouaves. Unable to locate Ellsworth, Lowry pressed into the upper section of the town, hoisted the American flag on a street flagstaff and another upon the custom house, where he also left a small guard. He then turned his march through the town toward the Orange and Alexandria train depot, only to find upon arrival that it had already been seized by forward elements of Wilcox's unit, which had marched down the Washington Turnpike from the Long Bridge (ORN Series I, 4: 46-47).

Elsewhere, Major Terrett had proceeded with the evacuation of Alexandria almost as soon as his conversation with Lowry had been concluded. He ordered his troops to assemble at a pre-designated place. As soon as the troops had formed, which was done with haste and order, he returned to his command post near the town center. There he learned that Union troops were entering the city by Washington Street (probably Wilcox's men). He instantly ordered his own men to march out of Alexandria via Duke Street. Captain Ball accompanied the major as far as his own quarters, a little west of the railroad depot, where he halted. There Terrett's troops entrained, approximately half a mile from the depot, where a train had been held in readiness for their evacuation. Ball was instructed to bring up the rear with his cavalry in order that the motions of the Union troops might be monitored and reported on (ORN Series I, 4: 48). Ball's retreat, however, was for some undetermined reason detained. Ball and his unit of 35 cavalymen and their horses were surprised and captured by a member of Wilcox's force at Burch and Cook's Negro Pen near the railroad depot (The Evening Star, 24 May 1861).

Immediately after landing, Colonel Ellsworth and his Zouaves had pressed toward the center of Alexandria, where they hoisted an American flag to the top of the city flagstaff. He then marched with a portion of his command to the telegraph office. Here he placed a guard to prevent any news of Union movements from being relayed to Southern troops mustered south of the town. While at the telegraph office Ellsworth noted a secessionist flag floating over the Marshal House nearby. Determined to remove the symbol of Southern secession, he proceeded to the house, which was kept by one James Jackson, a well-known secessionist, with a squad of men. Upon reaching the house, he requested the landlord to haul the flag down. Jackson refused, and Ellsworth entered the building with four or five men to pull it down. Quickly they tramped to the top of the house, tore down the ensign, "and trampled it under foot." Enraged, Jackson grabbed a double-barrelled gun and, meeting the Zouaves on the stairway, aimed it at the foremost man on the steps. The Zouave knocked it aside in an instant. Jackson quickly reaimed it at Colonel Ellsworth and fired a load into the officer's chest. "When he received the shot," reported the Washington Evening Star the next day, "Colonel Ellsworth dropped his sword and seizing hold of his clothing over his breast tore it entirely off, and looked down upon the wound, closed his eyes and fell dead without uttering a word" (The Evening Star, 24 May 1861).

Jackson instantly snapped the second barrel at the Zouave standing next to Ellsworth, but before the gun fired, one Private Brownell emptied his own gun into Jackson's brain and then bayoneted his body, pinning it to the steps as he fell.



The Marshall House, Alexandria, Virginia. No longer extant, it was located at the corner of King and Pitt Streets. From the Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress, Volume 36, Number 4 (Fall 1979), p. 370.



Colonel E.E. Ellsworth. After removing the Confederate flag from the roof of the Marshall House, Ellsworth was shot on the staircase of the house by proprietor Jim Jackson, May 24, 1861. Jackson was killed by Ellsworth's Zouaves. The incident caused the first blood to be spilled in the Civil War. From the Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress, Volume 36, Number 4 (Fall 1979), p. 371.

Thus the first blood of the American Civil War came to be spilled in Alexandria.

Though the occupation of Alexandria would be completed without further incident (save for a Zouave falling from a flagpole on May 25), the citizenry of the town were terrified. News of Ellsworth's death was kept from his men for several hours, even as the capture of the city was being consolidated, for fear that the grief-stricken and angry Zouaves might burn the town down. Soon Union troops were marching into the town from the north by the thousands. Fortified camps sprang up about the perimeter of the city and extended as far west as Chain Bridge. The Union toehold in northern Virginia had been achieved. Alexandria, though Confederate at heart, would never again be defended by Southern troops.

Lincoln moved quickly to quell any fears that Alexandrians might have about the occupation of their town. Soon after consolidation of the capture, the President queried General Winfield Scott, the aged Union Commander-in-Chief, as to the propriety of

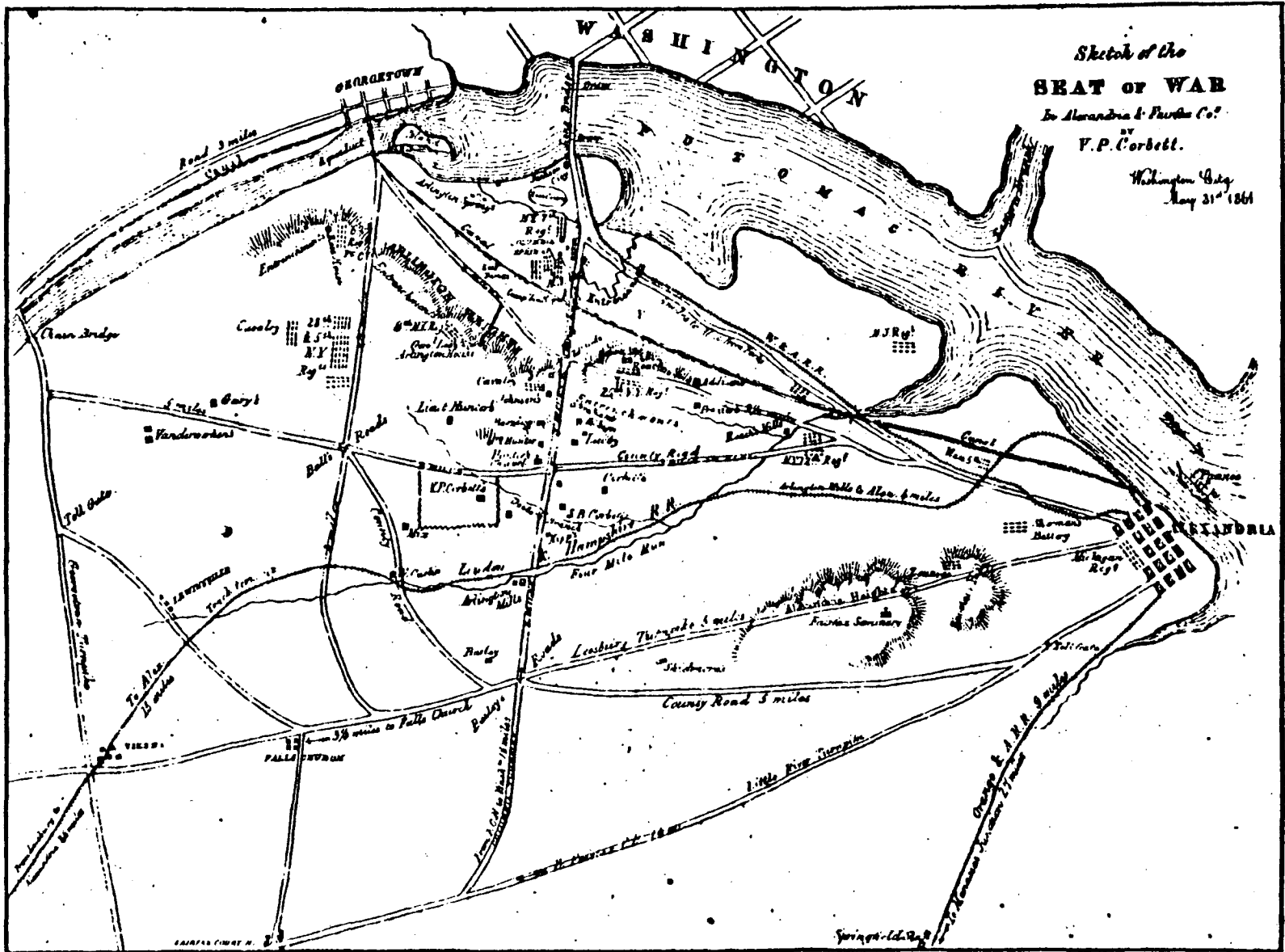
taking the occasion of occupying Alexandria & Arlington Heights, to make a proclamation to the citizens of these places, and vicinity, assuring them that they are not to be despoiled, but can have your protection, if they will accept it, and inviting such as may have left their homes, and business to return (Basler, 4: 385).

Federal assurances that no one would be harmed or robbed and the generally non-belligerent stance of the occupation forces soon allayed Alexandrian fears. Within a day of the occupation, stores had reopened and town commerce resumed, albeit on a limited basis (The Evening Star,

Sketch of the Seat of War
in Alexandria and Fairfax Co^s

V.P. Corbett
Washington City
May 31, 1861.

Corbett's map shows the locations
of the early encampment sites of
Union troops shortly after the
Federal invasion of Northern Virginia.
Note the Union gunboat Pawnee,
an integral part of the Potomac
defense force, cruising off Alexandria.



Sketch of the
SEAT OF WAR
 In Alexandria & Fairfax Co.
 by
 V.P. Corbett.

Washington City
 May 31st 1861

SAINT JOHN'S CHURCH

Spring-ld. Regt

25 May 1861). Despite occasional alarms concerning Confederate attack on the city, it was soon business as normal. On May 30, Secretary of the Treasury S. P. Chase issued instruction to the Collector of Customs at Alexandria to permit vessels from Northern ports to enter there, and to grant clearances for vessels going to Northern ports. Chase respectfully suggested to the Secretary of the Navy that proper orders be given to officers commanding the blockading squadron on the Potomac to allow vessels traveling to and from Alexandria to proceed unmolested (ORN Series I, 4: 487-88).

Though a resumption of normality in the maritime traffic at Alexandria, a necessity for the city's economic survival, was much desired by the Federal government, the realities of war frequently conspired to abort such objectives. Throughout the better part of 1861 Confederate forces continued to harass Potomac shipping from batteries and strongpoints along the river. Frequent Union alarms caused by Confederate troop buildups south of Alexandria, and the fear of invasion, caused U.S. naval commanders with the Potomac Flotilla to harass and occasionally to seize or sink suspected rebel vessels on the river. As a consequence, the maritime traffic of the Potomac, and the commerce of Alexandria, more directly, suffered (cf. Wills).

Throughout the early summer of 1861 Union forces continued to increase in and near Washington in preparation for a major strike against Confederate forces assembling south of Alexandria, in the vicinity of Manassas Junction. Federal morale was high, and the expectancy of an easy victory over the secessionists was pervasive. Such expectations made the Union



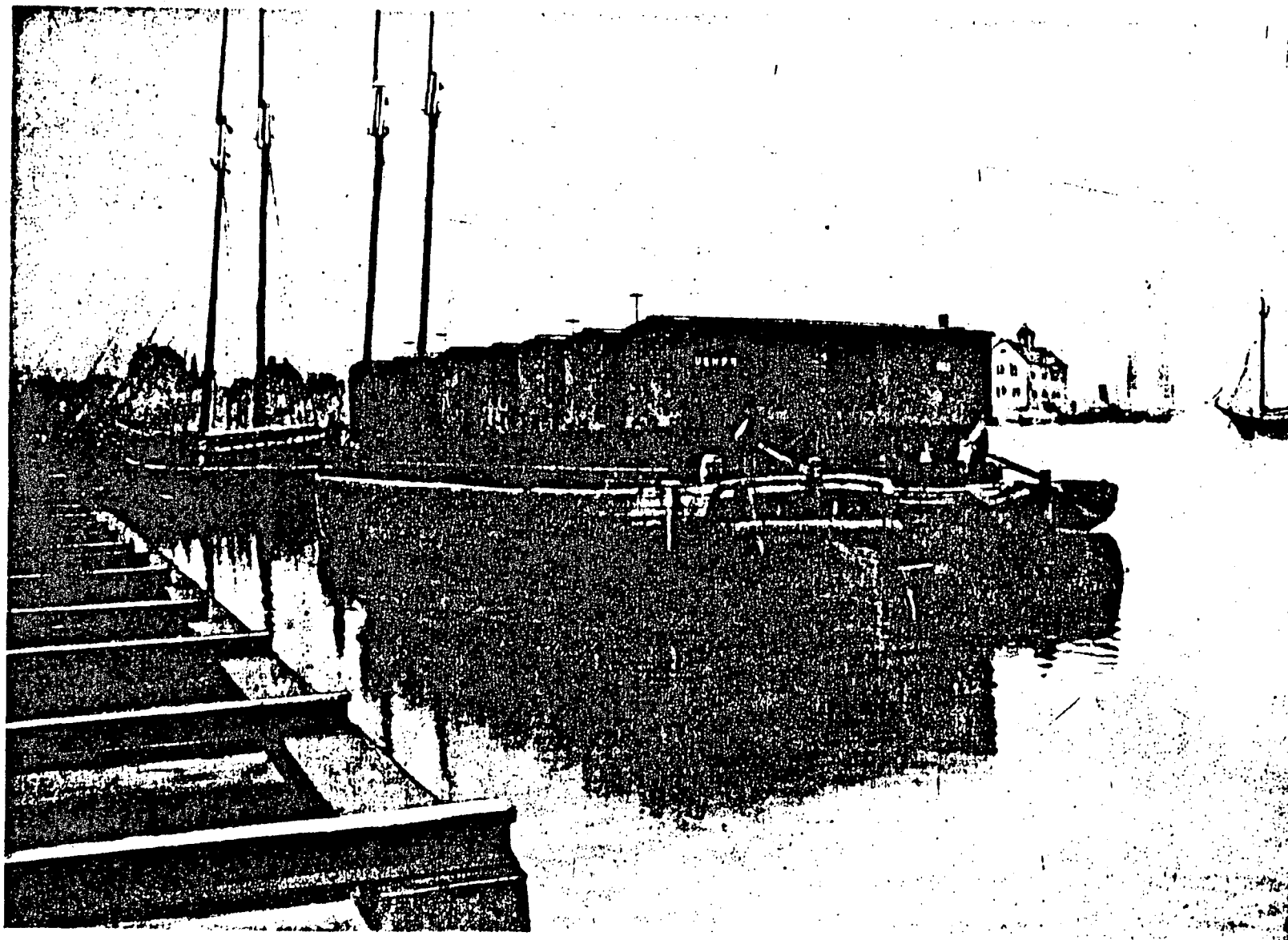
Camp of the 44th New York Infantry
near Alexandria, Virginia. From the
Quarterly Journal of the Library of
Congress, Volume 36, Number 4 (Fall 1979),
p. 371.

Car floats from Alexandria.

1862-63.

Car floats made from two canal boats or river barges and used to transport supplies from Alexandria for Union forces on the Rappahannock.

(Brady Civil War Photograph from L.C. Handy Studios, Washington).



defeat at the First Battle of Manassas on July 21, and the chaotic retreat that followed, all the more bitter. Fears that Confederate forces would march on Washington immediately after the Union defeat, however, proved unfounded. Yet they were not without some justification. The capital, and Alexandria to the south, were virtually unfortified, save for the few works erected soon after the Federal move into Virginia in May.

With the appointment of Major General George B. McClellan to the command of the Army of the Potomac, the first serious initiatives were taken to construct an impregnable ring of fortifications around Washington and Alexandria. The man selected for the task was Brigadier General John G. Barnard, Chief Engineer of the Army of the Potomac. On September 11, 1862, Barnard was officially appointed Engineer of the Defenses of Washington (ORA Series I, 21: Chpt. 21).

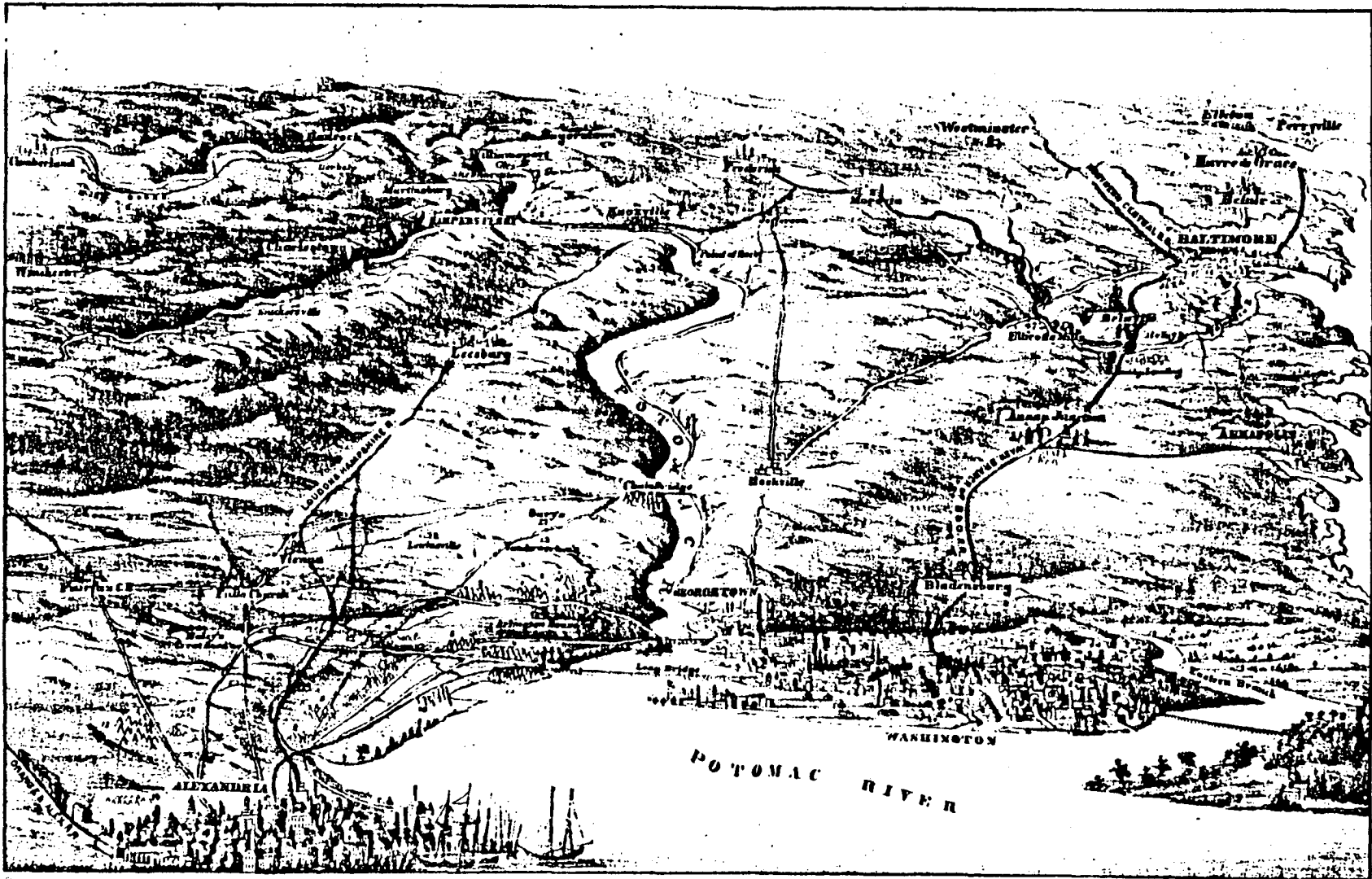
Barnard moved quickly, for he assumed command after the failure of the Peninsular Campaign of 1862 into southern Virginia which resulted in renewed apprehensions for the security of Washington. Fortifications that had already been constructed were strengthened under Barnard's direction, and new works were laid out to fill the gaps in the ring of Washington's defense line. Obstructions were made across the valleys of Four Mile Run and Hunting Creek, in the vicinity of Alexandria, and larger guns were mounted on the more prominent and strategic points in the line (ORA Series I, 21: 902-03).

Speedy access from Washington to Virginia was imperative to defense. In the winter of 1861-1862 the Army Engineers cut off the water of the C&O Canal from the Potomac Aqueduct and converted it to a double-track wagon road by covering the floor with four-inch-thick planks. The Alexandria

District of Columbia and the
Seat of War on the Potomac.

Casimir Bohn.
568 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.
186?.

An interesting birds eye view
of Northern Virginia, looking
westward from the Potomac River,
this illustration portrays the
locations of various Union
regiments in the vicinity of
Alexandria.



Photographed and Printed by E. S. MERRILL & CO. 1115 F Street, N.W. Washington, D.C.

Published by G. B. RAY, 1115 F Street, N.W. Washington, D.C.

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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND THE SEAT OF WAR ON THE POTOMAC.

- Railroad
- Canal
- River
- Stream
- Lake
- Pond
- Bay
- Harbor
- Strait
- Inlet
- Point
- Head
- Neck
- Spit
- Shoals
- Banks
- Islands
- Rocks
- Shoals
- Banks
- Islands
- Rocks

Division of
JUL 31

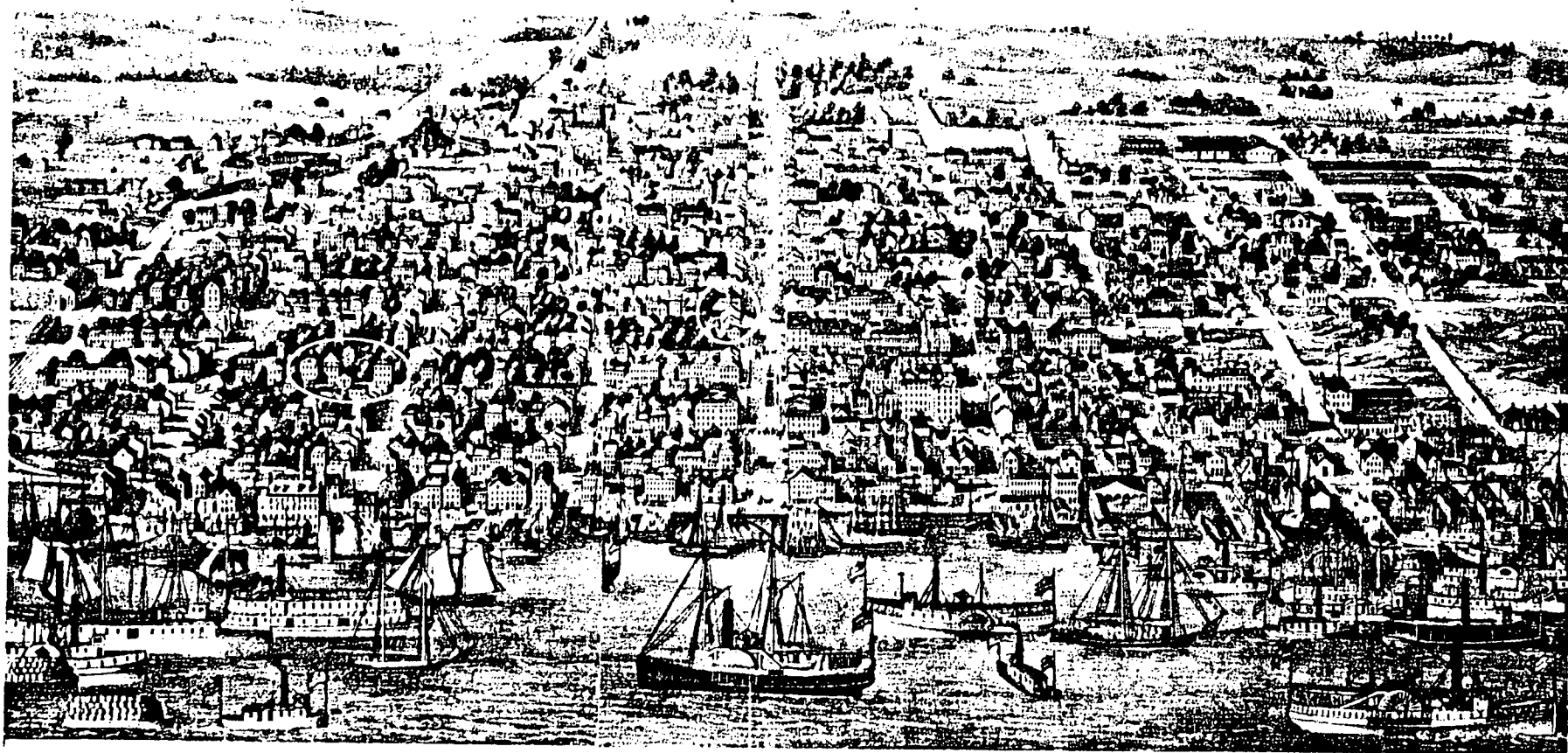
Birds Eye View of Alexandria, Va.

Charles Magnus.

Lithograph published in 1863.

This well known lithograph readily portrays the active waterfront of Alexandria in the midst of the Civil War years. A wide variety of watercraft crowd the Potomac facing the town. Paddle steamers, screw steamers, steam tugs, and schooners traffic on the river while canal boats, barges, scows, sloops, and even a few fore-and-aft sailing ships lie moored along the waterfront. The circle on King Street is the location of the Marshall House.

From the Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress, Volume 36, Number 4 (Fall 1979), pp. 358-359.



Duke Street

Prince Street

King Street

Cameron Street

Queen Street

Washington Street

St. Asaph Street

Pitt Street

Royal Street

Fairfax Street

Lee Street

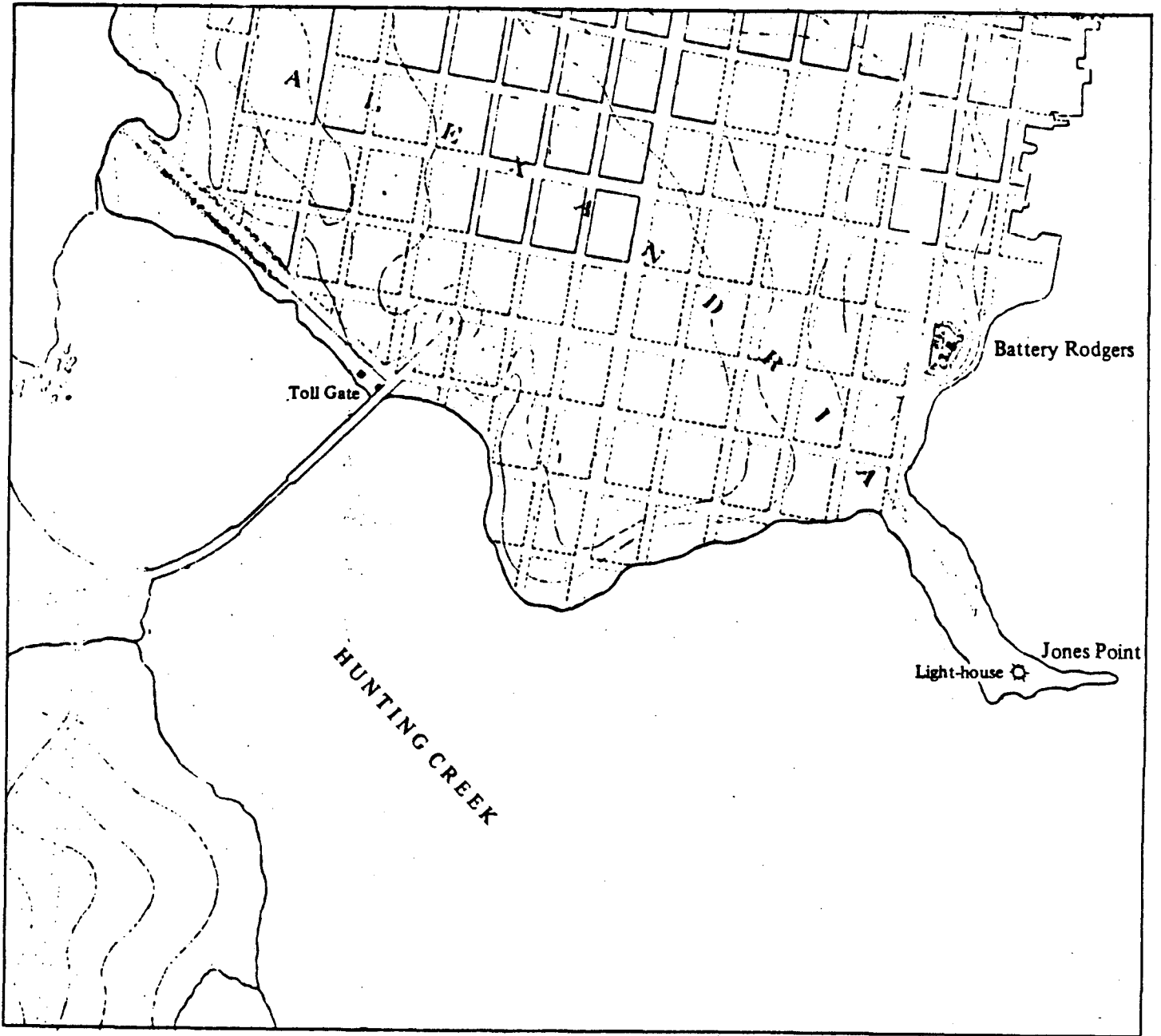
Union Street

Canal soon became, and remained, cut off from the C&O for the rest of the war, even though traffic continued to flow irregularly to Georgetown (Hahn: 99-100).

Barnard's efforts to secure the nation's capital from direct attack by Confederate forces was successful. By the war's end, Washington and Alexandria had been enclosed by a total of 68 fortifications and batteries, emplacements for 1,120 guns (of which 807 cannon and 98 mortars were actually mounted), 93 field battery sites, and 20 miles of rifle trenches interspersing a defense line 34 miles in length. Before Barnard was through, he had erected the most elaborate, powerful defense system devised to that date for a single city (McClure 1961: 1). And one of the principal keys to that system was a work erected in Alexandria, originally referred to as the Water Battery, but later as Battery Rodgers.

Barnard's principal concern for the protection of Washington lay in preparing defenses against land attack. But there was also a deep concern, especially after the Confederacy had fielded a number of ironclad warships such as the C.S.S. Virginia (ex-Merrimac) and Richmond, that Washington might be attacked by sea via the Potomac River. Thus, Barnard ordered the erection of two fortifications to protect the city from such an eventuality. A strong works dubbed Fort Foote was to be erected on the Maryland side of the river, and a work of equal strength was to be constructed at Alexandria on the Virginia side.

The Water Battery was constructed approximately two miles above Fort Foote in 1863, within the corporate limits of Alexandria, but nearly half a mile below the town wharves and the most populous area of the city. The location of the site was a square area between Fairfax, Franklin,



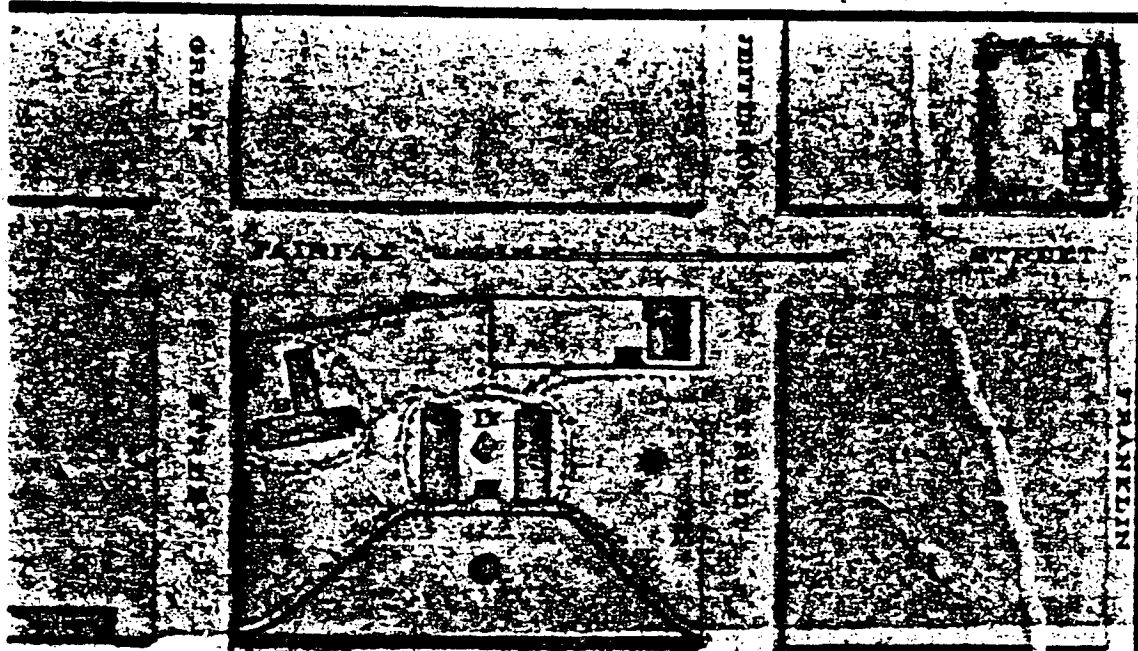
The location of Battery Rodgers
at Alexandria, Virginia.
From Barnard's Defense of Washington.

Map of Battery Rodgers, Alex. Va.

Record Group, "Post and Reservation."
Map No. 110, Sequence 13, Item 31,
National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Of note is the Slaughter House, a structure erected over the water at the foot of Green Street. This structure was part of the Battery Rodgers complex that protected Alexandria and Washington from riverine assault. The seaward portion of the Slaughter House would now lie beneath fill and spoil dredged from the Potomac in 1910-1911 and deposited in Battery Cove.

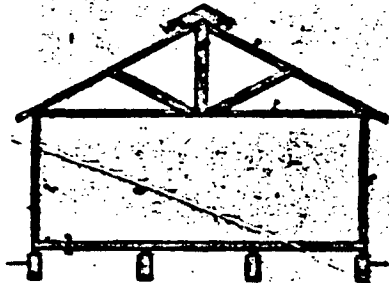
GENERAL PLAN BATTERY RODGERS



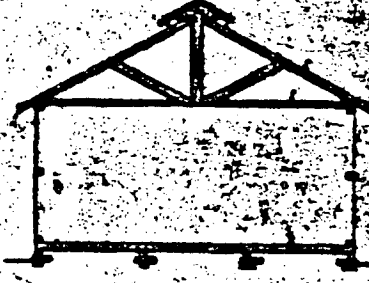
BATTERY RODGERS & CO.
ALEXANDRIA, VA.

- A Hospital store; Mess-room; Kitchen store - Siding vertical, Rafters oblique. Eaves out.
 - B Mess-rooms; Kitchen store - Siding horizontal, Rafters of full.
 - C U.S. Slaughter House store; mess; store - Siding horizontal.
 - D Barracks - Siding horizontal, Rafters oblique. Located by Capt. Lee C. Q.M.
 - E Guard house; Prison store - Siding horizontal; Rafters oblique.
 - F Impliment house store; Located by Engineer.
- Condition good.

POTOMAC RIVER.



Transverse section of Barracks, delivery office on top of roof as look to the front.

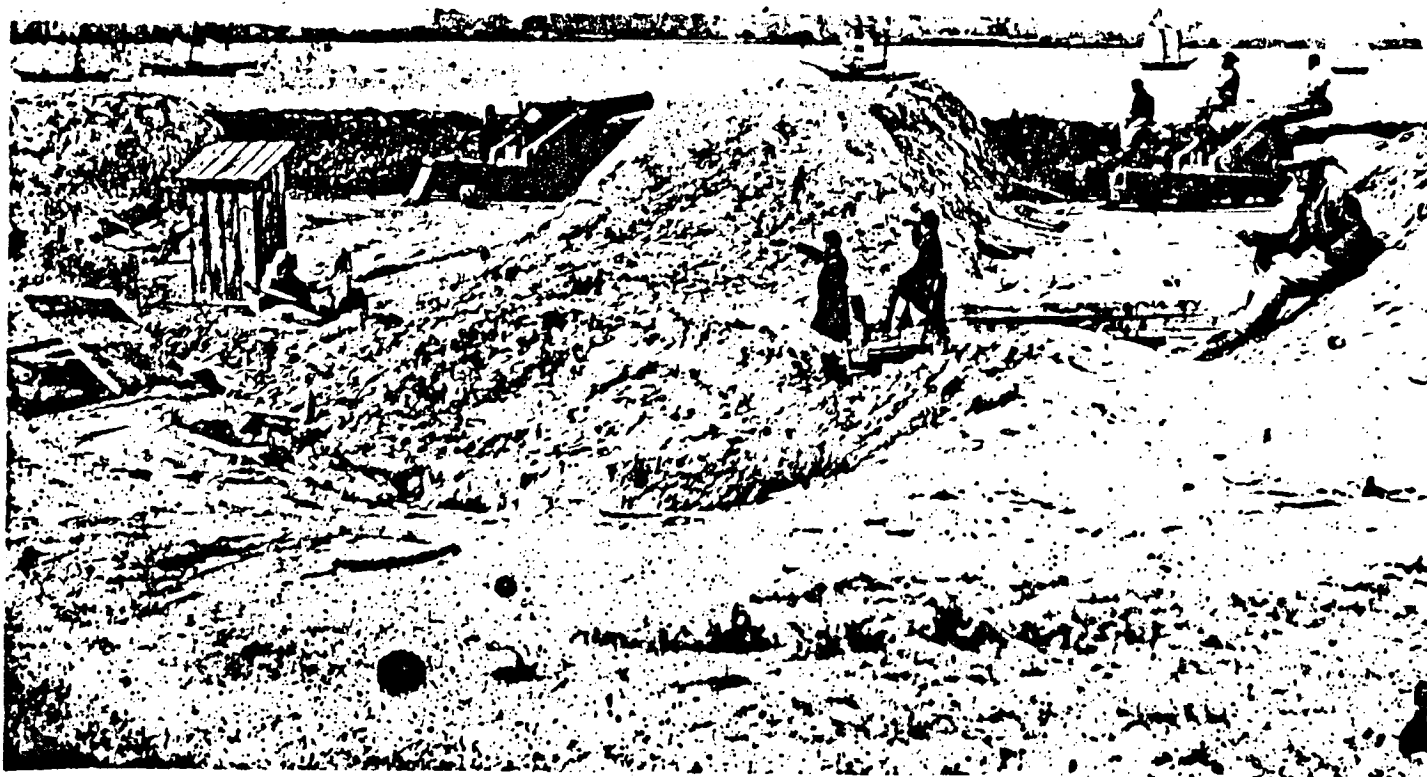


Transverse section of Hospital.

A fort on the Potomac River,
presumed to be Battery Rodgers.

U.S. Signal Corps photo.
No. 111-B-340, Matthew Brady
Collection, National Archives,
Washington, D.C.

This work appears to be nearing
completion, although no sod
has been laid over the bombproofs
to retard erosion. Several guns
have been mounted, and a carriage
for a smaller gun rests near what
appears to be a privy.



and Green Streets and the Potomac, Jefferson, and Water Streets (modern Lee Street). The works were actually subdivided by Water Street, with the actual fortifications situated on the eastern side of the street. The site was admirably situated on a rising bluff 28 feet above high water and arranged to throw a deadly fire upon any vessel attempting to pass upriver to a range of 600 yards (that distance being mid-channel). It also commanded, with an enfilading fire, the entire river channel from shore to shore for a distance southward to the full range of its guns (Barnard 1871: 60).

The main face of the battery was 185 feet long with return flanks of 60 and 80 feet. It was designed for an armament of five 200-pounders and a single 15-inch gun; the latter and one of the 200-pounders were mounted on center-pintle, and the others on front-pintle, barbette carriages. The work was constructed as a half-sunken battery, its crest at a level of nearly 30 feet above high water and "the terre-plein" excavated to give a relief of $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet with a descent for rear drainage. The parapet was made 25 feet thick and the breast height was formed with vertical post revetments. The battery's armament was arranged in sections of two guns each with heavy traverses covering each section. On the right flank was mounted a 200-pounder, and the adjacent angle hosted a 200-pounder Parrott gun. These two monstrous weapons commanded the direct approach to Alexandria via the Accotink Road and protected the left flank of the fort (Barnard 1871: 61).

To the left of the Parrott gun was a traverse, then another section of two giant rifled guns, another traverse, and to the left another giant rifled gun, and in the angle a 15-inch center-pintle gun. Each traverse

was over 19 feet thick above the crest of the parapet and rounded off on the top, reaching an extreme height of eight feet above the crest. From the level of four feet above they were given a slope of three on four down to a level of two feet below the crest, from which they were revetted with posts to a slope of four on one, their width at base being about 33 feet. Under each traverse was constructed bomb-proof filling-rooms, or service magazines, 25 feet by 6 feet, exclusive of entrance hall, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The earth covering was made 15 feet thick, measured on a line with a rising angle of 30° from the upper corner of the wooden interior framework. Thus, as the traverse could only be struck obliquely by an enemy's shot, this thickness gave perfect security to the interior (Barnard 1871: 61).

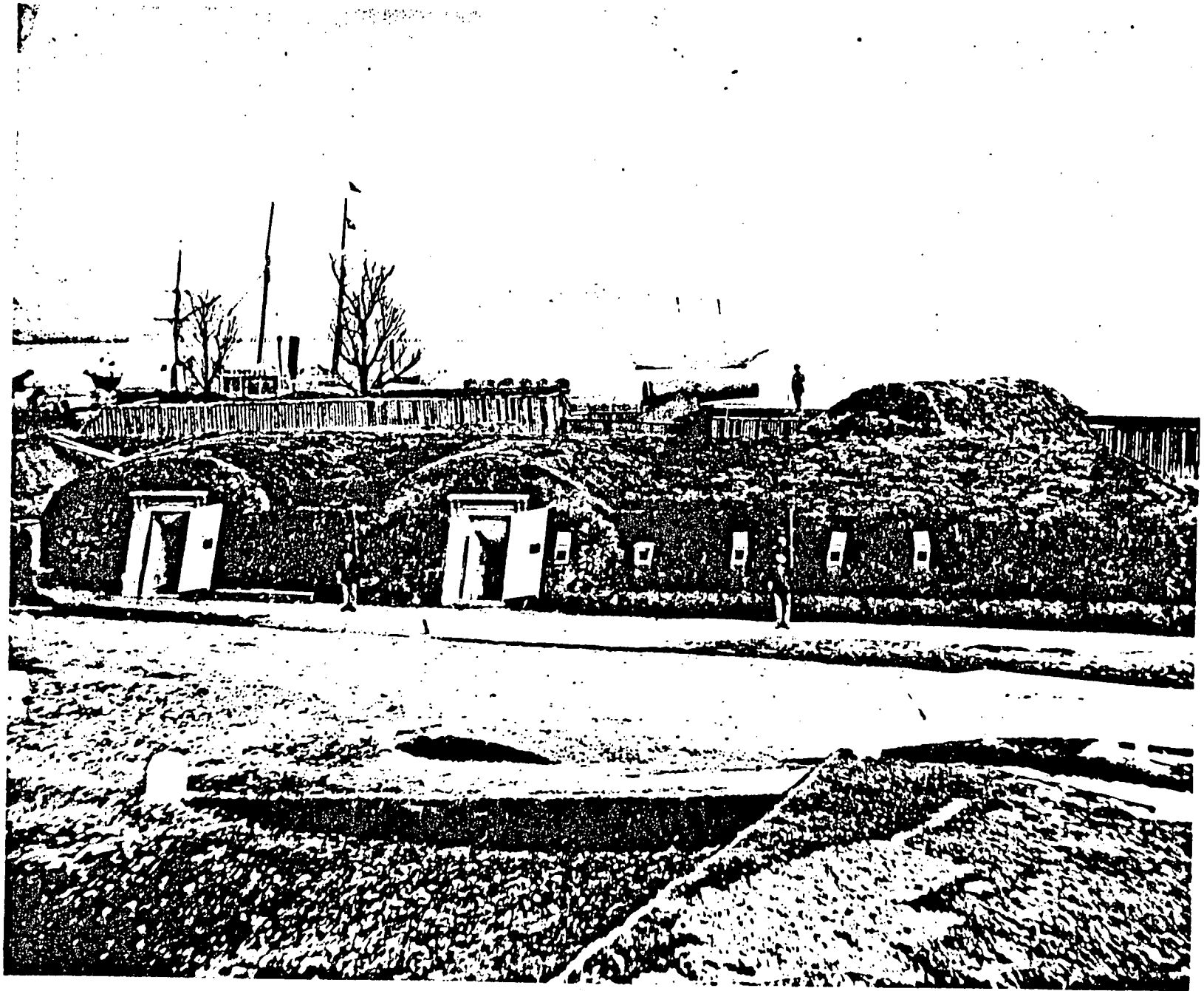
The battery was provided with two magazines, one 12 feet by 30 feet, and the other 12 feet by 18 feet, interior dimensions. These were sunk entirely beneath the terre-plein and protected by a covering of earth $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. The 15-inch gun platform was of granite bedded in concrete. The circular recess in which this gun was mounted was revetted in three steps of 12 inches rise and 12 inches tread, to facilitate loading. These steps were of solid oak timber in segments of six to nine feet, cut so as to conform to the circle. The rifled guns were mounted on wooden platforms and fastened by screw bolts to solid foot-thick timber foundations. All of the slopes of parapet, magazines, and traverses were sodded (Barnard 1871: 61-62).

Barnard designed the works to prohibit enemy attack up the Potomac, and to act with Fort Foote across the river. The Water Battery was also intended to be used in concert with floating obstructions (Barnard 1871: 62).

Battery Rodgers, Alexandria, Va.

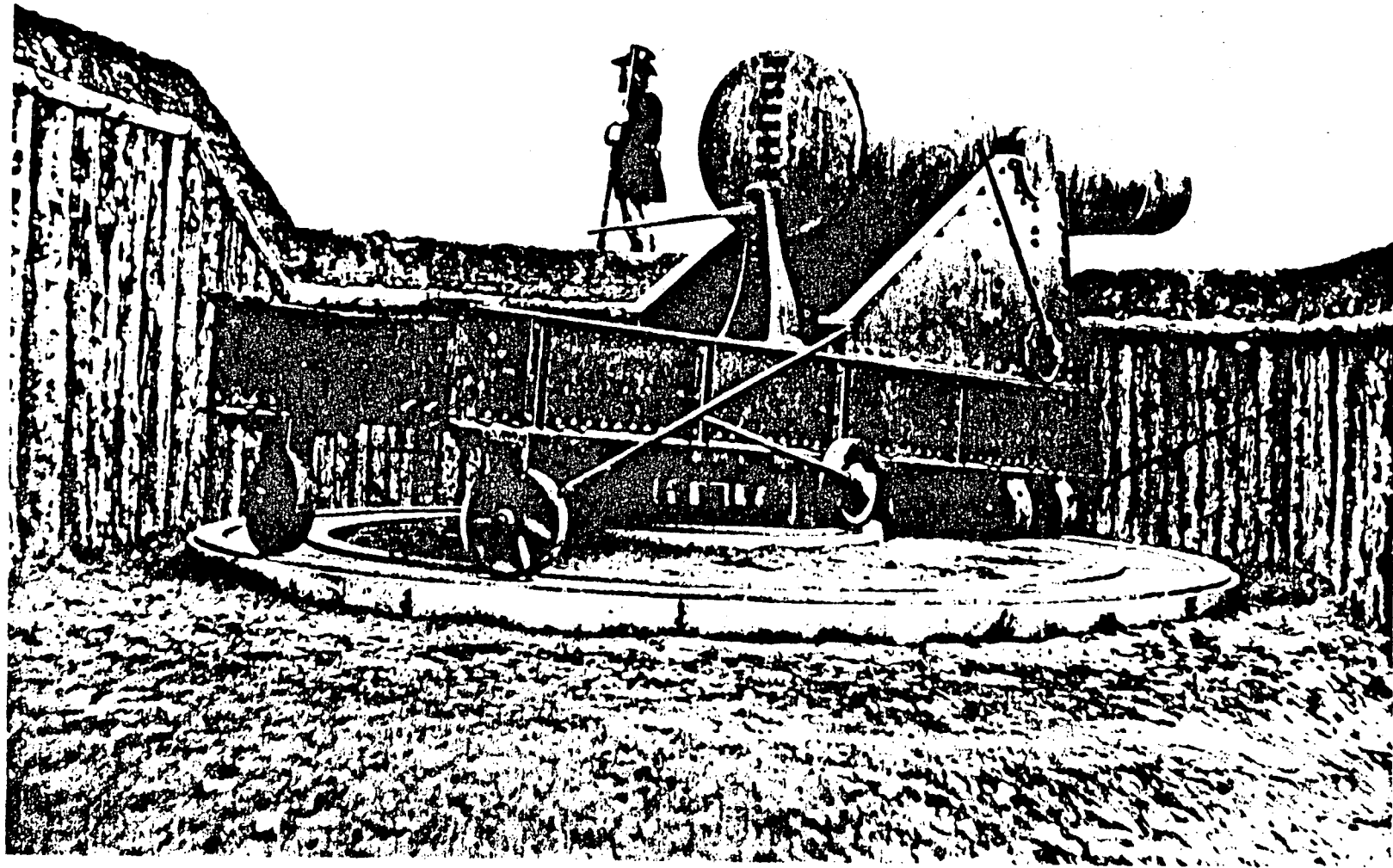
U.S. Signal Corps photo. No. 111-B-95,
Matthew Brady Collection, National
Archives, Washington, D.C.

A 15-inch Rodman gun is visible above the bombproof shelter. In the background, in the area which approximates the foot of Franklin Street, is moored a two-masted vessel with a smoke stack. In the far distance can be seen a second two-masted vessel lying at anchor.



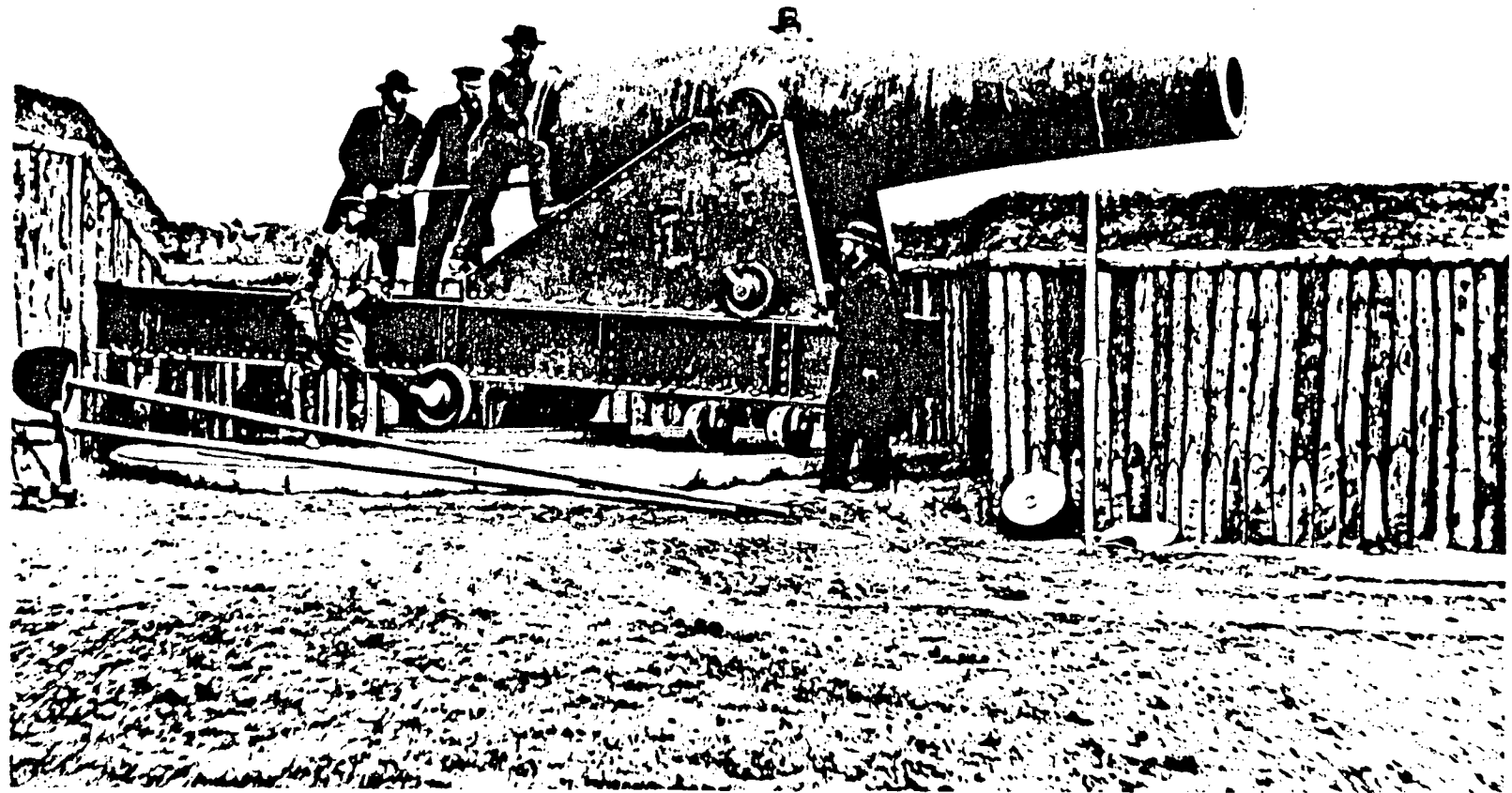
Rodman Gun at Battery Rodgers,
Alexandria, Virginia.

U.S. Signal Corps photo, No. 111-B-100,
Matthew Brady Collection, National
Archives, Washington, D.C.



The Rodman Gun, Battery Rodgers,
Alexandria, Virginia.

U.S. Signal Corps photo. No. 111-B-353,
National Archives, Washington, D.C.



In addition to the battery works, there were also associated facilities erected, such as barracks, hospital, slaughterhouse, guard house, prison, and implement house (Williams: 33). Ultimately, the Water Battery was renamed Battery Rodgers on September 17, 1863, in honor of Commander George W. Rodgers, USN, killed in combat aboard the U.S.S. Catskill. Rodgers had died on August 17, 1863, in a naval attack on Fort Wagner, Charleston Harbor, South Carolina.

In 1864 recommendations were made to change the artillery to Rodman Guns, a suggestion which was accepted by General Barnard. At that time the fort was defended by a garrison of 203 men of the Wisconsin Volunteers commanded by one Major Meservey. The garrison was described as "larger than necessary" (ORA Series I, 36, Part 2: 388). Fortunately, the defensive capabilities of Battery Rodgers would never be tested.

With Alexandria and the surrounding territory sufficiently fortified to repel Confederate attack, either by land or by sea, President Lincoln rested somewhat easier. But Alexandria had become a major--and tempting--logistical supply depot for Federal forces operating in Virginia. In one 24-hour period as many as 40 ships would be unloaded at the waterfront (Miller: 13). Under the command of Colonel Daniel C. McCallum, the town's military director and government superintendent of railroads there, the railroad stock necessary for Union troop movements southward constantly rolled in and out. Not until the Union victory at the Battle of Gettysburg, however, was Lincoln prepared to loosen the commercial blockade of the town's shipping. Finally, on September 24, 1863, the President issued a Proclamation officially opening the Port of Alexandria, Virginia, in which he declared:

that the blockade of the said port of Alexandria, shall so far cease and determine, from and after this date, that commercial intercourse with said port, except as to persons, things, and information contraband of war, may, from this date, be carried on, subject to the laws of the United States, and to the limitations and in pursuance of the regulations which are prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury. . . (Basler, 4: 479, 482n).

Encouraged by events political and military in the months following Gettysburg, Lincoln determined to establish a state from that part of Virginia which had remained loyal to the Union. Thus was born in 1863 the State of West Virginia. Elected to the governorship of the "Restored Government" of Virginia, as it was called, was Francis H. Peirpont. In December 1863 Peirpont had established the provisional seat of his government in Alexandria, where he was conveniently close to the seat of Federal authority. From time to time, Peirpont was summoned from Alexandria to discuss certain issues with the President, such as the calling of a constitutional convention to abolish slavery or the Amnesty Proclamation of December 8, 1863 (Basler, 4: 83n).

As the war dragged on, it was becoming increasingly clear that the Southern cause faced certain defeat. Finally, in the opening days of April 1865, the capital city of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia, fell to Union forces. On April 9, the Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate Army, General Robert E. Lee, surrendered to General Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Court House. The Civil War in Virginia had ended.

XI

OCEAN COMMERCE IS GONE

The close of the Civil War had left Virginia, the chief battleground of that monumental conflict, in a state of physical devastation greater than any other state in the South. The region between Alexandria and Manassas was described by John T. Trowbridge, a Northerner who visited the area soon after the surrender of the Confederacy, as displaying "no sign of human industry, save here and there a sickly, half-cultivated corn field . . . the country for the most part consisted of fenceless fields abandoned to weeds, stump lots and undergrowth." The lands of Alexandria's prewar supplies of wheat and grain, such as the Shenandoah Valley, had become virtual deserts as a result of prolonged fighting and the systematic scorched-earth policy of Union leaders such as General Philip Sheridan. And slavery, the keystone of the state's economic system, had been eliminated. Finally, the physical wreckage, the loss in human lives of an entire generation, offered Alexandria, the state of Virginia, and the entire South bleak prospects for the future (Dabney 1971: 353-54).

For Alexandria, the impact of the war had fortunately not resulted in extensive property destruction. The city had served as a hospital town and as a staging and logistical supply center for the Union and had miraculously escaped physical harm. Its ability to resume its commerce during the era of Reconstruction, however, had been sorely diminished. The 1870 census found the town's white population decreased from its prewar count by 659, while its unskilled black population had increased by 3,000. Many believed that with the conclusion of hostilities Alexandria might again command an almost exclusive commerce with the

Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. But again, Baltimore not only assisted in building the transportation links that had been started prior to 1861, but assumed full control. The connections between such points as Strasburg and Winchester were made and almost wholly managed by Baltimore interests (First Centennial 1880: 44, 46).

The incredibly slow return to normalcy for Alexandria was compounded by continual difficulties resulting from the effects of the war. Virginia suffered wheat crop failures in 1865 and 1866. Labor shortages handicapped farming, and the former slave population lacked the skills to engage in commercial enterprises of their own. Farm values plunged. By 1870 manufacturing had failed to reach even prewar levels. Francis H. Pierpont, head of Lincoln's rump Virginia government based at Alexandria in 1863, assumed the full reins of a state government with a population which had been largely disenfranchised for its participation in Secession (Dabney 1971: 357-62).

Alexandria's maritime interests struggled to survive Reconstruction, but domination by other ports had become, by now, a reality recognized by all. Soon after 1865 three new firms entered the Potomac River steamer trade, only one of them even partially based at Alexandria. These companies and their vessels were: the Washington, Alexandria & Georgetown Steam Navigation Company, which operated the steamboats Columbia and Diamond State; The Potomac River Transportation Line, which owned three ships, the Cornelius Vanderbilt, the Express, and the W. Whilidin; and, in 1873, the Baltimore-based People's Accommodation Steamboat Company, which entered the trade with the Isaac P. Smith. Also opened in 1865 was the Washington-based Atlantic Steamship Company, which established regular operations connecting New York to Alexandria and Washington.

The line was represented in Alexandria by the firm of Flowers and Barnes. Three steamboats were employed in this service: the E. C. Knight, the John Gibson, and the Fairfax. A competitor to the Atlantic Steamship Company was the New York and Washington Steamship Company, which owned three steamboats, the Baltimore, the Rebecca Clyde, and the Empire, and was represented in Alexandria by M. Eldridge. The company was later to become affiliated with the East Coast Steamship Company, which operated between New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Alexandria. Although ferry service between Alexandria, Georgetown, Washington, and the Maryland shore had been resumed shortly after the seizure of the town in 1861, two new ferry steamers appeared in operation on the Potomac in 1868. These were the sister ships City of Alexandria and City of Washington (Tilp 1978: 58-59).

The lack of capital in the south after the war had the immediate result of creating a vacuum into which northern money poured. As a consequence, ownership and management of property, services, utilities, and so forth was often dominated by extra-state individuals or companies. Hahn (100-01) points out that in 1866 Alexandria, in desperate need of the coal carried down from the west by the C&O Canal but financially unable to repair the frayed and crumbling Potomac Aqueduct to obtain access to it, was forced to dispose of the stock in the Alexandria Canal Company to raise money to pay for repairs. On February 16, 1866, the Virginia General Assembly passed an act requiring the Virginia Board of Public Works and the City of Alexandria to dispose of their stock holdings in the Alexandria Canal Company. On May 11 the City of Alexandria

approved of a proposition made by William W. Dugan, Philip Quigley, and Henry H. Wells "under the name of the Alexandria Railroad and Bridge Company that they lease the Alexandria Canal for a period of 99 years at \$1,000 per year on the condition that they repair the canal and keep it in navigable condition." In April 1867 the lessees were authorized by the Virginia General Assembly to construct a highway toll bridge on a second level above the water-filled trunk of the aqueduct.

Alexandria struggled to survive in the best way it knew. In 1868 a commercial exchange was formed to regularize the town's transactions (Brockett and Rock 1883: 46-47). The city's once-formidable international trade, however, stagnated. Between 1868 and 1874 the value of imported items, principally gypsum and salt, totalled only \$120,238. In 1873 Alexandria imported 1/258 of the salt of the United States, which accounted for one-third of the total for the entire state of Virginia. In 1874 the city imported one-eighth of the gypsum and 1/232 of the salt in the Union. The salt was imported principally from England, and the gypsum from Nova Scotia (Virginia: A Geographical and Political Summary 1876: 141).

The Alexandria Customs District entrances and clearances of vessels reflected the stagnation of the town's coastwise trade, and the town's state rank fluctuated between fifth and sixth in terms of number of vessel entries and departures (behind Norfolk, Portsmouth, Richmond, Petersburg, and Yorktown), besting only the districts of Tappahannock and Cherrystone. In 1871 total entrances (including local fishing and ferry vessels) numbered 2,457, while those of Norfolk/Portsmouth numbered 32,839. Alexandria cleared 2,404 vessels while Norfolk/Portsmouth cleared 21,321. The town's resumption

Figure 10.

DIRECT TRADE (IMPORTS AND DOMESTIC EXPORTS) OF VIRGINIA PORTS DURING THE FISCAL YEARS NAMED

Years	Customs Districts	Imports	Domestic Exports	Imports		Exports	
				In American Vessels	In Foreign Vessels	In American Vessels	In Foreign Vessels
1868	Richmond	\$ 29,260	\$2,525,457	-	-	-	-
	Norfolk and Portsmouth	15,740	1,719,094	-	-	-	-
	Alexandria	6,636	-	-	-	-	-
	Petersburg	4,943	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	\$ 56,579	\$4,244,551	-	-	-	-
1869	Richmond	\$ 41,214	\$1,886,428	-	-	-	-
	Norfolk and Portsmouth	205,591	1,371,796	-	-	-	-
	Alexandria	8,532	34,334	-	-	-	-
	Petersburg	4,402	34,892	-	-	-	-
	Total	\$259,739	\$3,327,450	-	-	-	-
1870	Richmond	\$ 91,777	\$1,636,770	\$ 23,924	\$ 67,853	\$355,069	\$1,281,701
	Norfolk and Portsmouth	14,451	1,307,440	66	14,385	150,633	1,156,807
	Alexandria	83,822	39,048	2,953	30,869	8,440	30,608
	Petersburg	1,263	-	-	1,263	-	-
	Total	\$141,313	\$2,983,258	\$ 26,943	\$114,370	\$514,142	\$2,469,116
1871	Richmond	\$ 63,563	\$1,418,262	\$ 11,419	\$ 57,144	\$656,744	\$ 761,518
	Norfolk and Portsmouth	94,091	628,048	28,618	65,473	158,079	469,969
	Alexandria	14,908	-	12,410	2,498	-	-
	Petersburg	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	\$177,562	\$2,046,310	\$ 52,447	\$125,115	\$814,823	\$1,231,487

Source: Virginia: A Geographical and Political Summary 1876: 130-133.

of exports is not reported until 1869, when they were valued at \$34,334, ranking fourth after Richmond (which boasted exports valued at \$1,886,428), Norfolk/Portsmouth, and Petersburg. In 1874 Alexandria's exports were valued at an embarrassing \$5,008 (Virginia: A Geographical and Political Summary 1876: 130-33).

The economic debility of Alexandria was accelerated in 1871 by two major conflagrations. The first broke out in Fishtown on the night of January 16 in the fish house of George W. Harrison, which, before it was subdued, consumed not only the building in which it originated, but the whole row of adjoining fish houses. These included the fish houses of R. H. Gemeny, I. Eichburg, James E. McGraw, Joseph McLean, a second house belonging to G. W. Harrison, and the restaurants of James Coleman and Terrence Ryan. Owing to the combustible nature of the buildings and their contents, barrels and other portions of fishermen's outfits, frame buildings in the near neighborhood, and a half-sunken schooner named Union lying at the wharf, were on fire several times, but were saved by the efforts of the fire department. The Fishtown fire was intense. "The sparks, too, fell as thick as snow flakes, and some of their falling on the building known as the 'brown shed' [possibly a brothel] set that on fire" but was extinguished before injury was incurred or the flames could spread further. Two men were arrested on charges of incendiarism, but were later released owing to lack of evidence (Alexandria Gazette, 17 January 1871).

Fishtown remained a visibly charred sector of Alexandria and an eyesore almost symbolic of the depression for some time. Only two fish

house owners had the economic capability of rebuilding. On February 7 it was reported that James E. McGraw had begun building a sizable fish house on the site of his former operation. On March 2 McGraw completed the construction of the large fish packaging house, a structure 100 feet in length and 40 feet in breadth. George W. Harrison, who commenced rebuilding later than McGraw, constructed a fish salting house 100 feet in length and 24 feet in breadth, a smaller salt house 10 feet by 22 feet, and a hotel 112 feet long by 22 feet wide (The Evening Star, 7 February 1871; 2 March 1871).

The destruction of the commercial heart of the Fishtown sector of Alexandria, an already seedy area of the city much given to debauchery and crime, drew little note, save a short column or two in the Gazette. The destruction of the ancient Market House and the city's public offices between Commerce and Prince Streets, however, was another matter, for it served to rally Alexandrians around a common cause (although it distressed their pocketbooks even further).

The origins of the Market House and its history had long and easily elicited notes of civic pride in city residents. The lot upon which its earliest portion stood, on Cameron Street, had been donated to the town by the Ramsay family as a site for public buildings shortly after 1749. A brick building was erected soon afterwards. Over its arches were rooms in which court had once been held which were, in 1871, serving as offices for the City Sergeant, the Clerk of the Corporation Court, the Superintendent of Gas, and the law firm of A. & C. E. Stuart. The portion of the building on Royal Street, erected in 1817 by Jeremiah Bosworth, Robert Brockett, and James McGuire and completed by Benjamin Green, had

Note: The Market Square lot being "a gift of the Ramsay Family" is false. This lot was set aside for public use in the original Alexandria City Charter, and was never owned by a private entity.

[Information received in telephone conversation with James Munson, historian. 8/4/92]

been a fine three-story brick building from which rose a splendid brick steeple designed by Latrobe, architect of the Capitol. The steeple was proudly described as "a Pharos to the early navigators of the Potomac." The bell in the steeple had called Alexandrians to arms, to fight fires, or to assembly in past emergencies, and the old town clock, which had kept time since its installation in the steeple in 1817 by Isaiah Larkin of Philadelphia, hammered out the hours with regularity. In the third story of the building was the Alexandria Museum, filled with the relics of the city's early history, the Revolution, and the distinguished individuals who had served in that conflict. In the second story were the Mayor's Office, the Auditor's Office, the Office of the Collector of Taxes, and the chambers of the Board of Aldermen and Common Council (Alexandria Gazette, 19 May 1871).

The fire, later believed to be the work of an incendiary, was discovered by a policeman named Hepburn at 12:30 a.m. on May 19 in the store of George A. Huntington, on the corner of Royal Street and Market Alley. The flames spread rapidly, even as the alarm was being sounded. In a short time the entire Alexandria fire department was on the scene doing battle with the conflagration. Fearing that the fire might cross the streets and alleys in a repeat of the 1827 disaster, the Chief Engineer of the Fire Department sent a telegram at 2:00 a.m. to Washington asking for assistance. Chief Engineer Holmes of the Washington Fire Department immediately called upon Captain Samuel Gedney, Superintendent of the Potomac Ferry Company, for assistance. Gedney instantly placed two boats lying at the wharf in Washington at Holmes's disposal. Within two hours and 20 minutes, Holmes, along with his carriage, the Columbia

and South Washington steam fire engines and their hose carriages, and the Metropolitan Hook and Ladder Company, had arrived at Alexandria aboard the steamer City of Alexandria, Captain William Poor commanding. Because of the scarcity of water, one of the Washington steamers was stationed at the wharf at the foot of Cameron Street and transferred water into the other stationed closer to the scene of the fire, by which it was pumped forward and thrown with effect upon the flames. From time to time old bombshells, relics in the Alexandria Museum from the Revolution, would blow up, causing considerable excitement, but no injuries (Alexandria Gazette, 19 May 1871).

Eventually the flames were quelled, as the once-proud steeple crashed to the ground along with much of the Market House. A number of other venerable buildings suffered as well, including the Rainbow Tavern, one of the oldest houses in the city. Many of the butchers' stalls, which had at one time been "handsome structures . . . erected at great expense," were destroyed. Damage from the intense heat was extensive, injuring such reputable establishments as the Mansion House and Tenneson's Restaurant. Initial estimates of the damage incurred ranged from \$75,000 to \$100,000 (Alexandria Gazette, 19 May 1871).

The Market House was for Alexandrians a symbol of happier days, and its loss was deeply mourned by many. A move to reconstruct the site was immediately instituted by Mayor Hugh Latham, the Common Council, and the Board of Aldermen. A public subscription was immediately begun, municipal bonds issued, and plans for a new Market House ordered drawn up. Fortunately, according to the Gazette, the "books, papers, records and valuables in the Mayor's, Auditor's, Tax Collectors' and Clerk of the

Gas Works offices, and in the offices of the Clerk of the Corporation Court, were all saved." The city government could continue its work largely unimpeded. Within a short time the scars were removed and a new edifice erected, at great expense to the town's nearly empty coffers (Alexandria Gazette, 19 May 1871; 20 May 1871).

The burst of civic pride in the restoration of the Market House could not mask the degeneration of the waterfront. Wharves and waterfront commerce continued their cancerous decline. Waterfront facilities and installations were often leased at public auctions for ridiculously low prices. Pier 13, between Duke and Prince Streets, for instance, was turned over to the consortium of Hooe, Wedderburne & Company and B. H. Lambert for a term of three years at a cost of only \$6.66 2/3 a year. On January 22, 1871, the venerable Hunter's Shipyard was sold by John H. Parrott at public auction to James Green for \$7,750. Labor unrest among the black population of the waterfront, typified by strikes at the coal wharves, served to accelerate the slide (The Evening Star, 19 January 1871; 22 January 1871; 22 March 1871).

Hard times for the Alexandria waterfront and the city's maritime interests were compounded by competition from the railroads. Passenger and freight service, readily available through the numerous lines now serving the city, to points north, south, and west could be had as cheaply as by water, and usually without fear of delay or handicap by weather. Alexandria's Strand now frequently appeared to be more that of a ghost town than an active waterfront. In July 1875 the Gazette noted sadly that the Strand was practically deserted. There were no vessels in the

stream, no large coasters at the coal wharves, only a few canal boats, and no steamers except the ferry boats at the piers. Carts and drays stood idly by, awaiting goods that never arrived. The Corn Exchange was practically silent. Pioneer Mills, which had not run since the beginning of the Civil War, was offered for sale. This facility, which had the capability to take grain directly from ships and transport it to hoppers via elevators, was barely able to fetch \$32,000, less than one quarter of its original cost. Abandoned buildings were frequently vandalized. Some structures were torn down and their materials carried away. On March 24, 1875, it was announced that the wooden buildings of Battery Rodgers would be knocked down and hauled off. Fishtown, particularly a stretch known as Devil's Row, was becoming a scene of frequent civil disturbance. On one occasion a fight erupted between a large body of blacks, men and women, during which a lamp was hurled into a crowd of spectators by an enraged woman and burst into flame. Fortunately, no one was injured. The affair, however, was becoming typical for Fishtown and was representative of the level to which the waterfront had slumped. Such was the picture of Alexandria's miserable postwar maritime and commercial recession (Alexandria Gazette, 3 May 1871; 22 March 1875; 12 May 1875; 2 July 1875; 13 July 1875).

One continuing bright spot for the city was the annual spring surge of waterfront activity brought about by the advent of the commercial fishing season on the Potomac. At this time of year the reports of operations began to appear in a daily stream in the press, and dreary Fishtown came alive as catches were delivered, cured, sold, and shipped

Figure 11.

ABSTRACT OF VIRGINIA VESSELS FOR THE YEAR 1874-1875

Port	Sailing		Steam		Unrigged		Total	
	Number	Tons	Number	Tons	Number	Tons	Number	Tons
ALEXANDRIA	81	2,096.70	14	497.50	--	--	95	2,594.20
Cherrystone	211	4,410.26	1	21.45	--	--	212	4,431.71
Norfolk & Portsmouth	304	4,556.11	48	4,371.47	15	1,012.32	367	9,339.90
Petersburg	4	37.00	3	34.00	--	--	7	71.00
Richmond	6	248.20	6	268.11	13	914.80	25	1,431.11
Tappahannock	84	2,077.38	--	--	--	--	84	2,077.38
Yorktown	101	2,061.76	1	16.48	--	--	102	2,078.24
Total	791	15,487.41	73	5,209.01	28	1,927.12	892	22,623.54

Source: Virginia: A Geographical and Political Summary, 151.

at a brisk rate by rail, north, south, and west. The 1871 season was typical. In January prognostications of the coming months' bounty, either rich or poor, began to be made. On January 27 one published report from winter fishermen operating on the Potomac suggested that the season would be considerably less than favorable, since the catch had thus far been unusually limited. By March, however, large numbers of rock, perch, and catfish were being taken. The first major strike of commercial fish, shad and herring, was made by James McGraw, said for years to be one of the heaviest operators in Fishtown. By early April the fish taken at the landings in the lower Potomac began to pour into Alexandria. On April 2, considered quite early for large strikes, two cargoes reached the town totalling over 100,000 fish (The Evening Star, 27 January 1871; 22 March 1871; 5 April 1871).

Alexandria's commercial fishing interests, like those of neighboring Maryland, often bemoaned the nuances of the supply and demand relationship of the fishing industry (especially in a depressed market). Most operations were individually managed or of small organizational character, and regulation of the catch and its sale through co-ops was seldom attempted. Alexandria's fishermen, like the rest of the waterfront communities along the river, thus occasionally suffered the consequences of fishing the bountiful Potomac. "While the receipts continue comparatively large," remarked one Alexandrian commentator on the spring market of 1871,

the demand for fresh fish has so increased, and the facilities for sending them into the interior are now so great that prices are kept up and packers find it difficult to enter the market at the high figures now prevailing, and thus it is that year by year salted Potomac shad and herring are becoming more and more a luxury. A few sales of barreled herring are reported at \$8 (The Evening Star, 5 April 1871).

On April 25 the season was pronounced the most productive in two decades of the fishery industry on the Potomac. As the harvest began to reach its height, scores of vessels began to converge each day on the waterfront of Alexandria in rapid succession, many simultaneously, vying for space to unload their catches. On a single day, May 17, more than 250,000 herring and a large quantity of shad were off-loaded. Of the herring, it was reported, 60,000 came from a single location known as Chapman's Landing, and these were only a portion of the immense number caught at one haul of the seine. Yet such abundance had the effect of driving prices down. Though the catch was of excellent quality, the absence of an immediate demand from an already glutted market resulted in prices of less than \$2.50 per thousand for herring (The Evening Star, 25 April 1871; Alexandria Gazette, 16 May 1871).

Maritime activities on the Potomac River were often dictated by the whims of nature. In the winter there was frequently ice to block navigation and to cause damage to the shipping itself, and the spring freshets brought with them the silts from the upper reaches of the river in a seemingly endless natural effort to shoal up important navigational channels, despite the best efforts to the contrary by man and machine. The year 1875 was, perhaps, typical of the ongoing battle, which was observed by Alexandria's dwindling maritime concerns with a mixture of resignation and, ironically, good cheer, for the town's shipyards were doing a brisk business repairing the hulls of ice-damaged shipping.

The beginning of January arrived with disagreeable weather--snow, sleet, rain, and icy walks. The butchers at West End, viewing only

crustal formations on Hoff's Run, however, feared that the winter's freezing weather, which brought with it the ice necessary for their cold-storage facilities, was at an end. The winter's more disagreeable, blustery side was blamed for producing most of the respiratory illness in the town's citizenry and the consequent upsurge in the death rate. On January 6 Alexandria's citizens awoke to see skim ice stretched completely across the river and into Oxon Creek, which was soon judged by sage oldtimers as too thin to impede navigation. On the creeks, however, it was three inches thick--suitable to amuse skaters and placate butchers. By January 9 the ice houses in the West End were filled by 3/4-inch slabs from Hunting Creek (Alexandria Gazette, 1 January-9 January 1875).

On January 9 the Great Freeze of '75 began in earnest as temperatures plummeted and river activity ground to a halt. Dredging operations between Georgetown and the Long Bridge, where efforts to deepen the channel were underway, had to be suspended. Ice on the Alexandria Canal was thick enough to walk on. Two days later the temperature hit -2°F and the river was covered by ice "as far as the eye can see." Navigation was completely closed and many ships found themselves locked in. The steam tug Pilot Boy, the last boat to reach Alexandria from downriver, reported a solid sheet of ice, shore to shore, as far south as Mattawoman. The next day, the river was frozen all the way down to Maryland Point (Alexandria Gazette, 9 January-16 January 1875).

Damage reports began to appear. An oyster boat was cut through by the ice off Liverpool Point and sank. Operations at the Alexandria shipyard were being delayed by the freeze. One Marylander walked across the ice-covered river to the town, his meal and bacon having entirely given

out. When his whiskey was gone, however, he decided that it was finally time to brave the elements for replenishment. On January 25 the river ice finally began to soften, and boat crews were able to penetrate as far south as Quantico. Several days later ice jams clogged the waterways, but full navigation was once more possible (Alexandria Gazette, 16 January-27 January 1875).

Alexandria began a return to normalcy. Ships were again coming and going, and the Alexandria Marine Railway yard was operating at full tilt. The steamer Keyport was on one of the new ways, while the steamer Virginia was being repaired on one of the old ones. There was a new steam tug, the William J. Boothe, being built for Captain Matt Kersey, and caulkers, carpenters, and machinists swarmed over the tug Governor Curtin, in for repairs and a new pilot house. By January 30 the ice had nearly disappeared, and the steamer Keyport was launched. Two days later the schooner S. S. Tyler followed, and her place upon the ways was taken by the Pilot Boy. The recent "Ice Embargo" had brought a brisk business to the Alexandria repair yards. The schooner Elizabeth, for instance, laden with a cargo of wood, had been holed en route up the Potomac and had to be towed into the Queen Street Dock, where she sank at her moorings during the night of February 3. The following day she was raised for repairs. At least six other vessels were reported in the yards at one time for similar reasons (Alexandria Gazette, 27 January-4 February 1875).

Respite was short-lived. On February 8 the "Ice Embargo" was again imposed by nature. This time the blockade was even more rigid than before, and extended as far south as Mathias Point. Fortunately, most of the shipping in the river, except several oyster boats at Quantico, had

evaded the danger by heading downriver during the thaw. By February 12 the ice was a foot or more thick, running from shore to shore "as substantial a bridge as if built of masonry." Skating, ice boating, and sleigh riding were soon underway on the river, and loaded wagons ventured to cross with little fear. The duck shooting at Jones Point, where holes had been cut in the ice, was termed good. The town's fire plugs were frozen tight and the danger of fire enhanced (Alexandria Gazette, 8 February-19 February 1875).

With the inevitable thaw came the renewed danger of ice jams and the possible ramming of the town's piers built upon wooden cribs. On February 20 rain mixed with the melting ice and snow, causing flooding down King Street. By February 22 the ice had melted to only six inches thick, and the first penetration up the river by a steamboat in over two weeks was undertaken to open a navigational track. On February 23 the ice was reportedly softening and becoming honeycombed. The next day the blockade was broken. The river began to rise with flows of ice rushing downstream. Temperatures rose, causing heavy fog, accompanied by rain, which delayed shipping. Fortunately the slushy flows were now too soft to cause further damage, and the danger of flood began to subside (Alexandria Gazette, 15 February-25 February 1875).

On February 26 the ice on the river was reported nearly gone, and despite a furious storm which damaged some vessels, shipping activity returned to normal. Ferryboats running from Alexandria to Washington and Maryland resumed their regular schedules, although ice still impeded traffic in some creeks. Again, damaged vessels began to arrive at Alexandria for repairs. The sternwheel steamer National, which had been

jammed in the ice, had to be towed in. The City of Alexandria was temporarily withdrawn from service to repair recent ice damage. The Maryland ferryboat Virginia, also in for repairs, had to be replaced on her run by a rowboat. Though Alexandria's waterfront escaped serious injury, damage downriver to wharves and navigational aids, it was learned, had been considerable. In one instance, the big buoy at Port Tobacco Shoals had been carried half a mile from the shoals, and in another the buoy at Lower Cedar Point was totally lost (Alexandria Gazette, 26 February-4 March 1875).

Such were the effects of a typical winter on Potomac navigation.

The economic slump of the early 1870s hit Alexandria's shipbuilding industry hard. Yet several yards managed to survive, albeit under a variety of owners. That situation was destined to change measurably in 1874. Prior to that date part of the business of the Alexandria yards had been to supply shipbuilders in other parts of the country, most notably in the state of Maine, with framing timbers precut to size. During the postwar economic recession, which struck shipbuilders not only in Alexandria but across the nation, several Maine ship constructors migrated south, according to Morris, to try an experiment of building large schooners near the source of timber supply and also cut it for their home-yards to the north. One such individual was Robert Portner, who arrived in Alexandria from Maine and took over one of the town's major shipyards, the Alexandria Marine Railway Company, which was promptly renamed the Alexandria Marine Railway and Shipbuilding Company. Portner's

City Atlas of Alexandria, Va.
From Official Records, Private plans
and Actual Surveys, Based upon Plans
deposited in the Department Surveys.

Griffith M. Hopkins
Philadelphia
1877.

An interesting comparison of the
1877 Alexandria waterfront and the
1749 plan can be seen in this
classic map of Alexandria. Of note
is the extensive marine railway
works at the foot of Franklin Street.
Note the proximity of railway lines
to the waterfront at Union Street,
the only such major land-sea
interfacing of transportation systems
on the Potomac.

operation was primarily concerned with the meat-and-potatoes work of maintenance and repair of vessels, such as the coal, stone, fertilizer, and ice schooners working out of Alexandria and Georgetown. Shipbuilding was a secondary concern, but Portner's three marine railways were always full. Portner's yard was soon producing large three-masted ocean-going schooners and a wide variety of smaller craft on an average of ten a year; the first major ship to slide down the ways was the three-masted 631-ton, 150-foot-long schooner Robert Portner (Morris 1973: 73).

In 1880 Henry Hall, while conducting a research tour of American seaports for his noted survey of the American shipbuilding industry, visited Alexandria. He noted that the town boasted two shipyards with a marine railway. The principal yard (that of the Alexandria Marine Railway and Shipbuilding Company) had already built two large three-masted schooners (constructed at a cost of \$50 per ton) and one tug and repaired a large number of Potomac River vessels when he visited the yard in that census year (Hall 1884: 128).

"Vessels," he wrote in a brief analysis of shipbuilding in the town,

have been built here occasionally from the earliest days, and there was a public ship-yard during the Revolution for the construction of government vessels. Alexandria enjoys some advantages with reference to timber, and is a convenient point for the repairing of steamboats and sailing craft plying to and from Washington. A new yard has been started within two years [of his visit], and is now building its second vessel. Squared oak costs from \$20 to \$22 a thousand at the yard, pitch-pine \$23 and \$25; but in the log oak can be delivered for about \$15 a thousand for what can be squared out of it. The yard has a complete outfit of steam saws, and does its own squaring of timber. . . . Preparations are making in Alexandria for the cheap manufacture of rolled iron by a new process, with a view to iron-ship building; but so far the company has only been making blooms, not having put in the necessary machinery for rolling iron.

Confidence is felt in the experiment, and an iron-ship yard is the ultimate object in view. Few places have better advantages than Alexandria for the manufacture of iron ships in materials, climate, labor, and cheap transportation (Hall 1884: 128-29).

Hall was particularly interested in indigenous watercraft types and reported extensively on their design and construction in his voluminous report published in 1884. While at Alexandria, he noted one style of watercraft peculiar to the region, and apparently almost a fixture at the Alexandria waterfront--the Potomac River "long-boat." This craft was described as an undecked centerboard schooner with two fore-and-aft sails and a large jib, which was frequently employed in carrying cordwood to Washington. "A few years ago," wrote Hall in discussing the great numbers of these vessels in the vicinity, "owing to a scarcity of wood for fuel, the 'long-boats' had a profitable season or two, and as a consequence many were built" (Hall 1884: 128-29). He described the longboat thus:

These boats are shallow, flat on the floor, have round sides, straight bodies, and sharp bow, with quarter decks and cabins aft, draw only 18 inches of water light and 3 feet loaded, and will carry from 60 to 80 cords of woods each. A long-boat lying at the wharf at Alexandria measured 77 feet in length from stem to stern, $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet beam, and $2\frac{7}{12}$ feet in depth of hold below the gunwale. The frames were single, 5 by 3 inches, and extended from gunwale to gunwale. They were bent at the bilge, the ends being sawed in two longitudinally, to enable them to bend without breaking. The new boat was larger, and the frames were double. This boat was 82 feet over all, 77 feet keel, 23 feet beam, and $3\frac{5}{6}$ feet deep in hold. The double frames were sided 7 inches and moulded 6. In each one floor extended from bilge to bilge, having one curved top timber at either end, the other half of the frame being composed of one short floor, with a futtock to turn the bilge and a top timber. Room and space, 21 inches; keel, 15 by 6 inches, laid flat, narrowing to 7 by 6 inches at stem and stern; center-board keelson,

15 by 10 inches; center-board, 20 feet long; side keelsons, 7 by 7 inches; one bilge strake, 5 inches, with a clamp under the beams; no ceiling. The planking was of 2-inch oak, and the beams were spaced about 4 feet apart to support the sides. A washboard extended the whole length, with a short deck forward for working the jib and a small one aft for the helmsman, the latter surrounding the cabin. The vessel was all open amidships. These boats are loaded by laying the cord-wood fore and aft on the frames until the hold is full and the gunwales are then piled with sticks laid transversely. The space within is then filled up with sticks, laid athwartships as high as convenient. They are fit only for river use, being too flimsy for rough water (Hall 1884: 129).

Hall was favorably struck by the potentials for vessel construction on the Potomac and Chesapeake. Noting the attraction that drew men like Portner south, he viewed the headlands, rivers, and bays which appeared to him "to have been qualified by nature for ship-building." He studied with interest the pine- and oak-covered shores which, in spite of half a century or more of continued cutting, seemed to be still bountiful in timber supplies. Vast tracts of land could be bought where "stumpage" did not exceed \$1.00 per thousand feet (that is, trees standing in the woods would sell for what could be squared out of them at the rate of \$1.00 per thousand feet) (Hall 1884: 129).

The Alexandria shipyards visited by Hall, though possessing the capability of producing large-scale vessels such as the recently launched three-masted, 168-foot, 678-ton schooner James G. Ogden, continued to derive the bulk of their revenue from ship repair. Shortly after 1880 the Alexandria Marine Railway and Shipbuilding Company, however, was sold to John Parke Custis Agnew, a Potomac River coal dealer. Agnew's yard was leased to several New Englanders, and large-ship production continued. The first three-masted schooner produced after the Agnew takeover was the 179-foot-long Ellwood Harlow, a center-board vessel, constructed

and launched within four months of the laying of the keel. The Harlow, fitted with a patent power windlass for her huge centerboard, total wire standing rigging, and ten-foot coppered hull, went down the ways on July 3, 1882. Her total cost was \$38,000 (Morris 1973: 74).

The launching of a great ship at Alexandria in the 1880s was as much a cause for public festivities and rejoicing as it had been during the days of George Washington. On July 21, 1883, the largest ship built to that date at Alexandria was launched amid great celebration, and the occasion was dutifully recorded in the Gazette.

The four masted schooner William T. Hart which has for some time been in course of construction at the shipyard of Messrs. J. P. Agnew & Co., having, so far as her hull is concerned, been finished and painted, was committed to its "natural element" at twenty minutes to ten o'clock this morning (about the time previously announced) trimmed with flags on her decks crowded with people, in the presence of a goodly number of spectators--much larger than at the first launch--the temperature being lower, and the weather consequently more pleasant. In addition to the multitude in the yard and on vessels near by, Wind-Mill hill and all contiguous eminences were thronged with people, as were porches and windows wherever a view could be secured. The "wedging up" having been completed at an early hour, the remaining work--that of cutting the blocks and props from under her--was begun, and when two thirds of the same had been removed there was a snap and a gentle crash of some portion of the stocks, when cries of "here she goes!" rent the air, and the marine monster starting from her position, amid the hurrahs of thousands, the blowing of whistles, sending swells in every direction, careening and shaking up the craft lying close by, and not stopping until nearly reaching the channel bank on the opposite side of the river where she was intercepted and towed back to the ship yard by the tug Samuel Gedney. As has always been the case with vessels built here, her symmetrical model caused her to float upon the water as gracefully as a swan, and the multitude on shore beheld in the vessel and surging crowd aboard "A city on the billows dancing." The launch might be termed a slightly premature one, for all knew the vessel was likely to be started by the incessant hammering and cutting away of her supports, yet her moving was not specially looked

for, about sixteen men being under her at the time. All, however, retreated in good order, and no semblance of an accident occurred.

The occasion was a gala day to everybody. Being the largest vessel ever built here or in this vicinity, all had natural curiosity to see such a huge specimen of marine construction consigned to the water, and the multitude was perceptibly enthused as they remarked how:—"She walked the waters like a thing of life, And seemed to dare the elements to strife" (Alexandria Gazette, 21 July 1883).

The Hart was the seventh and largest class of coasting vessel constructed at Alexandria in as many years. She had been built under the direction of W. H. Crawford, formerly of Kennebunkport, Maine, and partner in the firm of Crawford and Ward, now foreman of the Agnew yard. She was 175 feet long on her keel, 205 feet long on deck, 38 feet six inches abeam, 19 feet six inches deep in hold, with a registered tonnage of 493 tons, which gave her a carrying capacity of 1,500 tons. The vessel was to mount four masts made in the city. She had four hatches fixed to work two at a time, and was provided with an engine to hoist the sails, anchors, and cargo. The Hart's cabin was handsomely fitted out with oak and red plush. Her entire cost was estimated at \$45,000. Destined to serve in the coasting trade, her first cargo was to be a load of coal for Providence, to be taken aboard at the American Coal Company wharves in Alexandria. She would have only one commander in her life, Captain Joseph F. Davis, of Somerset, Massachusetts (Alexandria Gazette, 21 July 1883).

There was, according to maritime historian Paul C. Morris, only one more large sailing vessel launched at the Alexandria yards after the Hart: the three-masted Henry S. Culver. This vessel was started by Crawford but was completed by Charles Ward, his partner, because of

Crawford's illness during the construction. The Culvert, which grossed 753 tons, went into the waters of the Potomac on October 27, 1883, under the command of Captain John G. Crowley, who also held 1/16 share in the ship (Morris 1973: 74).

Despite the experiment by Maine shipbuilders to transplant their operations to Alexandria, close to the source of abundant timber supplies, there were simply too many difficulties regarding the supply of the numerous necessary articles required in marine construction. Anchors, hoisting engines, sails, and other expensive materials had to be shipped in from long-established supplies in the north. The cost of transport soon offset the savings incurred by proximity to timber supplies, and the Maine shipbuilders, failing to profit from their labors, returned home to New England. Both Charles Ward and William H. Crawford abandoned the yards on the Potomac for their native state, and large wooden coasting ship construction ground to a halt forever at Alexandria (Morris 1973: 74).

Though smaller vessels would continue to be built at the city's marine yards for years to come, though her watermen would continue to derive their livelihoods from the Potomac, though Alexandria vessels would continue to skim the waters of the Chesapeake Tidewater, the city's years as a major seaport had almost come to a close.

In 1880 the city celebrated the centennial year of its municipal form of government. After a long processional parade, featuring the various detachments of the fire department, marching units, bands, and city dignitaries, a banquet was held and an oration on Alexandria's rich history was presented by a noted Alexandrian, William F. Carne. In concluding his long speech, Carne formally acknowledged the end of an

era and the beginning of what he hoped would be a new one. "This is our hope," he said,

when another century shall have passed, and my bones and yours are bleaching in yonder grave yard, the orator of Alexandria's next Centennial in 1980 shall tell that when the good ship Alexandria, that with all sails set, started in 1780 was, in 1880 ashore, rudderless, bilged, and plucked by wreckers, all hope of commerce gone, her crew did not despair, but went ashore and set the land aflame with their furnace fires, plucked prosperity with strong arms from the mountain's stoney depths, and renewed the town. And he will say: Take the ship from the town seal--let it be her emblem no more--Ocean Commerce is gone, but place there a figure of the bloomery that was lit at the water's edge in 1880--one hundred years ago, and with it the motto that shall tell that Alexandria has, "Plucked from the mountain's crevice, as flow'ed of the soil, the nobility of labor--the long pedigree of toil" (First Celebration 1880: 46).

XII

BACK TO ITS OWN

The year 1883, which witnessed the height of Alexandria's near-decade-long flirtation with large coasting ship construction, saw little improvement in the move towards general prosperity. Total value of exports had pushed to a postwar high of only \$136,977.70, and the value of imports was placed at just \$11,121.30. Shipping continued to drastically decline in volume. For the fiscal year ending May 1, 1883, there were 174 entrances of coastwise vessels (16 of them foreign bottoms) and 144 clearances (17 of them foreign bottoms). A total of 23 vessels registered in Alexandria had been sold. Four new ships had been built. Licenses had been issued to 62 vessels over 20 tons and to 38 vessels under 20 tons. Of the 174 vessels arriving, 141 carried merchandise, 55 carried coal, 55 carried lumber, 44 carried phosphates and guano, 20 carried grain, 16 carried salt, and 13 carried ice. Of the 144 vessels cleared, 38 departed with coal, 33 with grain, and 17 with cooperage. Exports included 36,778 shooks and headings, 57,644 bundles of hogshead hoops, and 27,103 bushels of wheat. Imports included 11,185 tons of plaster. Alexandria's registered merchant fleet now numbered 89 vessels with a total tonnage of 11,806 tons (Brockett and Rock 1883: 47).

The Potomac fisheries remained a strong point for Alexandria. During the 1883 season there were 17 major shores fished, and the fisheries employed over 500 men and 60 horses. More than 6,000,000 herring, 300,000 shad, and 200,000 bunches of other fish had been taken. To market the take, more than 40 Alexandria sailing vessels and steamers had been required. The fisheries utilized several formats, but principally employed

either trap nets or gill nets. The trap nets were usually employed by small operators from the fishing landings, or "shores" as they were called. The trap net was a stationary fixture, while the gill net floated with the tide, very frequently directly in the "berth" of the shore or landing. The largest nets used at the landings averaged 1,200 fathoms in length, though usually only 300 to 1,000 fathoms were used in continuous lengths (Brockett and Rock 1883: 47).

"These fisheries offer a fine field," advised one pair of contemporary Alexandria commentators,

for enterprising men of capital by engaging in this trade. There are several shores which, for some years, have not been used, because of want of capital; and judicious management would well repay investment. By curing and salting fish on the shores, and at the principal market, Alexandria, the capitalist would be handsomely remunerated by holding until the fall of the year. The lack of capital causes the annual importation of several thousand barrels of Eastern fish, which are not as much liked as the grand old Potomacs, and are not as edible (Brockett and Rock 1883: 47-48).

Many Alexandria vessels were also employed in the oyster trade, which on the Potomac and Rappahannock might see a fleet of 300 to 400 vessels from both Maryland and Virginia fielded annually. A number of vessels were employed in transplanting seed oysters in northern waters. Potomac oysters supplied not only the demands of Alexandria and Washington, but of Baltimore, Norfolk, Philadelphia, New York, and even Boston as well. Immense quantities were sent by rail to the West. The local trade in oysters at Alexandria alone accounted for 80,000 bushels annually and employed 300 men and 20 vessels (Brockett and Rock 1883: 48).

The oyster industry offered additional hope for the prosperity of Alexandria. In 1883 it was announced that several oyster packing houses

were scheduled to open the next season, adding another shucking capability to those already in operation in the town. "The city," it was stated by city promoters to demonstrate the virtues of oyster consumption in Alexandria over other places,

has long enjoyed the credit of furnishing the cleanest shucked oysters offered to the trade. Instead of striking the oyster in opening, the process used here is by boring at the mouth with a knife--the opener always having at hand a bucket of clean water, so that the sand and dirt on the shell is not deposited with the oyster in the bucket for consumption, as is the practice in other places (Brockett and Rock 1883: 48).

Although Alexandria's maritime trade continued to lean closer and closer toward obscurity, the city itself, despite all of its shortcomings, offered many advantages for manufacturing. City property could be had at abysmally low prices, and the growing demand for manufactured articles offered inducements for men of capital to establish themselves in a variety of branches of manufacturing in the city. At the end of 1882 Alexandria could boast of 210 manufacturies, nearly three times the prewar total, which employed 2,480 persons. These included ship and house carpenters, brickmakers, bricklayers, brewers, confectioners, cracker and bread bakers, tanners, smiths, and coach builders. The machine shops and locomotive and car works of the Virginia Midland, and the Washington and Western Railways, employed many mechanics and artisans (Brockett and Rock 1883: 49). Furthermore, it was the only place on the Potomac's natural navigable reach where major rail transportation could directly take on cargoes from, or offload cargoes to, shipping at the water's edge. Despite the competition between the rail lines and commercial marine interests, it was a situation which ironically helped to sustain

the town's maritime import well beyond that of her closer competitors, Washington and Georgetown.

The Alexandria Canal continued to struggle along under the lease of the Alexandria Railroad and Bridge Company. The principal shipment during the postwar years was coal, brought down from the west via the C&O Canal; ice, marine products, groceries, and manufactured items such as plaster and millwork were sent back in return. The C&O coal trade reached its height in 1875, when a total of 904,898 tons was shipped down from the west to Georgetown. Thereafter, as the railroads began to grasp an ever-increasing volume of the coal trade, C&O Canal traffic carrying the black rock declined, and the Alexandria Canal's share of that traffic was reduced proportionately (Hahn: 103). Consequently, Carne's prediction that Alexandria would one day be a city of iron died an early death.

In September 1886 the Aqueduct Bridge experienced a serious break, spilling its waters into the river below. The break aroused charges that the aqueduct was no longer safe to use, and canal traffic came to a halt. The end of the Alexandria Canal system had arrived. With Georgetown agitating for a free bridge to replace the aqueduct toll bridge, and because it was possible for steam tugs to tow canal boats from the tidelock of the C&O down the Potomac to Alexandria, the Alexandria Railroad and Bridge Company soon relinquished its lease. The Virginia General Assembly quickly authorized the United States Government to purchase the aqueduct for \$125,000 (Hahn: 104).

The end of the canal was announced in the pages of the Alexandria Gazette in late October 1886.

The creation of a free bridge at the Georgetown Aqueduct, under the plan now agreed upon, destroys the Alexandria Canal as a waterway. . . . It seems, however, to be agreed on by all hands that the conditions of modern transportation are such that the Alexandria Canal . . . has outlived its usefulness. . . . It was to substitute horsepower by pole pushing that the aqueduct and the Alexandria Canal were made. But the modern use of steam tugboats on the river has rendered the canal unnecessary for several years. Many canal boats have passed out the outlet lock [of the C&O Canal] and gone to Alexandria by river . . . it is said by Cumberland shippers that it costs only 28 cents more per boat to go from Georgetown to Alexandria behind a tug than to be dragged by mules along the canal and pay toll (Alexandria Gazette, 22 October 1886).

The ferryboat operations which serviced Alexandria were, like the city's other maritime-related endeavors, not strangers to the hardships of the times. Ever since 1857, when rail competition with the waterway commenced with the completion of a roadbed from Alexandria to the Virginia side of the Long Bridge, the ferry lines had faced difficulties. In 1860, when a direct rail link across the Long Bridge joined Alexandria and Washington, competition for inter-city commuters intensified. Though both rail and ferryboat service were temporarily interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War, soon after the Union occupation of Alexandria water-carriage service resumed (Glidden: 21).

In 1861, with the massive occupation of the town by Federal forces placing ever-increasing demands for inter-city transportation, four steamers were placed in service on the ferry run between Alexandria and Washington. These vessels were the Winnisimutt, the Thomas Collyer, the Fulton, and the Young America. A round-trip fare was only 25¢ and travel was fast and efficient. In 1868, when Federal troops and various government employees stationed in the town departed Alexandria for good, the city's population was cut in half almost overnight, and the artificial need for

ferry service which wartime and postwar occupation had created suddenly vanished (Alexandria Gazette, 29 April 1868).

The subsequent depression, however, did not see the end of ferry service. The George Law, a steamer constructed before the war, was placed in service, and carried passengers for 5¢ per person. With the departure of Federal troops and with hopes for a revitalized Alexandria, the Potomac Ferry Company was formed in 1868. The twin steamers City of Alexandria and City of Washington were placed in service, running hourly between 6:00 a.m. and 7:00 p.m. from the line's headquarters at the foot of King Street (Glidden: 22).

The Potomac Ferry Company remained in service for 35 years, providing continued service between Washington and Alexandria. In 1892, tragedy struck when the City of Alexandria was burned to the waterline while at her moorings on the Alexandria waterfront. Replaced by the steamer Columbia, the City of Alexandria was scrapped. The Columbia remained in service for 13 years, until she too caught fire at her wharf and burned. In 1894 the City of Washington was condemned and replaced by the Belle Haven, a vessel whose shabby condition permitted her to run for only six years before she was condemned and left to rot in an Alexandria slip. With declining fortunes, the Potomac Ferry Company rejuvenated the ancient steamer George Washington, a vessel which had operated on the Washington-to-New York run as early as 1853. With her condemnation in 1904, the Potomac Ferry Company's struggle for survival ended (Glidden: 22).

The gap in service left by the demise of the Potomac Ferry Company was not enormous, but the need was apparently strong enough to induce the formation of the Norfolk and Washington Company. This firm was to

operate a run between Norfolk and Washington and to service Alexandria and Washington with a regular ferry operation. On August 28, 1905, the double-ended steamer Woodbury was launched as a ferry. The Woodbury, it was announced, would leave Alexandria at 6:00 a.m. and every hour thereafter up to and including 6:00 p.m., and leave Washington at 6:30 a.m. and every hour after up to and including 6:30 p.m. The Woodbury began regular service in November, with a round-trip fare of 15¢ per passenger and 50¢ to one dollar per car (depending upon size of vehicle). Such service, however, in the era of the automobile, especially within the Washington metropolitan area, was soon pre-empted by the improved road systems and speedy land travel by automobile (Glidden: 23).

Although the Potomac fisheries continued to produce well in the later years of the century, complaints about the catch in the vicinity of Alexandria were occasionally heard. In 1876 W. M. Elliott, whose fishing ground was at Gut Landing off Alexandria, complained loudly to James W. Milner, U.S. Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries, of the serious decrease in the number of fish in his territory. He blamed the decrease on the proliferation of drift nets and noted that the season had been notable for the marked decrease in herring (Tilp 1978: 17).

Despite such problems, the Potomac fisheries in general continued to thrive. In 1897 the river's commercial fisheries had become the largest on the east coast of the United States, and ten hatcheries were in operation under the direction of the U.S. Fish Commission. In 1898 a total harvest of 1,051,587 shad, 15,006,940 herring, 340,387 hickory jacks, and 1,650 sturgeon was taken and imported at Alexandria, Washington,

and Georgetown. Of the 5,895 men employed on the Potomac fisheries during this year, 175 were Alexandrians. Of the 2,382 vessels employed, 50 were also from Alexandria (Tilp 1978: 19).

The take from the river was becoming embarrassingly gluttonous. "The Potomac river below the city," reported The Evening Star in the spring of 1903,

is teeming with herring, and shad is more abundant this season than for many years before. Yesterday over a million herring were received at the fish wharf here and at Alexandria, causing a glut so heavy that dealers were unable to cope with it. Several cargoes of the fish had to be thrown overboard from the vessels' holds. Drift net fishermen yesterday made catches of a hundred and two hundred shad at a drift. Old fishermen say that the storm of about two weeks ago, which destroyed the nets in the mouth of the river, gave the fish an opportunity to come up the stream, and this accounts for the unusually large catches of shad and herring now being made (The Evening Star, 14 April 1903).

With such intensive unrestrained overfishing and the resultant waste of the resource itself, the annual catch inevitably began to decline. As a consequence, the entire Potomac River fishing industry--slowly at first, but then more rapidly as time passed--slipped into recession and then into near-extinction. And with it went Alexandria's once-formidable waterfront mainstay.

About the year 1900 the J. P. Agnew yard returned to building watercraft. Agnew had founded the Virginia Iron Ship Building Company, located at the foot of Wolfe Street, as a subsidiary of the Norton Shipbuilding Company of Virginia and West Virginia and the Arrow Steamship Company. The vessels built, however, were not the behemoth three- and four-masted sailing schooners of two decades earlier, but sailing craft

for the ever-dwindling river trade. In 1917, as the United States teetered on the brink of World War I, then underway in Europe, the last boat to be constructed in the Alexandria yards before America's entry into the war was a 50-foot longboat dubbed the George. This vessel was to be employed in the mundane mission of hauling cordwood and stone (Tilp 1978: 84).

Other ships, however, would soon be on the ways--new shipping ways built upon new lands reclaimed from the very waters of the Potomac River itself.

XIII

AN IMPROVEMENT WORTHY TO BE UNDERTAKEN

By the last quarter of the 19th century, after nearly a hundred years of complacency over the gradual siltation of the waters of the Alexandria-Hunting Creek region of the Potomac, Alexandrians began to feel the effects of shoaling upon the town's commerce. The first warning signs began to appear in Hunting Creek in the 1880s.

A minor tributary to the Potomac River, flanking the southern edge of Alexandria, Hunting Creek joins the river approximately nine miles below the site of the old Aqueduct Bridge, where its entrance was shouldered by the Jones Point peninsula. Then situated entirely within Fairfax County, the creek was formed by the confluence of two small streams, Holmes Run and Cameron Run, which united four and a half miles above the mouth. By the turn of the century Hunting Creek was being described as fluvial in character, and "the discharge is so insignificant that the stream can not be navigated at ordinary stages by a rowboat." Its channel proceeded through a twisting, torturous tract of wide marsh which was covered at high tide. This channel continued its twisting even after the flow suddenly expanded into a broad tidal estuary of the Potomac, widening from 1,500 feet to 6,000 or 7,000 feet at its mouth. By 1902 the depth of water in the estuary ranged from two to five feet at low tide and shoaled considerably as one proceeded up creek. The estuary itself was entirely covered with dense-growing aquatic plants, and the flats above with wild rice. The creek was segmented by the crossing of two trestle bridges, one belonging to the Washington, Alexandria and Mount Vernon Electric Railway Company, and the other a highway bridge.

The railway bridge was located about 5,000 feet above the mouth of the creek and was provided with a swing drawspan which afforded a clear opening of 33 feet in width. The other bridge crossed the creek 1,500 feet above the railway bridge and had no drawspan. Permitting a clear headroom of seven and a half feet, this bridge formed the upper limits of commercial navigation on the creek.

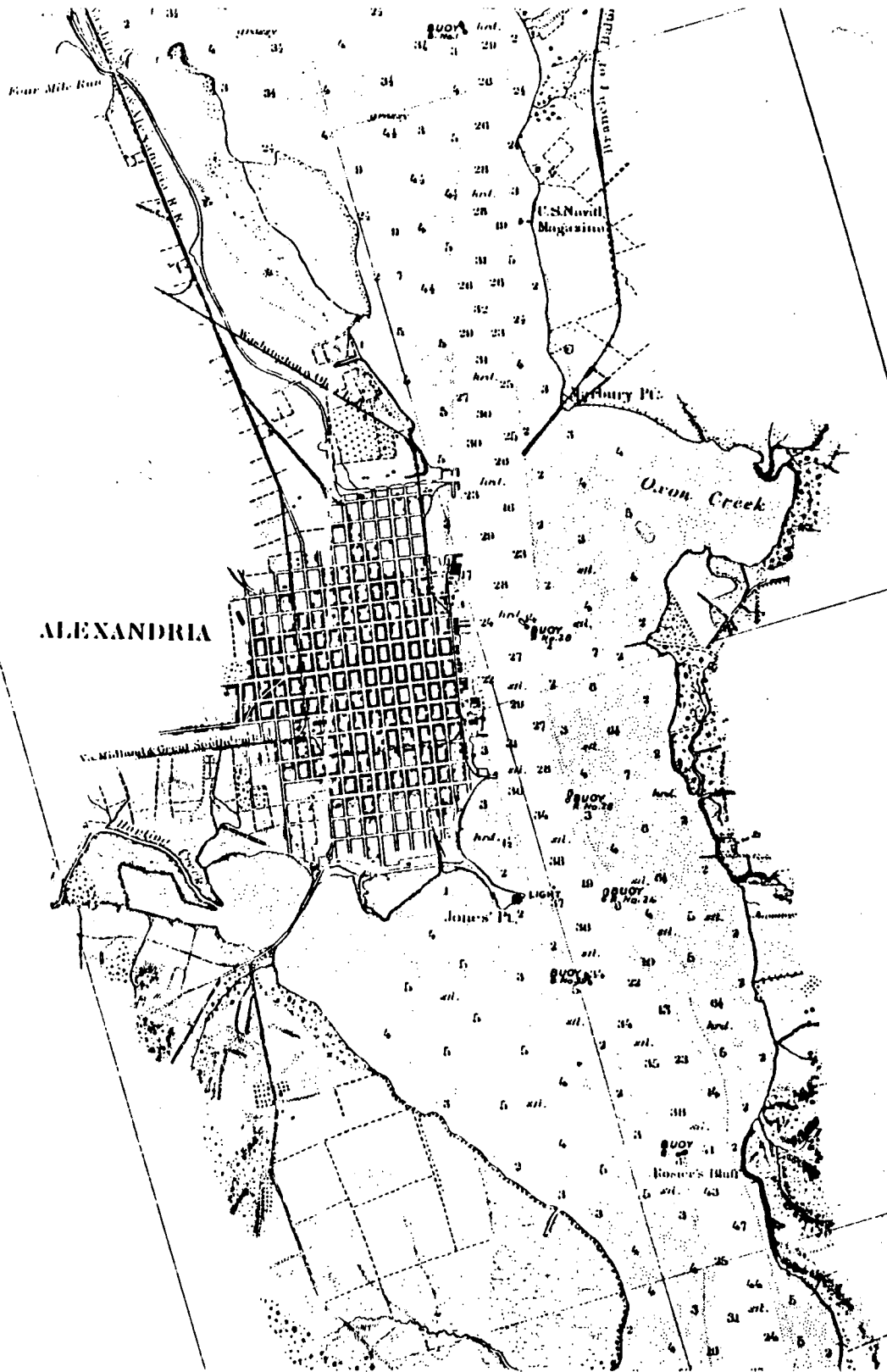
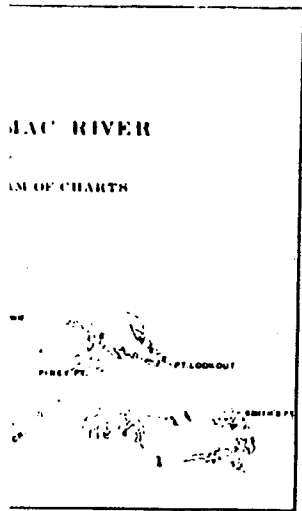
At the beginning of the 20th century the north shore of Hunting Creek was laid out on maps in streets as an extension of the City of Alexandria, but in reality was "but little improved upon and not built up." The north shore below the highway bridge was owned almost exclusively by the Southern Railway Company and the Alexandria Brick Company. Just above the highway bridge, on the top of a slight bluff overlooking the creek, were located the nurseries of J. Louis Loose. Near the mouth of the creek, on the south side and extending some distance up, the region bore the sobriquet "Hell Hole Marsh." On the low lands immediately above the marsh was a locality known as New Alexandria, intended by developers as an industrial manufacturing site. Between New Alexandria and the highway bridge was a stretch of marsh and tree-covered lowlands, behind which one or two farms survived.

The only wharf on the creek in 1884 belonged to the Alexandria Brick Company and was located on the north shore about 500 feet above the electric railway bridge of later years. In that year the first recorded dredging of Hunting Creek was carried out by private concerns at a cost of \$1,200. The operation resulted in a cut from the river channel to the Alexandria Brick Company wharf to a depth of six feet at ordinary high water (or 3.5 feet at low tide). The dredged material

Potomac River. Survey of the
Coast of the United States.

United States Coast and
Geodetic Survey
1883.

Note the average depth of Hunting Creek and vicinity, which ranges between four and five feet. Four navigational buoys are indicated in the channel fronting Alexandria. The island in Oxon Creek, extant in 1859, has by this time become a sand bar, apparently having eroded away. The rail line wharf on Marbury Point (later Shepherd's Point) now appears, and runs directly to the edge of the channel, making it one of the longest such structures on the Potomac. The bottom of the channel above the town is noted as being hard, while that below the town is noted as being sticky, suggesting silt buildup. The densely occupied areas of Alexandria are indicated in shaded areas, while those areas less developed are unshaded.



RIVER

was deposited upon the flats of the north shore of the creek, and for a short stretch approaching the brickyard was deposited upon the east side of the cut. In less than 20 years the channel cut by this dredging had shoaled "until but a trace of it remains for the greater portion of its length, and navigation is impracticable to all but the smallest class of boats." The depth in the draw opening of the railway bridge was barely four or five feet at low tide (House Document No. 223, 58th Congress, 2d Session: 5).

By 1901 local interests, primarily the owners of the Alexandria Brick Company, sought to have the harbor redredged. One of the owners informed the Army Corps of Engineers that his company annually shipped 250,000 bricks from the creek, and that 2,300 tons of coal, 5,000 railroad ties, 5,000 cords of timber, and a large quantity of manure were received in the creek each year (totalling 11,000 tons annually). The bricks were shipped exclusively by his company. The brick works also used 1,000 tons of the coal, while 800 tons went to the railway and 500 to Loose. The railroad ties were used by the railway company, the timber was used by the Carson Handle Company for the manufacture of spokes, and the manure was used by farmers for fertilizer. Conflicting reports received by Corps of Engineers investigators, however, revealed that barely 30,000 bricks were shipped by water, and that during the year 1901 the brick company had sent out no shipments by water owing to lack of depth in the channel. Railway authorities rebutted the statement that coal had been furnished them by water transport. Likewise, Loose informed investigators that he never received coal by water and had discontinued the use of manure for his nursery. Local farm consumption

of manure was negligible.

In his final report of the investigation of Hunting Creek, completed on October 23, 1902, Assistant Engineer F. C. Warman concluded that "While the improvement of this stream would undoubtedly be of some benefit to the abovementioned brick company, the present and prospective trade is so small and the benefits derived would be so local in character, that I would respectfully report that, in my judgement, Hunting Creek is not worthy of improvement by the General Government" (House Document No. 223, 58th Congress, 2d Session: 6-8). No further investigation was carried out, and Hunting Creek became totally unnavigable.

The peripheral impact of siltation had also begun to affect ferry operations between Alexandria and the opposite Maryland shore at Fox's Wharf. In 1888 a survey of the area for the Army Corps of Engineers by S. T. Albert, undertaken at the behest of local interests, was carried out. The ferry company was in hopes that a channel across the mud flats of the Maryland shore might be cut to a depth of five feet. It was estimated that a channel four feet deep at low tide and 100 feet wide would cost \$9,247. It was pointed out to Corps investigators, however, that ferry patronage had gradually diminished, largely owing to the irregularity of trips, occasioned by the shallowness of the flats which were building up. With running expenses averaging \$3.00 per day, and with additional funds necessary to maintain repairs, the City of Alexandria had contributed between \$250 and \$400 annually as a subsidy to keep the ferry operation afloat. But in 1887 the city council voted to discontinue the subsidy, and the steam ferry halted operation in December. Thereafter, a small rowboat or sailboat was employed on an

irregular basis, and fewer than half a dozen passengers a week were carried across the Potomac from Alexandria. Albert stated his opinion that the benefits of a dredging operation would not justify the cost, and the project was dropped.

In 1901 local interests gave new life to efforts to revive ferry operations, and the Corps of Engineers was again asked to consider the dredging of a channel 100 feet wide and eight feet deep at low tide across the flats to Fox's Ferry. The resultant examination revealed that 80,000 cubic yards of silt would have to be removed at a cost of \$24,000. An alternative was suggested by Alexandrian commercial interests, this one calling for a channel 100 feet wide and 12 feet deep to open the ferry route from Jones Point to Fox's Ferry. The project cost was estimated at \$39,000. Further investigation by engineer Warman revealed that the old landing at Fox's Ferry had been entirely (or almost) carried away by ice, and all that remained was a layer of large stones on the river bed, the tops of which were between one and three feet below the river's surface. Road access to the landing was blocked by the growth of trees and bushes and was practically impassable.

Warman viewed the entire operation of dredging the Potomac for an access to the old ferry landings as costly and, in view of regional apathy towards the project, of little benefit. Thus, this project, too, was killed. Ferry operations to Fox's Ferry would never resume (House Document No. 223, 58th Congress, 2d Session: 8-9).

In 1889 a more serious and direct challenge to the City of Alexandria would be generated by a natural catastrophe--a catastrophe that would

trip off a continuous and costly battle with nature that continues to the present time. On May 31 of that year one of the highest tides seen before the city in its history occurred when strong southeast winds blocked up the river to such an extent that it began to overflow its banks. The eastern segment of Alexandria from Jones Point to the coal wharves was submerged. The wharves were covered by six to 18 inches of water, and waves lapped up into the city as far as Union Street. In Johnstown, Pennsylvania, the same weather conditions generated a terrible disaster, the famous and devastating flood that claimed hundreds of lives. Fortunately, on the Potomac the effects were not quite as severe.

On Saturday, June 1, the heavy rains caused a freshet in the Potomac, driving down before it large quantities of timber, wood, and other debris. Though steamboats could not land at the inundated city wharves due to the severity of the storm, many men braved the winds and tides to secure driftwood brought down by the river's waters. "The current is still strong in the river, and for some time increase rather than diminish, as the water which fell in the upper country has not yet reached here," admonished the Alexandria Gazette. "Several canal boats were carried down the river today by the freshet."

On Sunday at 1:00 p.m. the flood crested, inundating the Strand and covering all of the wharves on the waterfront of Alexandria. "All along the Strand," reported the Alexandria Gazette,

from the lower shipyard to the old American Coal Company's wharves several feet of water were on the first floor of every building, while Union Street from Prince to the cove above Fishtown was an unbroken canal, suggestive of a scene

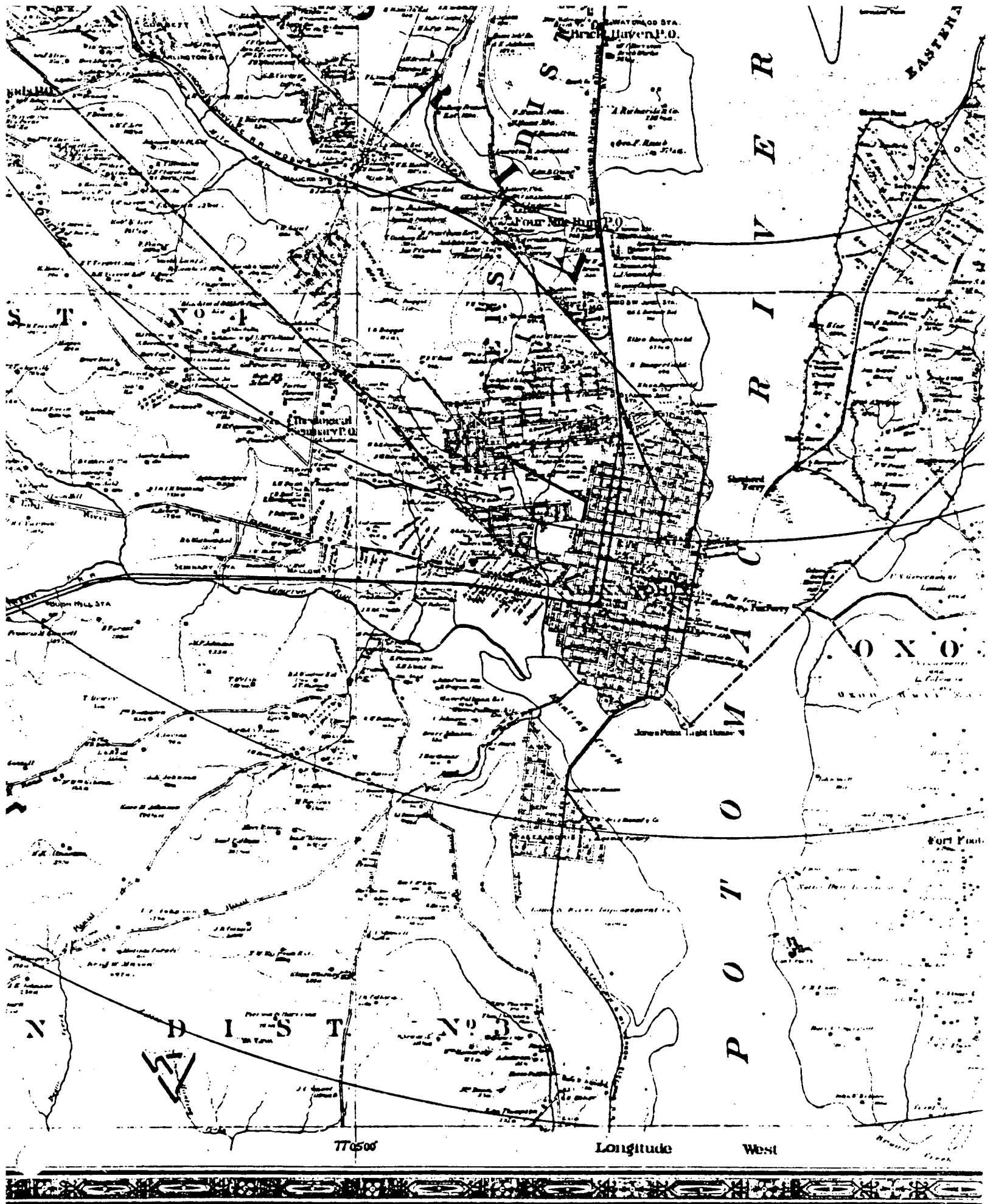
in Venice, lacking only the gondola to enable one to imagine themselves in the city of the Adriatic (Alexandria Gazette, 8 June 1889).

Jones Point had become a virtual island, and nothing but the top of the railroad bridge over Hunting Creek could be seen. Landing at the Alexandria wharves was impossible. Upriver, the Long Bridge to Washington was battered to pieces as barge after barge broke from their moorings above and smashed into its timbers, finally shattering it to bits. The C&O Canal was left in ruins.

Aside from the immediate damage to property in Alexandria proper, the flood of 1889 had more far-reaching consequences. In the course of the freshet, an old Hudson River steamboat, which had been converted to a barge, said to be about 300 feet in length, was sunk off the outlet locks of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal at the upper end of the Alexandria wharf front. When this large obstruction came to rest on the river bottom, the natural flow of the river was seriously altered. Hitherto, the main current of the Potomac was deflected from the opposite Maryland shore above Shepherd's Point Landing and ran close in front of the wharves at Alexandria, maintaining a depth of 18 to 20 feet or more along the entire waterfront since the colonial era. The course of the current had been frequently observed by Alexandrians by its action upon floating objects. With the sinking of the barge, the wreck intercepted the current, which had hitherto swept undeterred past the city front, and deflected it toward the opposite shore, with the result that a bar of soft mud began to gradually form until the depth of water in front of the upper wharves eventually became too shallow for commercial purposes. The effects of the shoaling were soon being felt even at the lower end

Map of the Vicinity of Washington, D.C.

Griffith M. Hopkins
Philadelphia
Ca. 1894.



HEIGHTS

The Contour or Curved lines of equal elevation are given for every 50 feet difference of level.

Grade 18 1/2 1888

of the waterfront. Soon, commercial enterprise in Alexandria began to suffer from loss of trade access (House Document No. 1253, 60th Congress, 2d Session: 3).

Shoaling in the wharf slips was nothing new, and from at least as early as 1875 wharf owners had been obliged to employ dredging machines to remove silt deposits (Alexandria Gazette, 7 April 1875). By 1903, however, as a consequence of the 1889 wreck, marked shoaling had begun to cut into major commercial wharf operations, and local concerns were obliged to conduct their own large-scale dredging to permit access to shipping. "One of the dredging machines belonging to John Miller," it was noted in The Evening Star of April 24, 1903,

is at work at the Standard Oil Company dock at Alexandria dredging it out, so that oil-laden barges can get to and from the wharf without difficulty. A wreck of a large barge lying on the piles of an old wharf [the Alexandria Canal Wharf] just north of Alexandria has caused an eddy and is rapidly filling up all the docks along the Alexandria river front. Docks where there was a depth of twenty feet a few years ago now have less than ten feet of water in them, and they are becoming more shoal each year. Constant dredging is now necessary at many of the wharves at the upper end of Alexandria to allow vessels of moderate draft to get in and out of the docks.

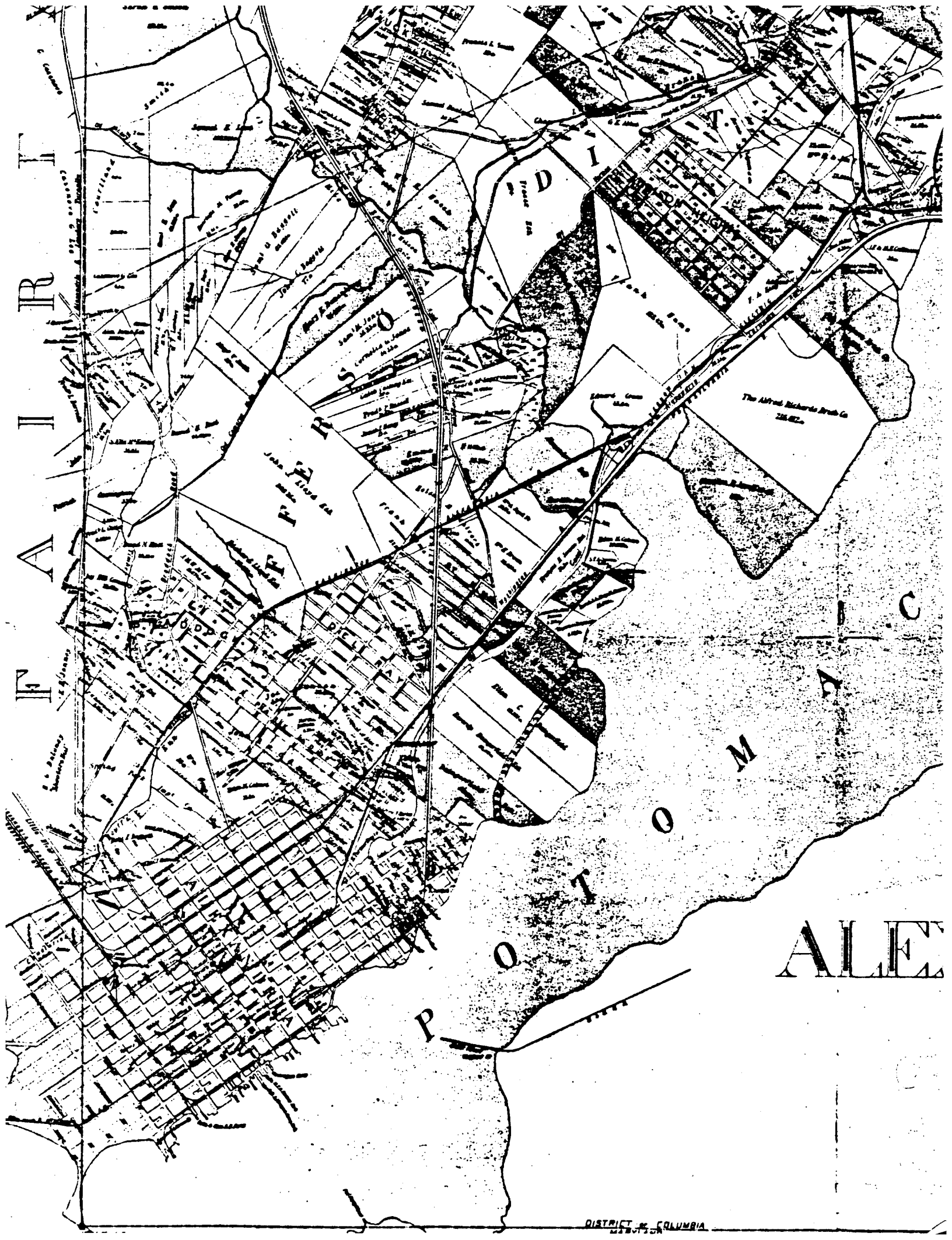
Some wharf owners attempted to extend their facilities out to the deeper water's edge. William A. Smoot & Company rebuilt their wharf in the spring of 1903, and Zimmerman's Wharf was also reconstructed and made ready to receive shipments of coal and wood (The Evening Star, 30 April 1903). Yet the channel seemed to be continually retreating from the Alexandria waterfront and the best efforts of the town's commercial interests to recapture its proximity notwithstanding.

Comparisons of the large-scale Coast and Geodetic Survey chart of

Map of Alexandria County, Virginia
for the Virginia Title Co., Alexandria,
1900.

Prepared for Howell and Taylor, Civil
and Topographical engineers,
Washington, D.C.

Drawn by G.P. Strum, Andrew B. Gruham,
Photo-Litho, Washington, D.C.
1900.



the river made during the Civil War clearly showed the deep water of the channel directly off the wharves, while a later survey, produced in 1904, displayed a marked shoaling immediately in front of the wharves and a decided movement of the hydrographic contours away from the city to the eastward. On May 16, 1907, the Corps of Engineers conducted a preliminary examination of the area, taking soundings and studying the supposed cause of the trouble, the submerged barge near the upper end of the city.

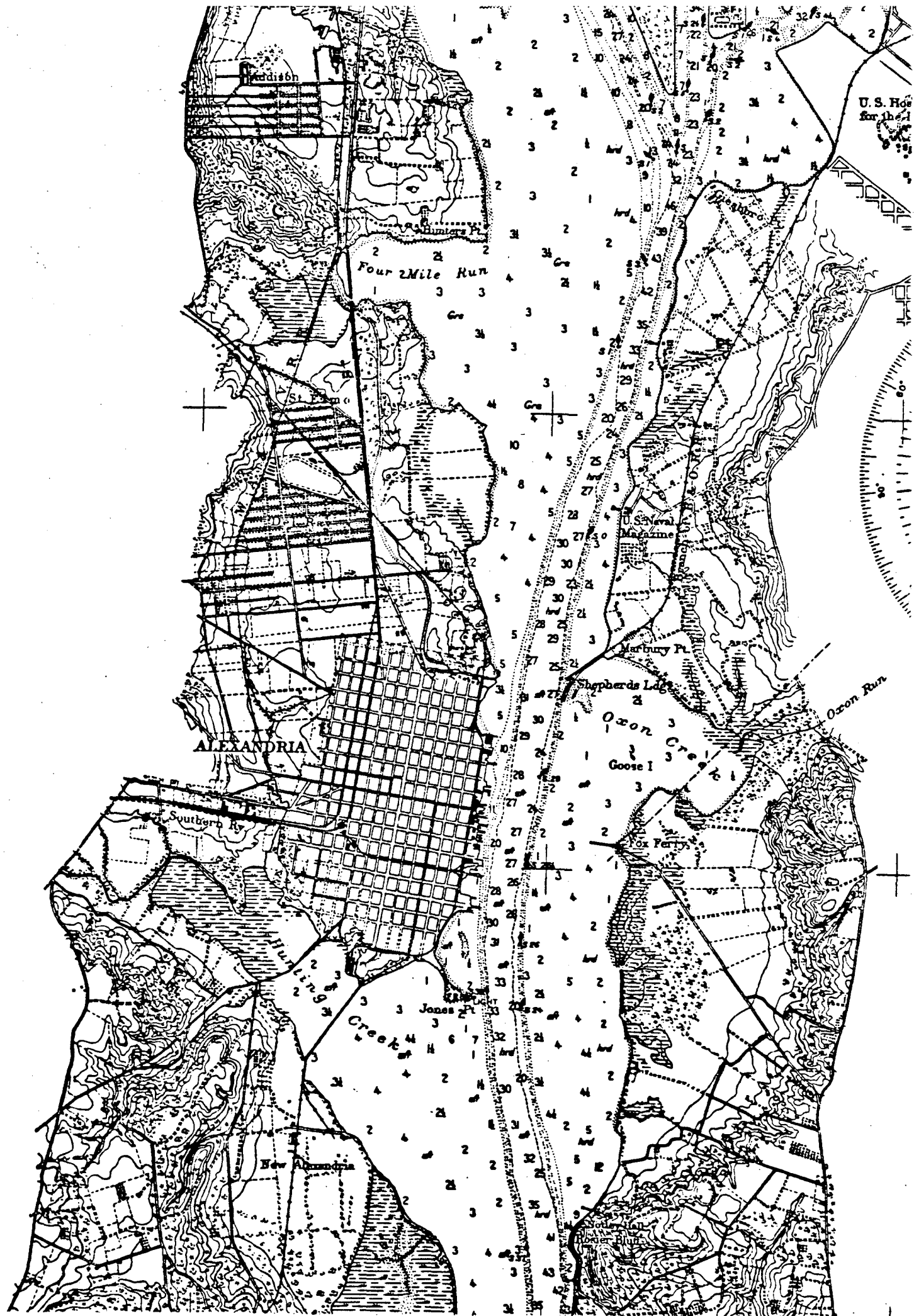
The soundings showed a depth of barely six feet at low tide at the north or upstream end of the bar off the canal outlet, seven feet about 200 feet below the point, gradually deepening to ten feet off the Alexandria Fertilizer and Chemical Company's wharf (2,000 feet below the canal outlet), continuing at a depth of ten or eleven feet for another 1,000 feet, and then gradually increasing to a depth of from 20 to 24 feet at the Southern Railway ferry slip, at the southern wharf front. The width of the shoal was approximately 400 to 500 feet at the upper end and tapered off gradually to zero at the lower end of the wharf front.

Despite the continued efforts of local commercial interests, primarily the wharf owners, to combat the siltation and shoaling, the situation seemed to be one of hopelessness. Many wharf owners, at considerable expense, were obliged to frequently dredge channels across the growing bar to afford continued access to deep water. Such measures proved not only costly but of temporary utility, for the cuts were soon obliterated. Many of the vessels which used the wharves drew from 18 to 22 feet of water, and access to Alexandria grew more difficult with every passing month. Many of the wharf owners at the north end

Potomac River
Mattawoman Creek to Georgetown.

U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey
No. 560.
1906.

Controlling depth of the Potomac River at the Alexandria waterfront has migrated far to the eastward of the waterfront activity area. The depth of the channel varies from 26 to 33 feet, but shoaling is indicated along much of the town waterfront. The depth of Hunting Creek now varies between one and four and a half feet. Shepherd's Landing railroad wharf is indicated as still operational. Five buoys mark the channel of the Potomac off Alexandria.



of town were becoming desperate. W. A. Smoot had been obliged to dredge a cut of 24 feet; the Alexandria Fertilizer and Chemical Company dredged to 22 feet; and William M. Reardon dredged a cut to 20 feet, all at low tide.

On July 26, 1907, Major Spencer Cosby of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers reported to the Secretary of War, Luke E. Wright, the following:

As the shoal is reported to be still rapidly increasing, it is feared that unless some radical improvement is undertaken at an early date the entire water front of Alexandria will be seriously obstructed if not rendered practically useless (House Document No. 1253, 60th Congress, 2d Session: 3-4).

Cosby proposed that the shoal be removed to a depth of 24 feet at low tide from the port warden line (20 feet seaward from the end of the wharf line) out to the deep-water channel of the river. The wreck, he stated, must be removed, and if necessary practicable deflection works should be constructed to insure the return of the current to the Alexandria side of the river. The depth of 24 feet, though deeper than the extant frontage had been, was the equivalent to the ruling depth of the Potomac channel and therefore considered desirable. If such actions were not undertaken, the resultant impact on Alexandria's economy would be serious. By 1907 the existence and growth of the shoal in front of the city had already compelled a slight decrease in the average size of vessels used, and the uncertainty as to the ultimate result of the shoaling had caused owners of waterfront property to hesitate to improve it. Cosby pointed out that the removal of the shoal would relieve that uncertainty, would permit the use of larger vessels, would decrease the freight rates, and would place a larger number of vessels at the

command of shippers (their numbers having decreased year by year).

It would place the city in a better position to compete with other shipping points and would promote a general increase in water-related business altogether (House Document No. 1253, 60th Congress, 2d Session: 4-5).

That Alexandria was deserving of such assistance was certainly supported by its record of commerce. By 1908 the population of the town was 20,000 and increasing. More than 400 mercantile and industrial establishments were located within the city borders. Two marine railways, one of them the largest on the Potomac River, were located at Alexandria, and the town home-ported at least 100 vessels of various kinds and sizes. At least five different lines of railroads passed through the city, and tracks skirted the waterfront, forming the only direct rail and water connections of any importance on the entire Potomac. No such connections existed at Washington, save for a coal tipple established on the Anacostia. Shepherds Landing, opposite Alexandria, was being used almost exclusively in connection with the lines at Alexandria. Former terminals at Popes Creek, Quantico Creek, and Aquia Creek had long since been abandoned, and as a result most of the water-rail shipments of Washington were handled at Alexandria, while the shipments to and from the country extending inland from 50 to 75 miles were also dominated by the city. Though the railroads had once challenged the considerable business of the waterfront after the Civil War, there had been a marked shift in later years, and the resumption of growth in maritime commerce (though never approaching the early-19th-century height that had ranked Alexandria among the more important ports of the South). Yet commerce along the waterfront had been brisk, despite

shoaling and postwar difficulties. Statistics for the calendar year of 1906, for instance, compiled by J. T. Preston, Secretary of the Alexandria Chamber of Commerce, revealed that a total of 190,661 tons of goods, valued at \$1,890,545 had been received, and a total of shipments of 87,768 tons, valued at \$1,226,106, exclusive of animals and vehicles transported by the Washington and Alexandria Ferry Line, had been dispatched. The principal articles of commerce had been coal, fertilizer, glass bottles, ice, lumber, oil, phosphate rock, railroad ties, sand, wholesale groceries, and general merchandise. The city ranked as the sixth largest sugar market in the entire United States. Its trade was carried on principally with Washington, Baltimore, Norfolk, New York, Boston, Maine ports, Nova Scotia, and Florida, though there was also considerable trade with Brazil, Argentina, and Spain. A total of six steamer lines made regular calls at Alexandria, and during 1906 had made 8,462 calls. A total number of arrivals of all vessels in that year was placed at 12,473, of which 425 drew over 16 feet of water (the majority of this number actually drawing between 19 and 22 feet). More than half a million passengers had been carried by vessels of all kinds entering or clearing Alexandria during that year. Clearly, the port deserved action. Major Cosby's recommendations, then, came as no surprise.

In view of the importance of the city of Alexandria, of the extent of its commerce, and of the conditions above stated, the removal of the bar recently formed is regarded as an improvement worthy to be undertaken by the General Government (House Document No. 1235, 60th Congress, 2d Session: 3-5).

Cosby's recommendations were forwarded to Colonel D. W. Lockwood of the Corps of Engineers, who endorsed the proposal that action be

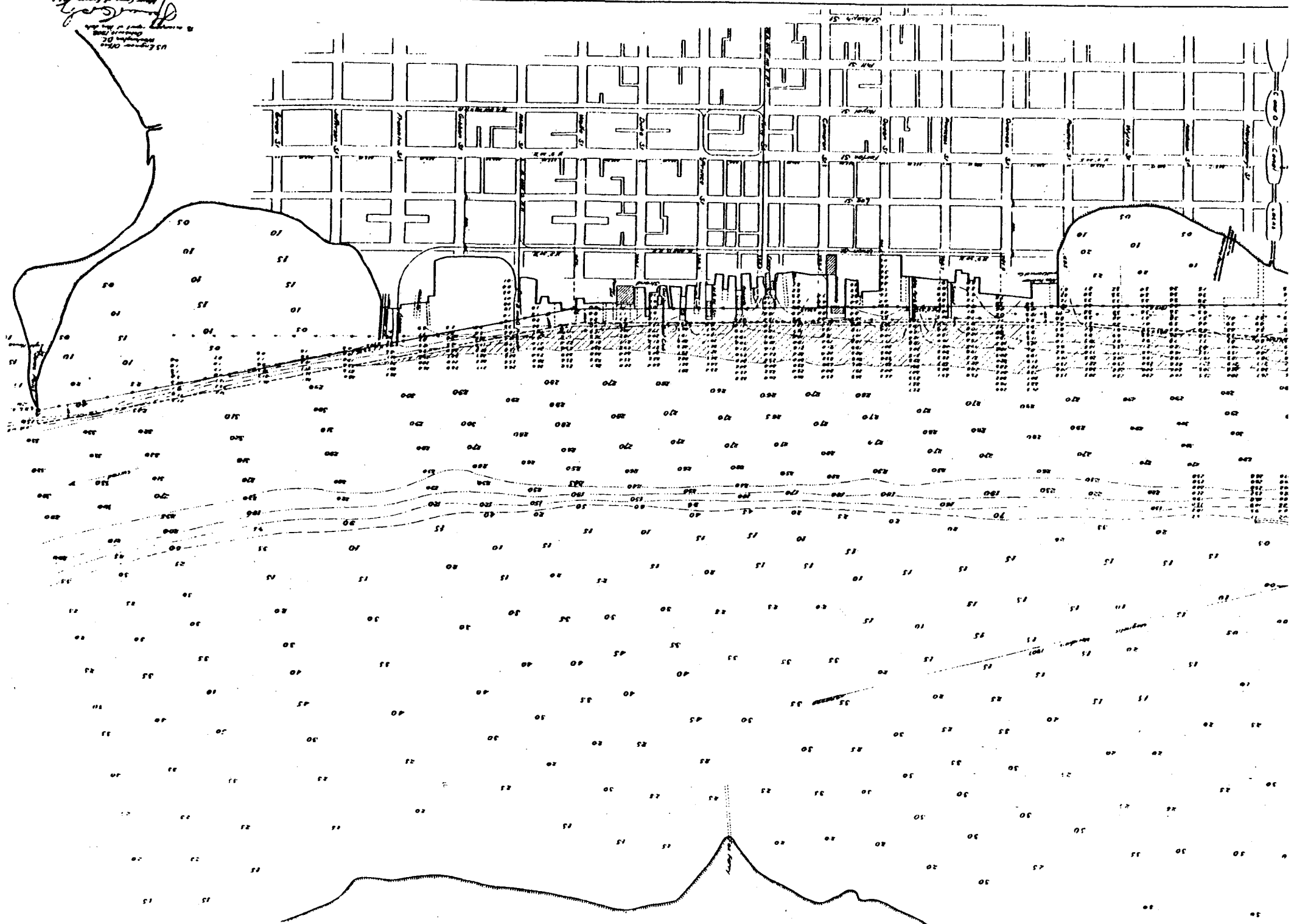
undertaken, along with the added note that the volume of Alexandria's commerce accounted for 19 percent of the total commerce of the entire Potomac River. On August 15, 1907, Brigadier General A. Mackenzie, Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, submitted his evaluation of the study, concluding that "I recommend that a survey of the locality, as proposed, be authorized." In November 1907 the survey of the Alexandria waterfront was carried out in part, and completed in March of the following year by William B. Harrison, Assistant Engineer. By August 6, 1908, the wreck lying off the canal at the northern end of the town had been completely removed. On October 1 a report was submitted to the Secretary of War proposing the establishment of harbor lines at Alexandria. Five days later soundings were made in front of the proposed pierhead line to ascertain whether the removal of the wreck had produced any perceptible effect on the depth. It was readily discovered that "if anything the depths now existing are slightly less than when the survey of the same area was made in December, 1907." An estimate of \$116,000 was submitted as the amount required to fund the work necessary to afford a depth of 24 feet at mean low tide over the area in front of the city, between the then existing 24-foot contour and a line drawn 20 feet outside the pierhead line. An estimate of \$8,000 for maintenance of the area every four years was also provided. Cosby suggested in a letter to the Chief of Engineers, dated October 14, 1908, that the spoils might be deposited upon the flats on the Maryland side of the river. This would aid in deflecting the current towards the Alexandria wharves, though a deflecting dike above Shepherd's Point might also prove desirable and would reduce the annual maintenance costs. On December 1, 1908, Cosby's

(Alexandria Waterfront).

U.S. Engineer Office,
Washington, D.C. To
accompany report of
October 14, 1908 of
Major Spencer Cosby,
U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

This map accompanied Major
Cosby's report on the shoaling
of the Alexandria waterfront and
graphically illustrates the
degree of shoaling and its
obviously detrimental effects on
shipping access to the town
waterfront facilities. Those
wharf owners that carried out
their own dredging, at private
expense, are visibly apparent
as the few wharves still
operational continue to have egress.
The remainder have been largely
closed off to deep water shipping.

US Engineer Office
Washington, D.C.
Major Corps of Engineers
1918



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recommendations that the waterfront bar formed before the city of Alexandria be dredged to a depth of 24 feet was approved by Colonel John G. D. Knight, in the absence of the Chief of Engineers, and forwarded to the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors (House Document No. 1235, 60th Congress, 2d Session: 6-8). Funding for the project, however, would have to await the adoption of the River and Harbor Act of June 25, 1910, by the United States Congress before actual work could be undertaken. Corps action, however, followed swiftly (RCE 1911, Part I: 312).

During the months of July and August 1910 the Corps began to study the areas suitable to receive the spoil from dredging, but, ignoring Cosby's earlier suggestions that it be deposited across the river on the Maryland flats, focused their activities on Battery Cove, at the southern end of the town. A survey of the cove was undertaken, locating the high and low shore lines, contours, and private property lines, and the decision was made that the site was suitable to receive the spoil. Preliminary work for preparing the cove for the deposit of dredge spoils was begun by constructing a retaining wall of cobblestone and riprap under contract with the Potomac Sand and Gravel Company on September 6, 1910. The contract called for completion by October 11, but the work was carried on "in a dilatory way," making necessary an extension to December 14, after which work was suspended altogether. On December 1, it was determined, the progress made by the contractors was so indifferent that it was necessary to give an open market order for material in order that the wall be completed before the scheduled dredging operation commenced. In all, the company had provided 5,978.9 cubic yards of

cobblestone. Under the revised action orders were placed and deliveries made between December 10 and 17 but then suspended to January 15, 1911, because of icy conditions, after which they were resumed and continued to February 2. During this period an additional 1,855.4 cubic yards of material were furnished and placed and the wall was thereby completed. Despite the successful completion of the wall, however, subsequent breaks caused by settlement made frequent repairs necessary, requiring additional hundreds of yards of cobblestone and riprap. When finally completed the wall, including the wings connecting it to the shore, measured 2,730 feet in length, four feet high above mean low water, and contained 8,631 cubic yards of stone.

The work of constructing and maintaining the embankment back of the wall was done by hired dredges during various periods throughout the year, beginning on October 22, 1910. The first dredge employed, No. 6, belonged to John H. Miller and placed 31,000 cubic yards. The clamshell dredge Norfolk, belonging to the Norfolk Dredging Company, placed 20,000 cubic yards. The clamshell dredge Miller No. 6 placed 13,000 cubic yards. Shovel men were employed throughout May and June 1911 working up ridges in the embankments, a chore made necessary by the subsidence of embankments caused by settlement of soft material and the erosive action of steamer swells.

The firm of Sanford and Brooks was contracted to carry out the actual dredging of the Alexandria waterfront. This work was begun on March 4, 1911, when the clamshell dredge Canton commenced operations. By June 30, 1911, more than 133,000 cubic yards of material had been excavated and dumped in front of the hydraulic dredge Dewey, which

pumped it into Battery Cove. Dewey employed a 20-inch dredge, and by June 30 4,300 linear feet of channel had been completed, and a total of 205,781 cubic yards deposited in Battery Cove, bringing the fill behind the wall to an average depth of three and a half feet above mean low water. Significantly, Canton had also removed two wrecks from the dredged area, and Dewey ten more. Nearly 50 acres of land had been reclaimed by the walling and filling in of Battery Cove, an area once termed by Corps engineers as "shoal and stagnant and an active and prolific agent in spreading malarial and other diseases" (RCE 1911, Part I: 312; Part II: 1446-1447).

For the fiscal year 1911-12 work continued unabated, with the dredge Canton and the hydraulic dredge Dewey constantly at work. By December 29, 1911, the dredging in front of Alexandria had been completed, clearing a linear length of 7,300 feet to a depth of 24 feet. An additional 241,283 cubic yards of material had been removed by Canton, and 35,729 cubic yards by the clamshell dredge Dixon. This material, 277,012 cubic yards in all, was transported in scows, dumped in basins at Jones Point and pumped into Battery Cove by Dewey. Before completion one more wreck, bringing the total to thirteen, was removed from the channel. The embankment wall in front of Battery Cove, which had a completed height of five feet above low water, required additional maintenance due to settlement, and a barbed wire fence was erected along the original high water mark of Battery Cove during January 1911, with one area of exception. This area pertained to a 400-foot strip where an adjoining property owner objected to the boundary line. This matter was referred to the Department of Justice for settlement

(RCE 1912, I: 310; II: 1667-68).

In 1913 the Corps of Engineers again surveyed the channel in front of Alexandria to determine its depths. A survey was also ordered to determine the boundary lines between the reclaimed ground of Battery Cove and the main shore, during which work it was found necessary to uncover the south monument of the District of Columbia, which had been erected in 1791 and had been enclosed in the Jones Point Lighthouse retaining wall since 1861. The wall was removed and the monument, certainly representing one of the most controversial eras in the town's history, was encased on three sides by concrete (RCE 1913, II: 1854).

XIV

A BARREN SPOT ON THE RIVER FRONT

On April 6, 1917, the United States of America entered the First World War on the side of the Allied Powers. Soon after its entry, the United States Shipping Board, an agency of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, began to award contracts to shipbuilding firms across the country in an effort to outproduce the ship-loss ratio expected to be incurred as a consequence of German submarine attacks and other war-related causes.

On December 1, 1917, the Secretary of War, subject to congressional approval, leased for five years, with an option to buy for \$70,000, the 46.57 acres of newly-reclaimed land at Battery Cove. The objective of the lease was to convert the otherwise-useless marshy land into a shipyard capable of producing part of America's much-needed wartime merchant fleet (RCE 1919, I: 555-56). On December 7 the U.S. Shipping Board contracted with the Groton Iron Works of Connecticut to build twelve metal vessels of 9,400 tons, each at a cost of \$1,504,000. Ten launches were to be completed by March 22, 1918. The target date for completion of the first vessel was October 7, 1918, and for the last, April 7, 1919. On January 2, 1918, the contract was assigned to the American Shipbuilding Corporation, which promptly changed its name to the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation of New York City (Tilp 1978: 81).

The Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation was incorporated in Virginia for \$10,000,000 "for the purpose of establishing a permanent shipbuilding plant, primarily to build 12-9400 Ton Moore & Scott type steel cargo

steamers for the United States Shipping Board, Emergency Fleet Corporation, Charles A. Prey, General Manager" (VSC Memo, 7 March 1918, VSC Collection, LC).

Though the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation held contracts to construct a score of vessels at Battery Cove and elsewhere (RCE 1919, 1: 556), not even the full dozen vessels mentioned above were destined for completion there before the end of the war.

On a cold January day in 1918, the Battery Cove property appeared to a photographer in the Jones Point Lighthouse to be a veritable wasteland. From the vantage point of the lighthouse the only features appearing in the soon-to-be-bustling shipyard were a ragged line of stunted trees ringing the edge of Hunting Creek and a few shrubs on the Potomac frontage of the reclaimed land (VSC Photo, Cabinet 4, Drawer 19, LC). To construct a shipyard on the marshy fill ground called for the utmost in construction technology. The Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation, under the presidency of Colin H. Livingstone, thus sought to contract the work to several extremely capable firms that would not only accomplish the near impossible, but accomplish it on a rigid schedule. The two principal firms awarded the construction contracts were the Raymond Concrete Pile Company, M. M. Upson, General Manager, and Fred T. Ley & Company Incorporated. Raymond entered into an agreement to drive the concrete piles necessary for the construction of the building complex to support the shipbuilding operations, and, more important, to construct the four massive reinforced concrete shipways. Organized in 1901, the firm had the distinction of having built the first reinforced

concrete shipway in America. Ley & Company had been awarded the contract to erect the building complex (Raymond Concrete Pile Company Memo, 7 March 1918, VSC Collection, LC).

The construction schedule, dictated by the urgencies of war, was tight, and the objectives considerable. Four shipways, an outfitting dock, two causeways, a fabricating shop, a time-keeper's office, an administration building, a storehouse, a blacksmith's shop, a powder house, a machine shop, a metal-working shop, an electrical and rigger's shop, a joiner shop, a paint shop, latrines, fire protection and water service lines, and compressed air lines had to all be erected or installed before construction of the first ship could be completed (Progress Schedule/Plant Construction, VSC Collection, LC).

Every effort was directed at the completion of the first shipway and several buildings of primary importance. Thus, ship construction might be started even while the remaining three ways and building facilities were being erected. On January 23, under the direction of project superintendent H. A. Christie, the first equipment was unloaded at Battery Cove, and work began immediately. On February 1 the first concrete pile was driven for a fabricating shop. Six days later the first wooden pile was driven for No. 1 Shipway, and two days later, the first concrete pile for the same shipway. On February 14 the concrete was poured for the fabrication shop foundation, and two weeks after that for No. 1 Shipway. And so it went, at unsurpassed speed, as administration buildings, storehouses, and numerous other support facilities began to materialize on the once-barren plain of Battery Cove. By March 7 Superintendent Christie announced: "The present organization on the

work expects to have the first shipway ready to lay a Keel on April 15th, 1918 and the forth and last ready by June 15th 1918" (Raymond Concrete Pile Company Memo, 7 March 1918, VSC Collection, LC).

Despite Christie's optimistic projections, difficulties were bound to arise, and construction schedules fell behind. April 15 came and went. A new date, May 30, was given for the laying of the keel of the first ship. President Woodrow Wilson was scheduled to drive in the first rivet, and his wife to provide the vessel with a name. As the target date drew closer, labor troubles threatened to cause an ugly disturbance. On May 28 between 300 and 400 employees of the Southern Railway shops in Alexandria walked off the job. At first the strikers were said to be dissatisfied with their wage scale. Then, on May 29, J. W. Collins, President of Potomac Lodge No. 580 International Association of Machinists, stated

that the walkout was not a matter of money as much as it is a discrimination between navy yards, shipyards and railroads, all of which are under government control (The Evening Star, 28 May 1918; 29 May 1918).

Many of the strikers were clearly upset over the high wages being paid to the employees of the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation, wages which were regulated by the government and exceeded their own. The strikers were informed that they were government employees in time of war, that their work was strategic in nature (and directly affected delivery of materials to the Battery Cove operations), and that their strike was a direct blow to the prosecution of the war and was therefore illegal (The Evening Star, 31 May 1918).

Despite the strike, President Woodrow Wilson, accompanied by members of Congress and other dignitaries, arrived at Battery Point

between 2:30 and 3:00 p.m. on May 30 for the historic ceremonies. Charles C. Carlin, said to be instrumental in having the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation locate their operations at Alexandria, presided as Master of Ceremonies. The employees of the shipyard had been given the day off to attend the occasion, and a large American flag floated from a giant staff at one corner of the yard. It was, indeed, an auspicious event, for it had been 91 days (85 actual working days) earlier that construction had started upon a barren spot on the river front. "Today," noted one daily newspaper, "this same spot appears like a small city, with its numerous brick buildings, all of which are fireproof, and also the numerous by ways where a dozen 9,400-ton ships are to be built. . . ." It was estimated that the yard had cost \$2,000,000, and when operating to full capacity would employ 3,500 men, although some estimates ranged as high as 7,000. The Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation claimed that the erection of the Battery Cove facilities held the world's record for establishing a permanent shipyard in only 85 working days. Nearly 78 percent of the work had been underground because of the necessity of sinking the concrete piles on which to build the shipways and buildings (The Evening Star, 30 May 1918; 31 May 1918).

President Wilson greeted the occasion without frills or fanfare and went straight to the task. He was assisted in driving the rivet by Rivet Foreman Robert Mooney. After the President drove the first rivet, Colin Livingstone called for three cheers, and more than a thousand souls roared their approval. The keel of the ship just begun was dubbed Gunston Hall, in honor of the home of George Mason,



Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, is pictured here preparing to drive the first rivet into the keel of the Gunston Hall at the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation yard at Battery Cove, Alexandria in 1918.

Library of Congress.

and delivery of the completed ship was now scheduled for October 1 (The Evening Star, 31 May 1918). There were no speeches following the ceremony, just the American Indian Guard Band playing "The Star Spangled Banner." But for Alexandria, the moment was one full of promise. An editorial in the pages of The Evening Star newspaper noted that the Battery Cove Shipyard was more than a place where wartime naval construction was being carried out, it was a symbol. "In [the] early days," read the editorial,

when the Potomac was navigable for ocean-going vessels--not so deep in draft, indeed, as those of today, but sturdy craft capable of long, speedy voyages in trade to all parts of the world--Alexandria was a place of importance. Two elements contributed to its decadence, civil war and the silting up of the river. The channels became choked with the mud from the hills of the watershed, and the civil strife put an end to the enterprises that had caused the city to prosper. Now the old town has come back to its own (The Evening Star, 31 May 1918).

Alexandria had much to contribute to the war effort. There was a plant erected for the construction of hydro-planes (torpedoes), and the town once more served as a distribution point for military supplies to army units camped in the region. The old Agnew yards, now known as Grover's Railway, prospered from a variety of collateral assignments. The sudden increase in population had placed an inordinate strain upon the city's housing situation, but the burden was borne cheerfully (The Evening Star, 31 May 1918; Tilp 1978: 24).

By the fall of 1918 it had become clear that Germany was losing the war and would soon be compelled to surrender. By this time a total of nine vessels had been started or scheduled to start at the Battery Cove Shipyard. These vessels were Betsy Bell, Gunston Hall, Vanada,

H. F. Morse, E. A. Morse, Clemence C. Morse, Jennie R. Morse, Anna E. Morse, and Colvin H. Livingstone. According to one reporter on Battery Cove shipbuilding, the United States Shipping Board was not pleased with the work of the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation at the site. One examiner, E. S. White, reported on October 10, 1918, that no more contracts were to be given to the company, and no completion dates were set for the remaining three vessels which had not been laid down (Tilp 1978: 81). The termination of the construction program was also undoubtedly due to the approach of peace and the reduction of shipping needs for a waning war effort. On November 11, 1918, the Armistice was signed and World War I came to an end--and with it the brief war-induced prosperity of Alexandria.

For the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation, the prosperity had proven elusive. On April 11, 1921, a petition of bankruptcy was filed by the corporation for approximately \$11,000,000 (Tilp 1978: 81). The Battery Cove site, however, was still a valuable commodity. On February 8, 1923, a lease of the Battery Cove site to Joseph L. Crupper, receiver, Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation, was executed by the Secretary of War. Crupper's purpose was not continued shipbuilding, but the breaking up of vessels. Specifically, a total of 230 surplus wooden troop ships built for the Emergency Fleet Corporation during the war were to be hauled up on the ways and dismantled (ARCE 1923: 449). These vessels ranged from 260 to 300 feet in length and from 46 to 50 feet abeam. In 1924 the Western Marine & Salvage Company, formed by West Coast banking interests, purchased 212 such vessels at a fraction of their cost specifically for their salvaged parts, iron, etc. A request was

made by the company for permission to tow them to an anchorage ground in the Potomac River from whence they might be brought to the salvage yard of the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation at Battery Cove for dismantling. Ultimately, the vessels were assigned 1,550 acres of Potomac water land for private mooring while awaiting salvage. The fully equipped hulls were towed to Battery Cove, where all removable machinery and equipment was salvaged and sold. The hulls were then hauled to Widewater, above Aquia Creek, and burned in September 1925. The burned hulks were then towed across the river to a small embayment called Mallows Bay for the recovery of brass, copper, and iron built into the hulls (Tilp 1978: 88). After the hulls were burned, salvage operations continued until March 1931, when the project was abandoned by the Western Marine & Salvage Company (House of Representatives, Report No. 91-1761, 91st Congress, 2d Session: 4). On May 1, 1926, Battery Cove was officially deemed no longer in use (RCE 1926, 1: 428).

CONSIDERABLE SHOALING

Despite the efforts of the Corps of Engineers, shoaling continued to plague the Alexandria harbor. In 1914 it was reported in the Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers (I, 417) that as of June 30, 1914, at mean low water the maximum draft that could be carried over the shoalest part of the area fronting the city was 12 feet, with a mean range of tide of three feet. The following year's report (I, 441) notes that this shoaling was occurring near the upper end of the city but "has given rise to no complaint." A survey of the waterfront undertaken between March 20 and 31, 1915, in fact, revealed "considerable shoaling in the upper portion of the improvement" with maximum shoaling of up to six feet reported. The more commercially active lower portion of the waterfront, however, had shoaled little, and the full 24-foot depth was still available (II, 2290).

By 1916 the Corps, acknowledging that the continued shoaling was a problem, proposed that \$10,000 be expended for the "restoration of project depths over the deteriorated portions of the harbor most in need of relief" (1916, I: 476). However, no action would be forthcoming in the immediate future. That some action was needed was reflected in the decline of commerce. By 1917 commerce for the previous calendar year was reported at 113,552 short tons, a dramatic drop from only a decade before. The average depth and percentage of activity by type was for the first time closely examined. The usual limit of draft for loaded boats for the principal items and the proportion of the total tonnage pertaining thereto, for instance, was published for the

first time, viz.

Sand - 6 feet - 17%
Phosphate rock - 19 feet - 16%
Coal - 5 feet - 16%
Fertilizer - 13 feet - 9%
Pulpwood - 9 feet - 7%
Gravel - 6 feet - 5%
Coal Oil - 13 feet - 2%
Remainder - 28%

The entire commerce which passed over the improved sections of the waterfront, though diminishing in volume, still required considerable depth. A full 50 percent required the increased depth cut during the 1910-12 period (RCE 1917, 1: 489).

With the onset of World War I harbor improvement for Alexandria was deliberately curtailed, as were waterway improvements in many areas of the United States. However, during fiscal 1917-18 a survey was undertaken to restore a portion of the harbor line, data was collected, and other work was done necessary for the lease or sale of the reclaimed land at Battery Cove. A reevaluation of the area reclaimed showed that a total of 46.57 acres of land had been created. Though Alexandria boasted 18 regular shipping wharves and landings, seven of them wooden pile structures, and the remainder solid-fill bulkhead piers or bulkhead landings, commerce continued to plummet (Report of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, 1918, I, 514-15). Shoaling at an average rate of two feet per year was now occurring along the upper end of the waterfront, though practically none had occurred at the lower end. A width of 300 feet along 5,000 feet of the harbor front had already shoaled to less than project depth (RCE 1918, 2: 2291).

The problems for the Alexandria waterfront not only incorporated those dealing directly with the decline in commerce, but with the

legal ramifications resulting from the reclamation of land at Battery Cove. Under the December 1, 1917, agreement in which the Secretary of War had leased for five years, with an option to buy for \$70,000, the 46.57 acres of reclaimed land at Battery Cove. The area was rushed into development by the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation. Unhappily, as a result Battery Cove became the focal point for bitter litigation (RCE 1919, 1: 555-56).

The plaintiff in the case, the United States government, claimed that the land in dispute, a section of area adjacent to Battery Cove, and the made land of Battery Cove itself, was the property of the United States and within the territorial boundaries of the District of Columbia and the jurisdiction of the District and its courts by virtue of grants and cessions of the State of Maryland (principally involving the foundation of the District of Columbia in 1791). The defendant, the Potomac Marine Railway and Coal Company, claimed that the land in dispute was its own property, and that such disputed land and the filled area in Battery Cove was within the territorial boundaries and jurisdiction of Virginia and of the courts of the state and of the city of Alexandria. The defendant built its case strongly, but in the end concluded its efforts with defeat under a Supreme Court decision in October 1921 (Court of Appeals, 24-25; RCE 1923, 1: 448-49).

By June 1919 the controlling depths at Alexandria had declined to ten feet at the upper end and 22 feet at the lower end. One of the wharves on the waterfront had been turned over to the government during the war for service as a naval torpedo filling station, and vessel

construction activities at Battery Cove commenced and then abruptly halted. Commerce continued its decline. By 1922 controlling depths had decreased to seven and 17 feet respectively, and though Corps of Engineers annual reports repeatedly state that "Deep-draft steamers and vessels can now enter this port, and the trade has been thereby increased," trade statistics showed a distinctive downturn hard to ignore (RCE 1922, 1: 571).

In 1923, admitting that considerable shoaling had occurred and was continuing, the Corps requested \$65,000 to dredge the channel (RCE 1923, 1: 449). On October 3, 1924, operations began. A government-owned dredging plant was engaged in maintaining and constructing a levee for spoil deposition. During fiscal 1924-25 67,390 cubic yards of material were placed on 6,970 linear feet of bank. Hydraulic dredging of the waterfront began on May 15, 1925, and by June 30 a total of 129,228 cubic yards had been removed from the waterfront of Alexandria and placed in the basin (RCE 1925, 1: 423). Work was carried out by the hydraulic pipe-line dredge Talcott, and later aided by the U.S. derrick boat Atlas, and continued until completion of the project on October 10, 1925. Spoil was deposited in a cove upstream of Alexandria near Bryant's Wharf, and in a basin opposite Alexandria as well. For fiscal year 1925-26 a total of 231,469 cubic yards was dredged and deposited in the required areas. Scores of piles were driven, and an additional 10,245 cubic yards of material added to the levee to retain the dredged spoils (RCE 1926, 1: 427-28). The controlling depth had been restored to the desired 24 feet, but by 1928 had again declined to 18.5 feet, and by the fall of that year was 17.1 feet at the upper end. By 1930

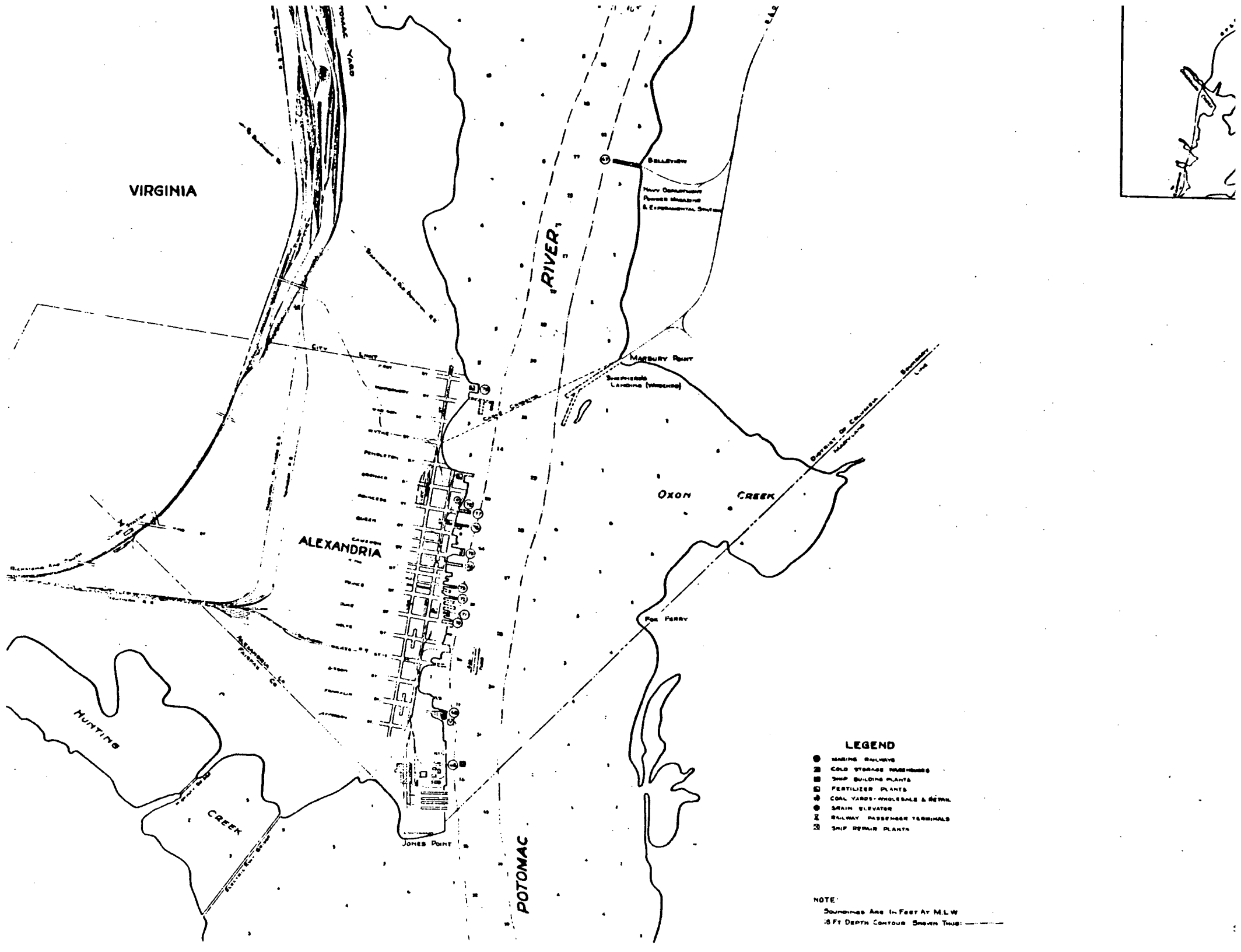
Port Facilities at Washington, D.C.
& Alexandria, Va.

U.S. Army Corps of Engineers
Washington
1923.

The operational piers and wharves
at Alexandria are indicated by
circled numbers along the
waterfront. These are as follows:

- 68-Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation Wharf;
- 69-Aquia Creek Quarries Corporation Wharf;
- 70-Virginia-Carolina Chemical Co. Wharf;
- 71-Aitcheson's Wharf;
- 72-Norfolk & Washington Steamboat Co. Wharf;
- 73-Roberts' Wharf;
- 74-United States Naval Torpedo Plant Wharf;
- 75-Potomac Steamship Co. Wharf;
- 76-Alexandria Fertilizer & Chemical Co. Wharf;
- 77-Smoot Sand & Gravel Wharf;
- 78-Smooths Coal Wharf;
- 79-Bryant's Wharf.

Note position of cable crossing and annotation
of the wrecked railroad wharf at Shepherd's
Landing on the Maryland shore at Marbury Point.
Controlling depth of the main river channel in
front of Alexandria is now between 27 and 30
feet. Only one wharf is evident at the site
of the Alexandria Canal outlet, and that is
indicated in wrecked or out-of-service condition.



VIRGINIA

POTOMAC RIVER

ALEXANDRIA

OXON CREEK

HUNTING CREEK

CREEK

JONES POINT

POTOMAC

BELLEVIEW

NAVY DEPARTMENT POWER HOUSES & ENGINEERING SHOP

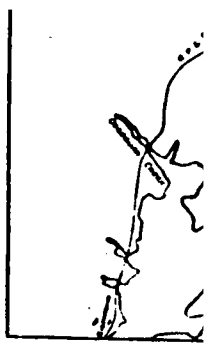
MARGURY POINT

SHIPYARD LANDING (WOODS)

LEGEND

- MARINE RAILWAYS
- COLD STORAGE WAREHOUSES
- SHIP BUILDING PLANTS
- FERTILIZER PLANTS
- COAL YARDS - WHOLESALE & RETAIL
- GRAIN ELEVATOR
- ⊠ RAILWAY PASSENGER TERMINALS
- ⊠ SHIP REPAIR PLANTS

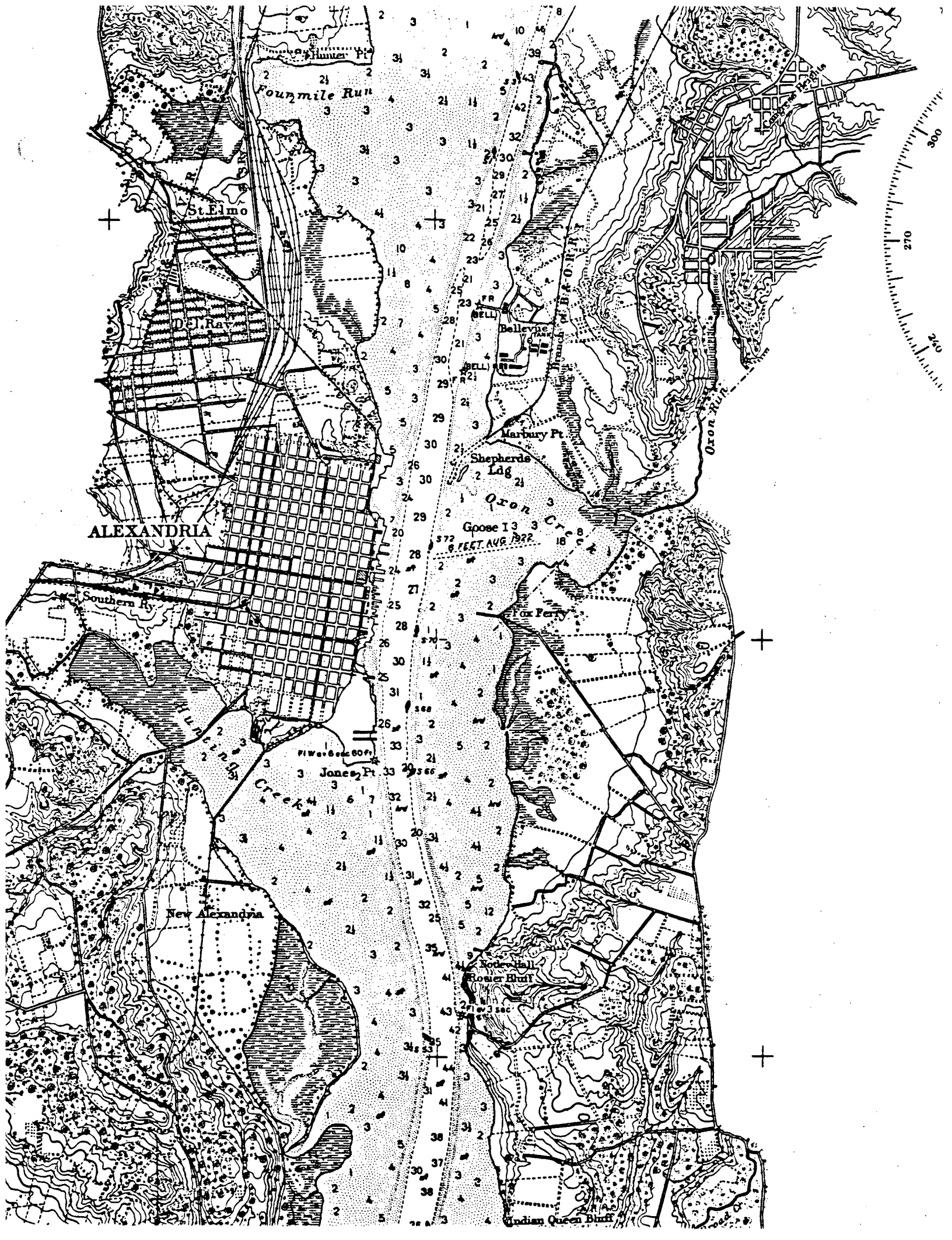
NOTE:
SOUNDINGS ARE IN FEET AT M.L.W.
15 FT DEPTH CONTOUR SHOWN TRUE



Potomac River
Mattawoman Creek to Georgetown

U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey
No. 560
1926.

Battery Cove has been filled in north of Jones Point. Channel depth, having been dredged, now varies from 24 to 33 feet. A channel has been cut to a depth of six feet into Oxon Creek to Goose Island. Shepherd's Landing is indicated as out of service and an island has formed in the shoals immediately south of the wharf, undoubtedly due to the eddy formed by the currents as they swept past the old wharf.



Fourmile Run

St. Elmo

Del Ray

ALEXANDRIA

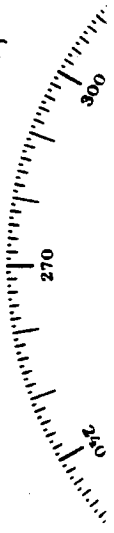
Southern Ry

New Alexandria

Jones Pt

Rosier Bluff

Indian Queen Bluff

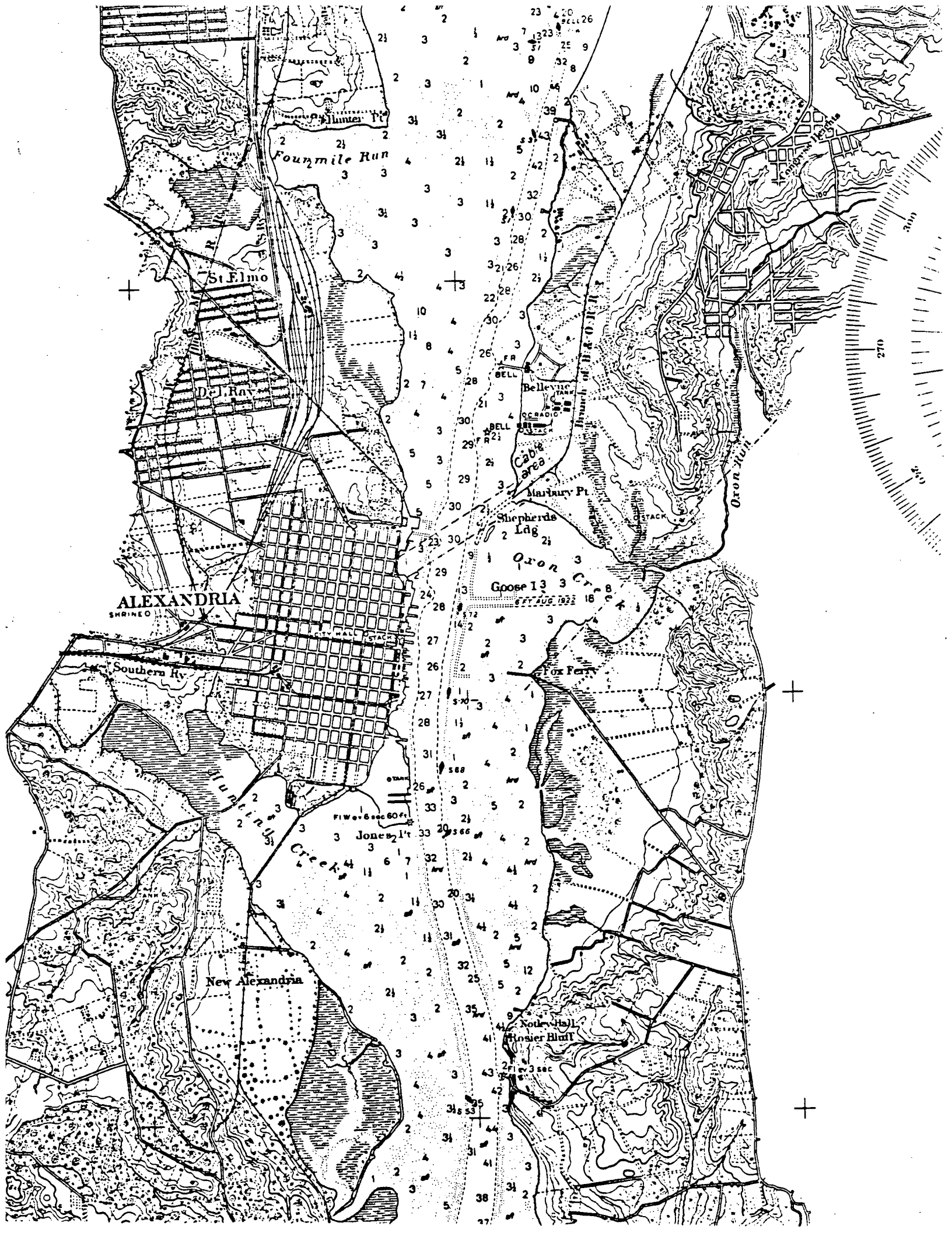


572
6 FEET AUG 1922

Potomac River
Mattawoman Creek to Georgetown.

U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey
No. 560
1929.

Note the ruins of the two wharves at the old Alexandria Canal outlet, now partially covered by encroaching waterfront growth. Also of interest is the shoal bulge building up at the north end of the waterfront. The edge of the shoal, opposite Alexandria, is now indicated as very sharp, as is the drop of the channel cut into Oxon Creek. Fox's Landing is still in apparent use.



Blunter Pt
Fourmile Run

St. Elmo

DeJ. Ray

ALEXANDRIA
SHRINEO

Southern Ry

New Alexandria

Five 6 sec 60 ft
Jones 1st

Goose 13 3
SEP AUG 1922 18

Fox Ferry

Notley Hall
Housier Bluff



tonnage had slipped to barely 170,000 tons of goods (RCE 1927, 1:425; 1928, 1: 472; 1929, 1: 472; 1931, 1: 492).

Alexandria's decline as a port city continued unabated, her problems not only resting with nature, but with the national economic situation as well. With the onset of the Depression years stagnation set in. Even maintenance dredging was ignored. Not until 1935 would work be done, and then barely 91,000 cubic feet would be removed from a waterfront whose mean low-water depth had silted up to 15.6 feet, and whose terminal facilities had been reduced to 16 (RCE 1936, 1: 360). The war against siltation and the deadly effect it was extracting on Alexandria port commerce continued with maintenance dredging, but nature kept the upper hand. By 1940 the waterfront was confronted, as was the entire upper Potomac, by an infestation of water chestnut growth (Trapa natans), and the controlling depth had again slipped to 18.9 feet at the upper end and 22.5 feet at the lower end (RCE 1940, 1: Part 1, 478). Unfortunately, with the dramatic decline in trade, the ever-increasing costs incurred in dredging operations and a general decline in interest in keeping the Potomac open to maritime traffic, nearly eight more years would pass before Alexandria would receive significant attention from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

By 1947 Alexandria could boast of only twelve shipping wharves, nine of them were privately owned and three maintained by the U.S. government. The remainder were opened to the public but were in great disrepair. The waterfront had again silted up to such a dramatic extent that utilization of the city wharves was undertaken only with

the greatest difficulty. Dredging was again imperative. Finally, funds were appropriated and in July 1947 operations were again carried out. Though work had originally been intended to be let out on bid, "due to excessive prices, contract was not awarded," and the Corps of Engineers carried out the work with the U.S. hydraulic dredge Talcott. The project was undertaken in July 1947 and resulted in the removal of 125,327 cubic yards of material which were deposited on Oxon Run Flats, on the Maryland side of the Potomac, at a cost of \$27,161.22 (RCE 1947, 1, Part 1: 519; 1948, I, Part 1: 565).

Again, ten years later, siltation had all but closed off the little traffic that called and dredging was once more authorized. Between March 19 and April 24, 1957, a total of 296,000 cubic feet of material was removed and deposited on Oxon Run Flats. A new controlling depth, two feet deeper than before, was reached. The new controlling depth at the south end of the town was 26.1 feet, and 26.2 feet at the north end (RCE 1957, II: 324). Eight years later a massive project was authorized to again relieve the pressure of siltation. Maintenance dredging was funded and a contract awarded to a private corporation to restore the channel off Alexandria. Begun on December 11, 1964, and completed on January 26, 1965, a total of 530,020 cubic yards of material was removed and deposited in authorized spill areas at a cost of \$139,000 (RCE, I: 249).

To date, no further dredging operations have been carried out on the Alexandria waterfront. The front edge of the river channel, which had in George Washington's time been 18 to 20 feet in depth and relatively stable, had by 1965 been deepened to over 26 feet to equal

that of the main channel. Stability of the current flow was never again achieved, and increased runoff from upriver, first noticed after the terrible storm of June 1889, was never controlled, though valiant efforts by the Corps of Engineers to manage the buildup were continuous and ongoing. Artificial efforts to maintain a river's depth (and, as a consequence, the economy, maritime commerce, and prosperity of a city once dependent upon it) have today become an expensive and lasting frustration.

By the onset of World War II Alexandria's long and occasionally painful maritime history was already becoming a forgotten relic of the past. The Naval Torpedo Factory of the First World War was converted into an ordnance plant. The U.S. Navy took over the Alexandria plant of the Ford Motor Company which had been established on the site of the old Agnew Shipyard. On January 14, 1944, a 303-foot Coast Guard frigate of the destroyer escort type named Alexandria was launched, with the Mayor of Alexandria, the City Manager, and the Council in attendance. Unhappily, the launching was at the American Shipbuilding Yards in Cleveland, Ohio, and not in the once-important but now defunct yards of the vessel's namesake. Only after its first test run did the big ship visit Alexandria's harbor for its civic commissioning (Kabler 1949: 49).

Following the war maritime Alexandria was but a shadow of its former self. By 1949 the Robinson Terminal Warehouse Corporation, the largest user of the Port of Alexandria, could count only 30 ships calling at the company wharves each year, bringing as the only cargo

for storage newsprint paper rolls from Norway, Sweden, and Newfoundland, Canada. At the American Agricultural Chemical Company plant, an average of three to five ships would call bringing phosphate pebble stone from Florida and sulphur from Texas for the manufacture of fertilizer. Daily use of the Alexandria docks had finally come to an end with the passing of the Norfolk and Washington Steamboat Company in 1948. The last of the company's steamers, the District of Columbia, was severely damaged in a collision on October 31, 1948. She was ultimately to be taken to Baltimore, where she was left to sink ignominiously in Curtis Bay, her smokestack protruding above the water as a final reminder of her existence. Thus concluded the long and rich maritime history of the Port of Alexandria, Virginia.

Epilogue

On January 1, 1930, the City of Alexandria expanded its corporate limits to enlarge the city to an area of six square miles, boosting its population to 25,000. With the extension of the city's borders, Alexandria changed overnight from a compact unit with a central business area to a city with extensive suburbs of residential and agricultural property. With the annexation of the tiny communities that surrounded the city came numerous problems. These new and difficult problems were recognized by the City Council, and as a consequence the Alexandria Park and Planning Commission was appointed in early September 1930. The commission immediately proceeded to develop a comprehensive city plan including zoning ordinances. These ordinances were adopted on October 15, 1931, and provided for three residential zones, a commercial zone, and an industrial zone. The city government soon passed, on July 21, 1932, under a then-recently adopted home rule charter, a city planning ordinance to provide authority to prepare and adopt an official city plan. This plan gave the commission authority to control the subdivision of land, establish building lines and street grades, prevent the placing of buildings in the bed of mapped streets, and develop and maintain parks. On September 28, 1932, the Park and Planning Commission, by authority of the city planning ordinance, adopted the Alexandria City Plan, ironically on the bicentennial year of the birth of the city's most noted citizen, George Washington (Alexandria Gazette, 2 January 1933).

It was a beginning.

APPENDIX A

VESSELS ENTERED AT THE PORT OF ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA FROM MARCH 18, 1784
TO MARCH 3, 1785 AS REPORTED IN THE VIRGINIA JOURNAL AND ALEXANDRIA ADVERTISER

Vessel	Type	Master	Bound From	Week Entered
-	Ship	Atwood	Boston	3-18-84
Enterprize	Schooner	Henderson	Eastern Shore	3-25-84
Polly and Sally	Schooner	-	Eastern Shore	3-25-84
Ranger	Brig	Peabody	St. Martins	3-25-84
Polly	Sloop	Ingersol	Gloucester	3-25-84
Proteus	Ship	S. Hill	Boston	4-1-84
Joseph T. Davis	Brig	-	Boston	4-1-84
Dolphin	Brig	S. Babson	Gloucester	4-1-84
Fortitude	Brig	E. Gardner	Demarara	4-1-84
Hope	Schooner	G. Slacum	Philadelphia	4-1-84
Two Friends	Schooner	Whiting	Norfolk	4-1-84
Dolphin	Sloop	W. Wilson	Norfolk	4-1-84
Gustavus	Ship	J. Magee	New York	4-8-84
Jolly Tar	Schooner	J. Humphries	Baltimore	4-15-84
Rebecca	Sloop	S. Brown	Baltimore	4-15-84
Virginia	Schooner	O. Gold	Baltimore	4-15-84
Nostra S. Della	Polacre Ship	Merside	Boston	4-15-84
Paragon	Ship	H. Hughes	Philadelphia	4-15-84
Ostenryckes	Snow	G. Soctilies	Philadelphia	4-22-84
Experience	Sloop	J. Anderson	Eastern Shore	4-22-84

Vessel	Type	Master	Bound From	Week Entered
Molly	Sloop	J. Twerfard	Eastern Shore	4-22-84
Weasel	Schooner	J. Weatherly	Eastern Shore	4-22-84
Alexandria	Sloop	S. Smith	Eastern Shore	4-22-84
Somerset	Sloop	W. James	Eastern Shore	4-22-84
Elizabeth	Brig	J. Gibson	Antigua	4-22-84
Industry	Schooner	H. Moore	Eastern Shore	4-29-84
Forget-me-not	Ship	W.T. Potts	Baltimore	4-29-84
Virginia	Schooner	S. Davis	Philadelphia	4-29-84
Andrew	Ship	J. Robertson	Philadelphia	4-29-84
Warren	Ship	P. Sheldon	James River	4-29-84
Seaflower	Sloop	W. Smoot	Baltimore	4-29-84
Peggy	Ship	W. Nixon	Whitehaven & Norfolk	5/6/84
Antelope	Brig	J. Sterrett	Baltimore	5-6-84
Betsey	Brig	B. Bradhurst	New York	5-6-84
Liberty	Sloop	G. Godfrey	Bermuda	5-6-84
Anne Maria	Brig	J. Robertson	Charleston	5-13-84
Madame Mezane	Schooner	J. Sweet	Demarara	5-13-84
Patty	Schooner	S. Bunker	Baltimore	5-13-84
Eagle	Brig	W. Jones	Lisbon	5-13-84
Triton	Brig	J. Standford	Charleston	5-13-84
Tyger	Ship	G. Harrison	London	5-20-84
Jeany	Ship	W. M'Gill	Glasgow	5-20-84

Vessel	Type	Master	Bound From	Week Entered
Two Brothers	Brig	N. ElWell	Martinique	5-20-84
Concord	Brig	J. Easton	Liverpool	5-20-84
Ranger	Sloop	W. Galathean	Baltimore	5-20-84
Fortune	Ship	W. Hayden	Boston	5-27-84
Alexander	Sloop	J. Vail	Boston	5-27-84
Lark	Schooner	H. Hopkins	Oxford	5-27-84
Nancy	Sloop	J. Vennemon	Back Creek	5-27-84
Fanny	Sloop	H. Brown	Georgetown	5-27-84
Royal-Oak	Brig	-	Antigua	6-3-84
Rachel	Sloop	C. Cranston	Maryland	6-10-84
Virginia	Schooner	S. Davis	Philadelphia	6-10-84
Brave Surprize	Schooner	E. Mears	Philadelphia	6-10-84
Amelia	Schooner	T. Grayson	Oxford	6-10-84
Success	Schooner	W. Wade	Barbadoes	6-10-84
Rebecca	Sloop	S. Brown	Boston	6-10-84
Fancy	Brig	J. Hacket	Grenada	6-17-84
Harmony	Ship	H. Lyle	Baltimore	7-1-84
Jolly Tar	Schooner	J. Humphries	Baltimore	7-1-84
St. Rosa	Ship	J. Perez	Cadiz	7-8-84
Vrow Maria	Ship	C. Gerrets	New York	7-8-84
Camperwall	Ship	J. Hogg	New York	7-8-84
Flying Fish	Schooner	J. Satchel	Eastern Shore	7-8-84

Vessel	Type	Master	Bound From	Date Entered
Prince William Henry	Ship	S. Saunders	Philadelphia	7-15-84
Dispatch	Sloop	J. Smith	Philadelphia	7-15-84
Peggy	Schooner	B. Runk	Antigua	7-15-84
Friendship	Schooner	H. Stoops	Georgetown	7-15-84
George	Sloop	G. Slacom	Maryland	7-22-84
Experience	Schooner	J. Anderson	Maryland	7-22-84
Delight	Sloop	H. Rumbly	Maryland	7-22-84
Polly	Sloop	J. Johnston	Maryland	7-22-84
Virginia	Schooner	S. Davis	Philadelphia	7-22-84
Christiana	Brig	S. Jones	Boston	7-29-84
Fire-Brand	Ship	G. Raymond	New York	7-29-84
Angelica	Ship	Timothy Parker	Cork	8-5-84
Washington	Ship	Enoch Stickney	Cork	8-5-84
Jolly Tar	Schooner	J. Humphries	Baltimore	8-5-84
Nancy	Sloop	J. Vennemom	Maryland	8-5-84
Maria	Brig	J. Robertson	Martinique	8-5-84
Mary	Sloop	J. Tolman	Philadelphia	8-5-84
Washington,	Schooner	J. Todd	Maryland	8-12-84
Speedwell	Sloop	R. Hecoitt	Philadelphia	8-12-84
Prosperity	Brig	J. M'Kibbins	New York	8-12-84
Industry	Schooner	H. Moore	Maryland	8-19-84

Vessel	Type	Master	Bound From	Week Entered
Sally	Sloop	J.S. Ingersott	Gloucester	8-19-84
Hope	Schooner	J. Christie	Martinique	8-19-84
Stanley	Ship	Wood	Liverpool	9-2-84
Friendship	Brig	J. Freeman	New York	9-2-84
Nancy	Sloop	D. Wheler	New Providence	9-2-84
Willing Maid	Schooner	T. Dixon	Maryland	9-2-84
Betsey	Brig	J. Barr	Salem	9-16-84
Commerce	Sloop	S. Packard	Providence	9-16-84
Jolly Tar	Schooner	J. Humphries	Baltimore	9-16-84
Harrington	Schooner	H. Williams	Philadelphia	9-23-84
Polly	Sloop	M. Hart	New Haven	9-23-84
Speedwell	Sloop	R. Hewitt	Philadelphia	9-23-84
Amelia	Snow	J. Throgmorton	Halifax	9-30-84
Ann	Snow	Joseph Rudd	Whitehaven	9-30-84
Dolphin	Schooner	R. Blunt	Annapolis	10-7-84
Nancy	Schooner	A. Bannin	Annapolis	10-7-84
Friends	Ship	J. Muir	London	10-14-84
Janet	-	Chilsholm	Glasgow	10-14-84
Polly	Sloop	D. Peoples	Philadelphia	10-14-84
Jenny	Schooner	O. White	Baltimore	10-14-84
Polly	Sloop	M. Clark	Boston	10-14-84
Henry	Ship	J. Dennison	London	10-21-84

Vessel	Type	Master	Bound From	Week Entered
Despatch	Sloop	J. Smith	Philadelphia	10-21-84
Washington	Sloop	J. Redpath	New York	10-21-84
Venus	Brig	H. Kleepper	Baltimore	11-4-84
Jolly Tar	Schooner	J. Humphries	Baltimore	11-4-84
Hope	Schooner	J. Read	Philadelphia	11-4-84
Dolphin	Schooner	N. Bennet	Gloucester	11-4-84
Hannah	Schooner	R. Halines	Boston	11-11-84
Peggy	Schooner	R. Quirk	Tobago	11-11-84
Harrington	Schooner	H. Williams	Philadelphia	11-11-84
Speedwell	Sloop	T. Carnes	Philadelphia	11-11-84
Polly	Sloop	D. Peoples	Philadelphia	11-25-84
Betsey	Sloop	P. Duncan	Baltimore	11-25-84
Fanny	Brig	W.B. Smith	Baltimore	11-25-84
Relief	Schooner	M. Slight	Providence	11-25-84
Polly	Brig	G. Bailey	Providence	11-25-84
Charlotte	Brig	A. Irvine	New York	11-25-84
Charlotte	Brig	T. Cumings	Grenada	12-9-84
Maria	Brig	J. Robertson	Barbadoes	12-9-84
Phebe	Sloop	J. Cartwright	Boston	12-9-84
Dove	Schooner	H. Shelton	Philadelphia	12-9-84
Heer Adams	Ship	Adams (?)	L'Orient	12-9-84

Vessel	Type	Master	Bound From	Week Entered
Hannah	Schooner	H. Hopkins	Maryland	12-23-84
Friendship	Schooner	W. Brown	Maryland	12-23-84
Two Brothers	Brig	J. Ellwell	St. Vincents	12-23-84
Lark	Sloop	S. Brown	Martinique	12-23-84
Hope	Brig	T. Cragg	Whitehaven	12-23-84
Industry	Schooner	S. Foster	Salem	12-23-84
Jolly Tar	Schooner	J. Humphries	Baltimore	12-24-84
Fairfax	Schooner	T. Palmer	Maryland	12-30-84
Richmond	Brig	J. Green	Newport	12-30-84
Eagle	Ship	A. Halltt	Boston	12-30-84
Liberty	Ship	W. Outram	Patuxent	12-30-84
Charming Polly	Ship	G. Latham	New York	12-30-84
London Packet	Brig	C.H. Ruther	London	1-6-85
Commerce	Brig	J. Hill	Baltimore	1-6-85
Iris	Ship	T. Cole	Baltimore	1-6-85
Speedwell	Sloop	W. Scott	Philadelphia	1-6-85
Polly	Sloop	D. Peoples	Philadelphia	1-6-85
Greenwich	Brig	C. Collins	Philadelphia	1-6-85
Union	Brig	S. Gardner	Boston	1-6-85
Success	Schooner	S. Parker	Nova Scotia	1-6-85
Jenny	Schooner	J. Vinnerman	Baltimore	1-20-85
Hope	Schooner	J. Butler	Boston	1-20-85

Vessel	Type	Master	Bound From	Week Entered
Paragon	Ship	H. Hughes	Baltimore	1-20-85
Commerce	Sloop	S. Packard	Surinam	1-20-85
Fortune	Ship	W. Hayden	Boston	1-20-85
Jenny	Ship	D. Deshon	New London	1-20-85
Lion	Ship	J. Chase	Boston	1-27-85
Nancy	Schooner	G. Cox	Annapolis	1-27-85
Harrington	Schooner	H. Williams	Philadelphia	1-27-85
Betsy	Sloop	J. Ingraham	Boston	2-3-85
Zephyr	Brig	B. Lee	Boston	2-3-85
May	Brig	W. Haskell	London	2-3-85
Industry	Schooner	S. Davis	Hispaniola	2-17-85
Virginia	Schooner	S. Davis	Hispaniola	2-17-85
William and Henry	Brig	T. Simmons	Salem	2-24-85
Adams	Schooner	A. Row	Gloucester	2-24-85
Leda	Ship	S. Dunn	Hispaniola	2-24-85

APPENDIX B

VESSELS CLEARED FROM THE PORT OF ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA FROM MARCH 18, 1784
TO MARCH 3, 1785 AS REPORTED IN THE VIRGINIA JOURNAL AND ALEXANDRIA ADVERTISER

Vessel	Type	Master	Bound To	Week Cleared
Ann	Brig	Jackson	London	3-25-84
Maria Juliana	Brig	Knape	Leghorn	3-25-84
Diligence	Sloop	Miller	Leghorn	3-25-84
Polly and Sally	Schooner	-	Maryland	3-25-84
Peggy	Schooner	R. Quirk	Maryland	4-1-84
Two Friends	Ship	J. Street	London	4-1-84
Rebecca	Sloop	S. Brown	Baltimore	4-1-84
Virginia	Schooner	S. Davis	Philadelphia	4-1-84
Hellen	Ship	Allcorn	London	4-8-84
Ranger	Brig	H. White	Salem	4-8-84
Antelope	Schooner	W. Mussild	Norfolk	4-8-84
Betsey	Brig	B. Bradhurst	New York	4-8-84
Virginia	Schooner	O. Gold	Baltimore	4-15-84
Dolphin	Brig	S. Babson	Boston	4-22-84
Rebecca	Sloop	S. Brown	Boston	4-22-84
Jolly Tar	Schooner	J. Humphries	Annapolis	4-22-84
Ann	Snow	Rudd	London	4-29-84
Baltimore	Brig	G. Dunham	Cadiz	4-29-84
Hope	Schooner	J. Christie	Martinique	5-6-84
Joseph	Brig	T. Davis	Lisbon	5-6-84

Vessel	Type	Master	Bound To	Week Cleared
Elizabeth	Ship	E. Atwood	Amsterdam	5-6-84
Commerce	Brig	J. Hill	London	5-6-84
Polly	Schooner	W. Marbury	Martinique	5-13-84
Anetlope	Brig	J. Ellicott	Lisbon	5-13-84
Virginia	Schooner	S. Davis	Philadelphia	5-13-84
Patty	Schooner	S. Bunker	Georgetown	5-13-84
Forget Me Not	Ship	W.T. Potts	Hamburgh	5-13-84
Proteus	Ship	S. Hill	Amsterdam	5-13-84
Andrew	Ship	S. Robertson	L'Orient	5-20-84
Betsey	Brig	B. Bradhurst	Philadelphia	5-20-84
Alexander	Sloop	J. Vail	Newbury	5-27-84
Fortitude	Sloop	N.E. Gardiner	Barbadoes	5-27-84
Liberty	Sloop	G. Godfry	Bermuda	6-3-84
Triton	Brig	J. Sanford	Guadaloupe	6-3-84
Two Brothers	Brig	J. Elwell	Boston	6-3-84
Bremer Brothers	Brig	-	Charleston	6-3-84
Ostenryckes	Snow	G. Soctilies	Belfast	6-3-84
Ranger	Sloop	C. Ross	Philadelphia	6-10-84
Gustavus	Ship	J. Magee	Gottenburg	6-10-84
Amelia	Schooner	T. Grayson	Maryland	6-10-84
Brave Surprize	Schooner	E. Mears	Accomac	6-10-84

Vessel	Type	Master	Bound To	Week Cleared
Nostra S. Della	Ship	Morside	Genoa	6-10-84
Eagle	Brig	W. Jones	L'Orient	6-17-84
Rachel	Sloop	E. Cranston	Rhode Island	6-17-84
Virginia	Schooner	S. Davis	Philadelphia	6-17-84
Rebecca	Sloop	S. Brown	Barbadoes	6-24-84
Concord	Brig	John Easton	Liverpool	6-24-84
Jolly Tar	Schooner	J. Humphries	Baltimore	7-1-84
Fancy	Brig	J. Hacket	Barbadoes	7-8-84
Flora	Schooner	J. Cheyn	Barbadoes	7-8-84
Paragon	Ship	H. Hughes	Amsterdam	7-8-84
Betsey	Brig	J. Ervam	Cadiz	7-8-84
Royal Oak	Brig	W. M'Donald	Ireland	7-22-84
Dispatch	Sloop	J. Smith	Philadelphia	7-22-84
George	Sloop	G. Slacom	Maryland	7-22-84
Jeany	Ship	W. Magill	Glasgow	7-29-84
Jolly Tar	Sloop	J. Humphries	Annapolis	8-5-84
Prince William Henry	Ship	J. Saunders	Cowes	8-5-84
Mary	Sloop	J. Tolman	Maryland	8-5-84
Peggy	Schooner	R. Quirk	Barbadoes	8-12-84
Rachel	Sloop	E. Cranston	Rhode Island	8-12-84
Vrouw Maria	Brig	C. Gerrets	Amsterdam	8-12-84

Vessel	Type	Master	Bound To	Week Cleared
Christiana	Brig	J. Jones	Amsterdam	8-12-84
Fairfax	Schooner	J. Stewart	Maryland	8-19-84
Firebrand	Ship	G. Raymond	Amsterdam	8-19-84
Virginia	Schooner	S. Davis	Philadelphia	9-2-84
Marquis de Lafayette	Brig	-	Martinique	9-2-84
Sally	Sloop	J. Ingersot	Gloucester	9-2-84
Hope	Schooner	John Christie	Martinique	9-2-84
Prosperity	Brig	J. M'Kibbins	Ireland	9-16-84
Friendship	Brig	T. Richey	Holland	9-16-84
Ann	Ship	A. Huie	London	9-23-84
Polly	Sloop	-	New York	9-30-84
Phoebe	Sloop	J. Cartright	Boston	10-7-84
Harrington	Schooner	H. Williams	Philadelphia	10-7-84
Commerce	Sloop	S. Packard	Surinam	10-7-84
Lion	Ship	J. Donaldson	Glasgow	10-7-84
Pilgrim	Sloop	J. Vail	New York	10-7-84
Camberwell	Ship	J. Hogg	London	10-14-84
Sally Moore	Sloop	T. Thashly	Baltimore	10-14-84
Triton	Brig	J. Young	Liverpool	10-21-84
Friendship	Brig	J. Freeman	Havre de Grace	10-21-84
Washington	Sloop	J. Redpath	New York	11-4-84

Vessel	Type	Master	Bound To	Week Cleared
Charlotte	Brig	A. Ervine	New York	12-23-84
Peggy	Schooner	R. Quirk	Port au Prince	12-24-84
Nancy	Schooner	D. Wheeler	Maryland	12-24-84
Charlotte	Brig	T. Cummines	Grenada	12-24-84
Ann	Ship	B. Crawford	Amsterdam	12-24-84
Phebe	Sloop	J. Cartwright	Surinam	12-30-84
Ann-Maria	Brig	J. Robertson	Barbadoes	12-30-84
Jannet	Brig	W. Chisholm	Glasgow	12-30-84
Fanny	Brig	W.B. Smith	Bourdeaux	12-30-84
Charming Polly	Ship	G. Latham	Lisbon	1-27-85
Commerce	Sloop	S. Packard	Rhode Island	1-27-85
Commerce	Brig	J. Hill	Lisbon	2-3-85
Polly	Sloop	D. Peoples	Philadelphia	2-10-85
Industry	Schooner	J. Forster	Beverly	2-10-85
Lark	Sloop	S. Brown	Boston	2-10-85
Greenwich	Brig	C. Collins	Lisbon	2-10-85
Harrington	Schooner	H. Williams	New York or Philadelphia	2-17-85
Success	Schooner	S. Parker	Nova Scotia	2-24-85
Ann	Brig	G. Fanshaw	Liverpool	2-24-85
May	Brig	W. Haskell	Patuxent	2-24-85
Richmond	Brig	J. Green	Rhode Island	3-3-85

Vessel	Type	Master	Bound To	Week Cleared
Despatch	Sloop	J. Smith	Philadelphia	11-4-84
Patuxent	Ship	D. Caucart	London	11-11-84
Polly	Sloop	M. Clarke	Boston	11-11-84
Sally	Sloop	G. Jackson	New York	11-11-84
Venus	Brig	H. Kleeper	Madera	11-11-84
Dolphin	Schooner	N. Bennet	Gloucester	11-11-84
Hope	Schooner	J. Read	Philadelphia	11-18-84
Harrington	Schooner	H. Williams	Philadelphia	11-18-84
Hope	Brig	G. Cooper	Amsterdam	11-18-84
Amelia	Snow	J. Throckmorton	London	11-18-84
Hannah	Schooner	R. Holmes	Plymouth	11-18-84
Relief	Schooner	M. Slight	New Brunswick	11-25-84
Martha	Brig	G. Slacum	Lisbon	11-25-84
Peggy	Brig	C. M'Donald	Barbadoes	11-25-84
Speedwell	Sloop	W. Scott	Philadelphia	11-25-84
Friends	Sloop	J. Muir	Rappahannock	11-25-84
Polly	Sloop	D. Peoples	Philadelphia	12-2-84
Hope	Brig	J. Barr	Salem	12-2-84
Ann	Snow	J. Rudd	Whitehaven	12-9-84
Washington	Ship	E. Stickne	Baltimore	12-9-84
Henry	Ship	J. Dennison	Cadiz	12-23-84
St. Roza	Snow	T. V. Perez	Cadiz	12-23-84

Vessel	Type	Master	Bound To	Week Cleared
Adams	Schooner	A. Row	Cape Ann	3-8-85
Hope	Schooner	J. Butler	Boston	3-8-85
Anchorsmith	Sloop	G. Dunham	Philadelphia	3-8-85
Iris	Ship	T. Cole	Lisbon	3-8-85
Polly	Schooner	J. Humphries	Baltimore	3-8-85

APPENDIX C

COMMODITIES OFFERED FOR SALE BY ALEXANDRIA MERCHANTS IN THE VIRGINIA JOURNAL
AND ALEXANDRIA GAZETTE BETWEEN MARCH 18, 1784 AND MARCH 3, 1785

The following listing is comprised of all merchandise advertised for sale by the merchants of Alexandria, Virginia in the pages of the Virginia Journal and Alexandria Gazette between March 18, 1784 and March 3, 1785. In many instances the item classification has been subdivided by type, color, quantity, packaging mode, or other descriptive terms. Occasionally, trade names or product names have been used to describe items. Book titles and author's collections have also been designated. Points of origins for imports were occasionally advertised and have been designated by the following key:

A - Amsterdam	Ls - Lisbon	W - Whitehaven
B - Bermuda	Lp - Liverpool	X - Designated as imported but no point of origin given
C - Cadiz	Ld - London	Y - No designation given as being an import or domestic product
G - Glasgow	LO - L'Orient	
H - Holland	M - Manchester	

Adzes - Y carpenter's - Y cooper's - Y	Augers - Ld, Y
Alum - Ld	Awls - W, Y broad - W narrow - W
Anchors - Y of different sizes - Y	Axes - M, Y broad - Y carpenter's - Y cooper's - Y narrow - Y
Andirons (wrought) - Y	Backgammon boxes - Y
Anvils (smith's) - Y	Barometers - Ld
Aprons - Ld, Y fiston - Y fousler & other gauzes - Ld knitting - Ld needleworked - Ld, Y plain - Ld, Y sousalea - Ld spotted lawn - Ld, Y tamboured - Y	Baskets - Y
	Basons (pewter) - Ld
	Bed bunts - Ld

- Bedcords - Y
 Bed tickings - Ld
 in patterns - Ld
 Bed ticks (Russia) - Ld
 Beer - LO, Lp, Y
 bottled by cask - Lp
 bottled by tierce - Lp
 bottled English - LO, Y
 Bellows (chamber) - Y
 Bibles - Ld
 Bindings - Ld, W, Y
 book - Y
 quality - Y
 shore - Y
 waisted - Ld
 Birdeye - Y
 Bitters (Slaughters) - Y
 Blacking - Y
 blackball - Y
 liquid - Y
 other - Y
 Blacksmith's tools - Y
 Blankets - Ld, W, Y
 all kinds - Ld
 duffle - W
 rose - W
 Bobbins - Ld, Y
 Bolts (bright, for doas) - Y
 Bombazeens - Ld
 Bonnets - Ld, Y
 balloon - Y
 black - Y
 pink - Y
 white - Y
 full trimmed - Ld
 Books - Ld, Y
 blank - Y
 children's - Y
 counting house - Y
 of different sizes - Ld
 pocket - Ld
 prayer - Ld, Y
 psalm - Ld
 school - Ld
 Latin - Ld
 spelling - Ld, Y
 Books by author - Ld, Y
 Addison (with copper plate cuts) - Y
 Aesop - Y
 Butler (with copper plate cuts) - Y
 Congreve (with copper plate cuts) - Y
 Cowley (with copper plate cuts) - Y
 Dryden (with copper plate cuts) - Y
 Gay (with copper plate cuts) - Y
 Hume - Ld
 Milton (with copper plate cuts) - Y
 Parnell (with copper plate cuts) - Y
 Pope - Ld
 Prior (with copper plate cuts) - Y
 Robertson - Ld
 Russell - Ld
 Smith - Ld
 Spencer (with copper plate cuts) - Y
 Swift (with copper plate cuts) - Y
 Thompson (with copper plate cuts) - Y
 Books by title - Ld, Y
 Aesop's Fables - Y
 Duches Spelling - Y
 Hume's History of England - Ld
 Plays and Farces - Y
 Plutarch's Lives - Y
 Polite Instructor - Y
 Robertson's History of Charles V - Ld
 Robertson's History of Scotland - Ld
 Russell's Sermons - Y
 Scarronides, or Virgil Travestre - Y
 Sir Charles Grandison and Clarissa Harlow
 in Miniature - Y
 Smith's Poems - Y
 The History of Pamela - Y
 The New Letter Writer - Y
 Thompson's Sermons - Y

Boots - Ld, Lp
 men's - Ld

Bottles (stone for 1 to 4 gallons)- Y

Bowls - Y
 china - Y
 delf - Y

Boxes - Lp, Y
 cart - Lp, Y
 japann'd sugar - Lp
 tobacco - Y
 wagon - Lp

Brandy - C, Ld, LO, Y
 Cognac - LO
 French - C, Y
 in barrels - C
 in small casks - Y

Brass tender - Y

Bread - Y
 fine in kegs - Y
 ship's - Y
 coarse - Y
 fine - Y

Breeches - Y
 leather - Y

Bridle bits - Y

Bridles - Lp, Y
 men's - Lp
 women's - Lp

Brimstone - Ld
 roll - Ld

Broadcloths - A, H, Ld, M, Y
 Colchester baize - Y
 Colchester coarse (of all colors) - Ld, Y
 Colchester fine - Y
 Colchester second (of all colors) - Ld
 Colchester shag - Y
 English superfine - Ld

Broom heads (hair) - X

Brooms - Ld

Brushes - A, Ld, X, Y
 black ball - Ld
 scrubbing - Y
 shoe - Ld
 variety - A
 other - Y

Brown rolls - Y

Buckles - Ld, Y
 breast (gold) - Y
 knee - Y
 men's (white) - Ld
 shirt - Y
 shoe - Ld, Y
 Bath - Ld
 variety (gilt, plated, & common shoe
 and knee) - Y

Buckram - Ld, Y
 black - Y
 brown - Y
 white - Y

Butter (Irish rose) - Y

Butter pots - Y

Buttons - Ld, W, Y
 bag - Y
 coat - Y
 death head - Ld
 metal - Ld
 black - Ld
 moulded - Ld
 shirt - Ld, Y
 fine - Y
 coarse - Y
 sleeve - Y
 brass - Y
 Gilt Bristol pebble - Y
 silver - Y
 stone - Y
 vest - Y
 wire - Ld

Button moulds - W
 Cables - Y
 Calamancoes - Ld
 Calicoes - Ld
 elegant pattered - Ld
 Cambricks - Ld
 Camlets - Ld
 silk - Ld
 superfine - Ld
 Candle soap - W
 Candle snuffers (steel spring) - Y
 Candles - Lp, Y
 in boxes - Lp
 in crates - Lp
 in pipes - Lp
 moulded by box - Y
 Candlesticks (polished iron) - Y
 Canisters (tea) - Lp
 Canvas - Lp, W, Y
 by bolt - Lp
 for marking - Y
 No. 1 to 8 - Lp, W
 Caps (Kilmarnock) - Y
 Cardinals (scarlet surried) - Y
 Cards - A, Ld, W, Y
 cotton - A, Y
 playing - Ld
 wool - W, Y
 Carpenter's tools - A, Y
 Carpeting - Lp
 Carpets - Y
 common - Y
 Welton's - Y
 Cassals (spring'd) - Y
 Cassimir (Cashmere) - Ld, Y
 buff and white - Y
 white - Y
 Castings (all kinds) - W
 Catheters - Y
 female - Y
 male - Y
 Catgut - Ld
 Caulking irons - Y
 Chair hammers - Y
 Chairs - Ld, Lp, Y
 fancy - Lp, Y
 mahogany - Ld, Lp, Y
 Chalk - Y
 Chamoise (spotted) - A, H
 Chapes - Y
 Chases (full back) - Y
 Checks - A, H, Ld
 apron wide - Ld
 cotton (of all widths and qualities) - Ld
 furniture - Ld
 blue - Ld
 green - Ld
 red - Ld
 Hearlem - Ld
 linen (of all widths and qualities) - Ld
 Cheese - Lp, M, W, Y
 Cheshire - Lp
 Gloucester - Lp, Y
 double - Y
 single - Y
 Rhode Island - Y
 Chimney pieces (highly polished marble) - Y

China ware - Ld, Lp, M, Y
 cups and saucers - Ld
 English - Y
 in crates - M
 India - Y
 Liverpool - Lp, Y
 blue - Y
 enameled - Y
 in casks - Lp
 white - Y

Chintzes - Ld
 cotton - Ld
 glazed - Ld
 pettermed - Ld

Chisels - Y

Chocolate - Y

Cinnemon - Ld

Citron (in boxes) - Y

Claret (bottled) - X, Y

Cloths - Ld, Y
 bolting - Y
 English sail - Y
 second and common 7 - 4 - Y
 superfine - Ld, Y
 black - Y
 blue - Y
 claret - Y
 corbeau - Y
 drab - Y
 green - Y
 laprine - Y
 mixture - Y
 purple - Y
 scarlet - Y

Cloaks - Ld, W
 black - Ld
 scarlet (women's) - W
 white satin - Ld

Cloves - Ld, Y

Coatings - Ld, W

Coats - Lp, Y
 blue - Y
 drab colored - Y
 great - Y
 ladies Persian - Y
 scarlet - Y
 smith's - Lp

Cocks (brass with key) - Y

Coffee - B

Coffee mills - A

Coffee pots (copper) - Lp, Y

Colors (for paints) - Lp

Combs - Ld, Y
 curry - Ld
 horn - Ld, Y
 ivory - Ld, Y

Compasses - Y
 hanging - Y
 seamen's - Y

Copper (sheet) - Y

Copperas - Ld, Y

Cooper's tools - Y

Copper ware - Y

Cord - Ld, Y
 birdseye - Ld
 Dutch - Ld
 Eleot's Royal - Y
 Haarlem - Ld
 Kings and Queens - Ld.
 Prussian - Y

Cordage - M, Y
 British - Y
 country - Y
 Dutch - Y

Cordage (continued)

English - M, Y
imported - Y

Cordials (French, in boxes of 25,
50, & 100 bottles @ 10d per bottle)
- Y

Corduroys - H, Ld, Y
coarse - Ld
fine - Ld
small - Y

Corks - Y

Corkscrews - Y

Corn fans (Dutch) - Y

Cottons - L, W, Y
Kendal (nap'd) - W
Kendal (plain) - W
negro- Y
printed - Ld
Welsh (nap'd) - W
Welsh (plain) - W

Cow knots - Y

Crape - Ld
black - Ld
black and white Italian - Ld
cyprus striped - Ld
hat band - Ld
mourning - Ld

Crewels - Ld, Y
assorted - Ld
for marking - Y

Crockery ware - Lp, Y
common (in crates) - Lp
general assorted - Y

Cups and saucers - Y
coffee - Y
China - Y
tea - Y
China - Y
white and blue China - Y

Currants - Y

Damask - A, H

Delf ware - Y

Denims (cotton) - Ld

Desks - Y
common - Y
mahogany - Y

Diapers - A, Ld
clouting - Ld

Dimities - Ld
corded - Ld
India - Ld
plain - Ld

Dishes - Ld, Y
pewter - Ld

Dowlass - Ld, Y
German - Y

Drabs (Russia) - Ld

Drawboys - Ld, Y

Drillings - Ld, H
Russia - Ld, H

Drugs (all sorts) - Ld

Dry goods - Y

Duck - Y
English - Y
Hollands - Y
Ravens - Y
sail - Y

Durants - Ld

Duroys - Ld

Dussels - W, Y

Ear rings (paste) - Y

- Earthen ware - Ld
 brown - Y
 in crates - Y
 Elixir (in small casks) - Y
 Everlastings - A
 Edgings - Y
 black and white silk - Y
 thread - Y
 Fadrons - Ld, Lp
 Fans - Ld, Y
 ladies - Y
 Fausnet - A, Ld
 Favours (fancy) - Y
 Ferrets - Ld
 Fig blue - Ld
 Figs in barrels - Y
 Files - Ld, Y
 crosscut - Y
 flat - A, H
 for fencing - Y
 half round - A, H
 handsaw - Y
 [fire] dogs (elegant metal with
 stand and tongs) - Y
 [fire] shovel - Y
 [fire] tongs - Y
 fish hooks - Y
 for pond fishing - Y
 fish kettles (tin) - Y
 flannels - W
 common - W
 milled - W
 Flour - Y
 Flowers - H, Y
 artificial - Y
 Italian - H
 Flutes - Y
 German - Y
 Forks - A, Ld, Y
 desert - Ld
 eating - A, Ld, Y
 table - Ld
 Fowling pieces - Ld, Y
 French rash - A
 Funnels - Y
 glass - Y
 pewter - Y
 tin - Y
 Fustians - Ld
 Galley pots (all kinds) - Ld, Y
 Gartering - Y
 Garters - X
 knee - X
 other kinds - X
 Gauzes - A, H, Ld, Y
 black chair - Y
 black bonnet - Ld
 block - Ld
 cyprus - Ld
 figured - Ld
 plain - Ld, Y
 sousler - Ld
 spotted - Y
 thread - Ld
 white - Ld
 white chair - Y
 Geneva (in cases) - Y
 Gensing root - Y

Gimlets and counter beams - Ld, Y
 Gin - Ld
 in cases at 28s - Ld, Y
 in jugs at 3s - Y
 Ginger - Y
 Glass - A, H, M, W, Y
 window - A, H, W
 7 X 9 - Y
 8 X 10 - A, H, Y
 11 X 19 - Y
 12 X 10 - Y
 Crown (various sizes) - M
 8 X 10 - M
 London Crown - Ld
 8 X 10 - Ld
 Glasses (perspective) - Ld
 Glass ware - A, H, Ld, Lp, M
 assorted - Lp
 boxes - Lp
 crates - Lp
 pipes - Lp
 Gloves - Ld, Y
 coarse yarn - Y
 men's - L, Y
 beaver - Ld
 lambskin - Y
 leather - Ld
 silk - Ld
 women's - Ld, Y
 kid - Ld
 lambskin - Ld, Y
 leather - Ld
 silk - Ld
 worsted - Ld
 Glue - Y
 Gouges - Ld
 Griddles - Y
 Grindstones - X, Y
 Guitars (German) - Y
 Gunpowder (F & FF) - Ld
 Gun flints - Ld
 oil - Ld
 Habedashery (all kinds) - Ld
 Hair sisters (or sifters?) - Ld, W
 Hairbines - Ld
 Hairsieves - Y
 Hammers - A, H, Ld, Y
 carpenter's - Y
 claw - Ld
 cooper's - Y
 lathing - Ld
 shoemaker's - Y
 with handles - H
 Handkerchiefs - A, Ld
 bandana - Ld
 cambrick - Ld
 checked - Ld
 colored - A
 cotton - Ld
 gauze - Ld
 lawn - Ld
 linen - Ld
 Red and blue fancy painted - Ld
 pollicat - Ld
 printed - Ld
 red normal - Ld
 remal - Ld
 silk - A, Ld
 Barcelona - Ld
 flowered and striped - Ld
 white - A
 sousslee (or sousler?) - Ld
 sprigged - Ld
 Handsaws - A, H, Y
 steel plate - Y
 Hardware - M, W

- Hardware (continued)
 pipes by box - Lp
- Harnesses - Lp
 sulkey and chair - Lp
- Hatbands (elastic) - Y
- Hatchets - H, Y
- Hats - Ld, Lp, W, Y
 balloon - Ld
 black - Y
 pink - Y
 white - Y
 boy's - Ld
 beaver - Y
 breeches - Y
 brown - Y
 castor - Ld
 boy's - Lp, W
 children's (with gold and silver
 bands) - Y
 Dutch - Ld
 men's - Lp, W
 chip - Ld
 black and white - Y
 London-made fine - Y
 men's - Ld
- Hawsers - Y
- Head dresses (ladies) - Y
- Hempen rolls - Y
- Herrings (red) - Y
- Hinges - Ld, Y
 chest - Y
 cupboard - Y
 H & HL - Ld, Y
 mortis - Y
 other - Y
- Hock (in bottles) - Y
- Hoes - M, W, Y
- Hoes (continued)
 broad - W, Y
 hilling - Y
 narrow - W, Y
 weed - Y
- Holland - L, Y
 brown - Y
 striped - Ld.
 white - Y
- Hoops - Ld
 ladies bell - Ld
 pads - Ld
- Horses - Y
- Horsewhips - Ld
- Hose - Ld, W, Y
 cotton - Ld, Y
 men's white ribbed - Ld
 women's - Ld
 silk - Ld
 men's - Ld
 women's - Ld
 thread - Ld, Y
 boy's white - Ld
 men's brown and white - Ld
 women's - Ld
 worsted - W, Y
- Humhums - Ld
- Indigo - Y
- Inferials - Ld
- Ink pots - Y
 brass and paper - Y
- Ink powder (British) - Ld
- Ink stands - Y
- Iron (bar) - Ld
- Ironmongery - Ld, Y
 all sorts - Ld
 saddlers - Y

- Irons (smoothing) - Ld.
 Ironware - Y
 Jackets (great) - Y
 Jambs (highly polished marble) - Y
 Jannets - Y
 Japan'd ware - Y
 Jeanets - Ld
 Jeans - Ld, Y
 colored - Ld
 plain - Ld
 spotted - Ld
 white - Y
 Jewels (mother of pearl) - X
 Joiner's tools - Y
 Key rings (steel cut) - Y
 Kettles - Ld, Lp, M, Y
 bell metal - Ld
 brass - Y
 tea - Ld, Lp, M, Y
 cast iron - M
 copper - Ld, Lp
 iron - Lp
 Dutch - Y
 Knives - A, Ld, X, Y
 butcher's - Y
 clasp - X
 cutteau - Ld
 desert - Ld
 draw - Ld
 eating - Ld
 in cases with forks - Y
 jack - A
 pen - Ld
 primary - Ld
 table - Ld
 Laces - Ld
 Laces (continued)
 black - Ld
 blond - Ld
 cotton - Ld
 silk - Ld
 thread - Ld
 white - Ld
 Lacings - Y
 black and white silk - Y
 thread - Y
 Lamps - Y
 Lampblack - Y
 Lancets - Y
 Lanterns - Y
 horn - Y
 tin - Y
 Lastings - Ld
 Lawns - Ld
 long - Ld
 huckabuck - Ld
 Lead - Ld, W, Y
 bar - Ld, W
 dry (in paper) - Y
 shot - Ld
 white - Ld, Y
 ground in oil - Y
 Lemons (by box) - C, Ls
 Linen - A, H, Y
 black glazed - Y
 coarse - Lp, Y
 fine - Y
 French - Ld
 German - Ld
 Irish - Ld, G
 brown - Ld
 laval - Y
 printed - Ld
 Scotch - G
 Silesia - Ld

Line - Lp, Y
 deep sea - Y
 double hambier - Y
 fishing - Lp, Y
 house - Y
 hand - Y
 leading - Y
 log - Lp, Y
 marline - Y
 traces - Y

 Linseys - Y

 Liverpool ware - M

 Locks - Ld, Y
 chest - Y
 closet - Y
 gun - Ld
 house - Y
 of all sizes - Y
 pad - Ld, Y
 rim - Ld
 stock - Ld

 Looking glasses - Ld, W, Y
 command - W
 common (small) - Y
 elegant - W
 framed mahogany (different sizes)
 - Y
 mahogany (large) - Y
 mahogany (small) - Y
 pocket - Ld
 small object - Y

 Lute strings - A, Ld
 William's blue white and pink
 colored - Y

 Mace - Ld, Y

 Mammodies (sprig'd) - Y

 Mantles (highly polished marble) - Y

 Mason's tools - Y

 Mauls - Y

 Medicines (cask of well assorted) - Y

 Messinets - X

 Microscopes - Ld

 Millstones (2 par of bar) - Y

 Minionets - Ld

 Mits - Ld, Y
 women's - Ld, Y
 lamb - Ld
 kid - Ld
 worsted - Y

 Mode - Ld, Y
 all sorts - Ld
 black - Ld, Y
 for bonnets - Ld

 Molasses (by hogshead) - Y

 Moreens - Ld

 Mortar & Pestle - Ld, Y
 glass (different sizes) - Y
 marble (different sizes) - Y

 Mortars (spice) - Y

 Moulds - Ld
 horn - Ld
 shirt - Ld

 waistcoat - Ld

 Muskets - Y

 Muslins - Ld
 book - Ld
 corded - Ld
 jaconet - Ld

 Mustard (Durham's, in bottles) - Lp, Y

 Nails - Ld, Y
 assorted - Y
 ship's carpenter's - Y

Nails (continued)

4 penny by cask - Y
 6 penny by cask - Y
 8 penny by cask - Y
 10 penny by cask - Y
 12 penny - Y
 20 penny by cask - Y
 24 penny - Y
 30 penny - Y

Nankeens - Ld, Ls
 India - Ld, Ls

Napkins - Y

Needles - Ld, Y
 common - Ld
 sail - Y
 Whitechapel - Ld, Y

Negroes - Y
 women - Y
 children - Y

Net - Ld
 black - Ld
 patent - Ld

Nipper and tucks - Y

Nonsopretties - Ld

Nutmegs - Ld, Y

Ochre (red & yellow) - Ld

Oil proof (in small casks) - Y

Oils - Ld, Lp, Y
 for parts - Lp
 sweet (in bottles) - Y
 sweet (in hampers of one dozen
 each) - Ld
 tanners - Y

Olives (by jar) - G, Ld, Y

Osnaburgs - Ld, H

Osnaburgs (continued)

Genoa - Ld
 No. 3 English - H, Ld
 No. 3 German - H, Ld

Ostrich feathers (fancy colored) - Ld

Ovens - Ld, M, Y
 camp - Ld
 Dutch - Y

Paints (every kind) - A, Ld, Y

Pans - Ld, M
 copper sauce - Ld
 frying - Ld, M

Pants (variety) - A

Paper hangings - Ld, Y

Papers - A, Ld, Y
 common - Ld, Y
 gilt - Ld, Y
 writing - A, Ld

Pasteboard - Ld, Y
 for bonnets - Ld

Patanas - Ld

Patterns - Y
 cotton gown - Y
 cotton waistcoat - Y
 silk gown - Y
 silk shag - Y
 silk waistcoat - Y

Pawlins and sacking (tea) - Lp

Pencils - Y
 lead - Y
 black - Y
 slate - Y

Pepper - Ld, Lp
 black - Ld
 by the bag - Lp

- Peppermint (essence of) - Y
- Persians - A, Ld
 black - Ld
 green - Y
 sky blue - Y
 white - Y
- Petticoats (Persian quilted) - Y
 satin - Y
- Pewter - Ld, W
- Pill boxes - Y
- Pillows - Ld, W
 dyed - Ld
- Pills - Y
 Anderson's - Y
 Turlington's Drops - Y
- Pins - Ld, Lp, Y
 by packet - Lp
 cloak - Y
 common - Ld
 gilt - Ld
 handkerchief - Y
 lady's hair - Y
 London - Ld
 single & double knitting - Ld
- Pipes - A, W
 long - Y
 short - Y
 tobacco (in boxes) - Y
- Pitchers (water) - Y
- Plaidings - W
- Plaids (Tartan) - Y
- Plaster of Paris - H
- Plates - Ld, Y
 fig blue - Y
 hand metal - Y
 pewter - Ld, Y
 tin - Y
- Plines (Italian - of different color) - A
- Poems (Pomfret's) - Y
- Points (flint) - Y
- Poplins - Y
- Porter - Ld, Lp, M, W, Y
 best red - Y
 in barrels - W
 in bottles - Ld, M
 in hampers - Ld
 in or by cask - Lp
 in or by tierce - Lp
 London (in bottles) - W
- Potatoes - Y
 Irish - Y
- Pots - Lp, M, Y
 iron - Lp, Y
 tea - Y
 China - Y
 Egyptian - Y
 other - Y
- Pounce - Y
- Powder (gun) - Ld, W
- Powderstalks - Ld
- Primers - Ld
- Princess stuff - W
- Probes - Y
- Psalters - Ld
- Purses - Y
 leather - Y
 men's - Y
 silk - Y
- Queen's ware - A, H, Ld, Lp, W, Y
 common (in crates) - W
 emerald (in crates) - W
 in crates - Lp

- Quills - Ld
 Dutch - Ld
- Quilting - Ld
 bordered - Ld
 flowered Marseilles - Ld
 plain Marseilles - Ld
 spotted Marseilles - Ld
- Raisons - Y
 in casks - Y
- Rash (French) - H
- Rasps - Ld
- Rattinets - Ld
- Razors - A, Ld, X, Y
 straps - Y
- Ribbons - A, H, Ld, Y
 all colors - A, Ld
 black - A
 figured - Ld, Y
 plain - Ld, Y
 satin - Ld
 striped - Ld
- Riggings (running) - Y
- Rolls - Ld
- Royal ribs - Ld
- Ruffels (black) - Ld
- Rugs - W
 silk - W
 Torrington - W
- Rules (carpenter's) - Y
- Rum - B, Ld, Ls, Y
 Antigua - Y
 by hogshead - Y
 old - Y
 Barbadoes (in hogsheads) - Ld
- Rum (continued)
 Demarara - Y
 Grenada - Y
 in hogsheads - Y
 in puncheons - Y
 in quarter casks - Y
 Jamaica - Ld
 New England - Y
 in barrels (at 2s4p per gallon) - Y
 in hogsheads (at 2s4p per gallon) - Y
 West Indian - B
- Sackings - W
- Saddle cloth - Y
 (with housings) - Y
- Saddlery - Ld, W
- Saddles - Ld, Lp
 men's - Ld, Lp
 women's - Ld, Lp
- Sagathies - Ld
- Sail cloths - Ld, Y
 bails - Y
 English - Y
- Sails - Y
 foresail - Y
 mainsail - Y
 schooner's mainsail (used) - Y
 sloop's foresail and mainsail and bonnet (used)
 -Y
- Sailsonets - Ld
- Salt - C, Lp, Ls, W, Y
 Allum - Y
 by bushel - Lp
 Lisbon - Y
 Liverpool - W, Y
 stoned - W
 Spanish (by quarters) - C
 table - Y
- Saltpetre - Y

- Salmon (pickled in kits) - Y
- Satin - Ld, Y
of different colors - Y
- Saws - Ld, Y
compass - Y
crosscut - Ld
frest - Y
hand - Ld, Y
mill - Ld
tenon - Y
wheat - Y
- Scales (money with weights) - X
- Scissors - X, Y
sharpening - X, Y
women's - Y
other - X, Y
- Scrapers - Y
- Screw rings - Y
- Screws (of different sizes) - Y
- Scythes - Ld, Y
cradling - Ld
grass - Ld
- Seals (copper) - Ld
- Searchers - Y
lawn - Y
- Shalloons - A, Ld
- Shaving cases - Y
- Shawls (ladies printed) - Y
- Sheers - Y
- Sheeting - G, H, Ld, Y
brown - Ld
Russia - H, Ld, Y
white - Ld
- Ship chandlery - LO
- Shirts - G, Y
- Shirt moulds - Ld
- Shirt wire - Ld
- Shoemaker's tools - Y
- Shoes - G, Ld, Lp, W, Y
boy's - Ld
children's dress - Y
girl's calammcoe - Ld
ladies stuff - Y
men's - Ld, Y
by box - Y
by dozen - Y
dress - Y
leather - Ld
Morocco - Y
Morocco - Y
women's - Ld, Y
by box - Y
by dozen - Y
calamancoe - Ld, Y
fluff - Ld
leather - Ld
Morocco - Y
stuff - Y
- Shot - Ld, W, Y
bags - Ld
bird - Y
- Shovels - A, M, W
- Shrouds (for sawing) - Y
- Sieves - X, Y
apothocarie's finest - Y
- Sifters - Y
- Silverets - X
- Silesias - Ld
- Silk - A, Ld, Y
black - Ld
bonnet - Y
Florentine (for breeches & waistcoast) - Ld

- Silk (continued)
 linings - A
 painted - X
 sewing - Ld, Y
 different colors - Y
- Skillets - Ld, Lp, Y
 bellmetal - Ld, Y
 Dutch - Y
 iron - Lp
- Slates - Ld, Y
- Slaves - Y
- Snakeroot - Y
- Smelling salt bottles - Y
 in tortoiseshell cases - Y
- Snuff boxes - Y
 polished leather - Y
 tortoiseshell & paper - Y
- Snuffers (steel) - Y
- Soap - Lp, Y
 in boxes - Lp, Y
 in crates - Lp
 in pipes - Lp
 Irish - Y
 best white - Y
- Soles (Ben) - Y
- Spades - A, M, W
- Spectacles - Ld, Y
 temple - Ld, Y
- Spectators - Ld, Y
- Spice mortars (bellmetal) - Y
- Spices - Ld
- Spikes (large) - Y
- Spoons - Ld, Y
 table (pewter) - Ld, Y
 tea (pewter) - Ld, Y
- Spirits - Ld, LO, Y
 Barbadoes (by hogshead or barrel) - LO
 Jamaica by gallon or quarter cask - Ld, Y
- Spuds - Y
- Spurs and buckles (plated) - X
- Spyglasses - Y
- Stays - Ld, Y
 fashionable - Ld
 whalebone - Y
 women's - Ld
- Steel - Ld, Y
 AC English - Ld
 German - Y
- Stirrups - A, Y
 and bits - A
 best plated - A
 common - Y
- Stockings - A, Ld, Y
 boy's - Ld
 cotton - Ld
 thread - Ld
 cotton - A, Ld
 girl's - Ld
 cotton - Ld
 thread - Ld
 men's - Ld, Y
 cotton - Ld
 silk - Ld
 thread - Ld
 worsted - Y
 white silk - A
 women's - Ld
 cotton - Ld
 silk - Ld
 thread - Ld

- Stripes - Y
 Stuffs - Ld
 Sugar - B, Ld, LO, Lp, Ls, M, W, Y
 Brazil - Ld
 brown - Ls
 double and single refined loaf - W, Y
 French - Ld
 Havana brown - Y
 Havana white - Y
 Jamaica - Ld
 loaf - Ld, Lp, Ls, M
 London single refined by hogshead - Y
 Muscovado - Ld, LO
 by barrel - Ld, LO
 by hogshead - Ld
 by tierces - Ld
 Swanskins - Y
 Sweetmeats (in jars) - Y
 Suits (blue and white mode) - A
 Surgeon's pocket instruments (in cases) - Y
 Table butts - Ld
 Tablecloths - Ld, Y
 all sizes - Y
 damask - Ld, Y
 diaper - Ld, Y
 Tables - Lp, Y
 common - Y
 mahogany - Lp
 Taffetas - Ld, X
 Tammies - Ld
 Tapers (inflammable) - Y
 Tapes - Ld, W, X, Y
 broad - Y
 Holland - Ld
 Tapes (continued)
 narrow - Y
 striped - Ld
 Tar - Y
 by barrel - Y
 Tea - A, Ld, LO, Ls, Y
 Bohea - Ld, Ls, Y
 by chest - Ld, Ls, Y
 cinnamon - A
 congo - Ld
 green - Ld, LO, Ls
 by chest - Ld, LO, Ls
 Hysons - A, Ld, Ls
 by chest - Ls
 singla - Ld
 by chest - Ld
 souchong - Ld
 Tea kettles (see Kettles)
 Tea pots (see Pots)
 Telescopes - Y
 chromatic - Y
 4-glass - Y
 Testaments - Ld
 Thimbles - Ld, Y
 silver - Ld
 Thread - G, Ld, W, Y
 brown - Ld
 catgut - Ld
 colored - W, Y
 nuns - W
 osnaburg - W
 Scotch - G, Ld, Y
 stitching - Ld
 variety - Ld, Y
 white - Y
 Thread edging - Ld
 flowered - Ld
 plain - Ld
 Ticklenburgs - H, Ld

Ticks (Flanders) - Ld
 Tiffany - Ld
 Tin ware - Ld, Ls, Y
 assorted - Y
 in casks - Ld, Ls
 sheet - Y
 in boxes - Y
 Tobacco - Y
 Tools - H, Y
 carpenter's - H
 saddler's - Y
 Tooth drawing instruments - Y
 Tooth pick cases - Y
 plain - Y
 inlaid with silver - Y
 Toys - Y
 Trocars - Y
 Trunks (gilt) - Ld
 Turkey oil stone - Ld
 Twine - Y
 sail - Y
 seine - Y
 Twist - Ld, Y
 best - Ld
 mohan - Ld
 silk - Y
 Turpentine - Y
 Ververets - W
 Velvets - A, Ld, H, Y
 Genoa - Y
 Vials - Y
 Vices (smith's) - Y
 Vinegar (white wine) C, Ld
 Violins (German) - Y
 Wafers - Ld, Y
 best Irish - Y
 Waiters (japan'd) - Y
 Wastecoat (waistcoat) moulds - Ld
 Warming pans - Y
 Watches - Y
 seals - Y
 silver - Y
 tortoiseshell - Y
 with chains - Y
 Water - Y
 Hungary - Y
 lavender (double distilled) - Y
 Watering pans (tin) - Y
 Wax (for sealing) - Ld, Y
 Weights - Ld, Y
 and scales - Y
 copper - Ld
 large - Y
 small - Y
 Wheat - Y
 Wheat riddles - Y
 Wine - C, Ld, Ls, M, Y
 Burgundy - Y
 Catalonia - Ld
 French white (in small casks) - Y
 in casks - Y
 in pipes - Ld
 in quarter casks - Ld
 Lisbon (by quarter cask) - Ls, Y
 Madeira - Ld
 Malaga - Ld
 Muscat (in boxes of 30 bottles each at 3s
 per bottle) - Y

Wine (continued)

Old Hock - Y

Port (in bottles) - Ld, M, Y

Rhenish - Y

St. Lucas - C, Y

in pipes - C, Y

in quarter casks - C, Y

in small barrels - Y

Sherry - C, W, Y

in bottles - Y

in half pipes - Y

in quarter casks - C, Y

in small barrels - Y

in whole pipes - C, Y

red (in bottles) - W

Teneriffe - Y

by pipes - Y

by quarter casks - Y

Wire - Ld, Y

shirt - Ld

silk covered - Y

skeleton - Y

steel - Y

Wire links (punchback) - Y

Wool cases - W

Writing cases - Y

Yards (steel) - Ld, Y

APPENDIX D

MERCHANT VESSELS REGISTERED AT ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA FOR THE YEAR 1869-1870

SCHOONERS

Vessel	Registry	Gross Tons	Net Tons	Length	Beam	Depth	Year Built	Place Built	Dropped From List
Ada L. Lee	1570	37.73	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Andrew Goodwin	2	29.93	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Anna Low	7	7.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Annie A. Mason	1554	32.87	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arlington	1	28.47	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B.B. Seaman	2000	28.23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Caroline*	4006	14.34	13.52	45.4	14.4	4.4	-	Alexandria, Va.	-
Caroline	4004	40.72	39.03	-	-	-	1853	Alexandria, Va.	1886
Catharine Jane	4001	40.05	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chance	4007	18.06	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Constitution	4202	25.24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cora Smith	5507	39.52	-	-	-	-	1868	Accotink, Va.	1886
Cruiser	4003	28.65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cumberland	4000	29.29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Discovery**	6594	18.97	17.98	48.5	15.8	4.0	-	-	-
Dove**	6387	19.04	18.15	44.3	12.0	4.0	1853	Mauricetown, N.J	-
Emma Addell	7000	21.28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Four Sisters	9852	34.58	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
General Worth	1000	25.37	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
George & Martha*	10001	22.88	21.74	69.4	14.4	3.6	1859	Cumberland, Md.	-
Gettysburg	10002	34.26	-	-	-	-	1859	Occoquan, Va.	1886
Gold Finch	10003	9.20	-	36.4	12.9	4.0	-	-	1890
Great Pirate	10273	30.73	-	-	-	-	1854	Cumberland, Md.	-
H.A. Wise	11004	17.13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hail Columbia	11002	24.38	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hazard*	11003	16.12	15.31	45.5	15.5	4.8	-	-	-
Henry C. Purdy*	11001	28.31	26.89	81.8	14.7	2.8	1850	Cumberland, Va.	-
Imagine	12109	16.12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Industry	12001	26.45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iona*	12439	75.00	72.53	90.8	23.4	5.0	1869	Fairfax County, Va.	-

SCHOONERS (Continued)

Vessel	Registry	Gross Tons	Net Tons	Length	Beam	Depth	Year Built	Place Built	Dropped From List
Ipsawasson	12000	28.64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
J. Wagner*	12507	5.02	5.18	32.5	11.6	3.0	-	-	-
James A. Hooper	12508	9.53	9.24	43.0	15.5	4.0	-	-	-
Jennie Baker	12857	15.33	14.56	-	-	-	-	-	1886
John Hamilton	12501	21.23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Joseph Alexander	12500	32.07	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Juliet	75086	16.84	16.95	-	-	-	-	-	1886
Kate*	14001	18.37	17.93	21.5	13.2	2.8	-	-	-
Kitty Ann	14000	27.69	-	-	-	-	1853	Dutch Haven, N.J.	-
Lizzie Ragan	14739	17.74	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lydia Sanderson*	15115	27.38	26.02	51.6	18.1	5.8	1867	Crisfield, Md.	-
Mariner	16000	42.69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Martha Washington	17766	46.24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mary Elizabeth	16001	32.63	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mary Elizabeth	16008	9.40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mary Elizabeth	16541	17.79	16.90	43.0	15.0	3.0	1872	York County, Va.	1887
Mill Boy	16002	31.80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Morning Star	16006	17.84	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Motto	17805	16.51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Naugatuck	18000	20.39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nellie	18542	14.03	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Occoquan	18801	27.84	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oliver Harrison*	18802	20.58	19.29	46.2	16.0	6.0	1848	Talbot County, Md.	-
Only Son*	19236	19.75	18.77	48.7	16.6	5.0	1854	Annamessex, Md.	-
Ontario	18800	37.45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oregon	19218	34.33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peter D. Lambert	19510	17.45	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Philadelphia**	20324	16.08	15.28	46.0	16.0	4.0	1872	Biloxi, Miss.	-
Pioneer	19501	19.19	18.23	77.5	14.2	3.4	1880	Occoquan, Va.	1887

SCHOONERS (Continued)

Vessel	Registry	Gross Tons	Net Tons	Length	Beam	Depth	Year Built	Place Built	Dropped From List
Pocahontas	20298	44.98	43.00	76.6	21.0	4.0	1869	Occoquan, Va.	1889
Prince William	19500	33.40	28.88	62.6	20.6	4.6	1853	Alexandria, Va.	1889
Richard P. Lacey	21001	37.41	-	-	-	-	1867	Occoquan, Va.	-
William Thomas	26934	25.96	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
William H. Harrison	26001	19.35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
William & Robert	26000	23.13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Yellow Jacket	27501	13.07	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Yorktown	27500	30.68	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rising Sun*	21000	34.17	32.46	81.3	15.8	3.2	1868	Charles County, Md.	-
Rough and Ready	21200	13.51	-	40.5	14.4	4.8	-	-	1887
Sallie*	22000	26.70	25.36	53.0	17.0	5.0	-	-	-
Six Sons	22001	39.83	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thomas Jefferson	24001	17.72	16.83	-	-	-	-	-	1883+
Tribune	24000	31.50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Union	25067	42.01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
United States	25000	16.31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Waymark	26004	14.08	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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LONGBOATS (SCHOONER RIGGED)

Annie N. Mason	1554	32.87	31.23	78.5	14.0	2.6	1868	Washington, D.C.	1889
Oliver Underwood	19212	44.50	42.41	72.0	20.6	3.8	1868	Occoquan, Va.	1890

SLOOPS

Vessel	Registry	Gross Tons	Net Tons	Length	Beam	Depth	Year Built	Place Built	Dropped From List
Alice Ida	1616	10.39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ann McCarty	4	19.02	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ann Matilda*	1531	6.67	6.67	31.0	14.0	3.0	-	-	-
Ann E. Howard*	5	6.08	5.78	29.0	9.0	2.0	-	-	-
Baltimore Belle	2186	43.10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Belvidere**	2001	10.77	10.23	31.6	17.5	3.5	-	Bell Point, Va.	-
Catharine Combs*	4465	6.38	6.24	30.3	12.5	6.0	1857	Baltimore, Md.	-
Daniel Sheets**	6354	10.21	9.70	33.0	13.0	3.0	-	Philadelphia, Pa.	-
Delta	6001	5.70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fanny	9685	11.16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Felix	9001	12.24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Flying Scud	9041	6.10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
General Hancock**	10849	10.27	8.23	42.3	14.0	5.0	-	-	-
Golden Rule	10698	8.44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
H. Day	11237	6.65	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iola	12002	5.77	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irving	12004	10.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maggie	17685	10.95	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mary Ann	16004	6.20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mary Ann	16068	44.36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mary Parks	16003	13.31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mary E. Butler	16007	14.94	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nautilus	18001	9.40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pioneer	19898	10.02	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pomona	20170	7.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	1886
Ranger	21006	8.10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Reindeer	21003	11.54	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
River Queen**	21004	9.11	8.12	35.4	12.3	4.0	1866	Accotink, Va.	-
Roving Arrow	21005	7.29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

SLOOPS (Continued)

Vessel	Registry	Gross Tons	Net Tons	Length	Beam	Depth	Year Built	Place Built	Dropped From List
Swan	23707	10.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wild Pigeon	26002	7.01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
William Capes	26003	7.55	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zion	28000	6.18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

CANAL BOATS

Andrew Goodwin	29239	29.93	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
Arlington	29488	32.87	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
Cumberland	33300	29.24	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
Emma Adell	36160	21.28	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
G.B. Wallace	39162	110.16	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
General Worth	39158	25.37	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
Great Pirate	39161	30.73	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
Henry C. Purdy	42134	28.41	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
Ipsawasson	44013	28.64	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
James Alexander	45262	32.07	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
Kate	47024	18.87	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
Occoquan	53077	27.84	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
Pioneer	54103	19.19	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
Richard Lacy	56192	37.41	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
Rising Sun	56191	30.92	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
Thomas L. Carroll	59082	27.04	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
Waymask	62196	14.08	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
William & Robert	62195	23.13	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
Yorktown	65015	30.68	-	-	-	-	-	-	***

BARGES

Vessel	Registry	Gross Tons	Net Tons	Length	Beam	Depth	Year Built	Place Built	Dropped From List
C.B. Stark	33299	58.05	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
J.S. Wisner	45263	49.12	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
Renown	59193	64.19	-	-	-	-	-	-	***

STEAM POWERED

Belle Haven	2189	23.15	-	-	-	-	1877	Alexandria, Va.	1886
Cynthia	4008	23.56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Enterprise (St.p)	8231	50.28	30.30	78.0	20.0	3.4	1865	Alexandria, Va.	1887
Fairy (St.p)	9451	41.34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
George M. Griffin	10595	21.59	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Guiding Star	10277	91.10	48.84	90.0	22.7	5.5	1867	Alexandria, Va.	1889
Katie Wise	14050	37.12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mary Catharine	16530	25.16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nellie Jenkins	18002	67.97	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pennsylvania (St.p)	20384	12.78	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pioneer	19503	52.08	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Prince William (St.p)	20322	80.77	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Virginia	25581	51.14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Virginia*	25794	49.94	39.68	74.0	21.0	4.0	1867	Alexandria, Va.	-

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* Vessels on the register in 1890 but no longer listed in 1900.

** Vessels still on register in 1900.

*** Vessels on register in 1869/70 but not on register in 1884.

+ Reportedly shipwrecked.

St.p

Steam paddle.

Source: Merchant Vessels of the United States, 1869-1900.

PART II

SUBMERGED CULTURAL RESOURCE POTENTIALS

INTRODUCTION

The role of watercraft, the waterways they traverse, along with the establishment, growth, and, frequently, decline of associated maritime support complexes ashore, has been among the most significant (albeit ignored) features in the cultural and technological evolution of humankind. And as it would be impossible to consider the history of civilization without observing, and paying homage to, the role of watercraft in the dissemination of ideas, goods, and humankind itself, so it would be entirely negligent to undertake the evaluation of the dynamics of largely maritime-oriented or dependent cultures or of geopolitical entities such as Tidewater Virginia, or of important components of those entities, such as the Port of Alexandria, without incorporating a representative review of the historic record of the waters and the vessels which have plied them and upon which they have for so long relied.

Wherever water is present, man has found that the easiest and most efficient modes of transportation, communication, and commerce have been by watercraft. A vessel paddled, rowed, or sailed was capable of greater speed, carried a greater load, and was generally more reliable than either man or beast of burden. Watercraft, until the advent of powered flight, often provided the only means of penetration, settlement, and development of otherwise inaccessible or hostile areas. It was the boat which permitted primitive man access to the bounty of the Tidewater and permitted him to carry on communication, trade, and other social interactions with his neighbors. It was the boat that carried the first Europeans to Virginia

and permitted the extensive exploration of the Chesapeake Bay and its innumerable tributaries such as the Potomac River. It was, indeed, no accident that the first permanent European settlement in Virginia was established on a major waterway, and in Maryland on a major island of the Eastern Shore, Kent Island. Early settlement and expansion was restricted to the water's edge owing to a total reliance on watercraft for rapid communication and transportation. And, again, it was watercraft upon which the economy, well-being, and security of Tidewater Virginia and Maryland relied, though often governed by a slavish dependence on a single-crop plantation system. The strategy of urban development, though not always uppermost in the minds of the founding fathers of Virginia, generally focused on one single all-important component--the proximity of planned urban centers to navigable waters. To facilitate the great leap westward, important commercial ports, capable of transshipping commodities from the hinterland had to be created at the fall line. And finally, to defend, capture, or control the cumulative fruits of this complex, maritime-dependent society--namely the commerce, harbors, towns, and the very watercraft and strategic waterways that made it all possible--the fielding of specialized vessels of war and the erection of military establishments specifically adapted to achieve such ends were undertaken time and again. It was, in fact, little more than a year after the Ark and Dove had landed at St. Clements Island in the Potomac that the first naval clash between English-speaking peoples in the New World occurred. The battle, between Virginia's armed wherry Cockatrice and Maryland Governor Calvert's boats St. Margaret and St. Helen, was fought on the waters of the Pocomoke River, it is interesting to note, over the ownership of an island.

Our historic past is festooned with ships and watercraft of myriad sizes, shapes, and genealogies. From the tiny pinks, wherrys, shallops, flats, log canoes, and pungys to pilot boats, sloops, schooners, clippers, and steamers, there is a thread of commonality which is woven into the fabric of our history. It is a fabric of many colors, for the heritage is diverse; and it is woven tightly into very substance that is the City of Alexandria, Virginia. Yet we know depressingly little about its composition. The intricate genealogy and architectural evolution of indigenously-built small craft of the 17th and 18th centuries, a mirror reflecting the technology of the colonial era in America, is a mind-boggling maze into which few historians have ventured. Though the documentation of a very few specific craft types of more recent times have been admirably undertaken by some, the development of comprehensive data assemblages, particularly relative to the 17th through the mid-19th centuries, have yet to be carried out owing to a lack of documentary records; shipwrights and boat-builders constructing craft "by wrack of eye" rarely left such materials. Aside from a few dimensions, for instance, little has been recorded telling us anything about the vessels built by Alexandria's first master shipwright, Isaac Fleming, who began building watercraft at Alexandria only three years after the founding of the town. The study of regional variations of early Potomac and Chesapeake watercraft, or the processes, technologies, and environmental circumstances that have dictated their birth, rise, evolution, decline, and ultimate demise, have with few exceptions been largely ignored by the scholar primarily for this reason. We know less about the common Chesapeake tobacco flat of the middle 18th century than we do of the large seagoing ships of a century earlier.

Consequently, we have failed to exercise full appreciation of the role and influence of maritime development and the evolution of watercraft on urban riverport development in the Tidewater. Such is the case with Alexandria, once a showcase seaport of international import. How have such mundane things as her wharves, quays, and landings evolved to accommodate urban expansion, or adapt to the radical changes in ship construction and propulsion, from vessels powered by the wind to those powered by steam and by the internal combustion engine? What has been the interrelationship between the radical alteration of the environment after the advent of European settlement on the evolution of regional watercraft? And to what extent has that evolution been influenced by urban development and commerce?

The answer to these and innumerable other questions created by the void in the written record is to be found through systematic evaluation of the physical remains of watercraft, the waterways they used, and the harbors and towns, such as Alexandria, that sprang into being as a result of their commerce and activities. The accumulated but diminishingly finite cultural remnants of Alexandria's once considerable maritime heritage now rests beneath the waters of the Potomac River, Great Hunting Creek, Oronoco Bay, and perhaps even beneath lands that have been reclaimed from the waters.

A first step in developing an appreciation and understanding of the potentials lying before us is to define what it is that actually constitutes the submerged cultural resource base of the Tidewater in general, and the Port of Alexandria specifically.

Quite broadly we may say that any vessel, building, structure, object, spatial arrangement, or other material of value in historic, architectural,

archeological, or other cultural terms lying beneath a stable body of water may be considered a submerged cultural resource. By an extension of the generally accepted definition of cultural resources, we can assume it thus incorporates the totality of information sources that can be used to understand past activities related to maritime endeavors or the marine environment, or such activities that were once carried out on dry lands now inundated. It includes not only cultural remains such as artifacts and structures, features, activity areas, and so forth, but any part of the natural and cultural environments that were either used or modified by people in the past pertaining to water-related activities, land-related activities now inundated, or which aid in the understanding of the basic relationship between people and the marine environment in the past.

The submerged cultural resource base may be divided into three distinctive categories: shipwrecks, inundated littoral sites, and sites intentionally inserted into the marine environment. We may also add a corollary to these: sites and artifacts which are of random or accidental insertion.

Shipwreck, a term that may be applied to both prehistoric and historic watercraft lost or abandoned in a given body of water, may be divided into two categories: entirely submerged or lost vessels, and intentionally abandoned or derelict vessels. Shipwrecks may also be encountered, as may be the case with Alexandria, beneath dry land areas. They alone represent superbly unique, archeologically compact units, dating from a single moment in time in which the vessel went down, taking with it the cultural representations of the age in which it sailed, and representing, as a total entity, the mean level of technology of the society which built, sailed, and

lost it. A shipwreck also provides an insight into that society as few other archeological sites can, offering a fund of knowledge about ship construction, architecture, and the marine related society required to navigate such craft. It can also reveal much about the commerce, technology, art, and history of the very period in which it sailed.

Inundated terrestrial sites incorporate a wide range of man's cultural remains, activities, and spatial relationships but results from a limited variety of geological factors. In the Chesapeake Tidewater, during the post-glacial period, glacial melt, subsidence, and erosion have resulted in the creation of the Chesapeake Bay from what was once the trunk of the Susquehanna River. As a consequence the Bay's tributaries deepened and broadened. Here, any site form which might be considered of value to archeological investigators above the water in littoral areas may be encountered underwater as well. These site types include the entire range of prehistoric as well as historic sites.

Sites intentionally inserted into the marine environment may be defined as structural or artifactual remains not normally encountered on land which have been specifically constructed in or addressed directly to the marine environment to perform a service or function. Such sites might include piers, wharves, jetties, landings, harbor facilities of a wide variety, as well as fishing weirs, military defense works, or any other item temporarily or permanently inserted into the water to perform a specific duty related to that environment.

Random or accidental insertions are objects or structures which have fallen or been cast into the water from boats, bridges, wharves, or shore-line areas. Though not actually random insertions, objects which have been

been intentionally placed into the water, such as offerings to a diety or for safe-keeping during wartime, may be included in this classification.

The submerged cultural resource base of the Potomac River, and in particular that which exists in the waters surrounding the City of Alexandria, Virginia is considerable. Owing to Alexandria's important role as a center of commerce and port of entry, its strategic position on the river, and its very survival during three great wars which have destroyed all about it, the resource base of the Alexandria region is potentially rich.

The greatest concentration of vessel losses on the entire Potomac River system is in the Alexandria region. The potentials of insert sites of archeological import along the Alexandria waterfront, are exciting. In the following pages are to be found not only the documentation of Potomac River and Alexandria's shipwreck population, but a synopsis of the potentials of site survival (both shipwreck and insert sites) in the Alexandria study area. This area extends from a line running between the waterfront of the Old Potomac Yards on the Virginia side to Bellevue on the Maryland side and then southward to a line running from New Alexandria to Rosier Bluff. This region has been divided into seven transect areas based upon convenient geographic and geological features. Accompanying the loss synopsis is a comprehensive abstract of shipping losses in the entire Potomac system, in chronological sequence, from 1642 onward. Accompanying the synopsis of insert site potentials, under seperate portfolio, are a collection of ten maps exhibiting the evolution of the Alexandria waterfront from 1749 to 1923.

No effort has been made to evaluate the potentials of the inundated site potentials, or random deposition site potentials.

SHIPWRECK SITES

Between the three-nautical-mile reach of the Potomac River facing Alexandria, extending from Bellevue on the north to Rosier Bluff on the south, and inclusive of such waterways or embayments as Great Hunting Creek, Smoot Bay, Oxon Creek, and Oronoco Bay, no fewer than 45 vessel losses have been documented within a historical and chronological context. Thirty-three more wrecks have been documented as appearing on various charts, maps, and aerial photographs of this reach between 1836 and 1983 (although 32 of these appeared in the period 1933-1983). On the most recent nautical chart of the area, NOAA's No. 12289 (Mattawoman Creek to Georgetown), published in 1983, 18 visible and submerged wreck sites appear in the general study area. That the shipwreck population of the waters off Alexandria was, and continues to be, substantial is thus a given. In order that a reliable interpretation of the potentials of this population be provided in terms of historical, cultural, and archaeological substance, however, it will be necessary to examine the inventory data assemblage presented in the appendix herein and evaluate the same in regard to site survivability and stress factors impacting the resource base, and the realities of study area sites as a representative assemblage reflective of the entire Potomac River shipwreck population.

It must be pointed out that the data base presented in this study is by no means complete, although it is the most comprehensive for the Potomac and the Alexandria study area yet assembled. The objective was to assemble a representative sampling of vessel losses from every era of history of the Potomac River, with a comprehensive focus on the

Alexandria region, suitable for developing a realistic projection of the extent of the submerged cultural resource base in and about Alexandria's waters. A systematic effort was undertaken to document, as adequately as possible, within the three-month time frame of this study, all vessel losses to the year 1800, and for every fifth year thereafter. As will be noted by an examination of the inventory data presented herein, however, the historic record for shipping losses in the Potomac system per se proved to be far richer and more accessible than initially expected. As a consequence, the historic data base which was compiled was far in excess of the anticipated scope of this study. Hence, a wider and more reliable understanding of the resource potential of Alexandria's waters, and indeed of the entire Potomac system, was enhanced.

Equally important to the evaluation of the potential resource base was the availability of federal records documenting the stress factors upon those resources during the 19th and 20th centuries, most notably relating to the frequent and systematic government and private dredging activities which have served to deplete and destroy major segments of the earliest and most historic portions of the shipwreck population in Alexandria's waters. This record has been synopsisized in the accompanying historic overview of maritime Alexandria. No effort was made to provide comparative examinations of other Potomac ports or areas in the same way, since such investigations were not within the scope of this study, nor would they have been possible within the allotted time frame of this study. It became readily apparent, however, that the realities of federal efforts to keep the Potomac River a viable, navigable waterway for the benefit of the public weal, as was the case at Alexandria, most certainly

had similar detrimental effects upon the submerged cultural resource base lying within that river system as a whole. Conversely, the City of Alexandria's historic and continuing zeal to extend its shoreline seaward had most certainly resulted in the unexpected burial of many of those features which would have otherwise been destroyed, perhaps preserving the remnants of the city's maritime heritage beneath the land rather than the waters. It is thus important that this summary of the shipwreck history of the Alexandria region be presented.

The first recorded vessel loss which may possibly have occurred in the waters of Alexandria was that of the ship Fortune, burned in 1724. Unfortunately, the location of this particular disaster was not recorded, and its proximity to the study area is only conjectural, as it was only recorded as having occurred in the Potomac River. With the establishment of a tobacco warehouse on Pearson's Island in 1721, three years before the disaster, and the opening of the upriver region to commerce, such a possibility cannot be ruled out, although it must be considered with caution.

The first reliably documented vessel loss in the immediate vicinity of Alexandria does not occur until 1786, when an unidentified small boat capsized in the river off the town. No record has been found noting the vessel's recovery. It is not surprising that the first recorded loss does not appear until this late date in the city's history (nearly 40 years after the town's founding). That it was indeed the first vessel lost there, however, is unlikely. Between the date of the foundation of the town in 1748-1749 and the end of the American Revolution maritime

Figure 12

SHIPWRECKS AND DERELICTS IN THE VICINITY OF ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 1724 - 1983

Vessel	Year Lost	Manner Lost	Vessel Typology	Location	Disposition
<u>Fortune</u>	1724	Burned	Ship	Potomac River	-
Unidentified	1786	Capsized	Boat	Potomac off Alexandria	-
<u>Friendship</u>	1790	Burned and sunk	Schooner	Harper's Wharf	Raised
<u>Marl's Packet</u>	1797	Foundered	Packet Boat	Off Alexandria	Raised
Unidentifieds +	1799-1808	Abandoned and Sunk	-	Alexandria waterfront	-
Unidentifieds (21)	1814	Scuttled	Various	Alexandria	Raised
Unidentifieds +	1814	Burned and sunk	Various	Alexandria	-
<u>Cygnat</u>	1834	Burned	Steamboat	Janney's Wharf	Possibly raised
Unidentified	1836	Wrecked	Unknown	Oronoco Bay	-
Unidentified	1854	Collision	Boat	Off Jones Point	-
Unidentified	1854	Capsized	Sloop	Off Fishtown Wharf	-
Unidentified	1875	Capsized	Sailboat	Off the "Arsenal"	-
<u>Armenia</u>	1886	Burned	Steamboat	Iron Boom Wharf, at foot of Wolfe Street and near Pioneer Mills	Removed
<u>Comet</u>	1889			Near Pioneer Mills	Removed
Unidentified	Prior to 1886	Sunk	Barge	Outlet to Alexandria Canal in Potomac	Removed
Unidentified	1892	Sunk by swells	Sand scow	Smoot and Son Dock	Probably raised
<u>City of Alexandria</u>	1897	Burned	Paddle steamboat	Alexandria	Removed
<u>Leading Breeze</u>	1898	Sunk	Schooner	Between D.C. and Alexandria	Raised
<u>Harp</u>	1901	Abandoned	Schooner	Alexandria	-
<u>Robert E. Lee</u>	1906	Abandoned	Sloop	Alexandria	-
<u>Thomas B. Hambleton</u>	1908	Foundered	Schooner	Hunting Creek	-
<u>Emily Washington</u>	1909	Ice-stranded	Schooner	Virginia Flats	Abandoned and pinned to bottom in Oronoco Bay
<u>William Henry</u>	1910	Stranded	Alexandria	Alexandria	-
<u>Plumie E. Smith</u>	1911	Stranded	Schooner	Potomac Park	Dynamited in Oronoco Bay
<u>Father & Sons</u>	1915	Burned & Abandoned	Schooner	Alexandria	-
<u>Carrie Revelle</u>	1917	Foundered	Schooner	Alexandria	-
<u>Emerett</u>	1931	Abandoned	Schooner (4 masted)	Alexandria	Removed 1972

Vessel	Year Lost	Manner Lost	Vessel Typology	Location	Disposition
No. 1*	Prior to 1933	-	-	New Alexandria	-
No. 2	Prior to 1936	-	-	Goose Island, Oxen Creek	-
No. 3	Between 1936-1942	-	-	New Alexandria area	-
No. 4	Between 1936-1942	-	-	New Alexandria area	-
No. 5	Between 1936-1942	-	-	Basin at foot of Gibbon Street, Alexandria	-
No. 6	Between 1947-1956	-	-	East of Potomac Yards	Now marked site
No. 7	Between 1947-1956	-	-	On Rocks of Fox Ferry Point Wharf remains	-
No. 8 (3 vessels)	Between 1947-1956	-	-	North end Smoot Bay	-
No. 9 (3 vessels)	Between 1947-1956	-	-	North end Smoot Bay	-
No. 10	Between 1947-1956	-	-	North end Smoot Bay	-
No. 11	Between 1956-1982	-	-	North end Smoot Bay	Possibly same as No. 10
No. 12	Between 1956-1982	-	-	In spoil area off	-
No. 13	Between 1956-1982	-	-	Fox Ferry Point and	-
No. 14 (5 vessels)	Between 1956-1982	-	Barges	just north of the	-
No. 15	Between 1956-1982	-	Barge	Wilson Bridge	-
No. 16	Between 1956-1982	-	-	Smoot Bay	-
No. 17	Between 1956-1982	-	-	Smoot Bay	-
No. 18	Between 1956-1982	-	-	Smoot Bay	-
No. 19	Between 1956-1982	-	-	Smoot Bay	-
No. 20	Between 1956-1982	-	-	Smoot Bay	-
No. 21	Between 1956-1982	-	-	Smoot Bay	-
No. 22	Between 1956-1982	-	-	Smoot Bay	-
No. 23	Between 1956-1982	-	-	Smoot Bay	-
No. 24	Between 1956-1982	-	-	Off Oxon Creek near the Potomac Channel	-
No. 25	Prior to 1980	-	-	Smoot Bay	-

*Numbers correspond to locations and identifications ascribed to the various shipwrecks appearing on nautical charts for the years 1936, 1942, 1944, 1947, 1956, and 1983, and on Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission aerial photographs taken in 1980.

commerce thrived on the Potomac, particularly in the vicinity of Alexandria, and the entire region supported considerable shipping, both large and small. Before 1784 Alexandria was without a public newspaper. Thus, until the Alexandria Gazette began publication, reportage in the press of vessel disasters was relegated to papers in Annapolis, Williamsburg, Philadelphia, and elsewhere. Accounts of major vessel losses in the Potomac, such as that of the armed ship Nisbit in the Eastern Branch in 1768, were frequently commented on in such publications, for their losses represented what would today be termed "newsworthiness." The loss or abandonment of small craft such as flats, shallops, sloops, canoes, piraguas, etc., were no more newsworthy than most auto accidents in modern times and were not reported on. Even local reportage of such losses, after the foundation of the Alexandria Gazette, appears to have been limited. Not until the 1790s are such losses even hinted at in the local press. In 1790 and 1797 vessels were burned and sank at dockside or foundered immediately off the town. Interestingly, these vessels were promptly raised, and one at least was returned to service almost immediately. That major oceangoing watercraft were not lost in the vicinity of Alexandria to this period is probable, for such losses would have been reported, and those that were, owing to their proximity to a major urban shipping center, were usually raised. That small craft were lost or abandoned at various times, however, is likely, but such craft, usually being of a cheap, mundane, utilitarian nature, seldom drew attention unless their demises were accompanied by the loss of life or significant property.

With the rapid development and improvement of the harbor facilities between 1785 and 1791, and the rise of Alexandria as an international

port of call after the Revolution, the evolution of the town waterfront produced some interesting--but not unexpected--results. Certain sectors of the waterfront, most notably in the vicinity of the City Wharf at the foot of Oronoco Street, began to witness an increase in the population of derelict vessels. Many, by 1799, were being intentionally cut down to their waterlines and then abandoned, their wood being used (and possibly sold) as fuel. Many of the vessel hulls were permitted to sink at their moorings, causing health hazards to mount, blockage to harbor navigation, and other problems for Alexandria's waterfront community and commerce. Although no documentation has been encountered denoting how many hulls were permitted to settle into the muddy bottom of the harbor, precisely where they sank, or how many were ultimately removed (as the city government directed), the problem was obviously one of considerable magnitude and similar to those faced by marinas and waterfront complexes even today. In 1799 the city was forced to enact an ordinance prohibiting the mooring of such derelicts in the harbor beyond a specified time period. That the problem was a recurring one is suggested by the fact that the city republished the ordinance in 1808.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries occasional mention of derelicts, still afloat in the Alexandria harbor, appear in the pages of the Alexandria Gazette. Whether it is a ship such as the Union, slowly sinking at anchor at Fishtown, or a tired old steamboat such as the Belle Haven which became a navigational obstruction as she gradually rotted at her moorings, derelict vessels continued to clog Alexandria's waterfront well into modern times. Their passings, unfortunately, are rarely recorded. That numerous vessels, large and small, simply slipped into the muddy

bottom and were forgotten at Alexandria is a strong probability. That some such derelicts of 18th- and 19th-century vintage remain is possible.

Massive vessel losses during a single event occurred only once during the town's past. In August 1814, just prior to the British capture of Alexandria, the city witnessed the greatest mass sinking of ships in its history. A total of 21 vessels was scuttled to prevent capture by the enemy. All of these craft were ultimately raised by British seamen and carried away as prizes of war. Before the British departed, however, an undetermined number of additional vessels, noted only as "several," were burned and sunk. No indication of their identities, typology, or location at the time of their losses have been found.

In 1834 the first steamer loss in the town's history occurred when the steamboat Cygnet burned at Janney's Wharf. No record has yet been found as to the ultimate fate of this vessel. She does not appear to have returned to service, although some mention was made in the press that that was the owner's intention. It is of some import that in later years the deposition of burned or derelict steamboats from Washington and Alexandria on the flats of Washington Park, southeast of Jones Point on the Maryland shores, became commonplace practice. Similar tradition is documented at such places as Curtis Bay, in Baltimore Harbor, and in various "ship graveyards" along the entire east coast. Abandonment of the wreck of the Cygnet on a nearby flat may well have been carried out in like fashion.

On a copy of an 1836 manuscript map showing the Potomac River between Washington and Alexandria, drawn two years after the Cygnet loss, a shipwreck is indicated as lying in Oronoco Bay, immediately north of the

City Wharf area, at the foot of what is now Wythe Street. Not counting Cygnets, six vessels were definitely or possibly lost in the Potomac between 1834 and 1836, but all were lost well below Alexandria. It is a possibility, then, that the hulk of the Cygnets may have been removed to the nearby Oronoco flats and left to rot. The 1836 Oronoco Bay Wreck does not appear on any subsequent maps of the area, since it lay in the shoals out of the navigational lanes of the area, and posed little danger to maritime traffic. This may explain its non-inclusion in subsequent cartographic records. It should be noted, however, that subsequent published nautical charts covering the study area do not feature any wreck marks (even though wrecks were undoubtedly present) until 1936. It is possible that the wreck may have been removed in later years, though only one major effort at the removal of unspecified wrecks at Alexandria is undocumented. This was during the 1910-1911 Army Corps of Engineers dredging operations off the city waterfront. Since this cove was not within the impacted area of that dredging, the removal of the 1836 wreck seems unlikely. In fact, during the same period as dredging operations, the cove became a minor "ship's graveyard" where derelict vessels were laid to rest.

Whatever the fate of the Cygnets and of the 1836 Oronoco Bay Wreck may have been, or whether the two vessels were actually one and the same cannot be verified at this time. However, the position in which the wreck was recorded on the 1836 map is now covered by fill and detritus, which, according to the suggested sequence of shoreline evolution indicated by contemporary nautical and quadrangle maps, occurred after 1965. By overlaying the 1836 map on that of a more contemporary

chart, one may see that the 1836 Wreck, if still present, would lie in the vicinity of the foot of Wythe Street and immediately north of the mouth of old Oronoco Creek, beneath fill ground.

Eight issues of the Alexandria Gazette published between 1835 and 1875 were reviewed for potential shipwreck data. Only three vessels were reported in this sample period in the vicinity of Alexandria. Two of these occurred in 1854. One was a small craft which foundered after a collision off Jones Point; the second was the capsize and loss of a sloop off Fishtown Wharf. In 1875 a sailboat capsized off the "Arsenal" in the vicinity of present-day Bellevue. None of these vessels was reported recovered.

In 1886 the steamboat Armenia caught fire at "Iron Boom Wharf" at the foot of Wolfe Street, near Pioneer Mills, but was removed to the opposite shore of the Potomac, southeast of Jones Point. Three years later the steamer Comet caught fire at Pioneer Mills, at or near the same location that the Armenia had burned. Her wreck may have also been removed, although such an event has not been documented.

That the loss of substantial vessels in Alexandria waters went unreported, unless such losses were of public interest or resulted in the loss of lives or property other than the vessels themselves, is pointed up by the sinking of a barge, referred to in the Corps of Engineers reports as having once been a Hudson River steamer of 300-foot length. This vessel, the name of which has not been recorded, was sunk some years prior to 1887 immediately off the outlet of the Alexandria Canal, and adjacent to the river channel. Only by virtue of the fact that this wreck noticeably deflected the course of river currents (resulting in the

beginnings of serious shoaling along the Alexandria waterfront which caused the eventual dredging of that area and the filling in of Battery Cove) does it bear any mention at all in the records. The vessel, though subsequently broken up and removed, is perhaps indicative of the lack of note that other possible losses might have invoked. It is also of some interest that the loss of a single vessel could so seriously affect the marine environment of Alexandria as to measurably alter the course of town history.

Although federal documentation of vessel losses in published form began in 1869-1870 with the publication of the annual Merchant Vessels of the United States, no vessel was noted therein as lost at Alexandria prior to the first notation of the 1887 barge wreck, nor was any mention of this particular vessel made in subsequent years, except in relation to its effect on the shoaling up of the Alexandria waterfront. Extensive checking of local newspapers after the first mention of the wreck failed to identify the vessel. It did result in the documentation of another wreck at Alexandria not listed in Merchant Vessels. This account concerned the loss of a sand scow which foundered at the Smoot and Son Dock in 1892 as a result of swells caused by passing steamboats. No record of the scow's recovery has been found. However, as the Smoot Company had historically been quite diligent in maintaining its docks and the deep-water access to them by dredging, it seems probable that such an obstruction would have been eventually raised and removed.

In 1897 the last major ship loss, that of the paddle steamer City of Alexandria, occurred when the ship took fire at the city docks. This venerable vessel was removed to the Maryland shore opposite the town and

abandoned.

In 1898 the schooner Leading Breeze was sunk in the Potomac between Alexandria and Washington but was soon raised and removed.

In 1901 the schooner Harp was reported in federal records as having been abandoned at Alexandria, as was the schooner Robert E. Lee in 1906. These vessels, like many such in the Tidewater, may have simply outlived their usefulness as working watercraft and were quite probably hauled into a shoal or perhaps a remote or unused section of the harbor and forgotten. Since much of the Alexandria waterfront had already fallen into disuse by this period, such abandonments would not have been surprising, even on the waterfront of the city proper.

In 1908 the schooner Thomas B. Hambleton was reported as having foundered in Hunting Creek, but federal records are unclear as to whether the creek mentioned was the Hunting Creek adjacent to Alexandria, or Hunting Creek in Accomac County, Virginia. The latter seems more likely, as the vessel was built and home-ported on the Eastern Shore. The possibility of deposition in the former, however, should not be ruled out, since Eastern Shore vessels occasionally called at Alexandria to offload freight or oysters.

The schooner William Henry was reported in 1910 as stranded and lost at Alexandria. No further details were given, although the Henry possessed a draft of only 5.6 feet and may well have become stranded in the shoals north of the town, in Oronoco Bay, or in Hunting Creek. It is unlikely that stranding and loss would have occurred anywhere along the main waterfront as the depth was still sufficient to host a vessel of this draft.

Two vessels whose remains may still lie within city jurisdiction, possibly beneath the land, and behind the bulkhead line as it existed at the turn of the century, are the schooners Emily Washington and Plumie E. Smith. The Washington was initially stranded north of the city in December 1909, but was removed and "deposited on the flats behind the established bulkhead line near the upper limits of Alexandria" by the Army Corps of Engineers. The vessel lay in four feet of water there, and was secured to the river bottom by three piles driven through her hull in January 1910. Since the site is noted as lying behind the Alexandria bulkhead line, the vessel lay within city limits, beyond which the official bulkhead line ended. The flats would thus have to be those of Oronoco Bay (then at the terminus of the bulkhead line), which since 1965 has been slowly filling in. The Plumie E. Smith, beached after a collision opposite Alexandria in 1911, was later removed by the Corps of Engineers "behind the bulkhead line at the upper limits of the city, and was there broken up with dynamite." Thus, as many as three vessels built prior to 1900--the 1836 Wreck, the Emily Washington, and the Plumie E. Smith--may lie within the confines of Oronoco Bay, or beneath the lands that have been encroaching upon the Bay from the shoreline.

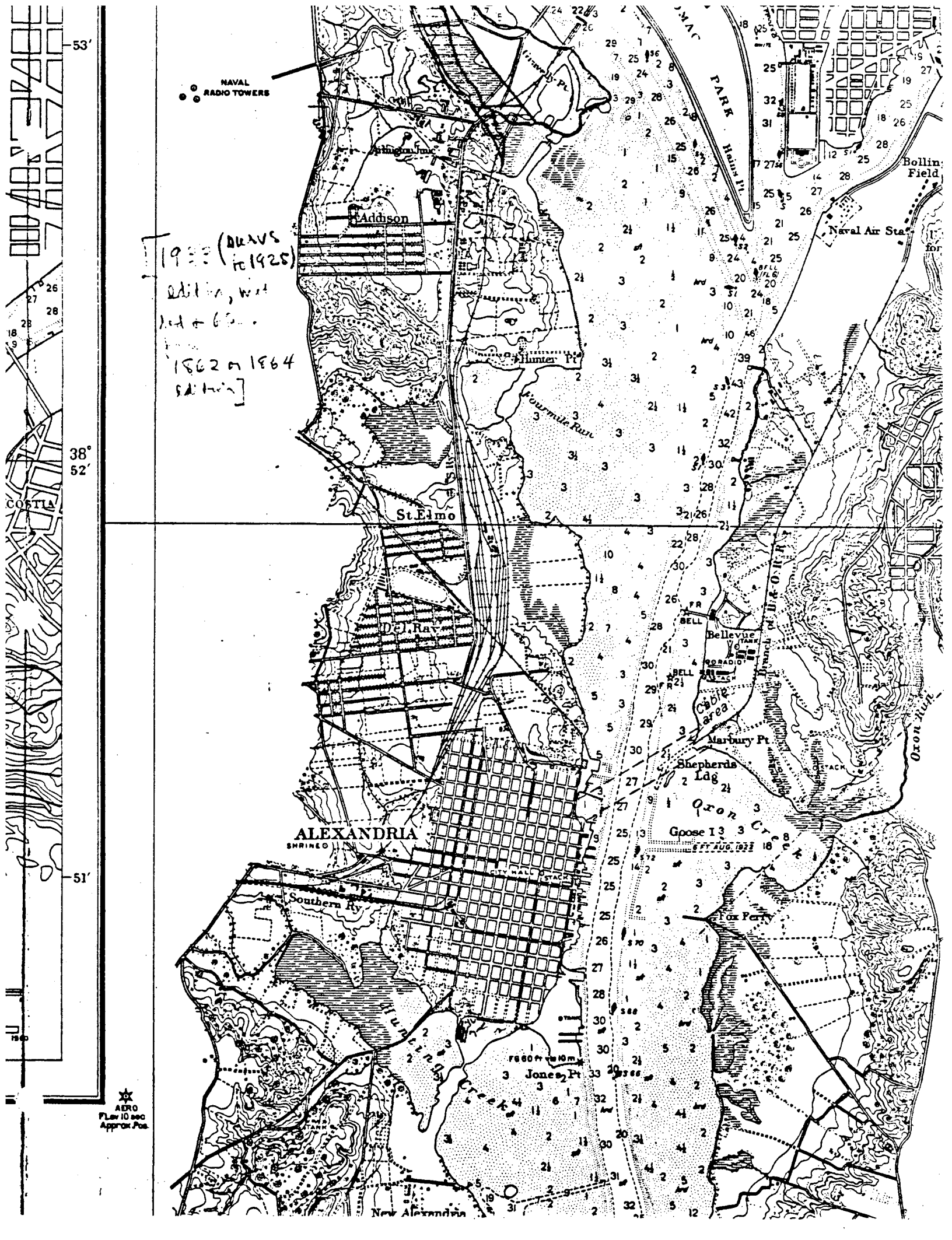
In 1915 the 45-year-old schooner Father & Sons was burned and abandoned at Alexandria. Two years later the schooner Carrie Revelle, built in 1869, was reported as having foundered at Alexandria. In 1931 the four-masted schooner Emerett was towed up to the town and abandoned. This vessel was removed in 1972 to make way for a new marina.

Between 1933 and 1983 a total of 33 vessels are documented as either submerged wrecks or derelicts in the Alexandria region on Coast

Potomac River
Mattawoman Creek to Georgetown.

U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey
No. 560
1933.

Note the joining of the north and south shores of Hunting Creek and the new channel cut to New Alexandria. The main river channel shows a decline in average depth. The waterfront facilities at the extreme lower and upper extremities of the town show signs of development. At New Alexandria, a wharf has been constructed and one shipwreck is noted as lying at the end of the New Alexandria channel cut. The New Alexandria channel was undoubtedly a private dredging operation as no evidence of Corps of Engineers involvement is recorded in the Annual Reports of the Chief of Engineers.



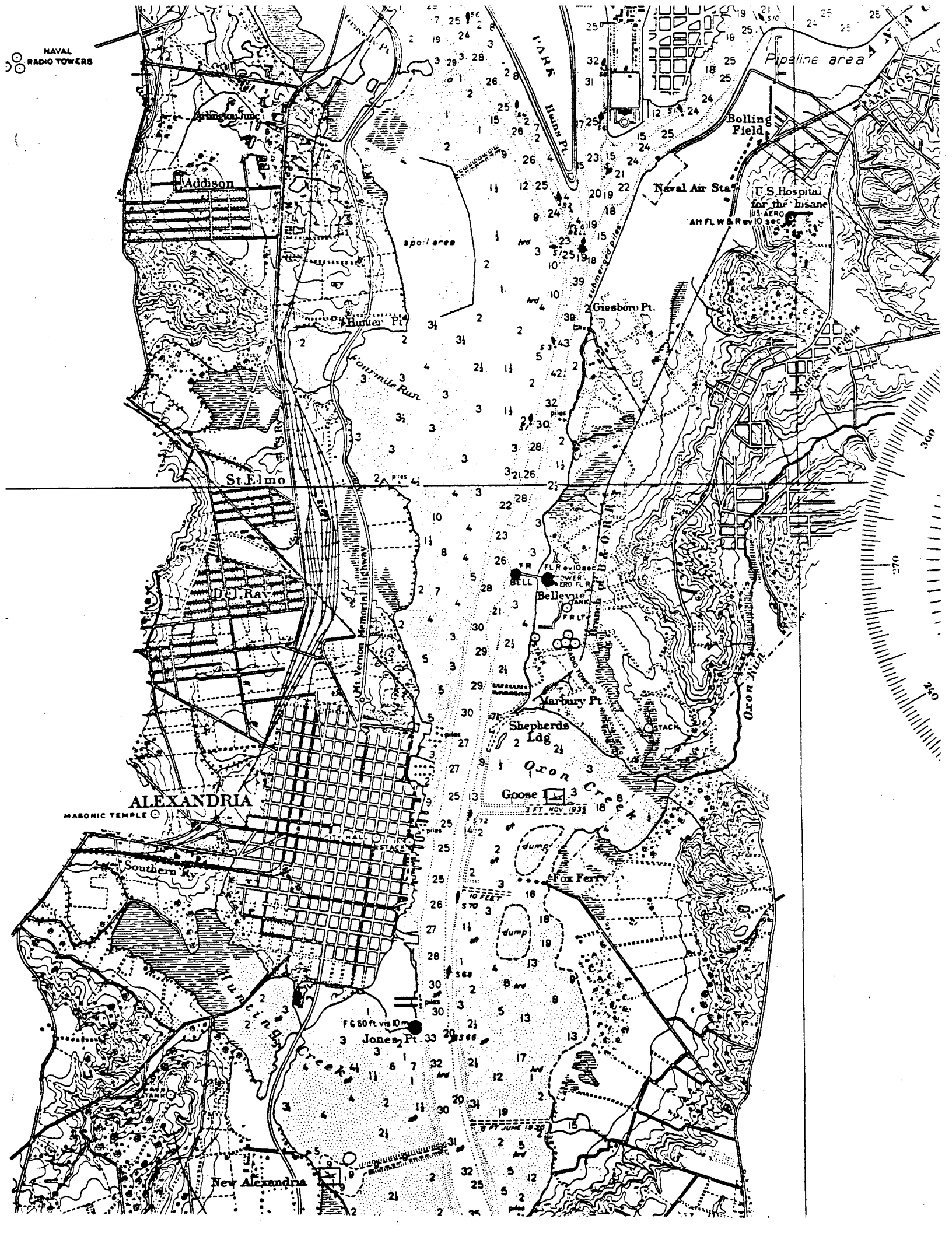
NAVAL RADIO TOWERS

1933 (DEAVS to 1925)
addition, with
1862 or 1864
addition

ALEXANDRIA

AERO
Fluv 10 sec
Approx. Pos.

NAVAL
RADIO TOWERS



Addison

St. Elmo

DeJ. Ray

ALEXANDRIA

Southern Ry

New Alexandria

Pipeline area

Bolling Field

Naval Air Sta

U.S. Hospital for the Insane

Giesbon Pt.

Belleve

Marbury Pt.

Shepherd's Ldg

Goose Cr.

Fox Ferry

Jones Pt.



Potomac River
Mattawoman Creek to Georgetown.

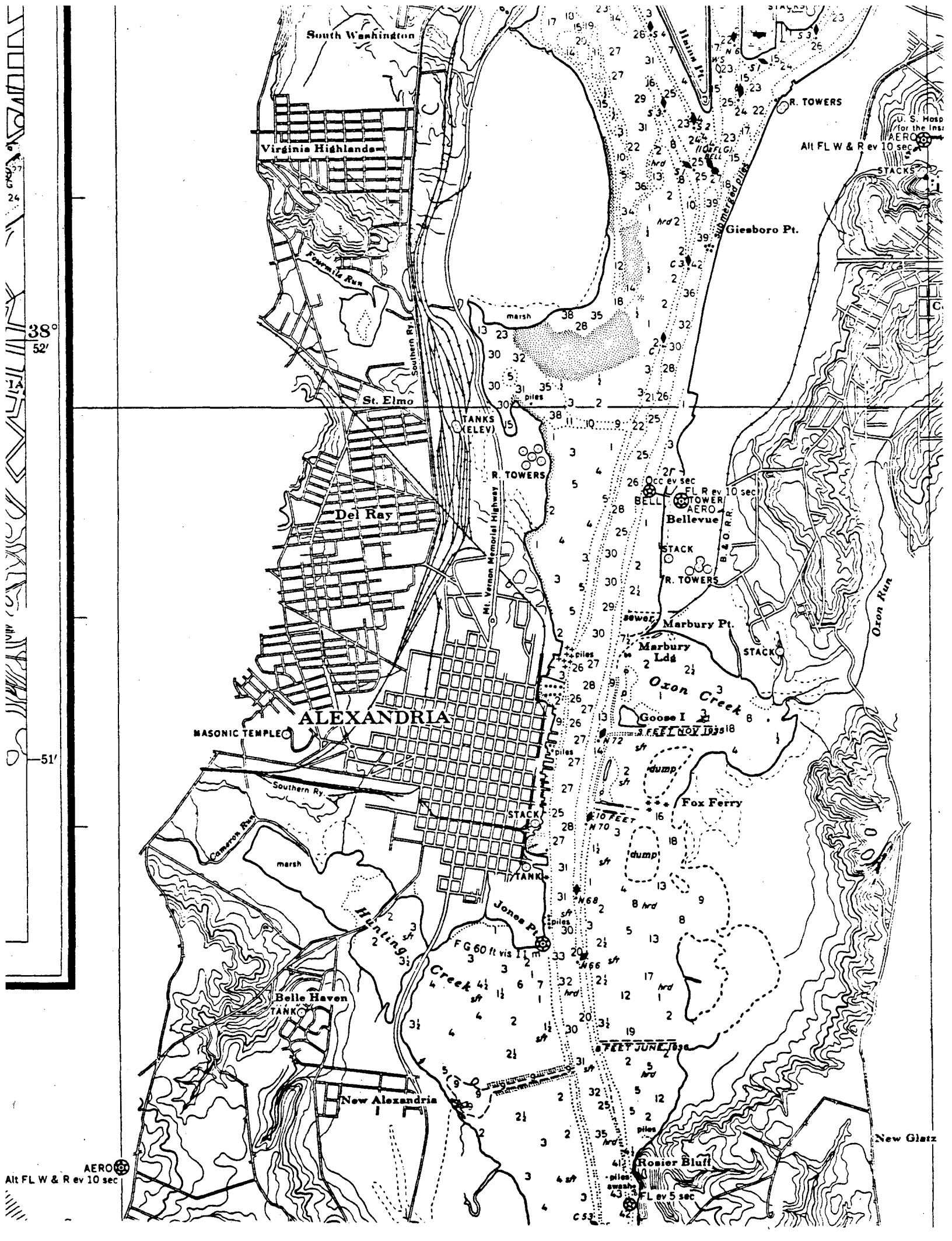
U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey
No. 560
1936.

The New Alexandria channel, in just three years, has silted up to a depth of nine feet from its original maximum depth of 31 feet in 1933. The wreck indicated in 1933 is now displayed as a visible derelict. Two additional cuts have been added to the Maryland shore, one of eight feet depth cut in 1936 opposite New Alexandria, and a second to a depth of ten feet, cut to the approach of Fox's Ferry. Dumping areas north and south of the ruins of the Fox Ferry Landing now appear. The main cut into Oxon Creek, reported at six feet deep in 1922, is now only three feet deep. A visible derelict is reported lying at Goose Island in Oxon Creek. The Alexandria waterfront shows signs of degeneration as piles from old pier ruins now appear in the central waterfront area and on the north side of the town. A roadway now links Alexandria and New Alexandria across the new peninsular points created on Hunting Creek. Opposite Jones Point, on the Maryland side, extensive dredging has resulted in the restructuring of the shore. The dredging was done by the Smoot Sand and Gravel Company for the purpose industrial gravel mining. Fox's Ferry Wharf is now in ruins.

Potomac River
Mattawoman Creek to Georgetown.

U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey
No. 560
1942.

In Hunting Creek, on the south shore, besides the derelict vessel which was earlier recorded as lying at the end of the New Alexandria channel cut, two additional wrecks now appear. One of these wrecks is noted northwest of the derelict, and the second is noted lying immediately south of the derelict. A third wreck now appears lying in the basin of the Alexandria waterfront at the foot of Gibbon Street. On the Maryland side, opposite Alexandria, a total of ten small islands have been formed as a consequence of shoaling. The New Alexandria cut remains stable, although its sides are suggested as being precipitous. The Shepherd's Point railroad wharves are no longer indicated on the map.



South Washington

Virginia Highlands

Formosa Run

St. Elmo

Del Ray

ALEXANDRIA

MASONIC TEMPLE

Southern Ry.

Cowardin Run

marsh

Belle Haven

New Alexandria

TANK

TANK

TANK

TANK

TANK

TANK

Jones Pt.

FG 60 ft vis 1 m

Creek

Hunting

Creek

Creek

Creek

Creek

Creek

Creek

Creek

Creek

Creek

Creek

Haines Pt.

R. TOWERS

All FL W & R ev 10 sec

U. S. Hosp for the Ins AERO

STACKS

Giesboro Pt.

TANKS (ELEV)

R. TOWERS

BELL

TOWER AERO

Bellevue

STACK

R. TOWERS

Marbury Pt.

Marbury Lda

STACK

Oron Creek

Goose I

FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

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FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

FEET NOV 1898

Oron Run

New Glatz

Rosier Bluff

FL ev 5 sec

38° 52'

51'

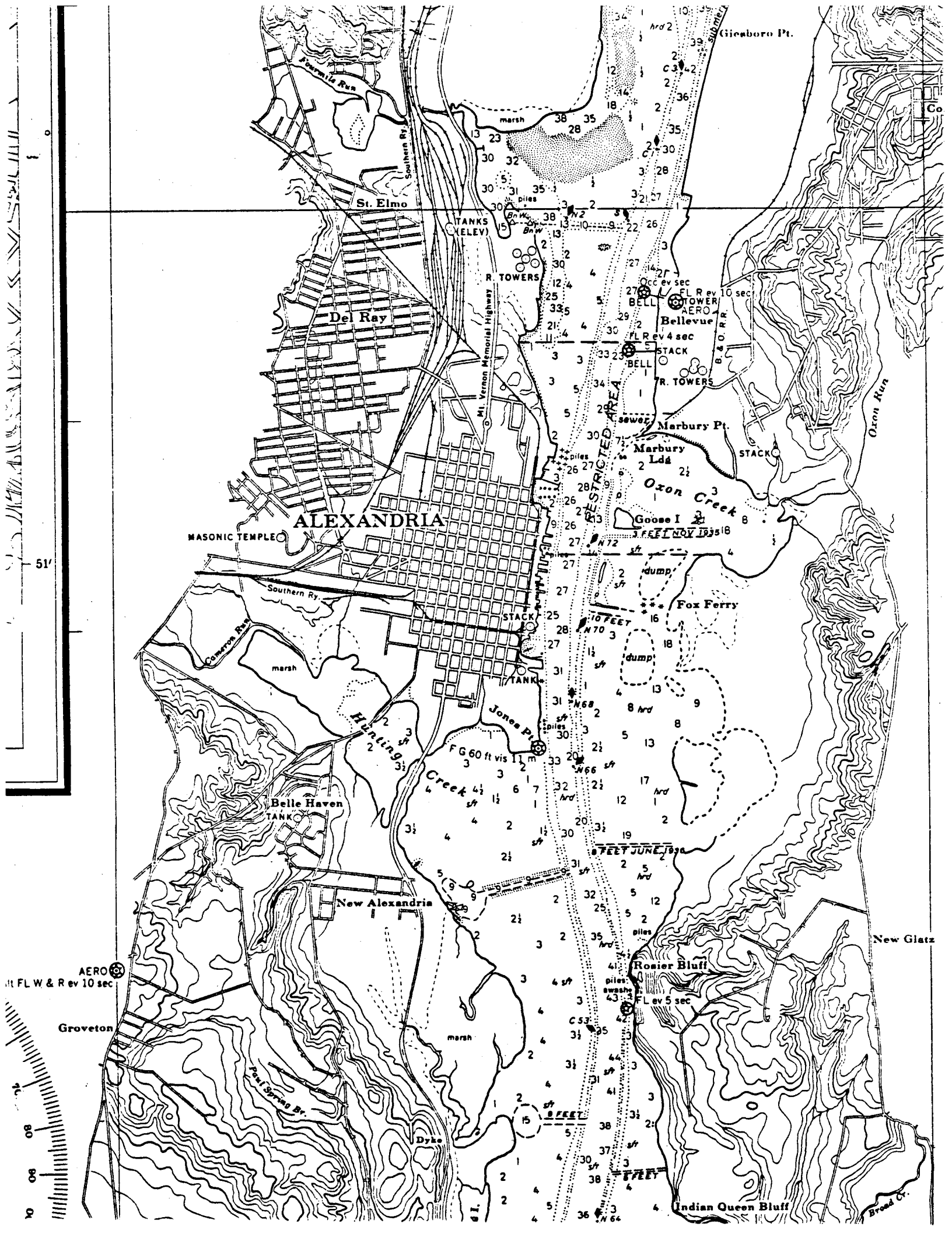
AERO

Alt FL W & R ev 10 sec

Potomac River
Mattawoman Creek to Georgetown.

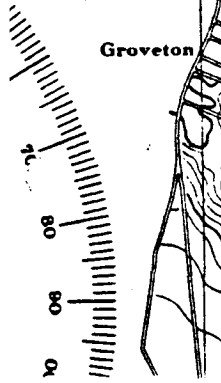
U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey
No. 560
1944.

Note the restricted area between a line running from Queen Street in Alexandria to the Maryland shore and northward to Bellevue, Maryland. Undoubtedly owing to the proximity of the Naval Magazine Wharf at Bellevue, the war-related import of the area, as well as other causes, the area was laid under restriction.



51'

AERO
FL W & Rev 10 sec



Groveton

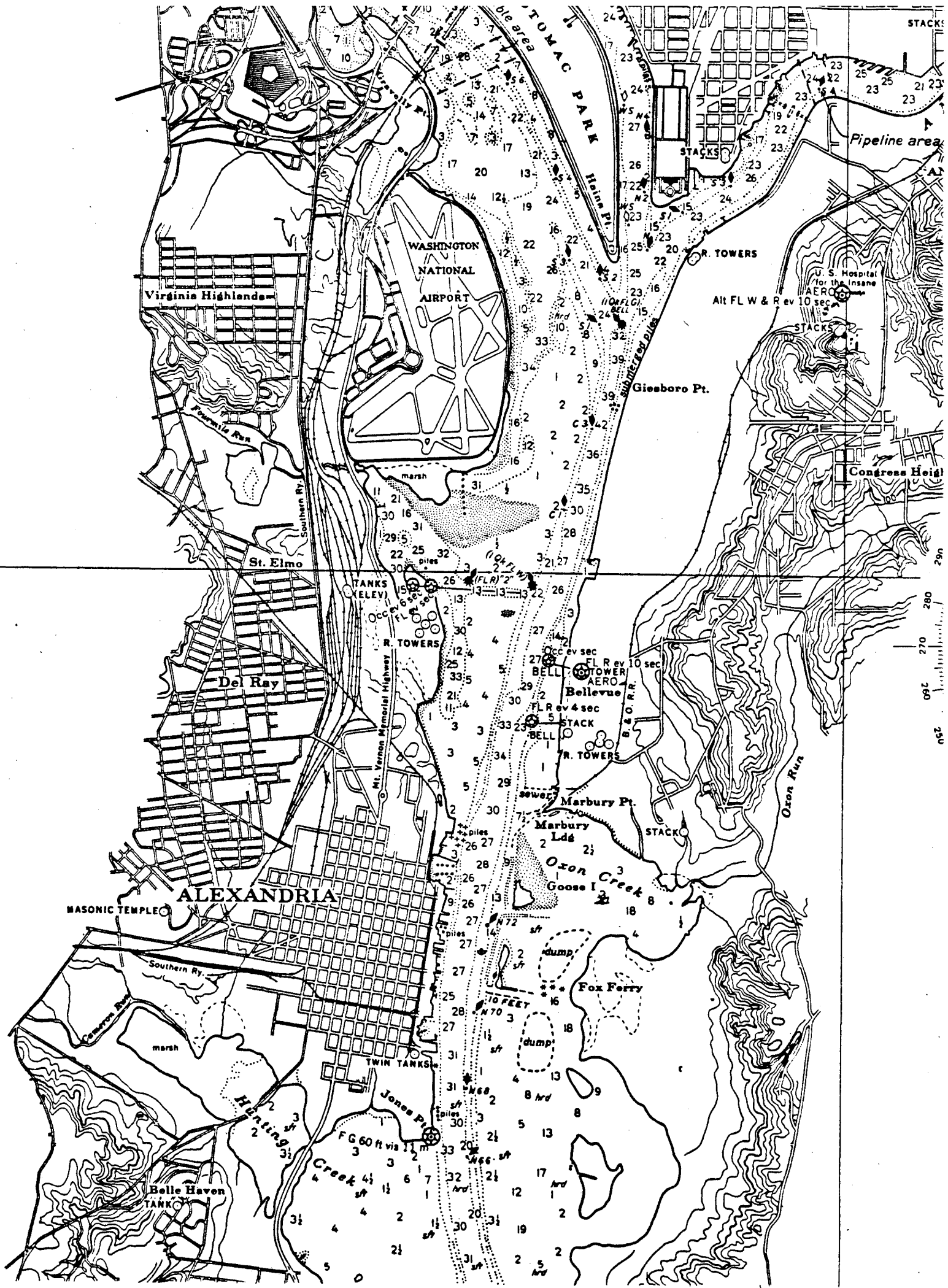
New Glaz

Indian Queen Bluff

Potomac River
Mattawoman Creek to Georgetown.

U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey
No. 560
1947.

Waterfront alterations and evolution
along the Alexandria waterfront
between 1944 and 1947 appears minimal.

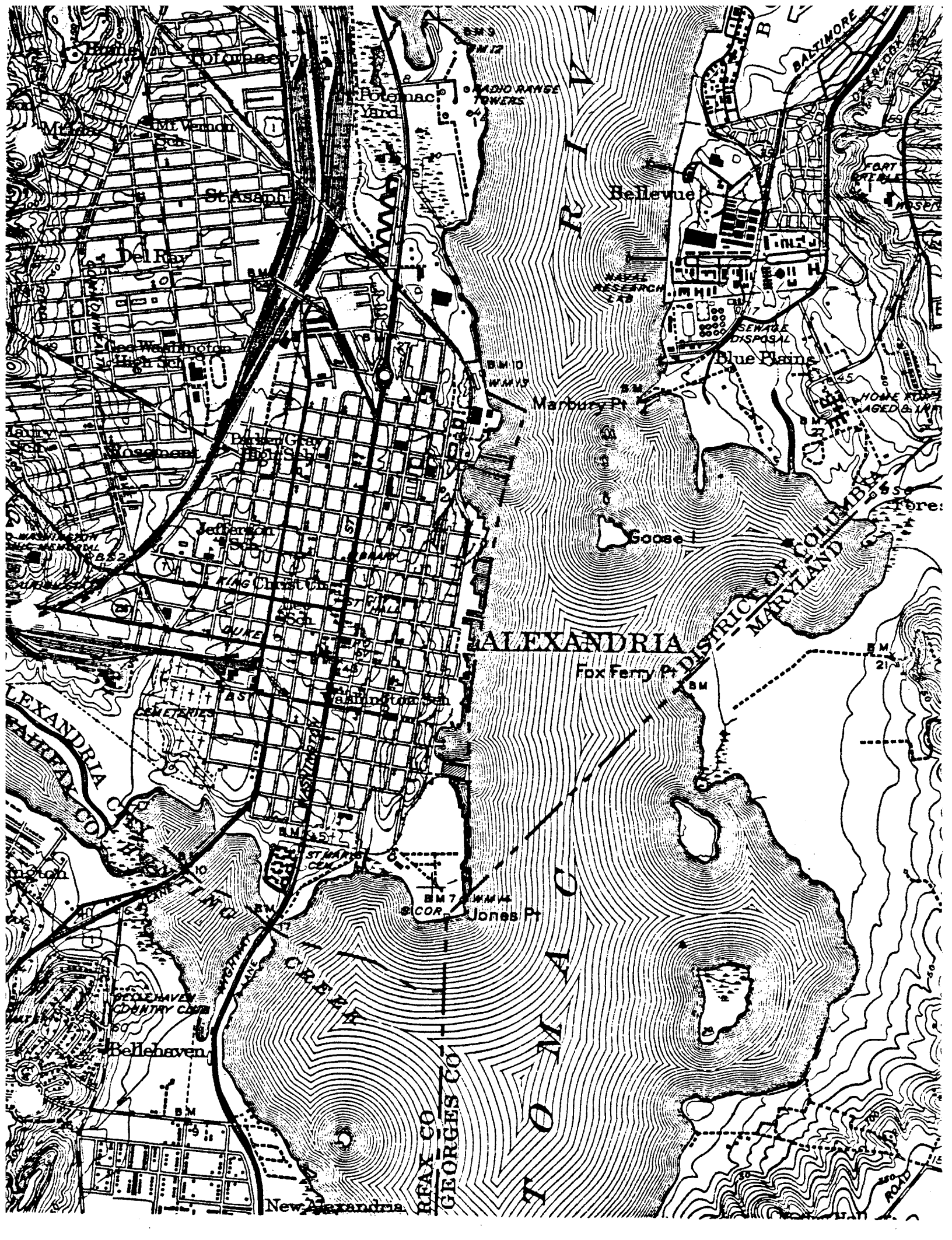


STACKS
Pipeline area
U. S. Hospital for the Insane
AERO
STACKS
Congress Heigl
296
282
072
260
250

Alexandria Quadrangle
7.5 Minute Series.

United States Department of Interior
Geological Survey
1951.

Some minor alterations of the Alexandria waterfront, primarily at the north end of the waterfront, appear. Note the territorial limits of the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Fairfax County as they relate to Alexandria. Smoot Bay, opposite Jones Point, on the Maryland shore, has by this time become a fixed geographical feature.



Alexandria Quadrangle
7.5 Minute Series.

United States Department of Interior
Geological Survey
1965.

The Alexandria waterfront continues to evolve between 1956 and 1965. The piling remains of the old Alexandria Canal wharves have been completely, or nearly so, lost to landfill as the waterfront creeps eastward in that sector. New wharves appear in the cove adjacent to the U.S. Naval Reservation at the foot of Gibbon Street, and the wreck, indicated on the 1956 chart is no longer present. The Wilson Bridge has joined Maryland and Virginia at Jones Point. Route 295 now crosses Oxon Creek.

Alexandria Quadrangle
7.5 Minute Series.

United States Department of Interior
Geological Survey
1972.

Minor development along the Alexandria waterfront continues. The cove north of Oronoco Street has been partially filled as the shoreline continues to creep eastward. A few alterations or additions to wharf features also appear.

On the Maryland side, Goose Island has begun to break into two smaller units. North of Alexandria, Daingerfield Island loses some of its shoreline to the river's encroachment.



WASHINGTON Sailing Marina

Light

Dangerfield Island

Light

Light

Shepherds Landing

Blue Pla

Mud

Goose Island

Oron

Fox Ferry Pt.

U S NAVAL RESERVATION

WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL BRIDGE

CAPITAL

PRINCE GEORGES CO

Jones Point

ALEXANDRIA CITY FAIRFAX CO

Creek

Belle Haven Country Club

New Alexandria

and Geodetic Survey or National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration charts, or on aerial photographs. A compilation of these sites and their numerical designations appear on page 367. Not until 1933 do published nautical charts of the region begin to designate wreck sites, although such federally published charts of the Potomac have been produced since the Civil War era. The 1936 C&G chart notes only two vessels in the study area. One of these, No. 1, was a visible derelict in Hunting Creek off the New Alexandria Channel, and the second, No. 2, was a visible derelict in Oxon Creek. In 1942, in addition to the above-mentioned sites, wrecks No. 3 and No. 4, both submerged, are noted in the vicinity of New Alexandria, and a third, No. 5, in the harbor basin at Alexandria at the foot of Gibbon Street. No. 5 is believed to have been the Emerett.

Not until 1956 do more derelict or wreck sites appear on the charts. The first noted derelict lying off New Alexandria Channel, No. 1, has disappeared by this time, and the Oxon Creek Wreck, No. 2, is now noted as submerged. The other wrecks noted above at Alexandria and in Hunting Creek remain. Five new wreck sites, representing possibly as many as nine individual vessels, have been added. The first, No. 6, lies submerged in four feet of water east of the Potomac Yards north of Alexandria. A second, No. 7, is a visible derelict which lies on the ruins off Fox Ferry Point, at the end of the old stone ferry landing wharf on the Maryland shore. Three other site designations, No. 8, No. 9, and No. 10, lie submerged at the north end of Smoot Bay on the Maryland side of the river. Comparison of 1980 aerial photographs taken for the Prince George's County, Maryland, Park and Planning Commission in 1980 with the 1956 C&G nautical chart indicates as many as three vessels clustered

in the position of No. 8 and three more in the position of No. 9.

By 1983 27 wrecks or derelicts are recorded in map and photo as lying in the study area. The original No. 1 (or possibly a second wreck in the same location) reappears off New Alexandria. Wreck No. 2 has disappeared beneath the new bridge span of Route 295 which crosses Oxon Creek. This wreck may have been removed but was more than likely destroyed during bridge construction. Wreck No. 3 remains but No. 4 and No. 5 are no longer noted. Wreck No. 5, if it was indeed the Emerett, was removed in 1972. Wreck No. 6 is now marked by a buoy. No. 7 is noted only by the initials "wk." No. 8 cluster and No. 9 cluster are still present, but No. 10 is no longer listed.

Thirteen new wreck symbols appear on the 1983 chart, one of them actually representing a total of five vessels. Wreck No. 11 is situated adjacent to the site of No. 10 and may possibly be the same vessel. Nos. 12, 13, 14, and 15 lie in a spoil area of 20th-century deposition north of the Woodrow Wilson Bridge and southwest of Fox Ferry Point. No. 14 is not one vessel as noted on the chart, but five vessels lying in a line, port to starboard sides butting, all of which appear on the 1980 aerial photograph to be square-ended. No. 15 lies close by, but separated by perhaps a score of yards north of the No. 14 cluster. This vessel, too, appears to be square-ended. The six vessels in No. 14 and No. 15 are barges once employed in the construction of the Wilson Bridge and abandoned after its completion (Freeman, p.c.). Wrecks Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23 lie in Smoot Bay, an embayment which has been created by 20th-century gravel mine dredging. No. 24 lies on the east edge of the main channel off Oxon Creek and may also be observed

as a faint anomaly in the 1980 aerial photograph. Also visible is a possible wreck site, designated No. 25, which does not appear as a wreck site on the 1983 nautical chart but is suggested by the 1980 aerial photograph.

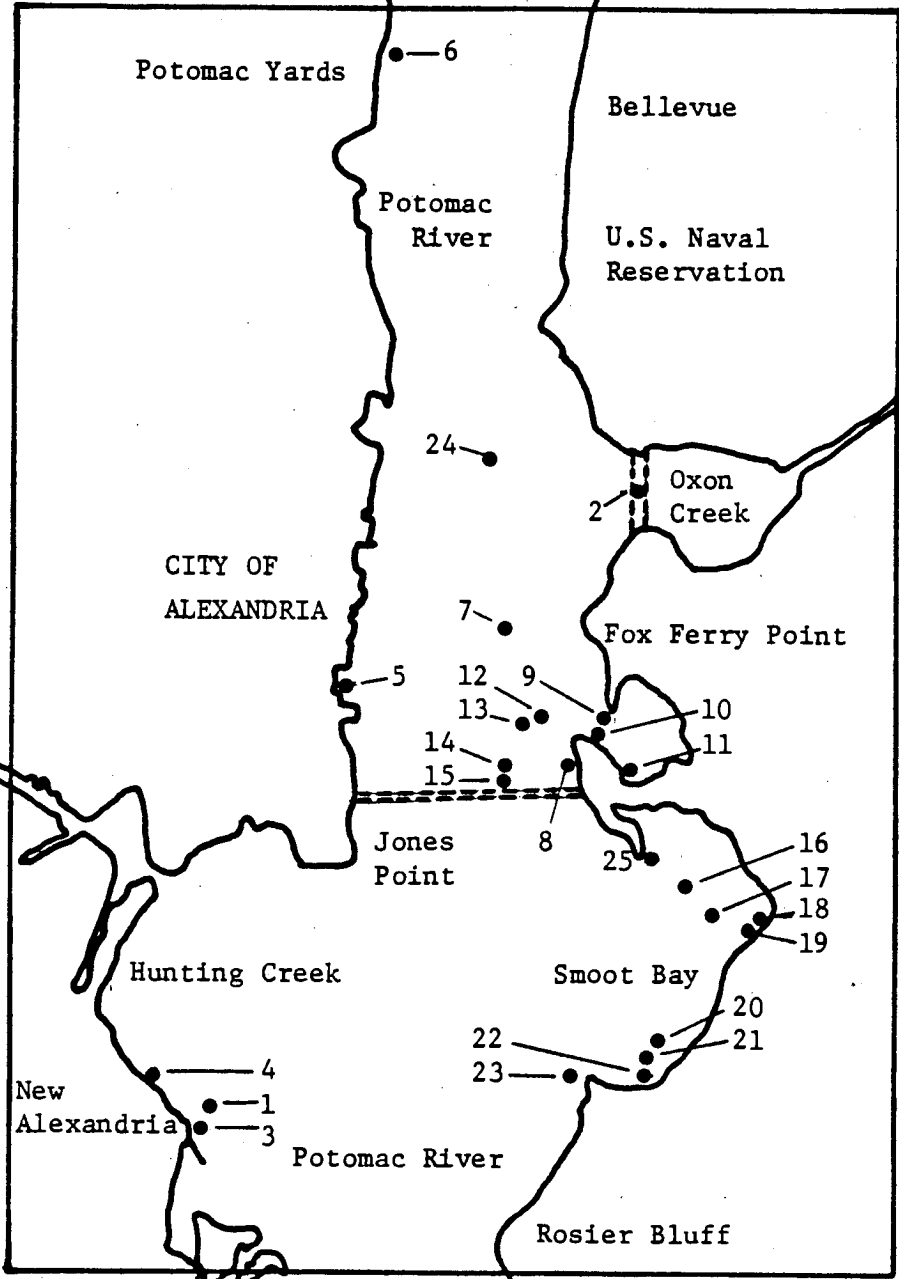
Survivability of the Shipwreck Resource Base

Of the total of 45 documented vessels sunk or abandoned in and about Alexandria between 1724 and 1931 (a total not inclusive of the unidentified numbers abandoned and allowed to sink at their moorings before the ordinance of 1799 and its republication in 1808, of the undocumented number burned by the British in 1814, or of any of the other unverifiable but likely losses in the study area), 31 were definitely or probably raised. One was dynamited, and another pinned to the bottom with pilings. Thus, a total of twelve documented wrecks lost in the waters of Alexandria is left. Of these, one is of questionable presence, as it may have been lost in Hunting Creek, Accomac County, instead of Hunting Creek, Fairfax County. Thus, a final base of eleven documented but unaccountable losses exists.

In 1910 and 1911 dredging operations of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers were carried out, dredging from the Alexandria harbor line to the channel to a depth of 24 feet. These operations not only cleared the Alexandria waterfront from the old outlet of the Alexandria Canal to the southern terminus of the Alexandria waterfront, but resulted in the removal of 13 shipwrecks from the dredged area and the filling in of Battery Cove. Subsequent dredging carried out in later years extended

Shipwreck Locations in
Alexandria Study Area
1933-1983.

This map presents the shipwreck population of the Alexandria Study Area for the years 1933 through 1983. Site designation numbers relate to text descriptions of pages 384 through 386. All site locations have been taken from Coast and Geodetic charts, NOAA charts, aerial photographs, and quadrangle charts of the region.



Potomac Yards

Bellevue

Potomac River

U.S. Naval Reservation

24

Oxon Creek

CITY OF ALEXANDRIA

7

Fox Ferry Point

5

12

9

10

13

11

14

15

Jones Point

8

25

16

17

18

19

Hunting Creek

Smoot Bay

20

New Alexandria

4

1

3

22

23

21

Potomac River

Rosier Bluff

the controlling depth of the harbor line to 26 feet, well below that of the colonial era. Private dredging of wharf slips, particularly in the upper end of the waterfront, was carried out sporadically from 1875 onward, and may have been undertaken at even earlier dates. Data on privately sponsored slip dredging is sparse, and no information has been found to suggest that wreck removal was undertaken in the few instances that are documented. Of the eleven verifiable but unaccounted-for vessel losses in the Alexandria vicinity, two occurred after the 1910-1911 dredging operations, further reducing the pre-1910 base to nine.

The consequences of the waterfront and slip dredging, and the removal of 13 shipwrecks, four more than the documented, but unaccounted-for, nine, suggest that all of the resource base along the waterfront beyond the piling line, and much which lies behind the piling line in many of the slip areas, has been destroyed or removed. The discrepancy in the number of vessels dredged up as compared to those which have been documented may be accounted for by the unidentified numbers burned during the War of 1812, the derelict abandonments in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and undocumented abandonments and founderingings.

Those vessels which have been documented on nautical charts and aerial photographs from 1933 onward in and about the vicinity of Alexandria, that is, Nos. 1 through 25, but particularly Nos. 3 through 25, are probably of little cultural import or of nominal historical or archaeological value owing to their recent deposition and probable 20th-century origins. Of the two 1936 wrecks noted, No. 1 may no longer remain owing to the construction of the Route 295 overpass over its resting place. Personal communications on December 20, 1984, between this investigator

and Mr. Michael Freeman, a professional ship salvor, dive shop owner, and resident of Oxon Hill, Maryland, revealed the almost total removal of wreck No. 2 by Freeman, under contract to a local property owner at New Alexandria who wished the "eyesore" dismantled. Though submerged portions of the hull remain, the site, according to Freeman, was a wooden work boat of 20th-century origin. No. 1023

Freeman related that he removed another vessel in December 1977. This vessel was an out-of-commission former U.S. Navy tug which lay in the vicinity of No. 14 cluster. The vessel, stranded on the spoil pile north of the Wilson Bridge, was entirely removed by Freeman under contract with the Washington, D.C., city government and hauled off for scrap.

Although the flats opposite Alexandria southeast of Jones Point have, since at least 1886, served as a veritable graveyard of ships which included as its residents such vessels as the Armenia and the City of Alexandria (both burned at Alexandria), and the steamers W. W. Coit and W. W. Corcoran (burned at Washington), no note of these vessels appears on the 1936 nautical chart of the vicinity. It is presumed that the hulks may have been stripped and removed, perhaps during the period of World War I, or at some date afterwards, as were many larger hulks elsewhere along the river shores. It is also possible that their remains may have slipped beneath the waters before note of their positions could be made and have subsequently silted over.

As it is impossible to directly document those vessels which have simply been abandoned or lost without record, it is difficult to determine

exactly how large the potential shipwreck resource base actually is. However, by extrapolation of certain data pertaining to Alexandria's merchant fleet for a sample period, for the years 1869-1870, when the registration of such vessels was first federally documented, it is possible to draw some limited conclusions concerning typical vessel life, and hence probabilities concerning possible regional abandonments.

In 1870 the United States Government published Merchant Vessels of the United States for the first time. In this annual publication (which continues to the present) was documented the name, type, registration number, gross tonnage, and home port of every U.S. merchant vessel registered in service. By 1884 additional data, such as net tons, dimensions, year built, and place of construction, were included, as well as a listing of vessels lost during the year. In 1869-1870 the Alexandria merchant fleet included 76 schooners, two longboat schooners, 33 sloops, 19 canal boats, three barges, and 14 steam-powered vessels (including three steam paddle boats), totalling 148 vessels.

By 1884, near the sunset of Alexandria's long maritime history, only 46 of the original 148 vessels home-ported in the town in 1869-1870 were still registered as in service. Of these 25 were still home-ported at Alexandria. By the year 1900 only seven of the 1869-1870 fleet was still afloat. It is of note that by 1884, at the end of the Alexandria Canal operation, all of the canal boats and barges of the 1869-1870 fleet are no longer listed. Yet of the 148 vessels of the 1869-1870 fleet, only one vessel is reported as having been shipwrecked (though not in local waters). What happened to the fleet? Were they all broken up? Perhaps, but it is likely that many may have simply been hauled

into various nearby backwaters, such as Oronoco Bay, and abandoned.

If precedent holds true, the abandonment of canal barges and boats in the vicinity of the canal, if not in the system itself, is likely. The discovery of canal boats in the turning basin of the Richmond Canal during the recent archaeological excavation there suggests that such a possibility might hold true for the Alexandria Canal. One such typical abandonment of coal barges and canal boats on mudflats of the Eastern Branch is documented in Corps of Engineers Records. These derelicts, totaling seven unidentified craft, were eventually burned to the water's edge or lodged behind a wall of riprap and buried beneath fill during land reclamation in the area in 1908.

The 1869-1870 Alexandria merchant fleet, mostly small-tonnage craft working the river fisheries or the canal, do not, of course, represent the entirety of the vessels which operated out of Alexandria. They merely represent a sampling to indicate the potential extent of abandonments which may have occurred in the vicinity which went unrecorded. During a federally funded hands-on submerged cultural resources study of the Patuxent River system in Maryland by this investigator during the period 1977-1980, 142 vessel sites were documented through the written record and oral history. Of these, fully 33 percent were abandonment sites, without any record other than oral tradition to record their existence, which have occurred during the last 70 years. The possible existence of similar and earlier sites, for which there is not even the spoken word to recall, is undoubtedly great. So it may be for Alexandria.

Based upon historical realities, known and conjectured shipwreck distribution patterns discussed in the foregoing, and stress factors

which have influenced the documented and conjectured degree of site survival, the following geographical transects have been divided into survival/probability areas. Each area discussed corresponds to those indicated on page 393.

TRANSECT 1

Potomac Yard/Bellevue to Oronoco Bay/Marbury Point--Low-Probability Area

Within this area only one vessel of possible historical/archaeological value has been lost. All other vessels documented on map or aerial photos are of recent deposition and little cultural import.

TRANSECT 2

Oronoco Bay--High Probability

Three vessels--the 1836 Wreck, the Emily Washington, and the Plumie E. Smith--have definitely been disposed of in this small body of water. Oronoco Bay has apparently never been dredged, even though it lies in close proximity to areas of highly concentrated maritime activity such as the Alexandria Canal outlet, the City Wharf, and other such facilities, thereby adding to the probability of site survival. At least one of the documented vessels, the 1836 Wreck, may lie beneath fill which has in recent years been deposited in the basin. The Emily Washington was specifically pinned to the bottom in four feet of water in the basin behind the piling line. Only the remains of the Plumie E. Smith, which was dynamited, may be so dispersed as to be of little import. In addition to the documented vessels, there is a fair possibility that the flats of Oronoco Bay may have served as a minor derelict disposal area in which vessels such as canal boats and barges associated with the Alexandria Canal may have come to rest.

TRANSECT 3

Oxon Creek--Minimal Probability

The one documented wreck in this waterway has apparently been destroyed or buried beneath the Route 295 Bridge. No other vessels are believed to lie in this sector.

Transect Divisions of the
Alexandria Study Area.

TRANSECT 4

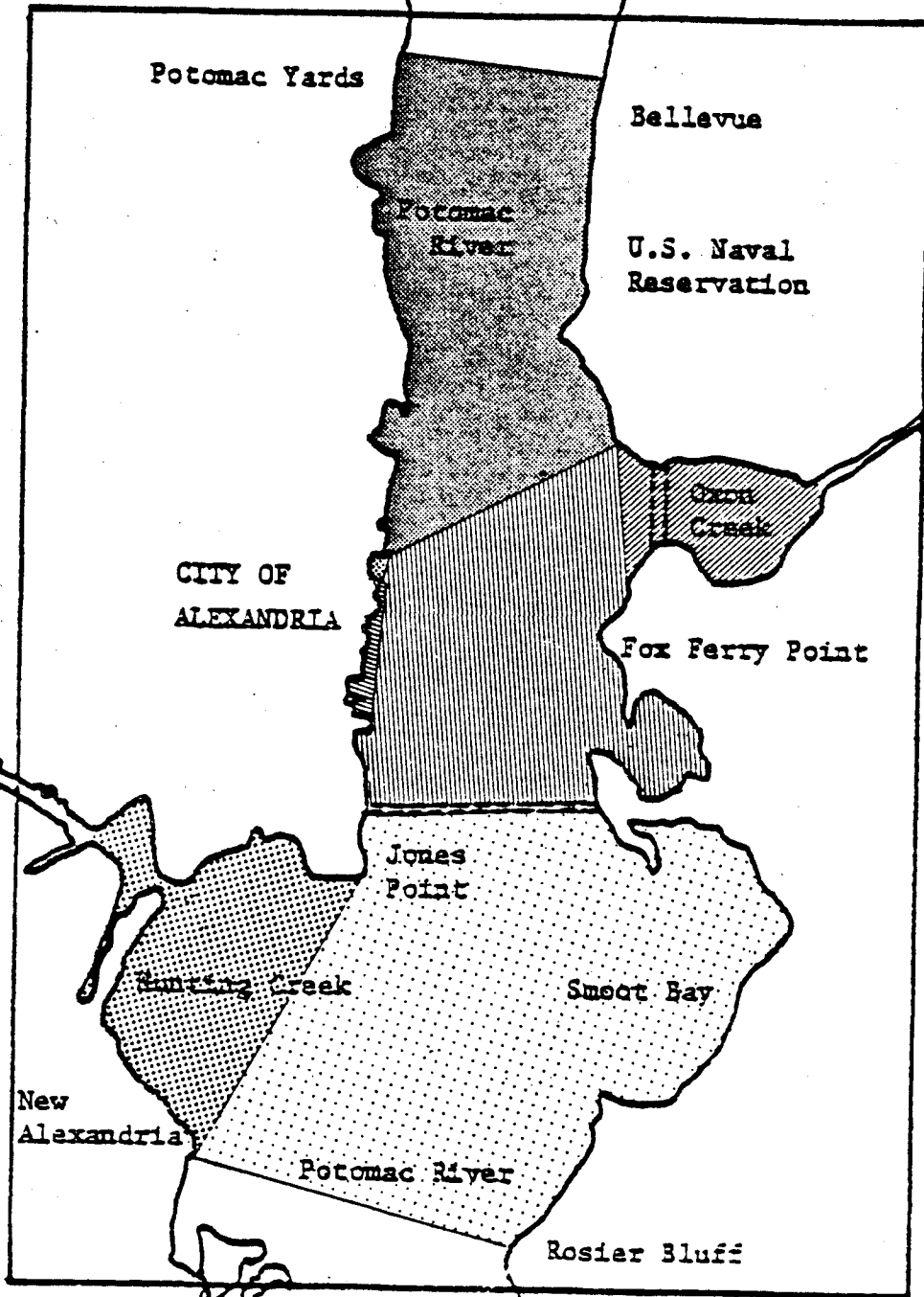
Marbury Point/Oronoco Bay to Woodrow Wilson Bridge--Minimal Probability

Although numerous sunken and derelict vessels have been lost in this transect, and many vessels appear on charts and aerial photographs from 1942 to 1983, this area is considered a low-probability sector. Not only has the river channel been dredged numerous times, resulting in the removal of at least 13 vessels sunk prior to 1910-1911, the actual dropoff fronting the Alexandria waterfront has been dredged to several feet below its colonial depth. Those vessels which appear on 20th-century charts, principally from the mid-century to the present, are undoubtedly of recent construction and are therefore of no archaeological interest.








TRANSECT 5

The Alexandria Waterfront/Oronoco Bay to Franklin Street (west of piling line)--Medium Probability

Three definite submerged wrecks have been documented lying within various waterfront slips by bathometric studies undertaken in 1981 and on file with Alexandria Archeology Project. Owing to the filling in of the waterfront between 1785 and 1791, as it existed in the pre-Revolutionary era, it is improbable that vessels derelicted or sunk at their moorings which predate 1791 will be found within the waterfront. Hulls which postdate that period, particularly from 1791 to 1808, might possibly be encountered, although such an event is unlikely. Derelicts allowed to sink at anchor during that period were ordered removed, but no notice of compliance has been found. The area in which the abandonments were made during this period, in the vicinity of the City Wharf, particularly in a number of private or corporately owned areas, were privately dredged from 1875 onward. Other areas, such as those immediately south of the Public Wharf, have been filled in in recent years. At the south end of the waterfront, from the Strand to the marina cove, some dredging and derelict removal (such as that of the schooner Emerett) has been carried out, further reducing chances of vessel survival behind the piling line. Since no comprehensive record of slip dredging has been found, however, and the historic verification of vessel losses here having been made, historic vessel survival within Transect 5 must be considered a medium probability.



MAP KEY

-  Transect 1
-  Transect 2
-  Transect 3
-  Transect 4
-  Transect 5
-  Transect 6
-  Transect 7

TRANSECT 6

Hunting Creek/Jones Point to New Alexandria--Minimal Probability

Although several vessels have been documented on recent maps as derelicted or sunk in this transect, and maritime traffic of a very minor nature was carried out until the late 19th century, Hunting Creek has apparently been historically inaccessible to watercraft (except via a late-19th-century but short-lived dredged channel), and as a consequence is unlikely to offer the probability of any substantial shipwreck sites of an archaeological or historical value.

TRANSECT 7

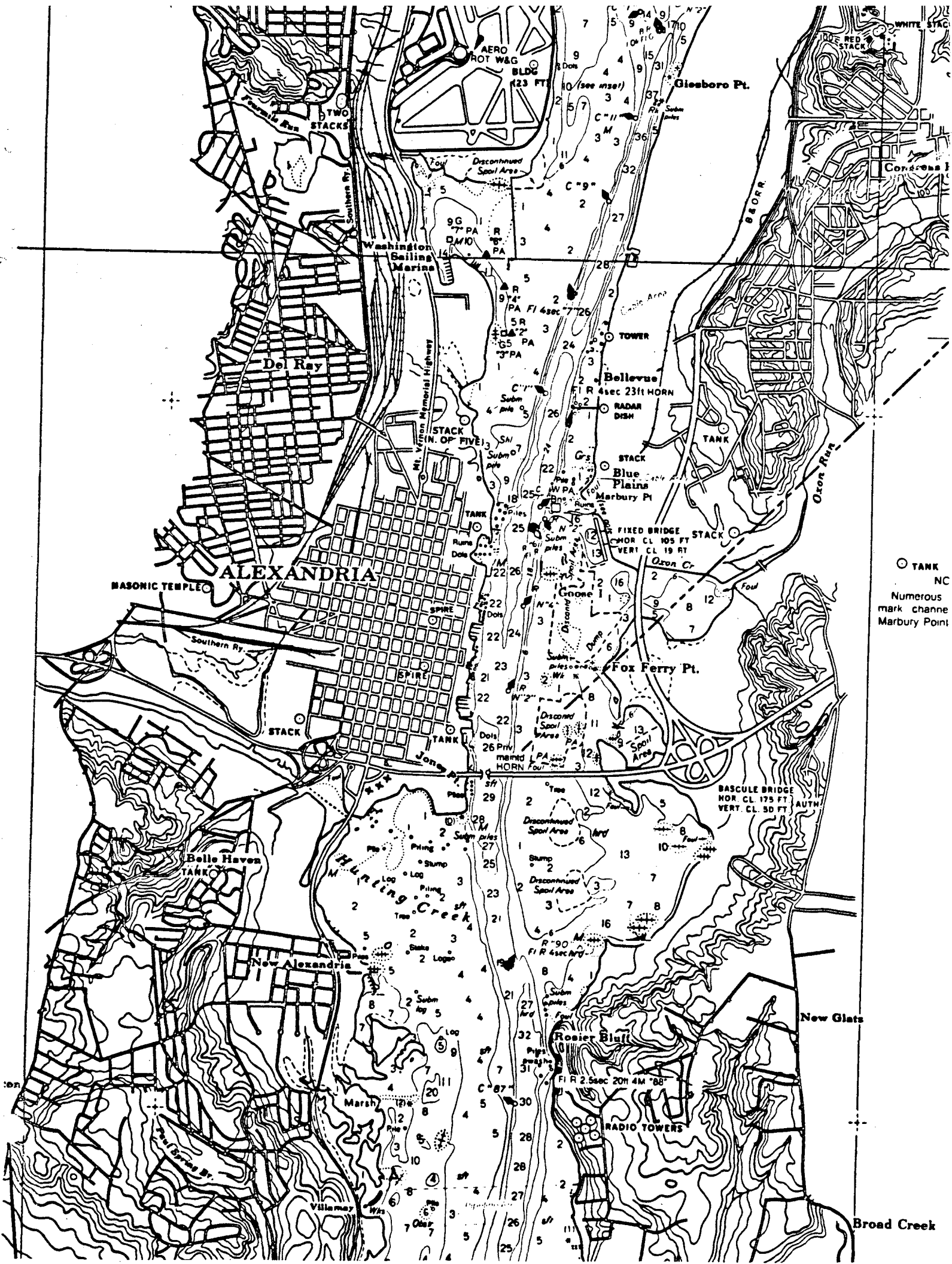
Jones Point/New Alexandria to Smoot Bay--Medium Probability

The tradition of vessel abandonment, particularly steamboats which have burned or been discarded in the Alexandria-Washington area, frequently was played out in this reach, usually on the Maryland flats of Washington Park, immediately north of Rosier Bluff. Smoot Bay, a waterway also known in recent years as the Bay of the Americas, is of 20th-century creation. The majority of derelicts and sunken vessels lying in this vicinity, therefore, most of which have appeared on nautical charts only in recent years, are undoubtedly of 20th-century origin, and therefore of little or no historical or archaeological value. However, owing to the documented tradition of vessel abandonment on the fringes of the area, particularly on the flats above Rosier Bluff, at least from the last quarter of the 19th century, the possibility of a significant archaeological or historical vessel site of undocumented nature existing is strong.

Potomac River
Mattawoman Creek to Georgetown.

National Oceanic and Atmospheric
Administration
No. 12289
1983.

This, the most recent nautical chart of the Potomac region below Washington and adjacent to Alexandria, portrays Smoot Bay as a virtual graveyard of sunken and derelict vessels. The area immediately north of the Wilson Bridge is also littered with wrecks. The eastern side of the Potomac fronting Alexandria is heavy with spoil dumps. The facilities at Blue Plains, opposite upper Alexandria, have begun to project structures into the river. River depth in the main channel is now only 22 feet.



○ TANK
NC
Numerous
mark channe
Marbury Point

INSERT SITES

The wealth of the archaeological resource base lying within the Alexandria study area is perhaps more pronounced in terms of insert sites than shipwreck sites. Insert sites—that is, structures inserted into marine environment to perform or assist in the performance of a specific function—are largely limited to wharf and harbor facilities, landings, and spatial alterations of the marine environment to assist in the improvement of navigation, vessel berthings, and the loading and unloading of vessel cargoes and passengers. Such facilities and spatial alterations have evolved with the City of Alexandria and the surrounding region as the tasks and vessels they have been created to assist and engage have evolved. A wharf which once serviced sailing vessels that operated under wind power would not, perhaps, be suitable to service a vessel designed to operate under steampower.

The best representations of historic structures or concentrations of intentional insertions are harbor constructions, piers, wharves, ferry landings, small and large craft service landings, and other harbor constructions of a varied array. Falconer (144) defines the term harbor thus:

A general name given to any sea-port or haven; as also to any place convenient for mooring shipping, although at a great distance from the sea. The qualities requisite in a good harbour are that the bottom be entirely free from rocks or shallows; that the opening be of sufficient extent to admit the entrance or departure of large ships, without difficulty; that it should have good anchoring ground, and be easy of access; that it should be well defended from the violence of the wind and sea; that it should have room and convenience to receive the shipping of different nations, and those which are laden with different merchandise; that it be furnished with a good light-house, and have variety of proper rings, posts, moorings, &c. in order to remove or secure the vessels contained therein: and

finally, that it have plenty of wood, and other materials for firing, besides hemp, iron, mariners, &c.

Stevenson, who wrote nearly a century after Falconer, wrote that a harbor might be defined as any arrangement of piers or breakwaters, or of both, which encloses and so tranquilizes a sheet of water, that vessels may be safely anchored or moored at quays or wharves which are formed by the structure. A pier was noted as a structure which was generally straight and usually projected at right angles to the coastline, with a free end at its seaward extremity, and, unless the wind blew directly in upon the shore, a straight pier would always afford some shelter on its lee side. Piers also provided access to deep-water craft and were useful in loading and unloading cargoes. A quay or wharf, said Stevenson, was usually built parallel to the line of shore. It afforded no shelter of any kind, and the only advantage it possessed was that of enabling vessels to load and unload without their having to "beach," or where the shores were steep, even to take the ground (Stevenson 1874: 4-5). Falconer (214) defined a pier as "a strong mound, or fence, projecting into the sea, to break off the violence of the waves from the entrance of a harbour."

In the 18th century the definition of wharf differed from the contemporary definition. Falconer (319) defines a wharf as

a perpendicular building of wood or stone raised on the shore of a road or harbour, for the convenience of lading or discharging a vessel by means of cranes, tackles, capsterns, &c. A wharf is built stronger or slighter, in proportion to the effort of the tide or sea which it is to resist, and to the weight which it is intended to support.

Bradford notes that the wharf is a projecting structure extending to a depth of water sufficient to accommodate vessels alongside, where they are

discharged, loaded and repaired. He notes also that the term "wharf" has been somewhat superseded by the word "pier" when it is applied to the great solid structures of the larger municipalities, but that the pier is usually of greater length than a wharf (Bradford 1952: 194, 299).

Landings are generally undeveloped and provide little in the way of structural design other than a possible spatial alteration to accommodate a clear beaching point for small craft. Landings in colonial times were frequently the terminus points of rolling roads employed for the rolling of hogsheads of tobacco from plantations to the water's edge. At the landings, the hogsheads were taken aboard tobacco "drudgers" or "druggers," or aboard scows or flatbottomed boats specifically suited for calling at landings, and hauled to larger ships lying in deeper water. Landings frequently became the focal point of social as well as commercial activity on the riverfront, and many, such as at West Point, eventually developed formal waterfront harbor facilities. Landings frequently represent sites of considerable random deposition in terms of cultural materials since there was usually no formal facilities or organized societal areas.

Prior to the establishment of bridges across the Potomac, ferry operations provided the only means of transporting travelers crossing the Potomac from one side of the river to the other. Ferry operations served travelers crossing the Potomac to Fox's Ferry Landing from Alexandria until nearly the end of 19th century, and to Washington well into the 20th century. Little is known concerning the practical construction of 17th/18th-century ferry landings, although examination of several ferry landing remains in the South River and Patuxent River in Maryland of 18th and 19th-century construction has

provided some insight into structural details.

It is imperative that some appreciation of the import of the environment into which insert sites have been established be maintained. The location and construction of even the most primitive marine facility in historic times required certain environmental conditions. Entrance to a harbor or the approach to a wharf always required seaward access and sufficient sea (or basin) room for maneuvering so as to prohibit the act of docking from becoming unmanageable at the moment of "taking the port." During the era of sail, the direction of the entrance or approach necessitated the coincidence of a vessel's forward motion with the heaviest wave or current activity. Though the advent of the steam age provided man with the means to manage his watercraft in ways hitherto impossible under sail, the prevalence of small and large sailing craft on the Tidewater and in the Potomac well into the 20th century made it necessary for harbors, wharves, and docking facilities of all kinds to be laid out with reference to the prevailing winds. Alexandria was well chosen in this regard, in terms of both wind shelter and river current flow.

With the introduction of the internal combustion engine as an adjunct to sailing craft, harbor and port construction experienced a subtle alteration, for now even sailing vessels were fitted with auxiliary engines and could approach a dock from any quarter with minimum cover for wind advantage. Yet approach to a facility, in early times, was a major determining factor in the location of a suitable wharf. "There should be sufficient distance landward to the mouth [of a harbor] to allow a vessel having full weight on her, to shorten sail" (Stevenson 1876: 143). By 1885

the allowable recommended space was approximately 1,000 feet. When entering an inner basin or coming about within a given basin to a dock or pier, no circle less than 200 yards in smooth water was recommended for the ordinary class of coastal steamer; considerably more for sailing vessels. Of equal importance was a good "loose" or open space which permitted a vessel on leaving a wharf or harbor to shape a course free of obstruction on the lee shore. Though rocks or reefs were of no concern on the Potomac in the Alexandria study area, sand bars, mud shoals, shallow snags, and, during the early years, possible forest overhangs frequently were. Thus a deep-water "loose" was always desirable (Shomette and Eshelman 1981: 561).

Capacity, size, and design of a facility varied with the exposure, size and type of vessels utilizing its services. Measurable absolutes in harbor/vessel population (such as at Ramsgate, England, where six vessels per acre were permitted at one time in the outer basin and up to 14 vessels per acre on the inner basin) were particularly important in determining the extremes of permissible sizes in wharf and dock construction. Alexandria, where as many as 20 or more vessels were hosted every day near the end of the 18th century, ignored many guidelines being established in Europe for waterfront development, and only near the end of its maritime reign did the city begin to minister to such concerns. Yet it was the independent waterfront developer, be it Carlyle and Dalton or a Smoot, on whom the onus of decision concerning practical construction rested. Consideration, for instance, of vessel tonnage which utilized marine facilities played, perhaps, the most important role in the determination of construction design during the steam age, and presumably during the age

of sail as well. Thus were left to men such as the Daniel Roberdeaus, who built or contracted for the construction of their own wharves, the ultimate decisions concerning the evolution of the Alexandria waterfront during its formative years as a port city.

The environment into which a structure was inserted had to be considered not only in terms of safe and easy ingress and egress for vessels, but also in terms of longevity of the structure itself. A dock or pier would not normally be built in a manner which would challenge the natural flow of water unless there was no alternative. At Alexandria waterfront facilities were erected at the edge of a slope or shallows but not into the channel. Hence, navigation was not impeded on the river, and structures were not brought into direct confrontation against the currents, yet access to the deep water was immediate. Only the exposed seaward end of facilities would touch the edge of the dropoff; these offered the largest single target for an errant vessel missing its stays or losing control. Hence, often the seaward end of a dock was the strongest section of the facility (Shomette and Eshelman 1981: 562).

Stevenson (162-163), in commenting on a general rule of thumb in the design of marine facilities, noted that the availability of work which could be done per yard length of a quay varied with the different facility afforded by the traffic flow to and from vessels on the quay. He also noted that the utilization of a given marine facility (as well as its size and design) were dependent on availability of the nearby shore transport system and space on the grounds behind a quay. It was desirable, during the late 19th century, to provide at least a 100-foot breadth behind a quay to facilitate

traffic flow. A frontage of 60 to 70 feet, he noted, would provide adequate space for each moderate-sized steam-powered vessels, Alexandria, with its standardized street sizes, was well suited to meet such demands. In addition, the direct access to railroad lines running along Union Street and directly to the water's edge on several wharves, multiplied this capability during the latter half of the 19th century.

The dynamic evolution and growth of the Alexandria waterfront occurred in distinctive stages which either intentionally addressed or reflected the realities of the city's commercial maritime needs. In its later stages, it sadly mirrored the very decline of that commerce. Yet in each phase, the technology of the era was employed in facility development, and as such represents an archaeological resource of immeasurable importance to an understanding of Alexandria's maritime heritage.

Alexandria's waterfront facilities—indeed, the entirety of the harbor and surrounding area facilities as well—have evolved in distinctive phases, each of them more or less relating to historical, environmental, cultural, and commercial benchmarks in city history or technological development.

Phase 1: 1748-1785

Beginning with the foundations of the City of Alexandria in which waterfront development began with the erection of wharves and warehouses, Phase 1 concludes with the beginnings of comprehensive waterfront expansion and land reclamation from the Potomac River. During this period facilities were erected at Lumley Point at the foot of Duke Street, at the foot of

Cameron Street by Carlyle and Dalton, at the foot of Queen Street by J. & T. Kilpatrick, and at West Point. Two of these complexes, as well as a number of other commercial enterprises such as Roberdeau's brewery, were situated on the waterfront beneath the bank which was later leveled. By 1775 all of these facilities were operational, as well as a shipbuilding establishment at Point Lumley. By the end of the Revolutionary War, the dynamic upsurge in maritime commerce and navigation prompted a substantial demand for improvement and expansion of waterfront facilities and capabilities.

Phase 2: 1785-1791

As a consequence of the inordinate growth of Alexandria's maritime commerce, a massive, apparently well orchestrated but largely undocumented effort was undertaken to extend the city shoreline eastward by filling in the embayment between West Point and Lumley Point. By 1791 the reclamation of this territory from the Potomac River, under the direction of Colonel George Gilpin, was largely completed. Although extensive waterfront development was now possible, practically all of those facilities which had been constructed in the water on the embayment between Jefferson Street and King Street were covered by fill.

Phase 3: 1791-1843

This period was characterized by the extensive maritime commerce of Alexandria's "golden age," when more than a thousand ships a year were entered and cleared. The waterfront developed to its fullest and then, with the advent of the Steam Age, evolved somewhat to meet the needs of steam-powered vessels. Decline of the town's fortunes was reflected in the

gradual degeneration of the waterfront. The rise of the Potomac fisheries lent its own influence to waterfront development, and the Fish Wharf at Oronoco Street and the seasonal shanty village which appeared upon it reflected that influence.

Phase 4: 1843-1883

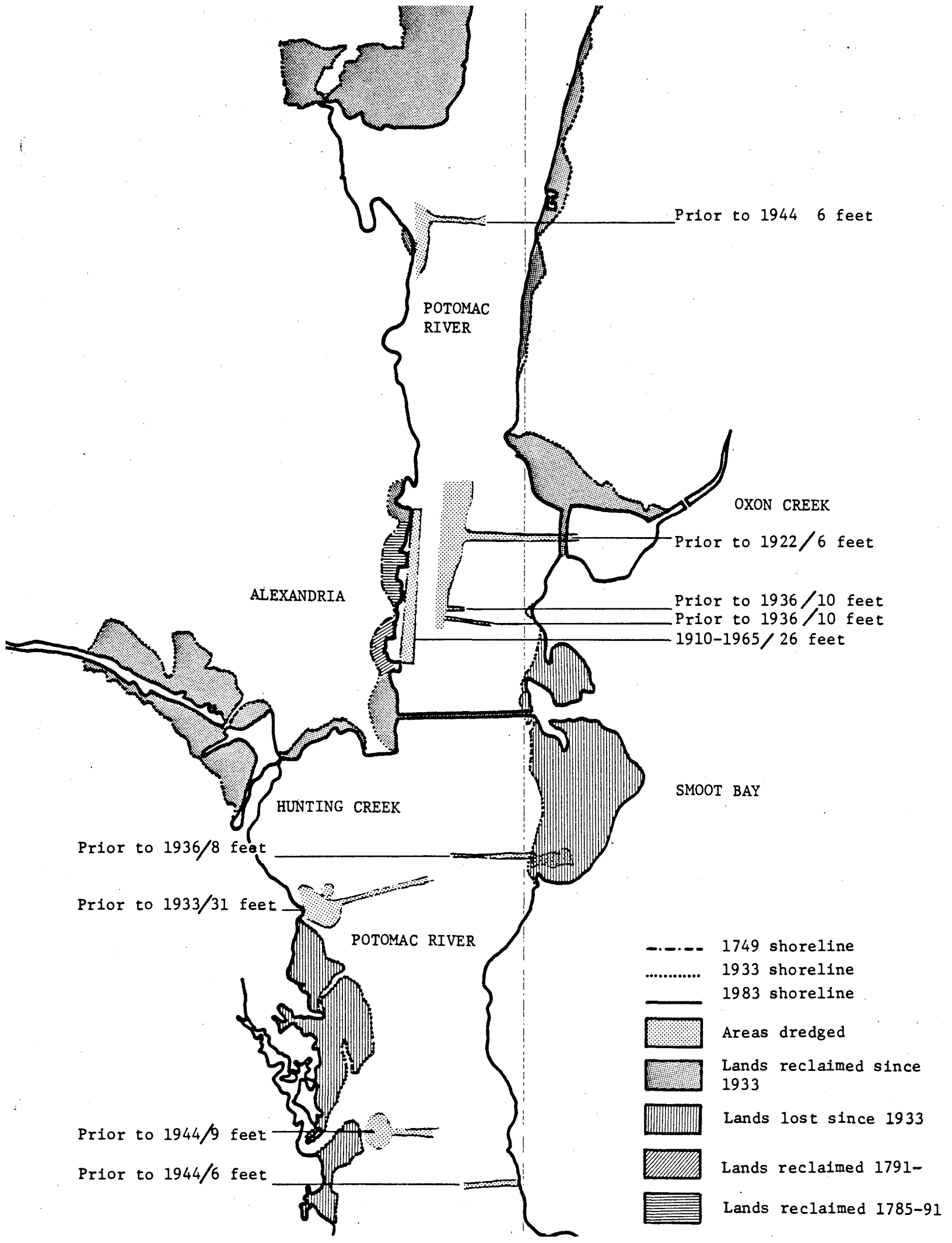
The era of the Alexandria Canal produced its own marked impact on harbor facility evolution at Alexandria. Not only did the upper section of the city waterfront become a focal point of activity again, but development of two major wharves at the canal outlet to facilitate the extensive shipping activities related to the canal was completed. The brief return to prosperity, however, was interrupted by the Civil War, during which time the waterfront saw little improvement but considerable traffic. The years following the war, to the close of the Alexandria Canal, were marked by rapid degeneration of the harborplace.

Phase 5: 1883-1985

From the close of the Alexandria Canal, a benchmark perhaps symbolic of the end of Alexandria's maritime import, to the present day, the waterfront has witnessed a continuing battle with the elements. Siltation, beginning to influence city waterfront commerce and development perhaps as early as 1875, began to rapidly close the waterfront by 1884. Continuous dredging and alteration of the evolving spatial areas of the harborplace has, since 1910-1911, been ongoing. As a consequence of this dredging, the marine environment has been notably altered. Battery Cove has been filled, creating nearly 50 acres of land and further altering the waterfront contour of the

Potomac Dredging Sites and the
Evolution of the Potomac River
Shoreline in the Alexandria
Study Area.

Areas dredged are indicated by their earliest known dredging date and the maximum depth to which the cut was made. The 1749 shoreline is only indicated for Alexandria proper as no other accurate river plans have been found that would provide a comperable contour outline. The 1933 shoreline is indicated by a stipple line. The 1983 shoreline is indicated by a solid line.

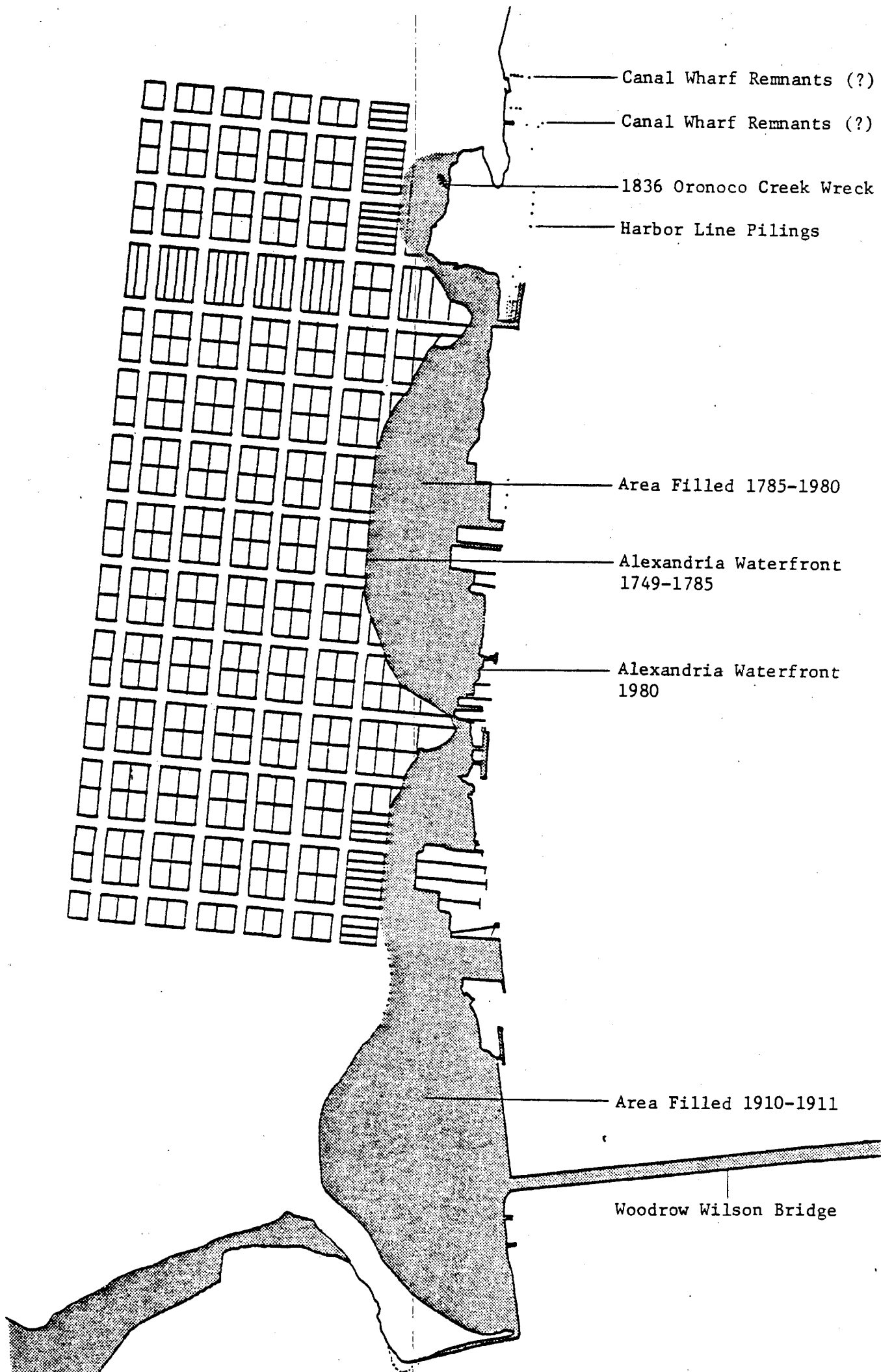


city. Industrial gravel dredging across the Potomac created a new embayment, Smoot Bay. And spoil disposal has assisted in further shoaling of Potomac waters in the vicinity of Oxon Creek and opposite Jones Point. A short-lived channel was cut from the river to New Alexandria, through the shoals of Hunting Creek. And at various places along the Alexandria waterfront where wharves and piers once stood, earth has been used to fill the now useless spaces.

An examination of the numerous maps of Alexandria, from the first mapping of the site by Washington in 1748 through the most recent NOAA charting in 1983, has revealed a great deal about the physical evolution of the Alexandria waterfront, its wharves, harborplace facilities, piers, and other features that will be useful in any archaeological interpretation of its spatial characteristics. The portfolio of comparative maps which accompany this study has been prepared to illustrate that evolution. These charts are based upon historic maps of the city and have been as faithful to the waterfront contour as possible, given the inaccuracies which have accompanied many of the earlier drawings. As a consequence of this exercise, it has been possible to evaluate the potential sites of many early waterfront facilities, both lying beneath reclaimed land and in the water. By comparison of data, it has been possible to see the evolution of the waterfront. The benchmark for measurement was the block area shouldered by King, Fairfax, Cameron, and later Water (or Lee) Streets. All map projections have been based upon this city block, which has remained constant throughout Alexandria's history. Variations in geographic features, it will be noted,

Evolution of the Alexandria
Waterfront Contour 1749-1983.

This comparative study presents the contour of the Alexandria waterfront, reconstructed from Washington's 1749 plan, West's 1763 map, and the Army Engineer's 1836 plan to form a conjectured waterfront contour for 1749. The contour of the 1980 waterfront has been drawn from the Maryland National Capital Park and Planning aerial views of the town which were taken in 1980. Approximately 100 acres of land or more have been reclaimed from the Potomac along the river frontage. Additional land has formed on Hunting Creek as a result of siltation and urban growth.



Canal Wharf Remnants (?)

Canal Wharf Remnants (?)

1836 Oronoco Creek Wreck

Harbor Line Pilings

Area Filled 1785-1980

Alexandria Waterfront
1749-1785

Alexandria Waterfront
1980

Area Filled 1910-1911

Woodrow Wilson Bridge

have tended to migrate owing to the inaccuracy of the original map from which these projections have been drawn, but have been faithfully reproduced in the projection as the original cartographer presented them in his own work. It is interesting that the physical stability of the waterfront line, aside from facility development (even in some maps which have been grossly inaccurate or representational), has been fairly constant.

The 1749 chart has been drawn from the 1749 draft of Alexandria produced by Washington. This plan clearly shows the deep embayment fronting the town between West Point and Lumley Point. Also clearly indicated is the marsh of Oronoco Creek. No waterfront development is indicated.

The 1775 chart has been adapted from Preisser's map, which was in turn adapted from George West's 1763 plan of the town. Preisser shows the Point Lumley Public Wharf at the foot of Duke Street, the Carlyle-Dalton Wharf at the foot of Cameron Street, the J. & T. Kilpatrick Wharf on the north side of Queen Street, and the West Point Wharf. Also pictured is the Oronoco Creek marsh which differs somewhat from the contours presented in Washington's plan. Although Preisser's scale for the wharves illustrated in his plan is somewhat suspect, they have been presented faithfully in the projection. By comparison with a contemporary map, features illustrated in the 1775 plan which are now buried are considerable. Perhaps as much as 50 percent of the Lumley Point Wharf is buried, while the remainder is still in the water. The Carlyle-Dalton Wharf (elements of which have already been archaeologically investigated) lies beneath Cameron Street between Union and Lee Street. Kilpatrick's Wharf lies beneath the block running on the north side of Queen Street between Union and Lee Streets. West Point Wharf, running from the foot of Oronoco

Street is perhaps 30 percent buried, while the rest lies in the water or amid the ruins of later facilities.

Gilpin's 1798 plan of Alexandria served as the basis for the 1798 projection. This, the first published plan of Alexandria, is the first map to show the extent of reclamation carried out between 1785 and 1791. All of the waterfront facilities pictured in the 1775 plan are either partially or completely buried beneath the reclaimed land. Any waterfront facility, prior to 1785, lying between Jefferson and King Streets is now buried. The veracity of Gilpin's accuracy in this chart, however, is questionable. Comparison with later maps indicates that the area between King and Queen Streets, pictured by Gilpin as a single frontage, may have simply been undeveloped as later maps indicate facilities developed inland from the waterfront line. Gilpin may have simply blocked the line in as a symbolic representation of the waterfront. Gilpin also pictures the turn of the shoreline north of Oronoco at Oronoco Bay. This section has been squared off in modern times. It is unclear as to whether the mark on Jones Point represents the fortification which had been partially completed there in 1794 or whether it is simply a mark designating the cornerstone site of the District of Columbia.

The 1836 projection has been drawn from the plan produced by the Army Engineers from surveys undertaken in 1835. It is the first to show specific structures situated along the waterfront, as well as the first marked shipwreck site in Alexandria's waters. The Jones Point Ropewalk is pictured as a single building situated on a marsh with, perhaps, an associated building at its western extremity (possibly one of the quarantine buildings?). A structure at the foot of Franklin Street is indicated. The single building is

situated in a marshy environment. In the small cove at the foot of Gibbon Street is a wharf, off of which appears to be the remains (or perhaps the beginnings) of a facility or two, possibly an extension of the structure pictured at the foot of the street. At the foot of Wilkes Street is pictured an interesting V-shaped facility, almost 70 feet in length, surrounded by dotted lines suggesting an earlier facility or one under construction. Beginning at Wilkes and running northward, the bulkhead line and all of the facilities behind it begin to reach the end of the shoals and the edge of the main river channel, following the same contour as today. Numerous long wharves and a few T-wharves project from the shoreline. At the foot of Oronoco Street is pictured the complex of facilities relating to the County Wharf. On the north side of Oronoco Street is indicated a dotted line, possibly indicative of a piling line driven in for later waterfront development. A wreck approximately 100 feet in length lies in the shoals of Oronoco Bay in one to two feet of water, near the mouth of Oronoco Creek.

Maskell Ewing's plan of Alexandria serves as a model for the 1845 projection. At Jones Point a second structure appears immediately south of the eastern end of the ropewalk. The ropewalk has apparently been improved somewhat with an addition of a landing attached to the main building and extending to the edge of Hunting Creek. The waterfront continues to follow the contour of the channel edge with only a few variations in the actual facilities, undoubtedly owing to the city's commercial depression. Only the facility adjacent to the Fish Wharf (the old County Wharf) at the foot of Oronoco Street has been improved and extended to any substantial degree. The outlet of the Alexandria Canal appears on this chart, immediately north of the end of

Montgomery Street and projecting eastward from Lee Street beyond the end of a line suggested by Union Street. The canal outlet is shouldered by two walls projecting well into the Potomac.

The 1860 projection is drawn from Boschke's 1859 map published in 1860. This plan indicates the squaring and possibly the rebulkheading of the facility area at the foot of Franklin Street with some irregular improvements (or alterations) north of that point. The waterfront appears to have changed little, although the Fish Wharf area has been substantially altered (in 1852) and enlarged. The Fish Wharf sector was among the most active sectors of the waterfront before the Civil War, and such improvements were extensive and necessary. The Alexandria Canal outlet has also received considerable attention. Extensive filling has been carried out on the north side of the outlet, and to a smaller degree on the south side. Two massive F-wharves have been erected on both the north and south side of the outlet. Remnants of these structures, which underwent minor evolution of their own, survive today and have been pictured in the 1980 MNCPP Commission's aerial photographs of the sector.

The 1877 projection no longer makes note of a ropewalk at Jones Point. Only a lighthouse is now noted as a feature on this plan drawn from Hopkins. Two substantial wharves have been erected at the foot of Franklin Street on property owned by the Alexandria Marine Railway and Shipbuilding Works. A 470-foot-long railway wharf, the James Green Railway, with two tracks has been built and extended from the foot of Wilkens Street and immediately south of the James Green Shipyard. A smaller railroad wharf, servicing the Agnew Shipyard, extends 150 feet seaward immediately to the north of the Green wharf. Between Prince and Cameron Street are the wharves of the Louis McKenzie Oyster Company, the Potomac Transportation Company, and the steamer lines

to Philadelphia and Boston. Also here are two 100-foot-long, 50-foot-wide contoured piling complexes for the moorings of the Washington Ferry and the Fox's Landing Ferry. These structures are of interest in that they serve as landing funnels for guiding the ships in docking. The very contours of the piling configurations assured a rapid and smooth docking procedure that would have facilitated the numerous berthings demanded daily by ferry operations. Between Cameron and Queen Streets are the wharves of W.G. Cazanove, Henry Daingerfeld, the Baltimore and Hampshire Fuel Company (with a service railroad spur), and John Barber. Between Queen and Oronoco is the L-wharf of the flour mill, and the 350-foot-long railroad wharf of the William A. Smoot Coal Yard, a short wharf belonging to Andrew J. Fleming, and the Public Fish Wharf. North of Oronoco is the American Coal Company Wharf. This structure has apparently been altered from that of the 1860 structure by a dock space having been cut into its facing. The two F-wharves at the Alexandria Canal outlet are no longer indicated.

The 1900 projection, adapted from the Strum plan of Alexandria for that year, notes some modifications in slip areas along the river frontage. The old James Green Shipyard Wharf at the foot of Wilkes has been shortened substantially. Other wharves along the waterfront have, in some cases, been lengthened. Some features evident in 1877, such as the contoured piling guides for the Washington Ferry and the Fox's Landing Ferry operations, are no longer evident, having apparently been replaced by squared-off berths.

The Cosby mapping of Alexandria for the Corps of Engineers served as the basis for the 1908 projection. Cosby's detailed study of the waterfront is among the most comprehensive produced to date. His plan clearly shows the degeneration of the entire waterfront. Dotted lines indicate

facilities which have fallen into disuse or collapse. Only one substantial facility has been improved upon. This improvement was the enlargement of the wharf north of the foot of Cameron Street. A smaller improvement has also been made north of the foot of Queen Street. A small marine railway complex has been erected on Oronoco Bay immediately south of the foot of Montgomery Street. The Alexandria Canal is still visible, but the shoulders off its outlet have become worn and apparently eroded.

By 1923 Alexandria has changed markedly from a century earlier. The 1923 projection, drawn from the Corps of Engineers plan of the waterfront and terminal facilities for that year, shows the major physical alteration of the shoreline resulting from the 1910-1911 dredging operations. Battery Cove has been filled in entirely. The four marine railways constructed by the Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation in World War I are now etched into the landscape. Several wharves are no longer evident, and the marine railway at the foot of Montgomery Street is no longer indicated. Some additional filling has also occurred between Oronoco and Princess Street. The ruins of a single F-wharf on the south side of the old Alexandria Canal outlet (no longer visible) are indicated. Interestingly, the shape of this structure differs from that pictured on earlier plans of the site in that the central arm of the F is longer and wider than the top arm. An extension or possibly the rebulkheading of the area that once served as the canal outlet is indicated.

Although no projection has been drawn for this study, evaluation of the 1983 aerial photographs of the Alexandria waterfront, and comparison of various details revealed by the photos with those suggested by the various

maps and projections already discussed, have provided a number of additional facts regarding waterfront evolution. At the foot of Franklin Street the physical extensions of facilities have encroached upon the small basin in that area (now the site of a marina). Extensive filling in and extension of the 1923 shoreline between Wilkes and Wolfe Streets have undoubtedly covered or obscured earlier harbor features. Between Wolfe and Duke Streets filling in and extension of the shoreline has also obscured wharf facilities of earlier times. Between Duke and Princess some minor filling in has occurred in a diagonal area running northeast between Prince and King nearly half a city block area has been filled in. Extensive filling has also occurred between Cameron and Oronoco over areas once hosting the most active commerce on the waterfront. Between Pendelton and Madison, in Oronoco Bay, the shoreline has also crept seaward, covering areas in which may exist such archaeologically important features as the 1836 Wreck. The photos indicate, however, that some features of significance, such as the two F-wharves at the outlet of the Alexandria Canal are still partially extant. A piling line across Oronoco Bay erected near the turn of this century is also evident.

In 1899 the United States Congress approved an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors and for other purposes." Section 2 of that act states:

That where it is made manifest to the Secretary of War that the establishment of harbor lines is essential to the preservation and protection of harbors, he may, and is hereby authorized, to cause such to be established, beyond which no piers, wharves, bulkheads, or other works shall be extended or deposits made, except under such regulations as may be prescribed from time to time by him (The Evening Star, 8 December 1902).

In passing this act, Congress was merely formalizing what Alexandrians had been following as natural policy for more than a century. The city harbor line was formally restrained from extending beyond the contour of the Potomac River Channel, as much by the force of nature as by the edicts of the city government. Within that harbor line is confined the undoubtedly extensive remnants of every era of Alexandria's waterfront evolution, from the very first wharves and landings of the 18th century to the modern day. Perhaps as much now lies beneath landfill as survives beneath the waters.

The selectivity of potential archaeological sites, in both the water and the land, relating to Alexandria's waterfront is one which will undoubtedly be directed by future urban development at the Potomac River's edge. That the potential resource base is great requires but a glance at the charts. That it exists needs only the confirmation of the already extant record of discovery - from the recent evidence of the Carlyle-Dalton Wharf to the ongoing examination of the remnants of the Alexandria Canal.

APPENDIX E

PROFILES OF DOCUMENTED VESSEL LOSSES ON THE POTOMAC RIVER AND TRIBUTARIES FROM 1642 TO 1973

The following compilation consists of documented vessel losses on the waters of the Potomac River and its numerous tributaries in the range between Washington, D.C., the head of navigation, and the river entrance between Point Lookout, Maryland and Smith Point, Virginia. This listing must not be considered as complete, but rather as a comprehensive representation of historic vessel losses of the Potomac region. The listing has been presented in chronological sequence, and is reflective of the wide variations of vessel typologies, site distribution, density, and historicity of the submerged resource potentials of the river as a whole, and specifically in the Alexandria study area. Each listing has been treated independently as a unit. Details concerning the vessel, its loss, and specifics concerning its history and physical characteristics have been abstracted for ready reference.

1.

VESSEL	Unidentified
DATE LOST	1642.
MANNER OF LOSS	Crushed by ice.
LOCATION	In the Potomac River, probably near Piscataway Creek, Md.
TYPE VESSEL	Ship.
BOUND FROM	St. Mary's City, Maryland.
BOUND TO	Piscataway, Maryland.
CAPTAIN	Identified only as a "troublesome captain of New England."
COMMENT	Chartered by Father Andrew White, A Jesuit priest, the ship was commanded by a staunch Puritan whom White feared would throw him overboard at any minute. White left the ship when it became lodged in river ice. After being frozen in for 17 days, the ship sank with the first thaw.
SALVAGE	The cargo was "in great measure recovered."

SOURCE Hall 1953: 135.

2.

VESSEL	<u>Seahorse</u>
DATE LOST	February 28, 1657.
MANNER OF LOSS	Driven aground during a storm and then foundered.
LOCATION	In the Potomac River off Mattox Creek.
TYPE VESSEL	Ship.
BOUND FROM	London.
BOUND TO	Virginia.
COMMENT	The vessel was bound to Virginia to take on a consignment of tobacco. The second officer of the vessel was one John Washington, the great-great grandfather of George Washington, the first President of the United States. Instead of returning to England John Washington decided to remain in Virginia, settle, and raise a family.

SOURCE	Tilp 1978: 110.
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3.

VESSEL	<u>Fortune</u>
DATE LOST	1724.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	In the Potomac River.
TYPE VESSEL	Ship.
HOME PORT	Whitehaven, England.
BOUND FROM	Potomac River.
CARGO	Tobacco.
MASTER	Richard Pearson.

SOURCE Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia 4: 134

5.

VESSEL	<u>Susanna</u>
DATE LOST	January 1749.
MANNER OF LOSS	"cut thro' by the Ice...and Sunk."
LOCATION	Nanjemoy, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Ship.
HOME PORT	Glasgow, Scotland.
CAPTAIN	Steel.
CARGO	219 hogsheads of tobacco.

SOURCE Maryland Gazette (Annapolis), Wednesday, January 15, 1749.

6.

VESSEL Nisbit

DATE LOST October 18, 1768.

MANNER OF LOSS The powder in her gun room took fire, and burst out from her stern, tore all her cabin and quarter deck to pieces, and set the entire ship ablaze.

LOCATION Eastern Branch, (Potomac River ?) Maryland.

TYPE VESSEL Ship.

BOUND FROM Eastern Branch, Maryland.

BOUND TO Glasgow, Scotland.

CAPTAIN Hugh Wylie.

CARGO 500 hogsheads of tobacco.

ARMAMENT 10 carriage guns.

CASUALTIES Five persons were instantly killed by the explosion: Archibald Carrie (Chief Mate), John Morris (Second Mate), Adam Stewart (Ship's Carpenter), John M'Kinnie (Cooper), Thomas Beck (Cabin Boy). The rest of the crew were saved. Captain Wylie, having gone ashore only 8 or 10 minutes before the disaster, was uninjured.

SALVAGE The ship was overset in the blaze and the fire was extinguished, thus saving part of the ship and rigging.

COMMENT The Nisbit was described as being a new vessel.

SOURCE Maryland Gazette (Annapolis), October 19, 1768.

7.

VESSELS Unidentifieds (2)

DATE LOST July 12-13, 1776.

MANNER OF LOSS Drove ashore.

LOCATION In the vicinity of Smith Creek, Maryland.

TYPE VESSELS Noted only as "two small Vessells."

BOUND FROM Gwynns Island, Virginia.

BOUND TO Potomac River.

COMMENT The vessels were part of a large armada of vessels under the command of the last Royal Governor of Virginia, the Earl Lord Dunmore. Onboard the two vessels were three white men and two blacks, three of which had smallpox. One of the white men informed Colonel Richard Barnes of the St. Mary's County, Maryland Militia, not long after he and his compatriots had fallen into Barnes's hands, that they were part of Dunmore's fleet, and that it was the Governor's intention to capture St. George's Island, in the Potomac River.

SOURCE Colonel Richard Barnes to the Maryland Council of Safety, July 13, 1776, Red Book, X, Maryland Archives.

8.

VESSEL Unidentified
DATE LOST Wednesday, July 31, 1776.
MANNER OF LOSS Cut up by the crew of H.M.S. Roebuck, Captain Andrew Snape Hamond, for firewood.
LOCATION In 4½ fathoms of water, St. George's Island, Maryland, bearing NW½N two miles.
TYPE VESSEL Brig.
COMMENT The vessel was part of a large armada of refugee loyalist ships commanded by Royalist Governor of Virginia, the Earl Lord Dunmore. Unable to man the enormous fleet at his command, Dunmore resolved to dispose of the less than seaworthy vessels in his nearly 90-ship fleet. The log of H.M.S. Roebuck describes how one such vessel, the brig, was disposed of: "got a Brig along side & begun to Cut up for Fire wood. Light Airs & fair, P M Employ'd in Cutting up the Brig..." On August 2 its remains were burned.

SOURCE Master's Log of H.M.S. Roebuck, July 31, 1776, PRO, Admiralty 52/1965; Ibid., August 2, 1776.

9.

VESSELS Unidentifieds (20)

DATE LOST August 1-2, 1776.

MANNER OF LOSS Sixteen ships were burned and another three or four driven ashore by high seas and winds arising about midnight August 1.

LOCATION At St. George's Island, Maryland.

TYPE VESSEL Ships and others.

COMMENT The vessels were intentionally burned by British and loyalist forces under the command of Lord Dunmore, last Royal Governor of Virginia, because they were "unserviceable". Those vessels which drove ashore were lost because they lacked cables.

SALVAGE The few vessels which had driven ashore were left on the point of St. George's Island, but were floated off by the high tide and then driven ashore near a militia guard of patriot soldiers. The militiamen took possession and discovered sundry goods and other effects on board valued at three or four hundred pounds currency. It was noted that "some of the Hulks may be repaired and made fit for service" although no mention was made of the possibility of salvaged of the burned vessels.

SOURCES Naval Documents of the American Revolution 5: 1348; Ibid. 6: 65, 131-132.

10.

VESSEL Kitty

DATE LOST Between January 26 and January 30, 1781.

MANNER OF LOSS Burned by British military forces.

LOCATION Smith Creek, Maryland.

TYPE VESSEL Schooner.

CARGO Tobacco.

MASTER Smith, of Annapolis, Maryland.

COMMENT In late January 1781, a 10-gun British schooner entered Smith Creek, landed approximately 50 men under cover of the schooner's guns, and took possession of the Kitty. The captured vessel was aground and partly unrigged. The British, unable to take their prize away, burned her.

SOURCE Archives of Maryland 47: 41.

11.

VESSEL Unidentified

DATE LOST Wednesday, June 9, 1784.

MANNER OF LOSS Struck by lightning and burned to the waters edge.

LOCATION Near Cherry Point, Potomac River.

TYPE VESSEL Brig.

CREW Unknown.

CASUALTIES It was thought "all on Board were either killed by the Lightning or perished in the Flames."

COMMENT The wreck was discovered burning after the storm had subsided.

SOURCE

The Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser (Alexandria),
Thursday, June 17, 1784.

12.

VESSEL Unidentified

DATE LOST First week in September 1784.

MANNER OF LOSS Struck by lightning and sank.

LOCATION In the Potomac River, near the mouth of Quantico Creek, Virginia.

TYPE VESSEL Longboat.

BOUND FROM Dumfries, Virginia.

BOUND TO A vessel lying near the mouth of Quantico Creek, Virginia.

CREW 2.

CASUALTIES 1.

COMMENT The lightning bolt killed one man and stunned the second. The second man recovered just as the vessel was sinking, a plank in her bottom having parted, and saved himself in a canoe which had been towed behind the longboat.

SOURCE The Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser (Alexandria), Thursday, September 9, 1784.

13.

VESSEL Unidentified

DATE LOST During the evening of September 27, 1786.

MANNER OF LOSS Accidentally capsized.

LOCATION In the Potomac River near Alexandria, Virginia.

TYPE VESSEL Boat.

CASUALTIES One person, a free negro woman named Fanny Rose, drowned.

SOURCE The Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser (Alexandria)
Thursday, October 5, 1786.

14.

VESSEL Federalist
DATE LOST July 23-24, 1788.
MANNER OF LOSS Foundered.
LOCATION A few feet from the pier at Mount Vernon, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL A miniature ship-of-the-line. This vessel was originally designed as a float which was to be hauled through the streets of Baltimore on wheels during the celebration of the ratification of the Federal Constitution, but was, of a total of seven such floats, the only replica vessel that was seaworthy. It was noted that the vessel could mount seven sails.
LENGTH Federalist's sister ship floats ranged in length between 27 and 33 feet. Thus, it might be assumed the vessel was probably somewhere in this range.
CAPTAIN Federalist sailed on her single voyage from Baltimore to Mount Vernon under Captain Joshua Barney of Baltimore.
CREW Barney sailed alone.
OWNER The vessel was constructed by the merchants of Baltimore and presented by them to General George Washington to express their veneration of him.
WEATHER The vessel was sunk during a terrible storm which began on July 23, when the prevailing east-northeast wind changed suddenly to the southeast, bringing with it the "highest tide that was ever known in this river (Potomac)."
COMMENT The consequences of the storm which sank the miniature warship was more heavily felt at Norfolk and Portsmouth. At Mount Vernon it was accompanied by the loss of trees. At Alexandria, flood conditions required the rescue of waterfront residents by boat. The remains of the Federalist were not, apparently, recovered.

SOURCE Beitzell 1979: 240-241.

15.

VESSEL Friendship

DATE LOST Between 10:00 and 11:00 p.m., Friday, June 18, 1790.

MANNER OF LOSS Burned and sunk.

LOCATION Harper's Wharf, Alexandria, Virginia.

TYPE VESSEL Schooner.

MASTER Captain Stowe.

COMMENT The vessel took fire in her steerage. The captain and crew, being asleep, were not aware of the danger until the fire had reached the cabin and "had got to an alarming height before any attempts could be made to extinguish them." Failing to subdue the flames, the only hope to save the ship was to sink her, which was done with some difficulty.

SALVAGE The Friendship was raised the day after the fire, having suffered considerable damage.

SOURCE The Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), Thursday, June 24, 1790.

16.

VESSEL Unidentified
 DATE LOST Between 11:00 and 12:00 a.m., Monday, March 28, 1796.
 MANNER OF LOSS "overset by a sudden squall of wind from N.W."
 LOCATION At Nanjemoy Creek, Maryland, opposite Mathias Point, Virginia.
 TYPE VESSEL Noted as a small schooner.
 HOME PORT Supposed to belong to the Eastern Shore.
 BOUND FROM Noted only as "coming down the river," undoubtedly meaning the Potomac River.
 CASUALTIES Two to three people, including at least one negro man.
 ASSISTANCE "The cries of two or three people on board were heard by some persons on shore who came down to Laidler's ferry to see if assistance could be had. Mr. Laidler although sick abed got up and put his boat out, and endeavoured to get to the wreck to save the life of a poor unfortunate man who was seen sticking to the wreck. The wind blowing very heavey, and the wreck to windward, they could not make up till she had drifted a considerable way and about ten minutes too late to save the life of a poor black man who was found sticking to the wreck." No assistance was rendered by a Rhode Island sloop which passed by, although aid might have been rendered.
 COMMENT The schooner was described as having a black bottom and red gunwale.

 SOURCE The Columbian Mirror and Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), Thursday, March 31, 1796.

17.

VESSEL Marl's Packet Boat

DATE LOST Monday, April 10, 1797.

MANNER OF LOSS Capsized by a squall and "went down in a few minutes."

LOCATION Immediately after leaving the wharf at Alexandria, Virginia.

TYPE VESSEL Packet boat.

BOUND FROM Alexandria, Virginia.

BOUND TO Washington, D.C.

COMMENT The vessel, which plied regularly between Washington and Alexandria, went down in but a few minutes after capsizing. All of the 10 passengers aboard were saved with the help of persons who witnessed the accident.

SALVAGE On April 18 it was noted that the vessel "has since been got up and plys as usual as a packet...her late misfortune ...was entirely accidental, and...she is a safe and staunch vessel."

SOURCES The Columbian Mirror and Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), Tuesday, April 11, 1797.

18.

VESSEL Unidentified
DATE LOST August 1806.
MANNER OF LOSS Capsized and drifted ashore.
LOCATION Point Lookout, Maryland, in Chesapeake Bay.
TYPE VESSEL Schooner.
HOME PORT Newburyport, Massachusetts.
BOUND FROM Baltimore, Maryland.
BOUND TO New Bedford, Massachusetts.

SOURCE American and Commercial Daily Advertiser (Baltimore),
Monday, August 25, 1806.

19.

VESSELS Unidentified

DATE LOST Spring and summer of 1813.

MANNER OF LOSS Destroyed by attacking British military forces.

LOCATION Along the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers, Maryland.

TYPE VESSELS Not indicated.

COMMENT An unspecified number of vessels were destroyed by British forces operating from bases on Blackistone and St. George's Islands in the Potomac River.

SOURCE Scharf 3: 48.

20.

VESSEL Unidentified

DATE LOST July 23, 1814.

MANNER OF LOSS Burned by British marines and seamen led by Admiral Sir George Cockburn during an amphibious raid.

LOCATION St. Clement's Creek, Maryland.

TYPE VESSEL Schooner.

SOURCE Log of H.M.S. Albion, July 23 and 24, 1814, Cockburn Papers, Library of Congress.

21.

VESSEL Shamrock
 DATE LOST Monday, July 25, 1814.
 MANNER OF LOSS Capsized and sank in a squall.
 LOCATION Two miles below Alexandria, Virginia, in the Potomac.
 TYPE VESSEL Noted only as a boat.
 BOUND FROM Alexandria, Virginia.
 BOUND TO Norfolk, Virginia.
 CAPTAINS Ownes and Allen.
 COMMENT The vessel was struck by a squall of wind and was capsized and lost, throwing both Ownes and Allen into the water as the vessel sank.
 ASSISTANCE Ownes and Allen swam in the water for 3/4 of an hour "when they were providentially seen and saved by Captain Willis who was near the spot when the accident happened and who had observed the squall coming and taken in all sail. They returned their thanks to Capt. Willis and Crew for their humane exertions in saving their lives."

 SOURCE Daily National Intelligencer (Washington), Friday, July 29, 1814.

22.

VESSELS Six unidentifieds

DATE LOST July 26, 1814.

MANNER OF LOSS Burned or sunk by British marines and seamen led by Admiral Sir George Cockburn during an amphibious raid.

LOCATION Near the headwaters of Machodoc Creek, Virginia.

TYPE VESSELS Schooners.

SOURCES Log of H.M.S. Albion, July 26, 1814; Admiral George Cockburn to Admiral Alexander Cochrane, July 31, 1814, Volume 24, Letters Sent, Cockburn Papers, Library of Congress.

23.

VESSELS 21 unidentifieds.

DATE LOST August 1814.

MANNER OF LOSS Scuttled by merchants and shipowners to prevent capture by invading British naval forces.

LOCATION Alexandria, Virginia.

TYPE VESSELS Three ships, three brigs, several bay and river craft.

SALVAGE The vessels were all raised by Royal Navy forces commanded by Captain James Alexander Godron, and taken as prizes.

SOURCE ASPMA 1: 533; Muller 1964: 89.

24.

VESSELS Several unidentifieds

DATE LOST August 31, 1814.

MANNER OF LOSS Burned by British naval forces under the command of Captain
James Alexander Gordon.

LOCATION Alexandria, Virginia.

TYPE VESSEL Unknown.

COMMENT These vessels, which could not be outfitted by Gordon's
seamen in time for their retirement from Alexandria, which
they had just captured, were burned to prevent their falling
back into American hands.

SOURCE Muller 1964: 89.

25.

VESSELS Unidentifieds (4)

DATE LOST September 1-5, 1814

MANNER OF LOSS Burned during attacks against H.M.S. Devastation.

LOCATION In Potomac River, below Alexandria but above Mount Vernon, Virginia.

TYPE VESSELS Fire ships.

COMMENT These vessels were prepared at the Washington Navy Yard by Commodore John Rodgers and 650 picked seamen. Rodgers was preparing to contest Captain James A. Gordon's retirement from Alexandria, Virginia by employing fireboats and barges and by establishing batteries at White House Landing. On September 1 Rodgers floated three ignited fireships downriver to burn H.M.S. Devastation, which was then aground on a shoal. The wind failed and British seamen managed to tow the burning vessels away and chase the five U.S. barges that had accompanied the fireships away. On the morning of September 5 American barges again attacked, following another burning fireship. This vessel also did no harm, and the American barges retreated.

SOURCE Muller 1964: 89-90.

26.

VESSEL Unidentified

DATE LOST February 1825.

MANNER OF LOSS Reported only as "ashore".

LOCATION On Port Tobacco Shoals, Potomac River.

TYPE VESSEL Hermaphrodite brig.

COMMENT The stranded vessel was reported on by the schooner Blacksmith, Bettley, 50 hours out of Norfolk with freight for Washington, D.C. on February 7, 1825.

SOURCE Phenix Gazette (Alexandria), Tuesday, February 8, 1825.

27.

VESSEL Cygnet

DATE LOST 12:00 p.m., Tuesday, October 7, 1834.

MANNER OF LOSS Burned to the water's edge.

LOCATION In the Potomac River at Janney's Wharf, Alexandria, Virginia.

TYPE VESSEL Steamboat.

HOME PORT Washington, D.C.

BOUND FROM Alexandria, Virginia.

BOUND TO Washington, D.C.

OWNER Bradley & Co., of Washington, D.C.

COMMENT The fire was so rapid that little could be done to preserve the vessel. She had formerly been employed as a mail carrier to Potomac Creek, Virginia.

SOURCE The Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), Thursday, October 9, 1834,

28

VESSEL Three Brothers

DATE LOST 10:00 p.m., Thursday, January 1, 1835.

MANNER OF LOSS Suddenly sunk after collision with the steamboat Old Dominion.

LOCATION In the Potomac River below Blackistone Island, Maryland.

TYPE VESSEL Schooner.

BOUND FROM Richmond, Virginia.

BOUND TO Washington, D.C.

CARGO Coal and tobacco.

MASTER Simmons.

ASSISTANCE Captain Simmons was forced overboard and "remained in the water some time before he was taken up by a boat from the Old Dominion."

SALVAGE Little was saved before the vessel went down.

COMMENT The Old Dominion was bound from Washington to Norfolk.

SOURCE The Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), Friday, January 9, 1835.

29.

VESSEL Unidentified
DATE LOST About February 18, 1835.
MANNER OF LOSS Noted only as "ashore".
LOCATION Lower Cedar Point, Potomac River.
TYPE VESSEL Brig.
COMMENT As no report followed, it is probable that the vessel got off.

SOURCE The Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), Wednesday, February 18, 1835.

30.

VESSEL Unidentified
DATE LOST About February 18, 1835.
MANNER OF LOSS Noted only as "ashore".
LOCATION Lower Cedar Point, Potomac River.
TYPE VESSEL Schooner.
COMMENT As no report followed, it is probable that the vessel got off.

SOURCE The Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), Wednesday, February 18, 1835.

31.

VESSEL	Unidentified
DATE LOST	About March 20, 1835.
MANNER OF LOSS	Stranded.
LOCATION	Off Broad Creek, Potomac River, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Noted as a large topsail schooner.
BOUND TO	Washington Navy Yard, Washington, D.C.
CARGO	Lumber.

OURCE The Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), Friday, March 20, 1835.

32.

VESSEL	<u>Adventure</u>
DATE LOST	About March 21, 1835.
MANNER OF LOSS	Stranding.
LOCATION	Three miles below Alexandria, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
BOUND FROM	Wilmington, North Carolina.
CARGO	Lumber "for the Rail road."
MASTER	Duel.

SOURCE The Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), Saturday, March 21, 1835.

33.

VESSEL Token

DATE LOST About March 23, 1836.

MANNER OF LOSS Stranding.

LOCATION Below Maryland Point.

TYPE VESSEL Brig.

COMMENT The Token, reportedly bound down the Potomac, was reported as being aground by the steamboat Chesapeake, Captain Sherman, from Norfolk with freight and passengers. Another vessel, the schooner Hope, Captain Hussey, was also reported aground, near Fort Washington, but got off and arrived at Alexandria, Virginia on March 24, 1836. There is no mention in subsequent news articles as to whether or not the Token got off.

SOURCE The Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), Monday, March 23, 1836.

34.

VESSEL Unidentified

DATE LOST 1836 or before.

MANNER OF LOSS Unknown.

LOCATION In Oronoco Bay, Alexandria, Virginia.

TYPE VESSEL Unknown.

LENGTH If the scale of the map upon which the wreck is indicated is correct, the vessel may be approximately 100 feet in length.

COMMENT This vessel may be the hulk of the steamboat Cygnat, hauled into Oronoco Bay after her destruction by fire at the Alexandria waterfront. in 1834.

SOURCE Map of the Potomac & Anacostia Rivers between Washington D.C. & Alexandria Va. Topographical Engineer Department, United States Army, 1836.

36.

VESSEL	<u>Ousatonic</u>
DATE LOST	September 3, 1845.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	Leonardtown, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Screw steamer.
GROSS TONS	81.
YEAR BUILT	1825.
PLACE BUILT	New York, N.Y.

SOURCE Lytle and Holdcamper 1975: 166, 288.

37.

VESSEL Columbus

DATE LOST November 27, 1850.

MANNER OF LOSS Burned.

LOCATION Off Point Lookout, Maryland.

TYPE VESSEL Sidewheel steamer (wooden).

NET TONS 416.

LENGTH 137 feet.

BEAM 30 feet.

DEPTH IN HOLD 11 feet.

ENGINES Conventional "square" or crosshead steeple engine with single 50-inch cylinder, and 6 1/2-inch stroke.

SPEED 10 mph.

COMMENT The Columbus was operated after her construction in 1829 by the Maryland and Virginia Steamboat Company. In 1840 she was sold. In 1845 she was acquired by the Powhatan Line.

CASUALTIES 9.

SALVAGE Portions of the gutted hull and machinery were located several days after the fire and partially salvaged.

SOURCES Brown 1950: 16, 24; Burgess and Wood 1968: 1; Berman 1972: 22.

38.

VESSEL Mechanic

DATE LOST July 27, 1853.

MANNER OF LOSS Stranding and filled with water.

LOCATION On Swann Point Bar, Potomac River.

TYPE VESSEL Pungy.

OWNER John Ellis of Georgetown.

COMMENT The vessel was reported in the Evening Star Alexandria section as "now lying aground on Swann Point bar, filled with water."

SOURCE The Evening Star (Washington), July 27, 1853.

39.

VESSEL Unidentified

DATE LOST 4:00 a.m., Sunday, August 27, 1854.

MANNER OF LOSS Run into by a mail steamer and wrecked.

LOCATION Off Jones Point, Alexandria, Virginia.

TYPE VESSEL Described only as a "boat."

SERVICE Fishing.

BOUND FROM Washington, D.C.

BOUND TO Down river.

COMMENT The vessel, with a party of seven aboard, all but one of which were asleep, was drifting down the Potomac without lights. The mail steamer, coming up from Aquia Creek, not seeing the vessel, ran into her and stove in her sides, throwing the sleeping fishermen into the water.

ASSISTANCE The mail steamer stopped and her crew threw life preservers to the seven swimming fishermen. All were rescued, minus their personal belongings, some of which were later recovered. Two of the fishermen "clambered up into the wheel house" of the wrecked boat "and were for a short time, in a dangerous position there."

SOURCE Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser (Alexandria), Tuesday, August 29, 1854.

40.

VESSEL Unidentified

DATE LOST Sunday evening, August 27, 1854.

MANNER OF LOSS Capsized in a squall.

LOCATION Off the Kettle Bottom Shoals, in the Potomac River and just off the mouth of the Wicomico River.

TYPE VESSEL Initially described as a large fore and aft schooner, but later as a full rigged brig.

BOUND TO Up the Potomac River.

COMMENT First word of the loss arrived at Alexandria aboard the steamer Osceola, Captain Mitchell, about August 29. Later word arrived the following day aboard a schooner.

SOURCES Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser (Alexandria), Tuesday, August 29, 1854.

35.

VESSEL Union
DATE LOST 3:00 p.m. July 12, 1837.
MANNER OF LOSS Boiler explosion.
LOCATION Fox's Wharf, Prince George's County, Maryland, opposite Alexandria, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL Sidewheel steamer.
SERVICE Ferry.
BOUND FROM Fox's Wharf, Maryland.
BOUND TO Alexandria, Virginia.
MASTER Joseph Fox.
OWNER Thomas Berry, Oxon Creek, Maryland.
PASSENGERS The master stated that the ferry "had capacity crowds as the boat was running gratis all day, and numbers of people were crossing the river."
CASUALTIES Three persons were killed: Mrs. Green (wife of the engineer), and a black man and woman.
COMMENT The bursted boiler had been occasioned from a large quantity of horse dung placed in the boiler for stopping some small leaks. The dung, with other sediments, had collected and filled up space below the furnace and prevented water from "preserving" or cooling the iron. As the iron heated it weakened and yielded to internal pressures. An 18-inch circle of iron gave way and the ensuing explosion wrecked the ship and killed and injured the numerous persons aboard.

SOURCES The Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), July 13, 1837; Ibid., July 18, 1837; Tilp 1978: 113.

41.

VESSEL Unidentified

DATE LOST Sunday, October 12, 1854.

MANNER OF LOSS Struck by a flaw in the wind and capsized.

LOCATION Opposite the Alexandria "Fishtown" Fish Wharf, Alexandria, Virginia.

TYPE VESSEL Sloop.

OWNER Henry Berry, Alexandria, Virginia.

CREW 4.

ASSISTANCE The four men aboard clung to the vessel until taken off by boats which had come out from the shore to rescue them.

SOURCE Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser (Alexandria), Tuesday, October 14, 1854.

42.

VESSEL William Henry

DATE LOST June 11, 1855.

MANNER OF LOSS Foundering.

LOCATION In the Potomac River, Maryland.

TYPE VESSEL Schooner.

BOUND FROM Baltimore, Maryland.

BOUND TO Georgetown, D.C.

SOURCE The Monthly Nautical Magazine and Quarterly Review II, No. 4
(July 1855): 363.

43.

VESSEL Somerset

DATE LOST About June 8, 1861.

MANNER OF LOSS Burned.

LOCATION In the Potomac River, close to the Virginia shore opposite Breton Bay, Maryland.

TYPE VESSEL Schooner.

COMMENT The vessel, believed to be a Confederate blockade runner on the Potomac River, was seized by the U.S.S. Resolute, Acting Master William Budd commanding. The vessel was then towed from Breton Bay, Maryland, where she had been captured, to the opposite shore of the Potomac and burned.

SOURCES CWNC 1: 16; ORN Series II, 1: 191.

44.

VESSEL Christiana Keen

DATE LOST June 15, 1861.

MANNER OF LOSS Seized by Confederate forces while aground, and burned.

LOCATION In five feet of water on the Potomac River flats opposite Cedar Point.

TYPE VESSEL Schooner.

COMMENT The schooner had ventured down the contested Potomac River unescorted by Union gunboats, and when she ran aground on the flats found herself easy prey to Confederate forces. She had struck the shoulder of wide mud flats which extend from the Virginia shore well into the river off Upper Machodoc Creek and was virtually helpless. Soon after her striking, a party of 30 or 40 rebels boarded the ship and set her afire. "The wreck," one Federal naval officer reported, "is now a good mark, one not easily removed."

SOURCES CWNC 1: 16; ORN Series I, 4: 516, 517, 533.

45.

VESSEL	<u>Passenger</u>
DATE LOST	June 30, 1861.
MANNER OF LOSS	Capsized.
LOCATION	Potomac River.
TYPE VESSEL	Centerboard sloop.
HOME PORT	Baltimore, Maryland.
MASTER	Kerr.
COMMENT	<u>Passenger</u> was spotted capsized and barely afloat in the Potomac by the U.S.S. <u>Reliance</u> , Captain J.P.K. Mygatt commanding, while on patrol. Close investigation of the wreck revealed someone attempting to conceal himself behind the vessel's centerboard. It was later ascertained that the fellow, Kerr, though claiming he was escaping from the Confederate shore of Virginia, was undoubtedly a rebel himself, probably attempting to run the blockade of the Potomac when his vessel was capsized.

SOURCES CWNC 1: 18; ORN Series I, 4: 556.

46.

VESSEL Favorite
 DATE LOST July 18, 1861.
 MANNER OF LOSS She was sunk "either by being carelessly run into by another vessel or from neglect...to leave men on board to watch and keep her pumped out."
 LOCATION Off Piney Point, Maryland.
 TYPE VESSEL Schooner.
 COMMENT Favorite was one of several Confederate vessels captured by and expedition formed by the U.S.S. Yankee, Resolute, and boats from Pawnee which penetrated into Yeocomico River. The schooners had been discovered with their sails unbent, preparing to run the Potomac blockade. Favorite was hauled off to Piney Point, near the Maryland shore and anchored. Potomac Flotilla Flag Officer Tunis A.M. Craven thereafter reported the vessel lost through accident or neglect.

 SOURCES

CWNC 1: 19; ORN Series I, 4: 577.

47.

VESSEL T.W. Riley
DATE LOST August 20, 1861.
MANNER OF LOSS Scuttled.
LOCATION Wade's Bay, Potomac River, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL Sloop.
OWNER James W. Gessford.
COMMENT The Riley was seized and scuttled by order of Union Potomac Flotilla Commander T.T. Craven. The owner of the vessel, Gessford, protested the action to Gideon Wells, Secretary of the Navy, who in turn queried Craven. Craven replied he had carried out the seizure and destruction of the vessel after being informed by the Assistant Secretary of the Navy of a possible Confederate invasion across the Potomac River.

SOURCE Shomette 1973: 464.

48.

VESSEL Martha Washington

DATE LOST October 11, 1861.

MANNER OF LOSS Burned by Union naval raiders under the command of Lieutenant Abraham D. Harrell.

LOCATION Near the entrance to Quantico Creek, Virginia.

TYPE VESSEL Two masted schooner.

COMMENT Lt. Harrell led the raid on the Martha Washington in a gig and two launches from Union naval vessels in the Potomac. It was feared the schooner would be used by Confederate forces in conjunction with the rebel gunboat George Page (formerly the Potomac River ferry steamer which had operated out of Alexandria) to invade the shores of Maryland. Harrell entered the creek about 2:30 a.m., boarded the schooner in the darkness, heaped up her furniture, and prepared to set her afire. Acting Master Amos P. Foster of the U.S.S. Resolute put the torch to the ship. The Yankees escaped amidst a hail of bullets as the Confederate schooner was consumed by the flames.

SOURCE Wills 1975: 61.

49.

VESSEL C.S.S. George Page
 DATE LOST March 9, 1862.
 MANNER OF LOSS Destroyed by Confederate forces to prevent capture.
 LOCATION Quantico Creek, Virginia.
 TYPE VESSEL Sidewheel steamer.
 GROSS TONS 410.
 YEAR BUILT 1853.
 SERVICE Originally intended as a ferry for the port of Alexandria, she was eventually attached to the Quartermaster's Department of the U.S. Army until captured by Confederates at Aquia Creek, Virginia in May 1861 and converted into a gunboat.
 COMMENT In July 1861, while fitting out for service as a river defense ship, the Page was attacked and damaged by gunfire from the U.S.S. Pocahontas, Commander Benjamin M. Dove. Later renamed City of Richmond (though the name never was used), the Page saw little action. Commanded by Lt. Charles Carroll Simms, C.S.N., she operated in the Potomac River in the vicinity of Quantico, Virginia, but rarely ventured out to contest control of the river. Despite her armament of two 32-pounders, forward and aft, and a single pivot gun amidships, she never entered a major contest with Union warships, and even with a full complement of 150 men rarely ventured beyond the Quantico-Chopawamsic Creek area. Finally, when Confederate troops retired from area, abandoning the batteries which had protected the Page's anchorage, the vessel was blown up. She was never salvaged.

 SOURCES

CWNC 2: 31; Ibid.. 4: 327; Wills 1975: 30-31, 106-107, 147.

50.

VESSEL Frances Elmore

DATE LOST October 7, 1862.

MANNER OF LOSS Burned by Confederate guerillas commanded by Lieutenant John Taylor Wood, C.S.N.

LOCATION In mid-channel of the Potomac River below Pope's Creek, Maryland.

TYPE VESSEL Schooner.

CARGO Hay.

COMMENT The schooner was anchored in mid-stream when the Confederate raiders put off from the Virginia shore in small boats and seized her. Her crew was quickly taken prisoners while the ship was looted. When a Union gunboat was spotted coming down the river, Wood ordered the Elmore put to the torch, and abandoned. By the time the U.S.S. Yankee arrived on the scene, the Elmore was burning so badly that she could not be saved.

SOURCE ORN Series I, 5: 118, 119.

51.

VESSEL Robert Wilbur

DATE LOST November 4, 1862.

MANNER OF LOSS Burned by U.S.S. Jacob Bell.

LOCATION In Nomini Creek, Virginia.

TYPE VESSEL Schooner.

COMMENT The vessel, believed to be a Confederate ship, was captured by the Bell, under the command of Acting Ensign George E. McConnell, and burned.

SOURCE CWNC 2: 108.

52.

VESSEL U.S.S. Tigress
DATE LOST 1862.
MANNER OF LOSS Run down by another vessel.
LOCATION In the Potomac River, off Indian Head, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL Steam tug.
ENGINES One high pressure engine and one boiler built in 1858.
COMMENT The vessel was run down by a steamship.
SALVAGE The Tigress was later raised by A.C. Hall and sold at public auction for \$1,319.24.

SOURCE Shomette 1973: 154.

53.

VESSEL U.S.S. Tulip (formerly Chih Kiang)
 DATE LOST November 11, 1864.
 MANNER OF LOSS Boiler explosion.
 LOCATION Off Piney Point, Potomac River, Maryland, in 60 feet of water.
 TYPE VESSEL Armed steam tug.
 GROSS TONS 183.
 LENGTH 97 feet 3 inches.
 BEAM 21 feet 9 inches.
 DEPTH IN HOLD 9 feet 6 inches.
 DRAFT 8 feet (fully loaded).
 ENGINES Two boilers, one of which was declared defective in 1864, and reciprocating engines.
 BOUND FROM The U.S. Navy coaling station on St. Inigoes Creek, Maryland.
 BOUND TO Washington, D.C.
 OWNER The United States Navy.
 ARMAMENT One 20-pounder Parrott rifle, two 24-pounders, and two heavy 12-pounders.
 CAPTAIN William H. Smith CREW 59.
 CASUALTIES 48.
 COMMENT The Tulip, one of the Potomac Flotilla gunboats, left the Union naval coaling station on St. Inigoes Creek for Washington where she was to undergo repairs. The ship's commander was directed not to employ the defective boiler during the trip. He retorted that he would have to travel at a severely retarded rate of speed if he followed such an order and would be subjected to Confederate fire from the Virginia side of the Potomac. Despite repeated orders, the boiler was employed once out of view of the station. On approaching Piney Point, the ship was ripped apart by a terrible explosion heard as far away as St. Inigoes and Point Lookout.

ASSISTANCE

At dusk of the same evening, the U.S. Army tug Hudson arrived on the scene and recovered ten survivors and eight bodies from the water. On the following day, the U.S.S. Juniper was dispatched to Ragged Point to hunt for survivors, where she found large portions of the ship's deck, top of her pilot house, and one of her cutters, as well as personal belongings of the crew. An eleventh survivor made his own way ashore and back to St. Inigoes unassisted.

SALVAGE

The remains of the Tulip have been frequently visited by scuba divers in recent years. A Richmond dive club reportedly recovered the ship's armament and various portions of the vessel itself, including a board with the ship's name on it. A set or pieces of the ship's dinnerware, marked with the ship's name, as well as other small artifacts such as hand grenades have been removed by divers from Washington and Baltimore. One dive shop ran, for a time, regular dive expeditions, chartered, to the wreck for sport divers.

SOURCES

The Evening Star (Washington), November 14, 1864; Ibid., November 15, 1864; Ellicott; Shomette 1973: 155-156; p.c. Freeman.

54.

VESSELS Unidentifieds (30+)

DATE LOST December 15, 1864.

MANNER OF LOSS Burned by an expedition from U.S.S. Coeur De Lion and Mercury, commanded by Acting Master William G. Morris.

LOCATION On Coan River, Virginia.

TYPE VESSEL Noted only as "more than thirty large boats."

COMMENT The expedition was launched to destroy the boats which were being massed by Confederates along the banks of the Coan. The vessels were seized and burned and a force of defending Confederate soldiers were driven off in a brief engagement.

SOURCE CWNC 4: 146.

55.

VESSEL Liberty
DATE LOST Between 12:00 and 1:00 A.M., Thursday, January 4, 1866.
MANNER OF LOSS Burned and run ashore.
LOCATION On the Maryland shore of the Potomac River, near Cedar Point.
TYPE VESSEL Sidewheel steamer.
REGISTRY 15074.
GROSS TONS 150.
YEAR BUILT 1864.
PLACE BUILT Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
HOME PORT First homeported at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
BOUND FROM Alexandria, Virginia
BOUND TO Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
OWNER The Express Steamship Company.
COMMENT The Liberty caught fire off Cedar Point and was deliberately run onto the Maryland shore "and barely reached it in time to save the lives of the crew." The vessel and her cargo were totally lost, the ship having burnt to the water's edge. The crew eventually arrived safely at Philadelphia. No lives were lost.

SOURCES The Evening Star (Washington), Monday, January 8, 1866;
 Berman 1972: 56; Lytle and Holdcamper 1975: 127, 276.

56.

VESSEL	<u>Wawasett</u>
DATE LOST	About noon, August 8, 1873.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	Between 150 and 200 yards from the shore at Chatterton's Landing, on the Virginia side of the Potomac River, opposite Maryland Point, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Sidewheel steamer.
	REGISTRY 26293.
GROSS TONS	328.90.
NET TONS	258.00.
YEAR BUILT	1863.
PLACE BUILT	Wilmington, Delaware.
CONSTRUCTOR	Pusey and Jones.
LENGTH	129 feet.
BEAM	26 feet.
DEPTH IN HOLD	9 feet.
DRAFT	5 feet (?).
HOME PORT	First home ported at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Home ported at time of loss at Washington, D.C.
BOUND FROM	Washington, D.C.
BOUND TO	Coan River, Virginia.
CARGO	Primarily a passenger carrier. The vessel, however, was carrying a cargo of chicken coops, peach boxes, and two barrels of whiskey.
CAPTAIN	John R. Wood.
OWNERS	Potomac Ferryboat Company of Washington, D.C.
CREW	13 (including chambermaid).
PASSENGERS	137+.
CASUALTIES	42 (41 passengers and the chambermaid). Lytle gives the loss at 14, but this is incorrect.

COMMENT

The ship took fire inexplicably, between Thom's Gut and Chattertons Landing, on the Potomac River. The crew immediately attempted to combat the flames which had quickly severed communication between the fore and aft sections of the ship. Fire extinguishers proved useless. Captain Wood was already making for the landing at Chatterton's when the fire became uncontrollable, and ran the ship aground on a knoll. The stern of the ship was drifting free in eight to twelve feet of water, but the bow was firmly aground in only four to five feet. Panic aboard the ship caused most of the casualties and almost all of the passengers that were lost were either drowned or burned to death.

ASSISTANCE

The survivors were picked up by the steamers Express, Captain James T. Baker, Georgianna, National, Captain Gregg, Arrow, Captain Hollingshead, Charlotte Vanderbilt, and tugboat Lewis.

SALVAGE

Oral tradition in the vicinity of Eagle's Nest, near the site of old Chatterton's Landing (no longer extant), indicates the Wawasett wreck was stripped of metal for the purpose of metal salvage during World War I and World War II. A hulk in the vicinity of the old Chatterton site was visited by Donald G. Shomette, Dale E. Shomette, and John Burton during July 1967. The hull is exposed, but is believed to be one of a number of 1920s-vintage vessels scuttled in Mallow's Bay, Maryland, which drifted loose and came to rest near Chatterton.

 SOURCES

The Evening Star (Washington), August 9-15, 1873; Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), August 11, 1873; Lytle and Holdcamper 1975: 227, 305.

57.

VESSEL Unidentified

DATE LOST January 19, 1875.

MANNER OF LOSS Cut through by ice and sank.

LOCATION Off Liverpool Point, Potomac River.

TYPE VESSEL Oyster boat.

SOURCE Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), January 19, 1875.

58.

VESSEL Unidentified
DATE LOST March 1, 1875.
MANNER OF LOSS Noted as being "ashore."
LOCATION Just a bit south of Fort Foote, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL A small Bay schooner.
COMMENT River navigation was impeded by ice and snow.

SOURCE Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), March 1, 1875.

59.

VESSEL Unidentified

DATE LOST March 1, 1875.

MANNER OF LOSS Noted as "ashore."

LOCATION Mathias Point, Virginia.

TYPE VESSEL A small Bay schooner.

COMMENT River navigation was impeded by ice and snow.

SOURCE Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), March 1, 1875.

60.

VESSEL Unidentified
DATE LOST March 1, 1875.
MANNER OF LOSS Driven ashore during winter freeze.
LOCATION Nanjemoy Reach, Potomac River.
TYPE VESSEL Three masted schooner.
COMMENT River navigation was impeded by ice.

SOURCE Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), March 1, 1875.

61.

VESSEL Unidentified
DATE LOST April 13, 1875.
MANNER OF LOSS Capsized.
LOCATION Just above Alexandria, off the Arsenal.
TYPE VESSEL Sailboat.
COMMENT The man managing the vessel was saved.

SOURCE Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), April 13, 1875.

63.

VESSEL	<u>Northumberland</u>		
DATE LOST	Friday, October 9, 1875, 11:30 p.m.		
MANNER OF LOSS	Dragged anchor and driven ashore in a gale.		
LOCATION	On the Potomac River 74 miles from Washington, D.C.		
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner (wooden).		
NATIONALITY	American.		
REGISTRY	18760.		
HOME PORT	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.		
GROSS TONS	51.33.		
YEAR BUILT	1873.		
BOUND FROM	Nomini Cliffs, 74 miles from Washington, D.C.		
BOUND TO	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.		
CARGO	50 cords of wood.		
VALUE OF CARGO	\$300.	CARGO INSURED VALUE	None.
VALUE OF SHIP	\$6,000.	SHIP INSURED VALUE	\$4,000.
MASTER	Moses Nichols of Eastern Shore, Maryland.		
OWNER	Thomas Tellet of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.		
WEATHER	Northwest gale, noted as a "heavy gale."		
CREW	4.		
ASSISTANCE	None.		
SALVAGE	"Vessel supposed to have been badly trimed and not having finished loading - vessel raised & taken to Alexandria, Va."		
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SOURCE	Maritime Records Port of Philadelphia, Section VI, Record of Wrecks, Philadelphia District, Volume 1.		

64.

VESSEL Armenia
 DATE LOST 8:00 a.m. January 5, 1886.
 MANNER OF LOSS Burned at her moorings and sunk.
 LOCATION At the "Iron Boom" Wharf near Pioneer Mill, at the foot of Wolfe Street, Alexandria, Virginia, in Potomac River.
 TYPE VESSEL Steam prop.
 REGISTRY 1706.
 HOME PORT Baltimore, Maryland.
 GROSS TONS 528.29.
 NET TONS 347.34.
 LENGTH 212.0 feet.
 BEAM 30.0 feet.
 DEPTH 9.0 feet.
 HORSEPOWER 350.
 BOUND FROM/TO The Armenia had been laid up at moorings for two months.
 MASTER Though normally commanded by Captain W.H. Nowell, a former Alexandrian, the vessel had been left to the care of a watchman named Layman who lived aboard. Layman was her assistant engineer and had a helper living aboard with him.
 OWNER Inland and Coastwise Transportation Company (Baltimore, Maryland).
 VALUE OF VESSEL \$30,000, not inclusive of \$55,000 in recent repairs, improvements and outfit (The Evening Star); \$60,000 (Alexandria Gazette).
 VALUE INSURED \$50,000 (it was also stated the vessel was fully insured).
 COMMENT The fire was discovered about 2:00 a.m. and before the flames could be extinguished her owners considered her a complete wreck. The vessel had been towed to Alexandria in the fall to be repainted. Layman and his helper, staying aboard, had placed a small stove in the hold to prevent the pipes from freezing and had filled the stove with coal for the night. They were awakened by a suffocating smoke and compelled to flee for their lives. The alarm bells were soon sounding but few people turned out as it was impossible to see any light at all. Smoke

poured from her twin funnels as though steam was generating up from her boilers. Then the flames spread to the pilot house aft, and the entire area was soon aglow with a light that could be seen from everywhere in the city.

ASSISTANCE

The Columbia and Hydrant Steam Engines were soon on the scene pumping water from the river and from a street fire plug. The tugboat Major Henry Brewerton, Captain A.J. Fair, augmented the pumping, preventing complete destruction of the steamer. Despite their best efforts, everything above the main deck was damaged and the hull sank in ten feet of water.

SALVAGE

The vessel was considered a total wreck. Tilp (121) notes that her hull was towed to the shores of Washington Park (Notley Hall), Maryland, southeast of Jones Point, and left to rot.

BACKGROUND

The Armenia had been brought down from New York in 1883 and placed on the Potomac River as an excursion steamer. She made daily trips from Washington, Alexandria, and Lower Cedar Point, and her business was described as lucrative.

SOURCES

MVUS 1886: 300; The Evening Star (Washington), January 5, 1886; Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), January 5, 1886; Tilp 1978: 121.

65.

VESSEL	<u>Comet</u>
DATE LOST	Before daylight, Sunday, February 24, 1889.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	At Alexandria, Virginia "at the place where the steamer Armenia was burned some years ago, near Pioneer mills."
TYPE VESSEL	Screw steamer.
REGISTRY	5698.
HOME PORT	Alexandria, Virginia.
GROSS TONS	37.51.
NET TONS	25.73.
LENGTH	66.5 feet.
BEAM	17.0 feet.
DEPTH	6.0 feet.
SERVICE	Tug.
HORSEPOWER	60.
OWNERS	J.C. O'Neal, W.R. Taylor, and Captain Bell.
COMMENT	The <u>Comet</u> had plied the Potomac for twenty years. She had been purchased from the United States government in 1869 and was registered at the custom house in Alexandria. When the <u>Comet</u> was destroyed, she had been laid up since the beginning of winter, and was in the care of a watchman. The fire was discovered about 2:00 a.m. As the fire department had only one steamer in service, the fire took hold rapidly. The decks of the vessel were burned away, but her hull was saved.
SALVAGE	As the vessel was insured "she will be refitted and take another lease on life," one newspaper reported. However, she does not again appear on the register of Merchant Vessels of the United States listings.
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SOURCES	MVUS 1887: 280; <u>The Evening Star</u> (Washington), February 25, 1889.

66.

VESSEL Unidentified
DATE LOST Saturday night, September 3, 1892.
MANNER OF LOSS Swamped at dockside by swells from passing steamers.
LOCATION At the J.H.D. Smoot & Son dock, Alexandria, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL Sand scow.
BOUND FROM Alexandria, Virginia.
BOUND TO Gunston, Virginia.
CARGO Lumber.
CARGO LOADED BY J.H.D. Smoot & Son.

SOURCE Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), September 5, 1892.

67.

VESSEL City of Alexandria
DATE LOST October 6-7, 1892.
MANNER OF LOSS Burned.
LOCATION Caught fire while at moorings at foot of King Street, Alexandria, Virginia, but hauled by tugs onto Oxon Flats, opposite Duke Street and on the Maryland side of the Potomac River.
TYPE VESSEL Paddle steamer.
REGISTRY 1986.
HOME PORT Georgetown, D.C.
GROSS TONS 326.48.
NET TONS 269.73.
LENGTH 141.5 feet (MVUS); 155 feet (Alexandria Gazette).
BEAM 27.4 feet (MVUS); 52 feet (Alexandria Gazette).
DEPTH 10.5 feet.
YEAR BUILT 1868 (MVUS); 1867 (Alexandria Gazette).
PLACE BUILT New York, New York (MVUS); Nyack, New York (Alexandria Gazette).
SERVICE Ferry.
HORSEPOWER 100.
VESSEL VALUE \$30,000 **VESSEL INSURED** \$15,000
COMMENT The ship caught fire from an unknown cause and burned so rapidly that fighting the flames was of no value.
ASSISTANCE The Alexandria fire department boarded the ship to fight the flames but had to abandon her to permit her to be towed out of the harbor by the tugs Juno and Eva Belle. She was hauled to Oxon Flats and abandoned though the tugs continued to throw water on her burning frames.
SALVAGE The remains of the ship were eventually lodged on the shores of Washington Park (Notley Hall), Maryland, southeast of Jones Point, Virginia.

SOURCES MVUS 1887: 278; Tilp 1978: 121; Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), October 10, 1892.

68.

VESSEL	<u>W.W. Coit</u>
DATE LOST	2:20 a.m. November 6, 1893.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	Off 12th Street Wharf, Washington, D.C.
TYPE VESSEL	Paddle wheel steamer.
REGISTRY	26725.
HOME PORT	Albany, New York (1893).
GROSS TONS	484.72.
NET TONS	383.75.
LENGTH	172.0 feet.
BEAM	26.0 feet.
DEPTH	9.0 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1864.
PLACE BUILT	Mystic, Connecticut.
HORSEPOWER	280.
OWNER	The Plant Line.
COMMENT	The <u>Coit</u> was an excursion vessel which ran between Washington and Norfolk with stops at various river landings along the way.
SALVAGE	The bones of <u>W.W. Coit</u> , which had burned down to the water's edge, were removed, and towed to the shores of Washington Park (Notley Hall), Maryland, southeast of Jones Point, Virginia.

SOURCES MVUS 1893: 361; T11p 1978: 59, 119, 121.

69.

VESSEL	<u>Jesse J. Parks</u>
DATE LOST	1894.
MANNER OF LOSS	Foundered.
LOCATION	Canoe Neck Creek, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Pungy schooner.
REGISTRY	13919.
HOME PORT	Georgetown, D.C. (1892).
GROSS TONS	29.62 (MVUS); 30 (Beitzell).
NET TONS	28.14.
LENGTH	55.3 feet.
BEAM	18.8 feet.
DEPTH	5.2 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1866.
PLACE BUILT	Somerset County, Maryland.
MASTERS	William Lawrence (Canoe Neck Creek, Maryland); Ernest Beitzell (Canoe Neck Creek, Maryland).

SOURCES MVUS 1892: 157; Beitzell 1979: 148-149.

70.

VESSEL Edward C. Thomas
DATE LOST Wednesday, February 13, 1895.
MANNER OF LOSS Cut through by ice.
LOCATION Potomac River, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL Schooner.
REGISTRY 135817.
HOME PORT Crisfield, Maryland (endorsed in Baltimore, Maryland).
NET TONS 20.74.
YEAR BUILT 1884.
BOUND FROM Baltimore, Maryland, February 2, 1895.
BOUND TO Potomac River, Maryland.
CARGO Listed as light, meaning little or no cargo.
VALUE OF VESSEL \$1,000.00.
MASTER Not indicated.
OWNERS Edward P. Tyler, C.W. Bradshaw, and Ewell M. _____, of Baltimore, Maryland.
CREW 8.
CASUALTIES 0.
COMMENT While under tow in the Potomac River, the Thomas was cut through by river ice during foul weather. Though the crew tried to keep her pumped out, all efforts to save her were useless and she was cut loose. It was noted the vessel "was torn to pieces by the Ice and has not been found." She was written off as a total loss.

SOURCE Henry G. Granofsky Customs Collection, MS 2231, Box 6, Wreck Report Log, page 45, Maryland Historical Society Library.

71.

VESSEL Lady of the Lake
 DATE LOST February 15, 1895, about 3:00 a.m.
 MANNER OF LOSS Burned as a result of the overturning of a galley stove.
 LOCATION At the foot of Seventh Street, Washington, D.C.
 TYPE VESSEL Paddle steamer.
 REGISTRY 15260 SIGNAL LETTERS JBMD.
 HOME PORT Tappahannock, Virginia (1894).
 GROSS TONS 772.55.
 NET TONS 598.05.
 LENGTH 210.0 feet.
 BEAM 31.0 feet.
 DEPTH 10.0 feet.
 YEAR BUILT 1866.
 PLACE BUILT Wilmington, Delaware.
 MASTER T. T. Cooper.
 QUARTERMASTER J. W. Keene.
 OWNER The People's Transportation Company (a black owned syndicate).
 WEATHER Snowstorm.
 COMMENT The master and quartermaster were asleep in their cabin when the fire broke out and narrowly escaped with their lives. The fireplugs in the city were frozen up at the time and could not be employed in fighting the fire. Thus, everything was burned, save the iron hull, down to the waterline. The loss was put at \$40,000.

Lady of the Lake once belonged to the Inland and Seaboard Coasting Company. In 1894 J.W. Patterson persuaded numerous Washington black churches to organize and finance the People's Transportation Company and to acquire the Lady of the Lake. The vessel had been employed for many years in freight and passenger packet

trade on the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers. It had terminals at Norfolk, Baltimore, and Washington.

SOURCES

MVUS 1894: 322; Tllp 1978: 59, 119, 161.

72.

VESSEL	<u>Past Grand</u>	
DATE LOST	10:00 a.m., Friday, March 15, 1895.	
MANNER OF LOSS	Collision with a sunken log.	
LOCATION	Off Stump Neck Point, Potomac River, Maryland.	
TYPE VESSEL	Sloop (wooden).	
REGISTRY	20259.	
HOME PORT	Crisfield, Maryland.	
GROSS TONS	9.67.	
YEAR BUILT	1857.	
BOUND FROM	St. Jerome's Creek, Maryland.	
BOUND TO	Washington, D.C.	
CARGO	80 tons of oysters.	
VALUE OF CARGO	\$150.00.	
VALUE OF VESSEL	\$400.00	INSURED VESSEL VALUE \$00.00.
MASTER/OWNER	George W. Poice of Hollands Island, Maryland.	
CREW	3.	
CASUALTIES	0.	
COMMENT	The vessel was considered a total loss, but the cargo loss was placed at \$120.00, indicating that \$30.00 worth of oysters were saved. The collision with the log was attributable to the fact that the log was totally submerged.	

SOURCE Henry G. Granofsky Customs Collection, MS 2231, Box 6, Wreck Report Log, page 46, Maryland Historical Society Library.

73.

VESSEL	<u>Lucy J. Stewart</u>
DATE LOST	After 1895.
MANNER OF LOSS	Abandoned.
LOCATION	St. George's Island, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Pungy schooner.
REGISTRY	15467.
HOME PORT	Tappahannock, Virginia (1895).
GROSS TONS	27.14 (MVUS); 27 (Beitzell).
NET TONS	25.79.
LENGTH	51.6 feet.
BEAM	19.0 feet.
DEPTH	5.8 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1869.
PLACE BUILT	Somerset County, Maryland.
MASTER	Charles Chesser (St. George's Island).

SOURCES MVUS 1895: 127; Beitzell 1979: 150-151.

74.

VESSEL Unidentified

DATE LOST About 1896.

MANNER OF LOSS Unknown.

LOCATION At the end of the wharf at Mathias Point, Virginia, in the Potomac River.

TYPE VESSEL Schooner.

COMMENT Although the wreck was reported as a hazard to navigation to the Army Corps of Engineers on June 23, 1911, and was examined on July 13, she was found not to be a hazard to navigation. The wreck, it was found, had been lying at that location for about 15 years and the government suggested to the complaintant that "a slight and inexpensive extension of the wharf would obviate the necessity of removal." No Corps of Engineers work was thus authorized.

SOURCE RCE 1912, 2: 389, 1694.

75.

VESSEL	<u>Edward Dean</u>
DATE LOST	September 5, 1897.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	Monroe's Creek, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	135711.
HOME PORT	Annapolis, Maryland (1896).
GROSS TONS	19.22.
NET TONS	18.26.
LENGTH	46.2 feet.
BEAM	16.0 feet.
DEPTH	4.0 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1883.
PLACE BUILT	Alexandria, Virginia.
MASTERS	T.L.N and J.E. Lawrence, John Beitzell, George Gibson, Joseph A. Lawrence, Ned Hazelton, Augustus Dean.
COMMENT	The <u>Dean</u> is listed by Beitzell as being home ported variously (depending on owner) at Canoe Neck Creek, White's Neck Creek, St. Patrick's Creek, Canoe Neck Creek again, and finally at Alexandria. MVUS lists her final home port at Annapolis.

SOURCES MVUS 1896: 50; Beitzell 1979: 143.

76.

VESSEL	<u>Leading Breeze</u>
DATE LOST	About 1898.
MANNER OF LOSS	Sunk.
LOCATION	In the channel of the Potomac River between Alexandria, Virginia and Washington, D.C.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	15479.
HOME PORT	Annapolis, Maryland.
GROSS TONS	26.29.
NET TONS	24.98.
LENGTH	47.0 feet.
BEAM	16.0 feet.
DEPTH	5.6 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1859.
PLACE BUILT	Somerset County, Maryland.
SALVAGE	The Army Corps of Engineers allotment to remove the wreck was set at \$200. The wreck was removed in October 1898 by the Corps' snag boat. Work cost \$100,51.

SOURCES MVUS 1897: 113; RCE 1899, 1: 223, 1442.

77.

VESSEL	<u>George T. Ash</u>
DATE LOST	June 13, 1899.
MANNER OF LOSS	Wrecked and abandoned.
LOCATION	Washington, D.C.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	10990.
HOME PORT	Annapolis, Maryland (1886).
GROSS TONS	51.12 (MVUS); 51 (Beitzell).
NET TONS	48.57.
LENGTH	72.0 (MVUS); 72.2 (Beitzell).
BEAM	21.5 feet.
DEPTH	5.2 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1868.
PLACE BUILT	Baltimore, Maryland.
MASTERS	John J. Allston (St. Mary's River, Maryland); James S. Saunders (St. Mary's River, Maryland).

SOURCES MVUS 1886: 144; Beitzell 1979: 146-147.

78.

VESSEL Thomas H. Ruark

DATE LOST About June 15, 1899.

MANNER OF LOSS Collision.

LOCATION At the lower end of Mattawoman Shoal, Potomac River, Maryland.

TYPE VESSEL Sloop.

GROSS TONS 10.5.

LENGTH 43 feet.

BEAM 17.3 feet.

DEPTH 3.9 feet.

YEAR BUILT 1869.

SALVAGE/REMOVAL On October 12, 1899 the U.S. Corps of Engineers, using a steam launch set out to clear the wreck from her bed in 30 feet of water. Using hired labor, carried aboard the launch Neva, for support, a diver placed 85 pounds of dynamite about the wreck. A Laflin and Rand battery was employed to set off the charge and the wreck was cleared to a depth of 26 feet.

SOURCE RCE 1900, 1: 254; Ibid., 2: 1739.

79.

VESSEL Harp

DATE LOST April 15, 1901.

MANNER OF LOSS Abandoned "because of decayed condition (probably worm eaten)."

LOCATION Alexandria, Virginia.

TYPE VESSEL Schooner.

REGISTRY 96296 (MVUS); 96390 (Beitzell).

HOME PORT Alexandria, Virginia (1896).

GROSS TONS 39.35.

NET TONS 37.39.

LENGTH 67.5 feet.

BEAM 21.6 feet.

DEPTH 4.8 feet.

YEAR BUILT 1895.

PLACE BUILT Kinsale, Virginia.

OWNER George H. Sheldon (Alexandria, Virginia).

SOURCES MVUS 1896: 83; Beitzell 1979: 146-147.

80.

VESSEL	<u>Ostrich</u>
DATE LOST	Last reported in MVUS 1901.
MANNER OF LOSS	Hit and sunk by a tugboat.
LOCATION	Near Washington, D.C.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	19255.
HOME PORT	Annapolis, Maryland (1901).
GROSS TONS	47.
NET TONS	44.
LENGTH	63.0 feet.
BEAM	21.0 feet.
DEPTH	6.4 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1864.
PLACE BUILT	Somerset County, Maryland (Beitzell); Baltimore, Maryland (MVUS).
MASTERS	John William Palmer (St. Patrick's Creek, Maryland); Douglas Russell (Canoe Neck Creek, Maryland).

SOURCES MVUS 1901: 151; Beitzell 1979: 154-155.

81.

VESSEL	<u>Columbia</u>
DATE LOST	9:30 p.m., May 13, 1903.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	Washington, D.C.
TYPE VESSEL	Paddle steam ferryboat.
REGISTRY	126786.
HOME PORT	Washington, D.C.
GROSS TONS	588.
NET TONS	459.
LENGTH	148.0 feet.
BEAM	48.0 feet.
DEPTH	12.0 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1891.
PLACE BUILT	Baltimore, Maryland.
SERVICE	Ferry.
BOUND FROM	Alexandria, Virginia.
BOUND TO	Washington, D.C.
VESSEL VALUE	\$50,000.
	VESSEL INSURED Partial.
COMMENT	The vessel, which featured a composite hull, had just returned from Alexandria at 7:00 p.m. and her fires were banked so that her crew could go ashore at the earliest possible moment. Despite the assistance of fireboats, the ship was burned to the water's edge. Her loss left Washington without a ferry connection to Alexandria, stranding many commuters. The fire also caused approximately \$2,000 damage to the wharves and sheds nearby.

 SOURCES

MVUS 1902: 225; T11p 1978: 119-120.

82.

VESSEL Valley Forge

DATE LOST Prior to October 1903.

MANNER OF LOSS Wrecked.

LOCATION Noted only as in a small tidal reservoir of the Potomac River.

TYPE VESSEL Tug.

SALVAGE The wreck was reportedly removed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in October 1903.

SOURCE RCE 1904, Part I: 217.

83.

VESSEL Unidentified.

DATE LOST Prior to October 1903.

MANNER OF LOSS Wrecked.

LOCATION Noted only as in a small tidal reservoir of the Potomac River.

TYPE VESSEL Scow.

SALVAGE The wreck was removed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in October 1903.

SOURCE RCE 1904, Part I: 217.

84.

VESSEL American Patriot

DATE LOST Prior to March 1904.

MANNER OF LOSS Wrecked.

LOCATION In the Potomac River, near River View, Maryland.

TYPE VESSEL Schooner.

SALVAGE/REMOVAL The schooner was removed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in March 1904 with dynamite. The wreck was broke up by explosives until her remains were level with the bottom of the river.

SOURCE RCE 1904, Part I: 217.

85.

VESSEL	<u>Hanover</u>
DATE LOST	July 3, 1906.
MANNER OF LOSS	Stranding.
LOCATION	Point Lookout, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Bugeye schooner.
REGISTRY	95383.
HOME PORT	Newbern, North Carolina.
GROSS TONS	23.
NET TONS	22.
LENGTH	52.0 feet.
BEAM	15.9 feet.
DEPTH	4.4 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1875.
PLACE BUILT	Baltimore, Maryland.
CONSTRUCTOR	Ruark & Company.
CREW	2.
ONBOARD AT LOSS	2.
CASUALTIES	0.

SOURCES MVUS 1906: 68; Ibid., 1907: 375; Brewington 1963: 104.

86.

VESSEL	<u>Ann Thompson</u>		
DATE LOST	9:20 a.m., August 19, 1906.		
MANNER OF LOSS	Foundering.		
LOCATION	Point Lookout, Chesapeake Bay, Maryland.		
TYPE VESSEL	Barge (wooden).		
NATIONALITY	American.		
REGISTRY	162516.	HOME PORT	Philadelphia, Pa.
GROSS TONS	252.		
NET TONS	241.		
YEAR BUILT	1891 (also noted as 15 years of age).		
PLACE BUILT	Elkton, Maryland.		
BOUND FROM	Baltimore, Maryland, August 17, 1906.		
BOUND TO	Washington, D.C.		
CARGO	400 tons of anthracite coal.		
VALUE OF CARGO	\$1,900	CARGO INSURANCE	\$1,900.
VALUE OF VESSEL	\$4,000	VESSEL INSURANCE	\$4,000.
MASTER	John Connor of Frederic, Delaware.		
OWNERS	The Easton & McMahon Transport Company of 18 South Delaware Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.		
CREW	1.		
ONBOARD AT LOSS	2.		
CASUALTIES	0.		
COMMENT	The vessel was not overladen nor carried a deck load.		
ASSISTANCE	All possible assistance was rendered by the tug having the		

vessel in tow.

WEATHER

A storm with gale force winds.

SOURCES

MVUS 1906: 331; Ibid., 1907: 381; Maritime Records Port of Philadelphia, Section IV, Record of Wrecks, Philadelphia District, Volume 7.

87.

VESSEL	<u>Robert E. Lee</u>
DATE LOST	September 27, 1906.
MANNER OF LOSS	Abandoned.
LOCATION	Alexandria, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL	Sloop.
REGISTER	111047.
HOME PORT	Alexandria, Virginia (1905).
GROSS TONS	8 (MVUS); also reported as 9 (Beitzell).
NET TONS	8.
LENGTH	42.0 feet.
BEAM	12.9 feet.
DEPTH	3.4.
SERVICE	Probably fishing.
HORSEPOWER	None.
YEAR BUILT	1893.
PLACE BUILT	Currioman, Virginia.
MASTER	T.W. Bryant of Westmoreland, Virginia, and later William J. and John T. Forwell, also of Westmoreland, Virginia.
CREW	2.

SOURCES MVUS 1905: 146; Beitzell 1979: 156-157.

88.

VESSEL	<u>Icicle</u>
DATE LOST	November 14, 1906.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	Brent's Wharf, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Gas screw.
REGISTRY	100762.
HOME PORT	Washington, D.C.
GROSS TONS	14.
NET TONS	9.
LENGTH	57.3 feet.
BEAM	12.2 feet.
DEPTH	4.5 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1902.
PLACE BUILT	Baltimore, Maryland.
HORSEPOWER	25.
SERVICE	Miscellaneous.
CREW	3.
ONBOARD AT LOSS	5.
CASUALTIES	0.

SOURCES MVUS 1906: 238; Ibid., 1908: 379.

89.

VESSEL	<u>Casper Heft</u>		
DATE LOST	December 24, 1906.		
MANNER OF LOSS	Stranded.		
LOCATION	Smith Point, Virginia.		
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.		
REGISTRY	4953.	SIGNAL LETTERS	HDTJ.
HOME PORT	Baltimore, Maryland.		
GROSS TONS	107.		
NET TONS	102.		
LENGTH	94.0 feet.		
BEAM	22.5 feet.		
DEPTH	6.6 feet.		
YEAR BUILT	1856.		
PLACE BUILT	Wilmington, Delaware.		
CREW	3.		

SOURCES MVUS 1905: 29; Ibid., 1907: 374.

90.

VESSEL	<u>E.G. Irwin</u>
DATE LOST	December 12, 1907.
MANNER OF LOSS	Collision with the tug <u>Dauntless</u> .
LOCATION	Reported by MVUS as Point No Point, but by Corps of Engineers at Point Lookout, in the mouth of the Potomac River.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	7866.
HOME PORT	Baltimore, Maryland.
GROSS TONS	188.
NET TONS	157.
LENGTH	106.0 feet.
BEAM	28.5 feet.
DEPTH	8.5 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1865.
PLACE BUILT	Milton, Delaware.
CREW	4.
ONBOARD AT LOSS	5.
CASUALTIES	0.
COMMENT	The Secretary and Manager of the Rescue Harbor No. 14 American Associates of Masters, Mates and Pilots of Baltimore wrote a letter on September 15, 1908 that the wreck was a hazard to navigation and requested the Corps of Engineers to take action. On October 15, 1908 a representative from the Chief of Engineers visited the site and agreed that the wreck "lying directly in path of light draft vessels", submerged in from 2 to 10½ feet of water, having a depth of 16 feet at low water, was an obstruction to navigation and recommended its removal.

SALVAGE/
REMOVAL

On October 22 a report was forwarded to the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, together with recommendations that \$700 be allotted to remove the wreck. Four days later the recommendation was approved and the money authorized. On November 11 the steamer General Warren, which was attached to the Corps, was dispatched to the site. Working under "unfavorable conditions, high winds and heavy seas" which prevailed during much of her operations over the site, the General Warren succeeded in clearing the site. Some 800 pounds of dynamite was employed to level the wreck even with the bottom. Pieces that floated to the surface were placed ashore. Operations were concluded on November 21, 1908.

SOURCES

MVUS 1907: 37; Ibid., 1908: 378; RCE 1909, Part I: 1250.

91.

VESSELS	Seven unidentifieds
DATE LOST	Prior to 1908.
MANNER OF LOSS	Abandonment.
LOCATION	In the Anacostia River, Washington, D.C.
TYPE VESSELS	Coal barges, canal boats, etc.
COMMENT	In 1908 the derelicts were reported beached on the flats in the Anacostia, and had allegedly been there for several years. During an exceptionally high water in May, two of the vessels floated free and across the Anacostia "lodging on the riprap wall for the area to be reclaimed." In order that the five remaining barges not float free and become a menace to navigation, it was found necessary to destroy them and the two on the riprap. The Allegheny Company, the vessel's former owners disclaimed ownership and claimed to have sold the vessels to one Lee R. Payne. Payne said he was merely an employee of the Allegheny Company hired to care for the vessels.
SALVAGE	On June 26, 1908 \$50 was allotted by the Army Corps of Engineers to destroy the wrecks. The five vessels that had remained on the flats were burned to the water's edge on July 15, 1908. The two vessels lodged on the riprap wall were subsequently placed "behind the bulkhead line upon the area" which was to be reclaimed.
<hr/>	
SOURCE	RCE 1909, Part I: 1249.

92.

VESSEL	<u>Thomas B. Hambleton</u>
DATE LOST	March 3, 1908.
MANNER OF LOSS	Foundered.
LOCATION	Hunting Creek, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	24588.
HOME PORT	Cape Charles, Virginia.
GROSS TONS	20.
NET TONS	15.
LENGTH	49.2 feet.
BEAM	17.3 feet.
DEPTH	5.3 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1861.
PLACE BUILT	Dorchester County, Maryland.
CREW	2.

SOURCES MVUS 1907: 141; Ibid., 1908: 381.

93.

VESSEL Emily Washington
 DATE LOST December 20, 1909.
 MANNER OF LOSS Leak caused by ice obliged the master to run her ashore.
 LOCATION Initially grounded on the Virginia flats of the Potomac River "opposite the United States naval magazine," but later floated free to Shepherds Point, Opposite Alexandria, Virginia. Her final disposition, after removal was to be "deposited on the flats behind the established bulkhead line near the upper limits of Alexandria, Va."
 TYPE VESSEL Schooner.
 REGISTRY 8471.
 HOME PORT Baltimore, Maryland.
 GROSS TONS 39.
 NET TONS 26.
 LENGTH 62.7 feet.
 BEAM 20.5 feet.
 DEPTH 6.1 feet.
 YEAR BUILT 1898.
 PLACE BUILT Somerset County, Maryland.
 CREW 10.
 CARGO Lumber (both deck and hold load).
 COMMENT On January 8, 1910 the wreck was reported by Eugene Hall to the Corps of Engineers as an obstruction to navigation. On January 10 a report was submitted and \$50 allotted to defray the cost of surveys carried out on January 8 and January 14. It was learned that after the stranding opposite the naval magazine, the deck load of lumber had been removed, but that which remained in her hold was sufficient to refloat the vessel, and on January 6 she had floated with the tide and eventually lodged on the Maryland flats 250 feet below Shepherd's Point, Maryland, opposite Alexandria, in nine feet of water, a position $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles below the point she had originally beached. The ship's owners were informed that if the vessel was

permitted to drift she would constitute a menace to navigation and must therefore be secured and lit during nights - otherwise she would be destroyed as an obstruction.

On January 12 the vessel again floated, collided with a steamer, and sank in Alexandria Harbor about a mile below her second position. Her position was now definitely a hazard to navigation and to the ships utilizing the harbor facilities at Alexandria. Thus, the Corps allotted \$1,000 for the wreck's removal on January 20.

SALVAGE/
REMOVAL

Between February 2 and 16 the wreck was raised, towed, and deposited on the flats behind the bulkheads above Alexandria. She was reported in 1910 as lying in four feet of water and secured to the river bed by three piles driven through her hull. This work was done by two hired plant pile drivers and assisted by the U.S. steam launch General Warren. "Nothing of value was recovered from the wreck."

SOURCES

MVUS 1908: 41; RCE 1910, Part I: 1372.

94.

VESSEL	<u>William Henry</u>
DATE LOST	April 30, 1910.
MANNER OF LOSS	Stranded.
LOCATION	Alexandria, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	26976.
HOME PORT	Annapolis, Maryland.
GROSS TONS	27.
NET TONS	18.
LENGTH	51.8 feet.
BEAM	18.8 feet.
DEPTH	5.6 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1848.
PLACE BUILT	Somerset County, Maryland.
CREW	4.

SOURCES MVUS 1909: 135; Ibid., 1910: 406.

95.

VESSEL River Queen
 DATE LOST July 10, 1910.
 MANNER OF LOSS Burned.
 LOCATION At the dock at the foot of Seventh Street, S.W., Washington, D.C.
 TYPE VESSEL Paddle steamer.
 REGISTRY 21455.
 SIGNAL LETTERS HQJS.
 HOME PORT Washington, D.C.
 GROSS TONS 578.
 NET TONS 426.
 LENGTH 181.1 feet.
 BEAM 28.5 feet.
 DEPTH 9.0 feet.
 YEAR BUILT 1864.
 PLACE BUILT Keyport, New Jersey.
 SERVICE Passenger.
 HORSEPOWER 650.
 OWNER Independent Steamboat and Barge Company, Washington, D.C.
 CAPTAIN Quartermaster J.L. Adams was senior officer aboard at time of loss.
 CREW 21.
 ONBOARD AT LOSS 3.
 COMMENT The vessel was said to have been a favorite of President Lincoln, and it was said he had conducted a number of conferences with General U.S. Grant aboard her.

The vessel was discovered afire by Quartermaster Adams, fireman Thomas Turner, and watchman James Edwards about midnight. The

flames had soon attracted the fireboat Fire-fighter and several thousand onlookers. Soon, several companies of the city fire department had arrived. The harbor became clogged with returning excursion boats watching the blaze. Eventually, the ship burned almost to the waterline, and finally came to rest in 15 feet of water. Her loss was placed at \$25,000. She had been in service during the previous year plying between Washington, D.C. and Washington Park, across from Alexandria. It was said the vessel had burned so quickly because of the many coats of paint that had been applied to her.

SALVAGE/
REMOVAL

The burned hull of the River Queen was eventually towed to the shores of Washington Park (Notley Hall), Maryland, southeast of Jones Point, Virginia, and left to rest beside the deaying hulks of the steamers City of Alexandria, Armenia, W.W. Coit, and W.W. Corcoran.

SOURCES

MVUS 1902: 285; Tilp 1978: 120-121.

96.

VESSEL Plumie E. Smith
 DATE LOST June 9, 1911.
 MANNER OF LOSS Collision with steamer City of Milford.
 LOCATION First beached on the flats of Virginia Channel, opposite the lower section of Potomac Park (Notley Hall), Maryland. Later removed to Alexandria, Virginia and "placed behind the bulkhead line at the upper limits of the city, and was there broken up with dynamite."
 TYPE VESSEL Schooner.
 REGISTRY 150499.
 HOME PORT Alexandria, Virginia.
 GROSS TONS 16.
 NET TONS 9.
 LENGTH 56.5 feet.
 BEAM 15.1 feet.
 DEPTH 4.0 feet.
 YEAR BUILT 1890.
 PLACE BUILT St. Peters, Maryland.
 OWNER/MASTER Andrew Kendrick.
 CREW 3.
 COMMENT Immediately after colliding with the steamer City of Milford, Captain Kendrick beached his schooner on the flats of the Virginia Channel. Later he unloaded the vessel and stripped her of her sails and other equipment. On July 20, 1911 Kendrick was informed by the Army Corps of Engineers that if he did not remove or secure the schooner in ten days it would be considered abandoned. Kendrick did nothing and on August 4, 1911, \$300 was allotted by the government for the wreck's removal, before it might be refloated by tides, freshets, or ice and sunk in deep water. The wreck was removed between August 22 and 29 at

a cost of \$260 to the government.

SOURCES

MVUS 1910: 97; RCE 1912, 2: 387, 1694-1695.

97.

VESSEL	<u>Itfnerant</u>
DATE LOST	September 29, 1911.
MANNER OF LOSS	Collision with the barge <u>Keystone</u> .
LOCATION	Great Wicomico River, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	12011.
HOME PORT	Tappahannock, Virginia.
GROSS TONS	38.
NET TONS	36.
LENGTH	67.6 feet.
BEAM	22.1 feet.
DEPTH	5.3 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1863.
PLACE BUILT	Talbot County, Maryland.
CREW	3.
ONBOARD AT LOSS	4.
CASUALTIES	0.

SOURCES MVUS 1911: 54; Ibid., 1912: 417.

98.

VESSEL Unidentified

DATE LOST Prior to 1912.

MANNER OF LOSS Unknown.

LOCATION Directly in the channel of Nomini Creek, Virginia, near Nomini Ferry.

TYPE VESSEL Schooner. (two masted).

LENGTH 80 feet.

BEAM 23 feet.

SALVAGE The vessel was reported to the Army Corps of Engineers on April 5, 1912 as a menace to navigation. A sum of \$200 was made available for the removal of the wreck on April 9, but no work was done in fiscal 1912. However, between July 29, and August 8, 1912 work was carried out to remove the wreck. It was found that she lay barely 1½ feet below "the best water" of Nomini Creek channel. Her masts, upper works, etc. had been carried away but her hull, deck, and timbers were sound. She was removed entirely by August 8.

SOURCE RCE 1912, 2: 391, 1696; Ibid., 1913, 1: 424.

99.

VESSEL	<u>Lizzie Lane</u>
DATE LOST	January 5, 1912.
MANNER OF LOSS	Stranding.
LOCATION	Piney Point, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Sloop.
REGISTRY	15745.
HOME PORT	Baltimore, Maryland.
GROSS TONS	19.
NET TONS	18.
LENGTH	50.2 feet.
BEAM	17.6 feet.
DEPTH	4.8 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1871.
PLACE BUILT	Sayville, New York.
CREW	3.
ONBOARD AT LOSS	3.
CASUALTIES	0.

SOURCES MVUS 1912: 62; Ibid., 1913: 423.

100.

VESSEL	<u>Caroline H. Mears</u>
DATE LOST	October 26, 1912, about 11:00 p.m.
MANNER OF LOSS	Foundered.
LOCATION	Upriver from Indianhead, Maryland, near the naval wharf.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	5981.
HOME PORT	Cape Charles, Virginia.
GROSS TONS	32.
NET TONS	20.
LENGTH	55.6 feet.
BEAM	18.8 feet.
DEPTH	5.0 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1871.
PLACE BUILT	Bridgetown, New Jersey.
OWNER	W.A. Rose of Amber, Virginia.
CREW	6.
CARGO	30 cords of wood for L.A. Clark & Sons, Washington, D.C.
COMMENT	The <u>Mears</u> had some undocumented accident while in the Potomac River reach off the Indianhead military reservation and was taken in tow by the tug <u>Techumseh</u> on Saturday, October 26, and anchored at 3:00 p.m. in 25 feet of water "near the channel" and off the wharf of the naval reservation. At 11:00 p.m. she filled with water and her crew of 6 blacks landed at Indianhead and went to Washington the next day. The schooner had not sunk to the bottom of the river. Her hold was full of wood and she was on her beam ends, with one side above water and with one anchor out ahead, just as she had been anchored.
SALVAGE/ REMOVAL	On November 2 the wreck was raised and towed from her position by the U.S. tugboat <u>Castle</u> and anchored a half mile westward

of the dredged channel in 17 feet of water. The Indianhead authorities promised to keep a light on the wreck for a while, or until the ice of winter interfered, but would assume no responsibility for the sinking of the vessel. The Corps of Engineers wrote to the ship's owner, W.A. Rose, on November 5 and December 4 asking what he proposed to do with the wreck. No reply was made.

Fearing that if the wreck's removal was not accomplished soon a northwest gale or ice might dislodge or move it and cause some serious injury to Potomac navigation, the Corps of Engineers allotted \$300 on December 7, 1912 for its removal. Between December 11 and December 20 the wreck was raised, towed upriver 28 miles to Washington, and "sunk behind the training dike for Virginia Channel." Two anchors, 300 feet of chain, a pump, steering gear, a windlass, two pieces of sail, two broken masts, and about four cords of wood were recovered, and valued at \$30. The work was done by the snag boat York, a hired pile driver, the tugboat Castle, and hired labor. The cost of removal was \$300.

SOURCES

MVUS 1910: 19; RCE 1913, Part II: 1877-1878.

101.

VESSEL Mary Elvis
 DATE LOST December 5, 1913.
 MANNER OF LOSS Abandoned.
 LOCATION Washington, D.C.
 TYPE VESSEL Sloop.
 REGISTRY 92833.
 HOME PORT Alexandria, Virginia (1907).
 GROSS TONS 9.
 NET TONS 9.
 LENGTH 40.8 feet.
 BEAM 14.6 feet.
 DEPTH 3.4 feet.
 YEAR BUILT 1897.
 PLACE BUILT Wayside, Maryland.
 MASTERS Walter L. Jackson (Charles County, Md.); James N. Morris
 (Charles County, Md.); S. Spearman Lancaster (Charles County,
 Md.); and John W. Furbush (Charles County, Md.).

SOURCES MVUS 1907: 101; Beitzell 1979: 152-153.

102.

VESSEL Mary S. Ewing
DATE LOST April 3, 1915.
MANNER OF LOSS Foundering.
LOCATION Point Lookout, Chesapeake Bay, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL Schooner.
REGISTRY 91049.
HOME PORT Baltimore, Maryland.
GROSS TONS 59.
NET TONS 45.
LENGTH 71.0 feet.
BEAM 23.0 feet.
DEPTH 5.0 feet.
YEAR BUILT 1878.
PLACE BUILT Mauricetown, New Jersey.
CREW 3.
ONBOARD AT LOSS 3.
CASUALTIES 3.

SOURCES MVUS 1914: 61; Ibid., 1915: 421.

103.

VESSEL	<u>Father & Sons</u>
DATE LOST	June 30, 1915.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned and abandoned.
LOCATION	Alexandria, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	9942.
HOME PORT	Alexandria, Virginia (1915).
GROSS TONS	24.
NET TONS	23.
LENGTH	45.9 feet.
BEAM	17.5 feet.
DEPTH	4.6 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1870.
PLACE BUILT	Newtown, Maryland.
MASTERS	Thomas H. Milburn (Breton Bay); A.C. Tenneson and R.K. Foxwell (Breton Bay); Benjamin Foxwell (Breton Bay); Massena Kendrick (Nanjemoy); Richard A. Wright (Pisgah, Md.); Thomas P. Simms (Ironsides, Md.).
CREW	2.

SOURCES MVUS 1914: 30; Beitzell 1979: 144-145.

104.

VESSEL	<u>J.C. Ewell</u>
DATE LOST	September 11, 1915.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	Potomac River, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Gas screw.
REGISTRY	202295.
HOME PORT	Reedville, Virginia.
GROSS TONS	14.
NET TONS	6.
LENGTH	53.5 feet.
BEAM	13.0 feet.
DEPTH	3.4 feet.
SERVICE	Oyster boat.
HORSEPOWER	15.
YEAR BUILT	1905.
PLACE BUILT	Bertrand, Virginia.
CREW	3.
ONBOARD AT LOSS	4.
CASUALTIES	1.

SOURCES MVUS 1915: 258; Ibid., 1916: 421.

105.

VESSEL	<u>Carrie Revelle</u>
DATE LOST	June 1, 1917.
MANNER OF LOSS	Foundered.
LOCATION	Alexandria, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	5774.
HOME PORT	Alexandria, Virginia.
GROSS TONS	26.
NET TONS	18.
LENGTH	54.6 feet.
BEAM	19.9 feet.
DEPTH	5.1 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1869.
PLACE BUILT	Somerset County, Maryland.
CREW	2.

SOURCES MVUS 1916: 13; Ibid., 1918: 435.

106.

VESSEL	<u>Enola</u>
DATE LOST	1917.
MANNER OF LOSS	Foundered.
LOCATION	In Canoe Neck Creek, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Sloop.
REGISTRY	8508.
HOME PORT	Annapolis, Maryland (1916).
GROSS TONS	19 (MVUS); 27 (Beitzell).
NET TONS	10.
LENGTH	51.0 feet.
BEAM	18.5 feet.
DEPTH	4.5 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1869.
PLACE BUILT	West Haven, Connecticut.
MASTER	Ned Hayden (Canoe Neck Creek).
CREW	4.

SOURCES MVUS 1916: 23; Beitzell 1979: 144-145.

107.

VESSEL	<u>Agu Naut</u>
DATE LOST	1918.
MANNER OF LOSS	Stranded.
LOCATION	Colonial Beach, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	15805.
HOME PORT	Crisfield, Maryland.
GROSS TONS	16.
NET TONS	15.
LENGTH	44.4 feet.
BEAM	17.4 feet.
DEPTH	4.0 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1878.
PLACE BUILT	Crisfield, Maryland.
CREW	3.

SOURCES MVUS 1916: 4; Ibid., 1922: 449.

108.

VESSEL J.R. Moffett
DATE LOST March 27, 1919.
MANNER OF LOSS Foundering.
LOCATION Potomac River, near Carter's Creek.
TYPE VESSEL Schooner.
REGISTRY 77100.
HOME PORT Reedville, Virginia.
GROSS TONS 44.
NET TONS 30.
LENGTH 70.0 feet.
BEAM 21.0 feet.
DEPTH 5.4 feet.
YEAR BUILT 1893.
PLACE BUILT Pocomoke City, Maryland.
CREW 3.
ONBOARD AT LOSS 2.
CASUALTIES 2.

SOURCES MVUS 1918: 33; Ibid., 1919: 448.

109.

VESSEL J.H. Anderson (formerly Mary Edison)
DATE LOST October 13, 1919.
MANNER OF LOSS Foundering.
LOCATION Smith's Creek, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL Schooner barge.
REGISTRY 93163.
HOME PORT Baltimore, Maryland.
GROSS TONS 41.
NET TONS 41.
LENGTH 66.2 feet.
BEAM 20.2 feet.
DEPTH 6.2 feet.
YEAR BUILT 1901.
PLACE BUILT Solomons, Maryland.
CREW 8.
ONBOARD AT LOSS 0.
CASUALTIES 0.

SOURCES MVUS 1919: 30; Ibid., 1920: 445.

110.

VESSEL	<u>Brooklyn</u>
DATE LOST	March 26, 1920.
MANNER OF LOSS	Stranding.
LOCATION	St. Mary's River, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	2656.
HOME PORT	Crisfield, Maryland.
GROSS TONS	70.
NET TONS	66.
LENGTH	80.3 feet.
BEAM	23.6 feet.
DEPTH	5.9 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1869.
PLACE BUILT	Dorchester County, Maryland.
CREW	4.
ONBOARD AT LOSS	3.
CASUALTIES	0.

SOURCES MVUS 1919: 10; Ibid., 1920: 445.

111.

VESSEL	<u>Clara M. Leonard</u>
DATE LOST	December 17, 1921.
MANNER OF LOSS	Stranding.
LOCATION	Off Point Lookout, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	125434.
HOME PORT	Reedville, Virginia.
GROSS TONS	56.
NET TONS	53.
LENGTH	73.8 feet.
BEAM	22.0 feet.
DEPTH	5.9 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1875.
PLACE BUILT	Oxford, Maryland.
CREW	3.
ONBOARD AT LOSS	0.
CASUALTIES	0.

SOURCES MVUS 1921: 12; Ibid., 1922: 449.

112.

VESSEL	<u>R.W. Blanchard</u>
DATE LOST	June 30, 1923.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	Off Quantico, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL	Gas screw.
REGISTRY	111440.
HOME PORT	Norfolk, Virginia.
GROSS TONS	10.
NET TONS	8.
LENGTH	44.5 feet.
BEAM	14.6 feet.
DEPTH	3.0 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1902.
PLACE BUILT	Davis, North Carolina.
SERVICE	Freight.
CREW	1.

SOURCES MVUS 1922: 312; Shomette 1982: 271.

113.

VESSEL Melia & Bee (also Melia & B)
DATE LOST Last reported in the MVUS 1924.
MANNER OF LOSS Abandoned.
LOCATION St. George's Island, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL Sloop.
REGISTRY 91509.
HOME PORT Baltimore, Maryland (1924 MVUS); St. George's Island, Md. (Beitzell)
GROSS TONS 6.
NET TONS 6.
LENGTH 35.6 feet.
BEAM 13.7 feet.
DEPTH 3.3 feet.
YEAR BUILT 1882.
PLACE BUILT Dorchester County, Maryland.
CONSTRUCTOR Frank Crowder.
MASTER Frank Crowder.
CREW 4.

SOURCES MVUS 1924: 330; Beitzell 1979: 154-155.

114.

VESSEL	<u>Patapsco</u>
DATE LOST	Morning of Tuesday, November 16, 1926.
MANNER OF LOSS	Stranding.
LOCATION	Cherryfield Point, St. Mary's River, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Barge (wooden - unrigged).
NATIONALITY	American.
REGISTRY	54591.
HOME PORT	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
GROSS TONS	325.
NET TONS	325.
LENGTH	139.2 feet.
BEAM	23.5 feet.
DEPTH	11.0 feet.
SERVICE	Freight.
YEAR BUILT	1915 (noted, however, as being 35 years old).
PLACE BUILT	Elkton, Maryland.
BOUND FROM	Chesapeake City, Maryland, November 11, 1926.
BOUND TO	Totuskey Creek, Rappahannock River, Virginia.
CARGO	None.
VALUE OF VESSEL	\$1,000.00.
	VESSEL VALUE INSURED \$0.00.
MASTER	E.H. Nicholls (address unknown).
OWNER	Southern Transportation Company (N.J.), Commercial Trust Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
CASUALTIES	Q. CREW 1 ONBOARD 2
COMMENT	Q. The cause of the casualty was given as: "Barge was made fast to stern of another barge at another and during southeast storm parted and Patapsco went ashore." The vessel was a total loss. Apparently no efforts were taken by the captain to avoid the casualty.

WEATHER Southeast gale.

ASSISTANCE C.S. Strapp, of Southern Transportation Company, noted: "Our tugs endeavored at various times to float barge but were unsuccessful. We also dredged alongside barge but on account of nature of bottom could not float it." A Letter dated September 23, 1927, states "Patapsco was abandoned Sept. 2, 1927 to the U.S. Engineers." The vessel was finally designated as a total loss on November 25, 1927.

SOURCES MVUS 1927: 696-697; Ibid., 1928: 888; Maritime Records Port of Philadelphia, Section VI, Record of Wrecks, Philadelphia District, Volume 11.

115.

VESSEL	<u>L.C. Quinn</u>
DATE LOST	February 21, 1927.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	Island Creek, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Gas screw.
REGISTRY	221712.
HOME PORT	Crisfield, Maryland.
GROSS TONS	42.
NET TONS	20.
LENGTH	62.4 feet.
BEAM	17.0 feet.
DEPTH	6.4 feet.
HORSEPOWER	31.
YEAR BUILT	1921.
PLACE BUILT	Crisfield, Maryland.
OWNER	Zadok S. Mears, Jr., of Princess Anne, Maryland.
CREW	2.
ONBOARD AT LOSS	3.
CASUALTIES	0.

SOURCES MVUS 1926: 394-395; Ibid., 1927: 862.

116.

VESSEL Alexander J. Gibson (Alex J. Gibson)
DATE LOST December 19, 1927.
MANNER OF LOSS Foundered.
LOCATION Off Smith Point, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL Barge.
REGISTRY 30288.
HOME PORT Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
GROSS TONS 281.
NET TONS 281.
LENGTH 234.2 feet.
BEAM 100.2 feet.
DEPTH 9.5 feet.
YEAR BUILT 1923.
PLACE BUILT Elkton, Maryland.
SERVICE Freight.
OWNER John J. Dempsey, 507 Bullit Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
CREW 1.

SOURCES MVUS 1926: 626-627; Ibid., 1928: 888.

117.

VESSEL	<u>Henrietta Hearn</u>
DATE LOST	March 31, 1928.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	Potomac River.
TYPE VESSEL	Gas screw.
REGISTRY	225011.
HOME PORT	Cambridge, Maryland.
GROSS TONS	12.
NET TONS	8.
LENGTH	51.4 feet.
BEAM	11.8 feet.
DEPTH	3.4 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1925.
PLACE BUILT	Wingate, Maryland.
SERVICE	Miscellaneous.
HORSEPOWER	30.
OWNER	J. Frank Hearn, 109 Locust Street, Cambridge, Maryland.
CREW	2.

SOURCES MVUS 1927: 346-347; Ibid., 1930: 918.

118.

VESSEL	<u>Hazel</u>
DATE LOST	May 27, 1929.
MANNER OF LOSS	Collision.
LOCATION	Ragged Point, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Bugeye schooner converted to gas screw.
REGISTRY	96196.
HOME PORT	Baltimore, Maryland.
GROSS TONS	10.
NET TONS	9.
LENGTH	59.6 feet.
BEAM	16.7 feet.
DEPTH	2.0 feet.
SERVICE	Freight.
HORSEPOWER	8.
YEAR BUILT	1892.
PLACE BUILT	Tilghman's Island, Maryland.
CONSTRUCTOR	I.A. Harrison.
OWNER	H.A. Baker of 1031 William Street, Baltimore, Maryland.
CREW	4.
ONBOARD AT LOSS	3.
CASUALTIES	0.

SOURCES MVUS 1928: 350-351; Ibid., 1930: 918; Brewington 1963: 104.

119.

VESSEL	<u>R.B. Spedden</u>
DATE LOST	June 29, 1929.
MANNER OF LOSS	Stranding.
LOCATION	Ragged Point, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	110178.
HOME PORT	Baltimore, Maryland.
GROSS TONS	84.
NET TONS	80.
LENGTH	85.6 feet.
BEAM	24.0 feet.
DEPTH	6.3 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1874.
PLACE BUILT	Dorchester County, Maryland.
OWNER	Lottie V. Wathen of Pier 4, East Pratt Street, Baltimore, Md.
CREW	3.
ONBOARD AT LOSS	3.
CASUALTIES	0.

SOURCES MVUS 1928: 598-599; Ibid., 1929: 914.

120

VESSEL Dorothy (formerly Biran)
 DATE LOST September 1, 1929.
 MANNER OF LOSS Collision with st. s. Eurana.
 LOCATION Smith Point, Maryland (Virginia?).
 TYPE VESSEL St. s. (steel vessel).
 REGISTRY 216402.
 SIGNAL LETTERS L.K.T.P.
 HOME PORT New York, New York.
 GROSS TONS 2,873.
 NET TONS 1,658.
 LENGTH 309.2 feet.
 BEAM 48.2 feet.
 DEPTH 21.5 feet.
 SERVICE Freight.
 HORSEPOWER 1,600.
 YEAR BUILT 1918.
 PLACE BUILT Wilmington, Delaware.
 OWNER A.H. Bull Steamship Co. (N.J.), 40 West Street, New York, N.Y.
 CREW 31.
 ONBOARD AT LOSS 32.
 CASUALTIES 2.
 COMMENT The Dorothy was a steamer fitted for oil burning. She was equipped with radio transmitting device, and was classed by the American Bureau of Shipping.

SOURCES MVUS 1928: 58-59; Ibid., 1930: 916.

121.

VESSEL	<u>John Bower, Jr.</u>
DATE LOST	October 25, 1929.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	Washington, D.C.
TYPE VESSEL	Gas screw.
REGISTRY	224458.
HOME PORT	Arlington Memorial Bridge, Washington, D.C.
GROSS TONS	10.
NET TONS	7.
LENGTH	42.3 feet.
BEAM	11.4 feet.
DEPTH	3.5 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1917.
PLACE BUILT	Baltimore, Maryland.
SERVICE	Miscellaneous.
HORSEPOWER	14.
OWNER	Hunkin Conkey Construction Company, (Ohio) Arlington Memorial Bridge, Washington, D.C.
CREW	1.

SOURCES MVUS 1928: 376-377; Ibid., 1930: 918.

122.

VESSELS 110 unidentifieds
DATE LOST 1924-1931.
MANNER OF LOSS Grounded intentionally, stripped of machinery and metal, burned to the water's edge, and abandoned.
LOCATION Mallows Bay, Sandy Point, Wide Water, and opposite Maryland Point.
TYPE VESSELS Surplus wooden World War I troopships.
GROSS TONS Average tonnage was 3,500.
LENGTH Between 260 and 300 feet.
BEAM Between 46 and 50 feet.
OWNER The vessels were purchased by the Western Marine & Salvage Company from the United States government in 1924. In 1934 a Washington junk dealer purchased rights of salvage from the successor of the Western Marine & Salvage Company. However, as local interests and residents had been stripping the hulls for years, the courts ruled that they were considered abandon property and were free for anyone to appropriate for his own use.
SALVAGE After the hulls were burned in 1925 the Western Marine & Salvage Company commenced five years salvage of iron, brass, and other materials from the hulks. During the Depression years the company sold its interest, but the wrecks were becoming the subject of numerous freelancers who found a ready market at Baltimore and among Japanese scrap metal dealers. In 1932 the 225-foot long schooner Ida S. Dow was brought down from Maine and moored in Mallows Bay to provide salvors with living accommodations. During World War II the Federal Government again took an interest in the hulks as a source of scrap metal. In 1942 Bethlehem Steel Company financed the construction of a dam on the east side of the bay, and when filling in the south stream covered many vessels. Gates on the dam were built, allowing vessels to be floated inside, water pumped out, and the wooden hulls totally burned.
COMMENT Following the war, a total of 99 to 100 hulks remained in Mallows Bay. The hulks were filled with gravel and pilings

were driven into their hulls to pin them to the bottom. Nevertheless, from time to time in heavy storms several of them floated loose. Others sank in the bay without a trace. Pilings were driven around the periphery of the bay to prevent others from floating free and into the main channel of the Potomac. The Corps of Engineers has identified a total of 99 hulls as aground in Mallows Bay proper, one nearby at Sandy Point, nine across the river at Wide Water (which is south of Quantico), and one on the Virginia shore opposite Maryland Point. Many of the old hulks are now overgrown with bushes. Seen from the river, they look like small islands. Seen from the air, some of the hulks look like huge flower pots. Only the outlines of their bulwarks are visible.

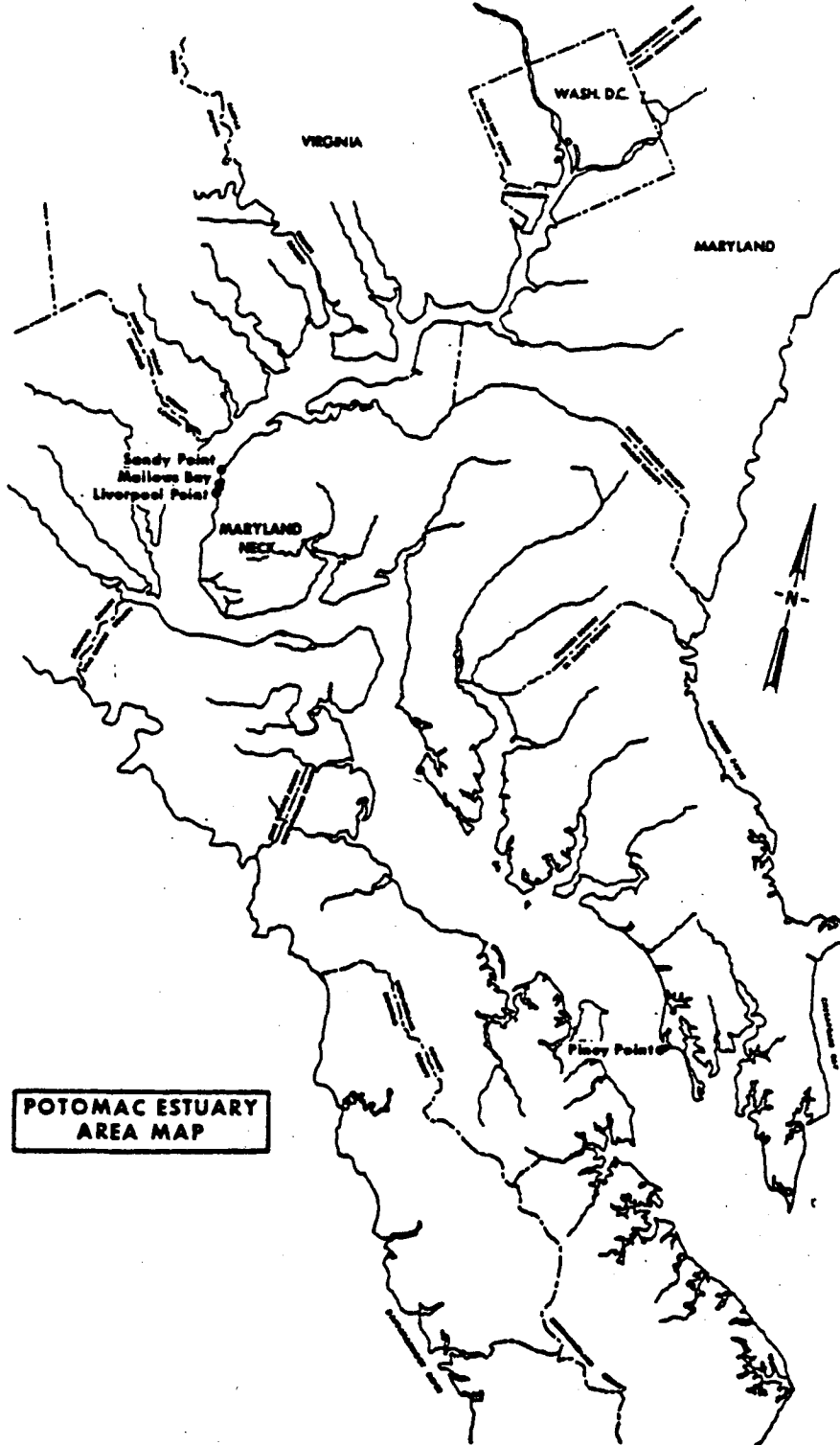
Over the years, trees have taken root in the earth inside the hulls, and these strange islands are not at all unattractive. Herons and egrets nest here, as does the last remaining bald eagle in the region. The wrecks have, in fact, become an integral part of the Potomac ecosystem.

SOURCES

Report No. 91-1761, House of Representatives, 91st Congress, 2d Session: 4-7; Tilp 1978: 88-89.

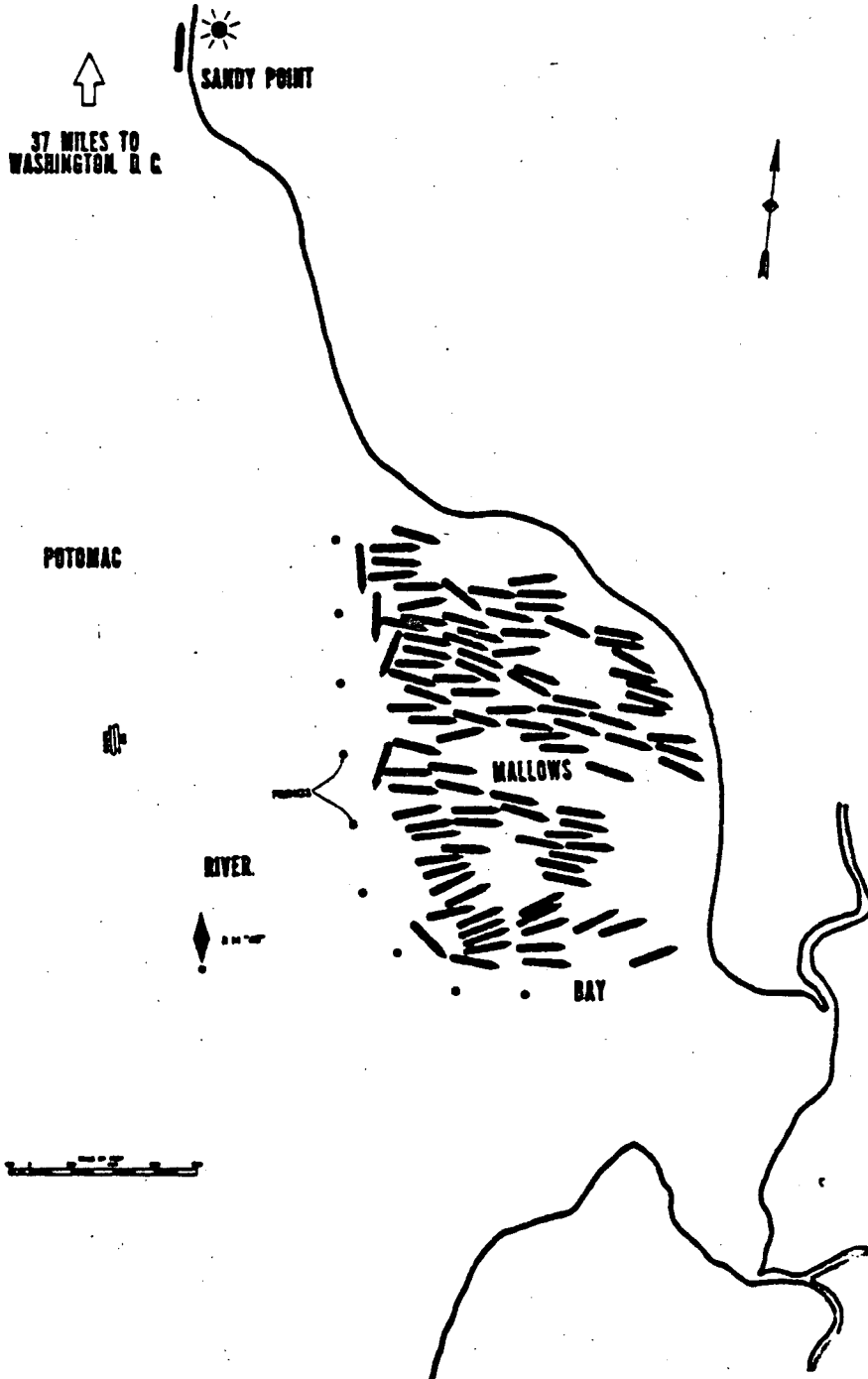
The Potomac Estuary Showing the
Location of Mallows Bay

Report No. 91-1761, House of Representatives,
91st Congress, 2d Session: 3.



The Mallows Bay Hulks

Report No. 91-1761, House of Representatives,
91st Congress, 2d Session: 5.



123.

VESSEL Emerett (British Cumberland Queen; American Cumberland Queen)
 DATE LOST About 1931.
 MANNER OF LOSS Abandoned.
 LOCATION Alexandria, Virginia.
 TYPE VESSEL Four-masted schooner.
 REGISTRY 222691. SIGNAL LETTERS MFKD.
 HOME PORT Diligent River, N.S., Wilmington, Delaware (1925); Baltimore (1927).
 GROSS TONS 659.
 NET TONS 602.
 LENGTH 179.0 feet.
 BEAM 38.0 feet.
 DEPTH 13.2 feet.
 YEAR BUILT 1919.
 PLACE BUILT Diligent River, Nova Scotia.
 CONSTRUCTOR C. Robinson.
 MASTER Charles Griffen (1923).
 OWNER J.N. Pugsley (Canada), A.P. Vane (1925); W.S. Roberts (1927);
 Dacosta Roberts (Jestervill, Maryland - 1930).
 CREW 7.
 SERVICE Freight.
 COMMENT Emerett's career was one of misfortune. In May 1922 she sank with all hands off Cape Hatteras after striking bottom. She was laden with salt. She was soon raised and towed to Norfolk, Virginia on March 5, 1923. Sold, she was renamed Emerett by her new owners. In early 1931, en route from Jacksonville, Florida to Puerto Rico with a cargo of lumber she again met with misfortune and was abandoned in 31° 43' N., 73° 20' W. on March 4. She was sighted dismasted, waterlogged, and abandoned and picked up on March 21 (Morris says March 31), by the U.S. Coast Guard cutter Modoc and

towed into Norfolk. Her hulk was later abandoned at Alexandria, Virginia "for use as a gravel barge and through the years deteriorated there." In 1972 her remains were finally removed to make way for a new marina being erected on the waterfront.

SOURCES

MVUS 1930: 580-581; Burgess 1975: 240; Morris 1975: 122.

124.

VESSEL Milton S. Lankford
 DATE LOST August 2, 1932.
 MANNER OF LOSS Collision in Potomac River with steamer State of Maryland.
 LOCATION Potomac River.
 TYPE VESSEL Gas screw.
 REGISTRY 93299.
 HOME PORT Elizabeth City, New Jersey.
 GROSS TONS 18.
 NET TONS 18.
 LENGTH 63.5 feet.
 BEAM 17.6 feet.
 DEPTH 4.8 feet.
 YEAR BUILT 1902.
 PLACE BUILT Oriole, Maryland.
 SERVICE Freight.
 HORSEPOWER 50.
 OWNER I.W. Williams, Broad and First Street, Elizabeth City, New Jersey.
 CREW 2.

SOURCES MVUS 1931: 424-425; Ibid., 1933: 990.

125.

VESSEL	<u>Grape Shot</u>
DATE LOST	1932.
MANNER OF LOSS	Abandoned.
LOCATION	Lower Machodoc Creek, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL	Sloop.
REGISTRY	86067.
HOME PORT	Washington, D.C.
GROSS TONS	18.54 (MVUS); 19 (Beitzell).
NET TONS	17.62.
LENGTH	66.4 feet.
BEAM	12.4 feet.
DEPTH	2.2 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1886.
PLACE BUILT	Washington, D.C.

SOURCES MVUS 1897: 78; Beitzell 1979: 146-147.

126.

VESSEL Emma V. Wills
DATE LOST August 23, 1933.
MANNER OF LOSS Reported as grounded, cast ashore, and foundered in hurricane.
LOCATION Breton Bay, St. Mary's County, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL Schooner.
REGISTRY 135741.
HOME PORT First home ported at St. George's Island, and later at Breton Bay.
TONS 46.
LENGTH 64.9 feet.
YEAR BUILT 1883.
PLACE BUILT St. Michaels, Maryland.
MASTER/OWNER First commanded by Wes Chesser, Jr. and owned by Richard Chesser. Later commanded by Tilton Hayden and owned by Henry Wehrein.
COMMENT Though reported as having foundered, it was also reported that the vessel "grounded so far inland that it was impossible to refloat her and she had to be dismantled."
WEATHER Violent hurricane.

SOURCES Burgess 1965: 188; Beitzell 1979: 58, 144-145.

127.

VESSEL Cecelia B. Sheppard
DATE LOST December 15, 1933.
MANNER OF LOSS Abandoned.
LOCATION Colonial Beach, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL Schooner.
REGISTRY 5982.
HOME PORT Reedville, Virginia.
GROSS TONS 29.
NET TONS 18.
LENGTH 52.8 feet.
BEAM 19.2 feet.
DEPTH 4.8 feet.
YEAR BUILT 1870.
PLACE BUILT Dorchester, New Jersey.
SERVICE Freight.
OWNER Edward F. Cox, Colonial Beach, Virginia.
CREW 1.

SOURCES MVUS 1931: 570-571; Burgess 1965: 188.

128.

VESSEL	<u>Charlotte</u>
DATE LOST	September 1935.
MANNER OF LOSS	Foundered.
LOCATION	Anacostia River.
TYPE VESSEL	Gas screw.
REGISTRY	127701.
HOME PORT	Washington, D.C.
GROSS TONS	6.
NET TONS	6.
LENGTH	44.6 feet.
BEAM	11.9 feet.
DEPTH	2.8 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1902.
PLACE BUILT	Tilghman, Maryland.
SERVICE	Freight.
	HORSEPOWER 8.
OWNER	Lawrence H. Butt, 14th Street, N.E., Washington, D.C.
CREW	2.

SOURCES MVUS 1934: 260-261; Ibid., 1937: 526.

129.

VESSEL G.G. Bennett
DATE LOST February 28, 1936.
MANNER OF LOSS Foundering.
LOCATION 2½ miles north-northeast of Smith Point Light, at the entrance of the Potomac River, in Chesapeake Bay, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL Barge.
REGISTER 167582.
HOME PORT Norfolk, Virginia.
GROSS TONS 479.
NET TONS 459.
LENGTH 199.6 feet.
BEAM 23.9 feet.
DEPTH 11.3 feet.
SERVICE Freight.
YEAR BUILT 1919.
PLACE BUILT Beaufort, North Carolina.
OWNER B.O. Colonna of 1710 Montelau Avenue, Norfolk, Virginia.
CREW 2.
ONBOARD AT LOSS 2.
CASUALTIES 0.

SOURCES MVUS 1935: 726-727; Ibid., 1936: 1036.

130.

VESSEL	<u>James A. Whiting</u>
DATE LOST	1936.
MANNER OF LOSS	Abandoned.
LOCATION	Walnut Point, Coan River, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL	Pungy schooner.
REGISTRY	75326.
HOME PORT	Reedville, Virginia.
GROSS TONS	35.
NET TONS	23.
LENGTH	61.0 feet.
BEAM	20.6 feet.
DEPTH	6.3 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1871.
PLACE BUILT	Somerset County, Maryland.
SERVICE	Freight.
OWNER	A.J. Lewis, Walnut Point, Virginia.
CREW	2.

SOURCES MVUS 1935: 658-659; Beitzell 1979: 148-149.

131.

VESSEL	<u>Edgar E.</u>		
DATE LOST	June 4, 1937.		
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.		
LOCATION	Kinsale, Virginia.		
TYPE VESSEL	Oil screw.		
REGISTRY	213120.		
HOME PORT	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.		
GROSS TONS	45.		
NET TONS	29.		
LENGTH	68.2 feet.		
BEAM	17.4 feet.		
DEPTH	9.0 feet.		
YEAR BUILT	1930.		
PLACE BUILT	Seattle, Washington.		
SERVICE	Freight.	HORSEPOWER	84.
OWNER	Estate of George N. Terry, c.o. Ann M. Young, Dividing Creek, New Jersey.		
CREW	3.		

SOURCES MVUS 1936: 292-293; Ibid., 1937: 527.

132.

VESSEL	<u>Cachalot</u>		
DATE LOST	June 23, 1937.		
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.		
LOCATION	Two miles northeast of Point Lookout, Maryland.		
TYPE VESSEL	Gas yacht (brake horsepower - internal combustion engine).		
REGISTRY	127541.	SIGNAL LETTERS	K.L.P.S.
HOME PORT	Washington, D.C.		
GROSS TONS	41.		
NET TONS	37.		
LENGTH	17.3 feet.		
BEAM	66.2 feet.		
DEPTH	8.8 feet.		
YEAR BUILT	1899.		
PLACE BUILT	Tottenville, New York.	HORSEPOWER	16.
OWNER	Homer B. Millard.		
CREW	4.		
ONBOARD AT LOSS	6.		
CASUALTIES	0.		
<hr/>			
SOURCES	MVUS 1937: 447; Ibid., 1938: 511.		

133.

VESSEL	<u>Agnes S. Quillin</u>		
DATE LOST	November 16, 1938.		
MANNER OF LOSS	Stranding.		
LOCATION	Smith Point, Potomac River, Maryland.		
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.		
REGISTRY	107074.	SIGNAL LETTERS	K.N.M.C.
HOME PORT	Baltimore, Maryland.		
GROSS TONS	197.		
NET TONS	187.		
LENGTH	126.5 feet.		
BEAM	23.9 feet.		
DEPTH	7.8 feet.		
SERVICE	Freight.		
YEAR BUILT	1894.		
PLACE BUILT	Bethel, Delaware.		
OWNER	Lottie V. Wathen.		
CREW	4.		
ONBOARD AT LOSS	3.		
CASUALTIES	0.		
<hr/>			
SOURCES	MVUS 1938: 316; Ibid., 1939: 513.		

134.

VESSEL	<u>Elisa C</u>
DATE LOST	January 30, 1940.
MANNER OF LOSS	Foundering.
LOCATION	Southeast of Blackistone Island, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Barge.
REGISTRY	173485.
GROSS TONS	542.
YEAR BUILT	1923.
CREW	1.
ONBOARD AT LOSS	1.
CASUALTIES	0.

SOURCE MVUS 1942: 510.

135.

VESSEL	<u>Federal Hill</u>
DATE LOST	1941.
MANNER OF LOSS	Abandoned.
LOCATION	Monroe Creek, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	9769 (MVUS); 9679 (Beitzell).
HOME PORT	Washington, D.C. (MVUS); Colonial Beach, Virginia (Beitzell).
GROSS TONS	72.
NET TONS	68.
LENGTH	84.1 feet.
BEAM	23.4 feet.
DEPTH	6.5 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1856.
PLACE BUILT	Baltimore, Maryland.
SERVICE	Freight.
OWNER	William J. Stafford (Washington, D.C.); William J. Stanford (Beitzell)
CREW	4.

SOURCES MVUS 1939: 317; Beitzell 1979: 144-145.

136.

VESSEL Charlotte (formerly Annie E. Embry)
DATE LOST January 8, 1942.
MANNER OF LOSS Stranding.
LOCATION Southwest of Point Lookout, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL Barge.
REGISTRY 162390.
HOME PORT Baltimore, Maryland.
GROSS TONS 431.
NET TONS 431.
LENGTH 191.6 feet.
BEAM 23.8 feet.
DEPTH 11.0 feet.
SERVICE Freighter.
YEAR BUILT 1905.
PLACE BUILT Elkton, Maryland.
OWNER Lottie V. Wathen of Baltimore, Maryland.
CREW 3.

SOURCES MVUS 1942: 334; Ibid., 1943: 754.

137.

VESSEL	<u>Monomoy</u>
DATE LOST	August 6, 1943.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	Potomac River, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Gas yacht.
REGISTRY	226837.
HOME PORT	Washington, D.C.
GROSS TONS	23.
NET TONS	16.
LENGTH	49.2 feet.
BEAM	14.5 feet.
DEPTH	7.6 feet.
SERVICE	Yacht.
HORSEPOWER	40.
YEAR BUILT	1927.
PLACE BUILT	Thomaston, Maine.
OWNER	Joseph M. Catchings of Washington, D.C.
CREW	1.

SOURCES MVUS 1943: 470; Ibid., 1944: 756.

138.

VESSEL	<u>Lolita</u>
DATE LOST	August 1, 1944.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	Piney Point, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Gas screw.
REGISTRY	23674.
HOME PORT	Washington, D.C.
GROSS TONS	16.
NET TONS	11.
LENGTH	40.8 feet.
BEAM	11.2 feet.
DEPTH	5.9 feet.
SERVICE	Fishing.
HORSEPOWER	71.
YEAR BUILT	1937.
PLACE BUILT	Solomons, Maryland.
OWNER	Charles F. Smith (1944), of Piney Point, Maryland.
CREW	1.

SOURCE MVUS 1944: 218, 709; Ibid., 1946: 806.

139.

VESSEL	<u>Lewis Worrell</u>
DATE LOST	1944.
MANNER OF LOSS	Abandoned.
LOCATION	Washington, D.C.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	207552.
HOME PORT	Washington, D.C. (1911).
GROSS TONS	55.
NET TONS	47.
LENGTH	74.0 feet.
BEAM	21.6 feet.
DEPTH	5.1 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1910.
PLACE BUILT	Compton, Maryland. Also noted as in Breton Bay, Maryland.
CONSTRUCTOR	Ewell or Wehrheim.
MASTER	James O Carter (Washington, D.C.).

SOURCES MVUS 1911: 60; Beitzell 1979: 150-151.

140.

VESSEL	<u>Nancy Lee</u>
DATE LOST	March 13, 1945.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	Anacostia River.
TYPE VESSEL	Gas screw.
REGISTRY	208053.
HOME PORT	Alexandria, Virginia.
GROSS TONS	36.
NET TONS	19.
LENGTH	51.6 feet.
BEAM	12.1 feet.
DEPTH	5.9 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1910.
PLACE BUILT	Whites Neck Creek, Maryland.
SERVICE	Freight.
HORSEPOWER	209.
OWNER	William H. Deans, 1225 D Street, Washington, D.C.
CREW	2.

SOURCES MVUS 1944: 247, 619; Ibid., 1946: 806.

141.

VESSEL Tuckahoe
 DATE LOST April 1949.
 MANNER OF LOSS Foundered.
 LOCATION Off Smith Point, Virginia.
 TYPE VESSEL Barge.
 REGISTRY 165394.
 HOME PORT Elizabeth City, North Carolina.
 GROSS TONS 466.
 NET TONS 466.
 LENGTH 200.4 feet.
 BEAM 23.8 feet.
 DEPTH 11.0 feet.
 YEAR BUILT 1913.
 PLACE BUILT Chesapeake City, Maryland.
 SERVICE Freight.
 OWNER Foreman-Gregory Company, Elizabeth City, North Carolina.
 CREW 1.
 COMMENT Foreman-Gregory Company also owned the vessels Biscayne,
Champlain, Charleston, Kennebec, Pensicola, Saranac, and
Suwannee.

SOURCES MVUS 1949: 554, 774; Ibid., 1957: 758.

142.

VESSEL Maryette (Albert Graham; Gladys, Law)
DATE LOST September 10, 1953.
MANNER OF LOSS Burned.
LOCATION On Potomac River off the mouth of Yeocomico River, Virginia.
TYPE VESSEL Gas screw.
REGISTRY 256623.
HOME PORT Reedville, Virginia.
GROSS TONS 18.
NET TONS 12.
LENGTH 46.2 feet.
BEAM 13.6 feet.
DEPTH 4.2 feet.
YEAR BUILT 1948.
PLACE BUILT Reedville, Virginia.
SERVICE Fishing.
HORSEPOWER 188.
OWNER James A. Lewis, Avalon, Virginia.

SOURCES MVUS 1951: 352, 835; Ibid., 1957: 757.

143.

VESSEL	<u>Ione</u>
DATE LOST	September 17, 1953.
MANNER OF LOSS	Burned.
LOCATION	Washington, D.C.
TYPE VESSEL	Gas screw.
REGISTRY	214112.
HOME PORT	Washington, D.C.
REGISTRY	214112.
GROSS TONS	28.
NET TONS	19.
LENGTH	58.1 feet.
BEAM	12.8 feet.
DEPTH	5.8 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1916.
PLACE BUILT	Wiscasset, Maine.
SERVICE	Yacht.
HORSEPOWER	70.
OWNER	Albert W. Pearsall, Jr., 800 Maine Avenue, S.W., Washington 4, D.C.
CREW	2.

SOURCES MVUS 1951: 251, 631, 869; Shomette 1982: 281.

144.

VESSEL	<u>Blue Wing</u>
DATE LOST	c. 1954
MANNER OF LOSS	Abandoned.
LOCATION	Canoe Neck Creek, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Bugeye schooner.
REGISTRY	3596.
HOME PORT	Washington, D.C. (1947).
GROSS TONS	19.
NET TONS	19.
LENGTH	62.0 feet.
BEAM	18.0 feet.
DEPTH	4.6 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1893.
PLACE BUILT	Solomons, Maryland.
CONSTRUCTOR	M.M. Davis.
SERVICE	Fishing.
OWNED	Kenneth Harrington (1947).
CREW	4.
COMMENT	The <u>Blue Wing</u> featured a carved and naturally painted wild duck decoration on her bow.

SOURCES MVUS 1947: 57; Beitzell 1979: 139; Brewington 1963: 57, 101.

145.

VESSEL Miss Hoopers Island

DATE LOST November 1955.

MANNER OF LOSS Foundered.

LOCATION Morgal's Boat Yard, Washington, D.C.

TYPE VESSEL Gas screw.

REGISTRY 236417.

HOME PORT Washington, D.C.

GROSS TONS 16.

NET TONS 11.

LENGTH 43.9 feet.

BEAM 11.7 feet.

DEPTH 4.8 feet.

YEAR BUILT 1937.

PLACE BUILT Fishing Creek, Maryland.

SERVICE Yacht.

HORSEPOWER 134.

OWNER John Morgal, Morgal's Boat Yard, 17th and Pennsylvania Avenue,
S.E., Washington 3, D.C.

SOURCES MVUS 1953-54: 356, 886; Ibid., 1957: 757.

146.

VESSEL Mayme (Idyl Wilde)
DATE LOST 1955.
MANNER OF LOSS Foundered.
LOCATION Near Maine Avenue, Washington, D.C.
TYPE VESSEL Gas screw.
REGISTRY 206181.
HOME PORT Washington, D.C.
GROSS TONS 16.
NET TONS 8.
LENGTH 57.0 feet.
BEAM 11.8 feet.
DEPTH 3.4 feet.
YEAR BUILT 1909.
PLACE BUILT Sharptown, Maryland.
SERVICE Passenger.
HORSEPOWER 37.
OWNER James A. Flanagan, Jr., Office of Price Administration,
Room 2425, Washington, D.C.

SOURCES MVUS 1953-54: 345, 644, 818; Ibid., 1964: 965.

147.

VESSEL	<u>Frank & Theresa</u>
DATE LOST	Prior to 1960.
MANNER OF LOSS	Noted only as lost.
LOCATION	In Smith Creek, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Schooner.
REGISTRY	121125.
HOME PORT	Alexandria, Virginia.
GROSS TONS	25.
NET TONS	14.
LENGTH	50.5 feet.
BEAM	16.8 feet.
DEPTH	4.9 feet.
SERVICE	Fishing.
HORSEPOWER	None.
YEAR BUILT	1900.
PLACE BUILT	Leesburg, New Jersey.
OWNER	L.W. Hatch of Springfield, Virginia.

SOURCES MVUS 1959: 200, 897; Ibid., 1960: 824.

148.

VESSEL Nancy B. (U.S.N. S-33; Saury)
DATE LOST June 6, 1964.
MANNER OF LOSS Burned.
LOCATION Off Blackistone Island in Potomac River.
TYPE VESSEL Gas screw.
REGISTRY 279055.
HOME PORT Alexandria, Virginia.
GROSS TONS 10.
NET TONS 8.
LENGTH 29.4 feet.
BEAM 10.3 feet.
DEPTH 4.2 feet.
YEAR BUILT 1939.
PLACE BUILT Dundalk, Maryland.
SERVICE Yacht.
HORSEPOWER 115.
OWNER James H. Gillis, 33 Rosecrest Avenue, Alexandria, Virginia.

SOURCES MVUS 1964: 469, 843, 1069; Ibid., 1968: 1172.

149.

VESSEL Miss Evelyn
DATE LOST June 1, 1967.
MANNER OF LOSS Burned.
LOCATION Port Tobacco River, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL Gas screw.
REGISTRY 269713.
HOME PORT Cambridge, Maryland.
GROSS TONS 5.
NET TONS 5.
LENGTH 34.6 feet.
BEAM 9.3 feet.
DEPTH 2.8 feet.
YEAR BUILT 1946.
PLACE BUILT Fishing Creek, Maryland.
SERVICE Fishing.
HORSEPOWER 141.
OWNER Wallace Harrison, Wittman, Maryland.
COMMENT Harrison also owned the vessel Miss Irma.

SOURCES MVUS 1965: 463, 1128; Ibid., 1969: 1235.

150.

VESSEL Jo Ho So IV (Old Horse Eye; Cristina; Suzanne; Jerosa; Esperanza)
 DATE LOST June 15, 1968.
 MANNER OF LOSS Burned.
 LOCATION In Potomac River between Washington, D.C. and Virginia.
 TYPE VESSEL Oil screw.
 REGISTRY 205494 CALL LETTERS WD2442.
 HOME PORT Washington, D.C.
 GROSS TONS 137.
 NET TONS 124.
 LENGTH 103.3.feet.
 BEAM 17.3 feet.
 DEPTH 9.2 feet.
 HULL Steel.
 YEAR BUILT 1908.
 PLACE BUILT Boston, Massachusetts.
 SERVICE Yacht.
 HORSEPOWER 450.
 OWNER Fred J. Sperapani, 1510 Red Oak Drive, Silver Spring, Maryland.

 SOURCES MVUS 1968: 390, 1018, 1471; Ibid., 1969: 1234.

151.

VESSEL	<u>Dreamer</u>		
DATE LOST	February 9, 1969.		
MANNER OF LOSS	Stranded.		
LOCATION	One mile SSE of Yeocomico River Light.		
TYPE VESSEL	Gas screw.		
REGISTRY	276316.	SIGNAL LETTERS	WQ2956.
HOME PORT	Washington, D.C.		
GROSS TONS	8.		
NET TONS	7.		
LENGTH	33.3 feet.		
BEAM	9.4 feet.		
DEPTH	5.0 feet.		
HULL	Wood.		
YEAR BUILT	1936.		
PLACE BUILT	Lunenburg, Nova Scotia.		
SERVICE	Yacht.		
HORSEPOWER	25.		
OWNER	W.B. Hicks, Jr., 220 Second Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.		

SOURCES MVUS 1968: 227, 1329; Ibid., 1971: 1358.

152.

VESSEL Nirvana
DATE LOST February 13, 1971.
MANNER OF LOSS Foundered.
LOCATION Fort McNair Yacht Basin, Washington, D.C.
TYPE VESSEL Oil screw.
REGISTRY 519481.
HOME PORT Washington, D.C.
GROSS TONS 38.
NET TONS 30.
LENGTH 52.0 feet.
BEAM 12.0 feet.
DEPTH 4.5 feet.
HULL Steel.
YEAR BUILT 1968.
PLACE BUILT Florence, Alabama.
SERVICE Yacht.
HORSEPOWER 320.
OWNER Association Services Inc., Washington, D.C.

SOURCES MVUS 1971: 674; Shomette 1982: 285.

153.

VESSEL Laurie K. (Tip Sea II).
DATE LOST June 1973.
MANNER OF LOSS Burned.
LOCATION Confluence of Occoquan Bay and Potomac River.
TYPE VESSEL Gas screw.
REGISTRY 532519.
HOME PORT Alexandria, Virginia.
GROSS TONS 9.
NET TONS 7.
LENGTH 29.8 feet.
BEAM 10.8 feet.
DEPTH 4.5 feet.
HULL Wooden.
YEAR BUILT 1967.
PLACE BUILT Arnold, Maryland.
SERVICE Yacht.
HORSEPOWER 225.
OWNER Aidan T. Dewey.

SOURCES MVUS 1973: 555, 1330; Shomette 1982: 286.

154.

VESSEL	<u>Edna J. Cox</u>
DATE LOST	Unknown.
MANNER OF LOSS	Abandoned.
LOCATION	In St. Georges Creek, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Skipjack sloop.
REGISTRY	136644.
HOME PORT	Alexandria, Virginia (1898).
GROSS TONS	6.
NET TONS	6.
LENGTH	37.4 feet.
BEAM	13.5 feet.
DEPTH	2.8 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1897.
PLACE BUILT	Fairmont, Maryland.
MASTERS	Willie Twilley and later G. Edward Thoms.

SOURCES MVUS 1898: 48; Beitzell 1979: 143.

155.

VESSEL	<u>Lucy J. Stewart</u>
DATE LOST	Unknown.
MANNER OF LOSS	Abandoned.
LOCATION	St. George's Island, Maryland.
TYPE VESSEL	Pungy.
REGISTRY	15467.
HOME PORT	St. George's Island, Maryland.
TONS	27.
LENGTH	51.6 feet.
YEAR BUILT	1869.
PLACE BUILT	Somerset County, Maryland.
OWNER/MASTER	Charles Chesser.

SOURCE Beitzell 1979: 150-151.

Location	Abandoned	Burned	Burned (WL)	Capsized	Collision	Explosion	Foundered	Ice	Scuttled (WL)	Stranded	Wrecked	Unknown/Other	Burned & Sunk	Total	Salvaged/ Removed
Port Tobacco River		1												1	
Port Tobacco Shoal										1				1	1?
Potomac River (general)		4	1	1	1		2	1		1	2		+	13+	3
Quantico Creek		2	2											4	
Ragged Point					1					1				2	
River View											1			1	1
St. Clements Creek			1											1	
St. George's Creek/Island	5		20									1		26	3+
St. Mary's River										2				2	
Sandy Point	1													1	
Smith Creek			1				1			2		1		5	
Smith Point					1		3			2				6	
Stump Neck					1									1	
Swann Point Bar										1				1	
Wade's Bay									1					1	
Washington, D.C.	2	8			1		3				1			15	1
Wicomico/Kettle Bottom Shoals				1	1									2	
Wide Water	9													9	
Yeocomico		1								1				2	
TOTAL	133	37	62	9	11	2	22	4	22	25	4	5	6+	342	51+

+ - Unknown number of vessels.

APPENDIX F

DOCUMENTS PERTAINING TO VESSEL LOSSES IN ALEXANDRIA WATERS

The following documents are drawn from contemporary sources and provide narratives of several significant vessel losses at Alexandria, Virginia. Of these accounts, only the first, which deals with the loss of the ship Fortune, is a conjectural Alexandria loss. The remainder are definitely Alexandria losses.

The vessels discussed are: ship Fortune (1724); schooner Friendship (1790); various Alexandria derelict wrecks (1799-1808); steamboat Cygnat (1834); unidentified fishing vessel (1854); unidentified sloop (1854); steamtug Comet (1889); and the steamboat City of Alexandria (1892).

On the petition of Richard Pearson late Master of the Ship Fortune of Whitehaven setting forth that in the year 1724 he came into this Colony & entred the said Ship in the District of S^o Potomack where after he had purchased and taken on board a considerable part of her lading of Tobacco, the said Ship & lading was unfortunately burnt in the said District, that notwithstanding thereof the Naval Officer of the said District hath now demanded of him the Port duties & other Charges which would have been payable if the said Ship had been Cleared & praying relief therein, It is the opinion of this Board* & accordingly Ordered that in Consideration of the great loss the pet^r sustained by the burning of the ship, the duty of Tunnage be remitted him, and that the Naval Officer do not demand the same.

* May 2, 1727. The Council Members present included William Byrd, Nathaniel Harrison, Mann Page, Cole Digges, Peter Beverley, John Robinson, John Carter, Richard Fitzwilliam, John Grymes, and Robert Carter, President.

McIlwaine, Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia 4: 134.

On Friday last, between 10 and 11 o'clock at night, the schooner Friendship, Capt. Stowe, lying at Harper's Wharf, was discovered to be on fire in her steerage. The Captain and crew being asleep, the flames soon reached the cabin, and had got to an alarming height before any attempts could be made to extinguish them. After repeated efforts to subdue the fire had proved unsuccessful, it was found that no way was left to save the vessel but by sinking her. This was, with some difficulty, effected; but not till she had suffered very considerable damage. The next day she was raised. To the inhabitants of the Town, in conjunction with the seamen in the Port, great praise is due for their friendly and spirited exertion on the occasion.

Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), Thursday, June 24, 1790.

ALEXANDRIA CORPORATION.

AN ACT

To preserve the navigation of the Public Docks in the town of Alexandria.

WHEREAS it is represented to the mayor and commonalty of the town of Alexandria, that divers persons, inhabitants of the said town, and others, have been and still are in the habit of introducing into the public docks adjacent to the several wharves in said town, the decayed and rotten hulks of old vessels, boats, and craft, of different descriptions, under pretence of repairing same, but in reality to serve the purposes of fuel, which when cut down to the surface of the water are wilfully and negligently suffered to sink to the bottom of said docks where they remain obstructions to the navigation, for the accumulation of filth and receptacles, endangering the health of those residing in the neighborhood, and in every instance injurious to the interests of individuals, and the community at large. For remedy whereof, Be it enacted by the mayor and commonalty of the town of Alexandria, aforesaid, That if any person or persons shall bring or cause to be brought into any of the public docks adjacent to the wharves, aforesaid, any hulks or part of a hulk, or any vessel, boat, or craft, whatsoever, and suffer the same to sink to the bottom of the said docks, and there remain any longer time than ten days, such offender shall upon conviction, forfeit and pay the sum of fifty dollars, to be recovered by action in the court of Hustings, and the further sum of five dollars for every twenty four hours (after the expiration of ten days heretofore specified) such nuisance and obstruction shall remain

unremoved out of the said docks, which fine, or forfeiture of five dollars shall be recovered by warrant, before any single magistrate of the law aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the harbor master from time to time, carefully to examine the public docks of the town aforesaid, and to prevent after the passing of this law, the introduction of any obstruction whatever, into the said docks, which may in any degree injure the navigation thereof, or prove prejudicial to the health or interest of such individuals as live and own property adjoining the docks, aforesaid, and the harbor-master is further directed immediately to cause every obstruction at present remaining in the docks, aforesaid, to be removed agreeably to the provisions of this law. All monies ensuing by virtue of this law, to be appropriated to the use of the corporation.

Read three times in council and assented to

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and affixed the seal of the corporation, this 2d day of July, 1799.

Francis Peyton

Henry Moore, c.c.

True copy from the original

George Taylor

Recorder.

Source

Alexandria Daily Gazette, Commercial & Political (Alexandria),
August 27, 1808.

BURNING OF THE STEAMBOAT CYGNET. - On Tuesday night, at about 12 o'clock, the Steamboat Cygnet, lying at Janney's wharf in this town, was discovered to be on fire. The alarm was immediately given; but in a very short time the boat was completely enveloped in fire, and it was found impossible to save her. She burned to the water's edge.

At one time danger to the shipping in the immediate neighborhood of the burning boat was apprehended; - but owing to the timely exertions no damage was done. The Brig Tribune, nearest to the Cygnet, was hauled into the stream, and proper precautions taken to preserve the other vessels in the adjacent docks.*Owing to the praiseworthy exertions of the firemen, also, the wharf at which the Cygnet lay was preserved, although it was frequently on fire.

So rapid was the progress of the flames, that the hands, asleep on board at the time, barely escaped before the boat was on fire in every part. The origin of the disaster was entirely accidental - the fire, no doubt, having been communicated to the wood work from the heat of the furnace. The wreck of the boat has been secured at the wharf where she burned.

The Cygnet was owned by Messrs. Bradley & Co. of Washington, and was the boat formerly employed to carry the mail to Potomac Creek. She has lately, however, been engaged in plying between Washington and Alexandria.

Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), October 9, 1834.

*Tribune, Captain Smith, a vessel "of the first class" was to resume operations on October 20, carrying passengers and merchandise to the Mississippi (Alexandria Gazette (Alexandria), September 29, 1834).

A fishing party, from Washington, had a narrow escape on Sunday morning last. The party consisted of seven in number, and the boat in which they were sailing was drifting down the river with the tide, when about 4 o'clock in the morning, off Jones' Point, the Mail Steamer coming up from Aquia Creek, ran into the boat, and stove her side in. The occupants of the boat, who were all lying asleep, (with the exception of one) were thrown violently into the river. Fortunately they could all swim. The steamer was stopped, the life preservers thrown overboard, and all the party so unceremoniously ousted from their quarters, were rescued, minus their hats, coats, &c., - and even these later floated, and were afterwards picked up. The boat had no light, and was not seen by the Mail Steamer until too late to prevent the accident. It was a fortunate circumstance, indeed, that no lives were lost on the occasion. The wreck of the boat, and the destruction of the "material" for a fishing party, make up the amount of the damage. Two of the men saved clambered up into the wheel house, and were for a short time, in a dangerous position there.

Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser (Alexandria), August 29, 1854.

BURNING OF A STEAMTUG. - The steamtug Comet was burned before daylight Sunday morning on the river's edge, at the place where the steamer Armenia was burned some years ago, near Pioneer mills. The Comet had been laid up there since the opening of winter, and was in care of a watchman. About 2 o'clock in the morning she was found to be on fire, and the fire department soon had the only steamer now in service at work, and though the decks &c., were all burned away, the hull of the tug was saved, and the upper works can be restored at a cost of some thousand dollars. The tug was the property of Deputy Marshal J.C. O'Neal, Capt. W.R. Taylor, and Capt. Bell. The Comet was bought from the United States government in 1869, and is registered at the custom-house here. The Comet has been plying on the Potomac for twenty years, and as she is insured she will be refitted and take another lease on life.

The Evening Star (Washington), February 25, 1889.

A sloop, belonging to Mr. Henry Berry, of this place, when opposite the Fish Wharf, on Sunday last, was struck by a flaw of wind, and capsized. Four men were on board, but hung on to the vessel, and were taken off by boats, which came from the shore to the rescue.

Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser (Alexandria), October 14, 1854.

BURNING OF A STEAMBOAT. - An old smoking hulk, burned to the water's edge, with her steam drum and walking-beam only standing, was all to be seen yesterday morning of what had been the Washington ferry steamer City of Alexandria. From a distance her remains somewhat resembled a dynamite or torpedo boat after the order of the Vesuvius or Cushing; but upon drawing near a charred mass of extinct coals, twisted rods and topsy turvy machinery in a careened hulk told the story of the previous night - that the old ferry boat City of Alexandria had made her last voyage; that the boat which for twenty-five years had been so familiar an object in the moving panorama of the Potomac's flotilla and which is said to have made 70,000 round-trips, had met the fate of her predecessor (the George Page) whose ribs now lie in the mud of Quantico creek. The Alexandria's career was destined to cease after the labors of Saturday. The boat had made her last trip and had arrived here at a quarter to eight o'clock, when the usual work of cleaning up and arranging for Sunday was entered into. Shortly after 9 o'clock people who happened to be near the foot of King street noticed a sheet of light shoot up near the steamer's smoke-stack, but the night being cloudy and rain-threatening, it was at first supposed to be no more than the smoke from her chimney which sometimes emits a dull flame on dismal nights. It was not long, however, before this illusion was dispelled by two columns of fire and smoke which forced their way through the wooden work of the upper saloon, and those who witnessed it started a fire alarm. Before the engines could respond the hurricane deck had almost become a sheet of fire, and so inflammable was the joiner's work that it was immediately seen nothing could subdue the flames and that the boat was doomed to destruction. The fire department, though, lost no time in getting

to work, but all efforts to subdue the flames were futile, and it soon became apparent that the crowd which had boarded the steamer would be compelled to disembark in order to allow the burning boat to be pulled away from the dock before she sank. The tugs Juno and Eva Belle Cain later, after some difficulty and no little heroism on the part of the officers, crews, and others, succeeded in fastening hawsers on what was then almost a seething mass of flame and pulled the ill-fated steamer into the stream and away from the other property which had been imperilled. The tugs with their burning tow proceeded to the opposite flats and when nearly of Duke street abandoned the boat, or what was then left of her, to her fate. The light from the burning steamer illuminated the river for miles, while above a hugh bank of light was formed by the crackling fire and oil, paint, canvas, lightwood and other inflammable material, which was visible for miles. The spectacle afforded by the moving mass of flame while the boat was being pulled into the stream was one long to be remembered by the thousands who witnessed it, and the fact that no human lives were in jeopardy dispelled the horror and enabled all to look with awe on the weird scene. Before grounding on the Maryland flats the boat careened toward this city as she struck the channel bank, and for hours continued to burn, until the fire finally simmered down only when there was nothing further for it to feed upon, notwithstanding streams from the tugs played continuously upon it. The City of Alexandria was the twin steamer of the City of Washington, both having been built at Nyack, N.Y., in 1867, and for the past quarter of a century had plied between this city and Washington. She was 155 feet long, 52 feet beam, and had saloons on the spar and hurricane decks. She was of the double-ender type, on the order of the old Union and

George Page, the first, we believe, of that class of steamers placed on the ferry route. The Union ran between the two cities about 1852, and was succeeded by the George Page, a steamer which became historical, having evolved into a gunboat during the war, and when, as stated above, met the fate of the City of Alexandria in Quantico creek upon the abandonment of the Potomac batteries by the confederates. The Alexandria cost about \$50,000 and was insured for \$15,000 in companies with agencies in Washington. She is said to have valued at \$30,000 by the company owning her. The origin of the fire cannot be ascertained, and the theories are legion. The most generally received is that the fire was accidental and started in the oil room. Some suggest that the fire had been burning some hours before it broke through the decks, and that the boat may have been on fire while making her last trip. For the present no interruption will be occasioned on the ferry route, as the steamers Columbia and City of Washington will make the usual hourly trips. It is thought the ferry company will now need another boat, which will, it is likely, be called the Virginia, so that as the old boats were named for the two cities the new ones may be named for the District and the State between which the ferry is run. The ferry now needs ample service, as it has become part of the new line from Washington to Mount Vernon, connecting with the electric railway at the ferry wharf here. The burning of the City of Alexandria is, we believe, the second disaster only which has occurred to steamers on the Washington ferry route since its origin in the early part of the century. During the war the boiler of the steamer James Guy exploded early one morning while the boat was lying at King street dock waiting for passengers. The colored fireman, who happened to be in the furnace room at the time, lost his

life on that occasion. There was another disaster opposite this city sometime in the thirties, when a small steamer called the Union, of the Maryland ferry route, exploded her boiler at the old ferry landing, by which accident several people were killed. The Wawaset, which was burned near Maryland Point August 8, 1873, was running on the lower river route at the time of that sad disaster. Nearly one hundred persons lost their lives. In the early part of 1886 the Armenia, an excursion boat, which at one time ran on the Hudson, was burned at her dock in this city, but no lives were lost. The Washington ferry route has been blessed with a signal immunity from any serious disaster or loss of life to passengers. At first boats run by horses, made on trip a day. These were supplanted by others propelled by steam, among the latter being the old Joe Johnson, Phoenix, Union, George Page, George Washington, Thomas Collyer, Young America, Fulton, Winnisimit, Manhattan (the last three double-enders), the Wawaset, Keyport, George Law and the boats of our day.

Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser (Alexandria), October 10, 1892.

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Key to Short Titles in Footnote Citations

- ASPCN - American State Papers. Commerce and Navigation.
 ASPMA - American State Papers. Military Affairs.
 CVSP - Calendar of Virginia State Papers.
 CWNC - Civil War Naval Chronology.
 LC - Library of Congress.
 MA - Archives of Maryland.
 MVUS - Merchant Vessels of the United States.
 NDAR - Naval Documents of the American Revolution.
 NDBP - Naval Documents Relating to the United States War With the Barbary Powers.
 NDQW - Naval Documents Related to the Quasi-War Between the United States and France.
 ORA - The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.
 ORN - Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion.
 RCE - Reports of the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army.
 VSC - Virginia Shipbuilding Corporation.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

Based upon the findings of this study and the evaluation of the potential of survivability of segments of the submerged and/or buried cultural resource base in the Alexandria study area, the following recommendations are offered.

1. There are three documented sunken and/or buried vessels in the Oronoco Bay Transect for which no record of removal has been found. Hence, it is assumed that the vessels' remains may still exist. These vessels are: the "1836" Wreck documented on the 1836 U.S. Army Topographical Engineers plan of the Potomac between Alexandria and the Anacostia; the schooner Emily Washington, built in 1898 and abandoned in the bay in 1910; and the schooner Plumie E. Smith, built in 1890 and abandoned and dynamited in the bay in 1911. In addition to these vessels, there is a substantial probability that numerous others have been abandoned here without record (as evidenced by the undocumented 300-foot-long barge removed in 1908). A number of the potential derelict population may relate to the operations of the Alexandria Canal. As a consequence of this rich maritime resource potential, it is recommended that the following actions be considered: (a) that a systematic magnetometer survey be conducted within the confines of Oronoco Bay within the framework of the channel front harbor line to ascertain the possible presence of sunken vessels, and to map the locations of anomalistic signatures that might betray the presence of other possible cultural features; and (b) that testing of the "1836" Wreck site, believed to now be buried beneath fill and spoil from recent years, be carried out. In the conducting of (a) it is imperative that positioning of anomalistic

features be facilitated by a real-time data positioning system suitable for adequate mapping. However, since the recommended study area is small, standard shore station transit operations may be considered adequate.

2. Owing to the unique evolution of the Alexandria waterfront and the migrant nature of the city harbor contour, the potential remnants of insert sites from practically every era of waterfront development, from the first wharves constructed during the colonial era to those sites erected in the 20th century, may be in evidence. Since the city was established near the head of the tidal reach where the water is minimally saline, the teredo navalis and other marine borers which are harmful to wooden structures inserted into the marine environment are not present. Thus, the survival of portions of early wooden, or partially wooden, structures is potentially great. Other structures of stone and earth, though undoubtedly somewhat altered, will also be in evidence. The remnants of archaeologically relevant insert site structures along the Alexandria waterfront are of significant importance in, among other things, evaluating the evolution of the waterfront, interpreting the technology that was employed in its development, and in charting its physical growth. Data on the historic physical extent of the actual harbor line is not only of archaeological import, but of some jurisdictional significance as well. Where the physical extent of the harbor line ends determines the geographical extent of legal authority the city has over the waters fronting Alexandria. Hence, it is recommended that a comprehensive, systematic side-reading sonar survey be conducted along the edge of the present line to determine

the presence and location of any bottom features within the Alexandria waterfront. The mapping of these features will assist in a fuller understanding of still-extant insert site structures (and possibly sunken vessels) lying within the modern harbor line; it will provide data suitable for any future project designs for the waterfront; and it will delineate areas of potential significance suitable for hands-on investigation, as well as establish the physical evidence of the legal jurisdictional area of Alexandria's waterfront.

3. No magnetometer or sub-bottom sonar survey should be conducted (except in Oronoco Bay) along the Alexandria waterfront. The waterfront area beyond the harbor line has been dredged repeatedly, and the shipwreck population which would certainly have constituted an important resource base has been destroyed as a consequence. A magnetometer survey between the southern lip of Oronoco Bay to Jones Point would prove expensive and pointless. Similarly, a sub-bottom sonar survey, to determine the potential presence of features buried beneath the silts of the bottoms would also prove futile and expensive. Since the Alexandria waterfront was dredged to a depth of 26 feet, well below that of the colonial depth, the chances of survival of significant historical cultural features is minimal. In addition, the utilization of a sub-bottom "profiler" in a Tidewater riverine environment would prove questionable owing to potentially false readings provided by gases formed by decaying vegetation as they percolate through the bottom sediments.

4. No magnetometer or sub-bottom sonar survey should be carried out within the confines of the harbor line. Because of the presence

of innumerable contemporary structures and features, both ashore and in the harbor itself, which tend to mask any anomalous features of actual historical import, a remote-sensing survey of these kinds would prove expensive, time-consuming, and frustrating.

5. Owing to the extremely heavy siltation of the Hunting Creek Transect and the enormous amount of reclamation by land-fill which has taken place in the upper creek since 1933, the potential for the survival of any cultural features of earlier times in this area is good. That the area may have served as a derelict disposal area is likely, and as a consequence, the potential for buried features exists. However, the documentary record is as yet insufficient in suggesting where and what features might be present to warrant investigation. The area is both shallow (in many places a mudflat at low water) and large. The difficulty in conducting a remote-sensing survey in this sizable area would probably not warrant the expenditure. Since the area is not being impacted by development, dredging, or further alteration, it is recommended that no action be undertaken. It is suggested, however, that, in the event any future work or development of the transect is planned, a historic evaluation and possible survey of the area be considered by the City of Alexandria.

6. Several sunken vessels have been documented as lying sunken within various harbor slips of the modern Alexandria waterfront by a 1981 bathometric study of the area. Since the late 18th century, derelict vessels have been allowed to sink in the harbor, although it is unlikely that vessel losses have occurred within the confines of the present harbor prior to 1791 when the city's first land reclamation

project was largely completed. Although various sectors of the waterfront areas have been dredged by wharf owners at least as early as 1875 (and possibly earlier), it is possible that hulls of once-derelict vessels allowed to sink at their moorings may still exist within the confines of the harbor. It is therefore recommended that a hands-on evaluation of the known wreck sites, located by the 1981 bathometric study, be carried out. Limited sampling of the hulls and diagnostically suitable artifactual materials should be conducted.

7. Systematic investigation of a representative sample of waterfront dock areas should be carried out to determine the potential presence of more deeply buried sites. Such an investigation may be carried out with the assistance of a small-gauge waterjet probe, vibra-probe, or other means.

8. Any future dredging of dock areas should be monitored by Alexandria Archaeology and spoil materials examined for evidence of potentially significant submerged sites in the harbor area.

9. The dynamic sequence of land reclamation along the city waterfront, most notably the 1785-1791 efforts of Colonel George Gilpin between Lumley Point and West Point, the 1910-1911 Corps of Engineers filling in of Battery Cove, and the more recent burial of significant areas of the once-active City Wharf area, have resulted in the coverage of important structural features of archaeological or historical relevance to the maritime history of Alexandria. Waterfront facilities once situated on or projecting over the Potomac are now buried beneath landfill and resting beneath the streets and parks of Alexandria proper, in some cases several blocks inland. In addition to the sites above-

mentioned, it is possible that vessels may have been sunk during the Gilpin operation to assist in the reclamation project. If so, there may well be vessel remains also lying beneath the earth of reclaimed Alexandria. Hence, it is recommended that all areas noted on page 408 of this study indicated as filled between 1785 and 1980, lying between Duke Street and Pendleton Street, be considered as high-probability areas in which maritime-related resources may exist. All development in this area should be closely monitored by Alexandria Archaeology for potential impact upon the resource base.

10. It is recommended that no investigations be taken elsewhere in the Alexandria maritime study area, as territorial jurisdiction falls within the purview of the State of Maryland. As such, the submerged archaeological resource base is owned by Maryland and falls under the direct management of the Maryland Department of Natural Resources, Maryland Geological Survey, Division of Archaeology. However, since the potential survivability of certain important archaeological resources in Maryland jurisdiction is great (such as the long stone ferry wharf at Fox's Landing and the long wharf at Shephards Point) and directly relate to Alexandria's maritime history, it is recommended that these resources be brought to the State of Maryland's attention with the suggestion that further investigation be promulgated (perhaps jointly by Maryland and Virginia).

11. The Alexandria Canal boat fleet was substantial in number. The final disposition of these vessels after the closure of the Alexandria Canal, however, is unknown. Owing to the archaeological record of discoveries of historically important derelict canal boat remains in

other canal systems, such as in the turning basin of the Richmond Canal, it appears that a similar possibility may present itself during the excavation of the Alexandria Canal. In the event that such an occasion should arise, special attention should be addressed to the problem of conservation of any vessels encountered. The likelihood that such watercraft may survive at all would probably be accountable to a wet or moist environment in which the remains exist. Removal from that environment without adequate large-scale conservation procedures to stabilize and preserve the wood will result in the total destruction of the resource. It is therefore recommended that consideration be given to such a situation and a cost-effective solution be arrived at before the event occurs.

12. As the cost of conservation of waterlogged materials frequently assumes a scale entirely disproportionate to that of costs incurred in conserving materials from terrestrial sites, it is recommended that any sampling from submerged sites be intentionally limited and strictly controlled. Excavation of such sites should not be conducted until the capability is available to undertake the staged, long-term conservation programs that such materials require.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN

CITY OF ALEXANDRIA

ARCHAEOLOGY PROGRAM AND/OR PRESERVATION OFFICE

AND

THIS AGREEMENT, by and between the City of Alexandria, a municipal corporation of Virginia, by and through its Archaeology Program and/or Preservation Office, hereinafter called the "City" and Donald G. Shomette hereinafter called the Consultant, whose residence or office address is:

9110 Grandhaven Ave., Upper Marlboro, MD 20772 ;

WITNESSETH THAT:

For and in consideration of the mutual benefits hereinafter set forth, the parties agree as follows:

1. Work, activities or services (hereinafter referred to as "work") to be performed by the Consultant shall be provided from Sept. 1, 1984 through Jan. 1, 1985 and shall be as provided in the attached Project Statement, which is hereby incorporated into and made a part of this Agreement.

2. The attached Standard Provisions for Agreements of the Archaeology Program and/or Preservation Office of the City of Alexandria are also hereby incorporated into and made a part of this Agreement with only the following exceptions: NONE

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the Consultant has signed and sealed this Agreement and the City has caused it to be executed on its behalf by its duly authorized officers in duplicate original.

ATTEST:

By: Helen Holleman
Helen Holleman
City Clerk

CITY OF ALEXANDRIA, a municipal corporation of Virginia

By: D. Harman
Douglas Harman
City Manager

10/4/84
Date

CONSULTANT
Donald G. Shomette (SEAL)
Donald G. Shomette
August 22, 1984
Date

Approved as to form:

Stuart J. Tenkoff
Asst. City Attorney

PROJECT STATEMENT

1. This Project Statement is part of an AGREEMENT by and between the City of Alexandria, the Archaeology Program, and Donald G. Shomette for work to be conducted from September 1, 1984 through January 1, 1985 as part of the Alexandria Underwater Project.

2. This Project Statement is one part of a three part contract consisting of a cover part, this Project Statement, and the Standard Provisions for Agreements of the Archaeology Program of the City of Alexandria, Virginia. In case of conflict or inconsistency, the provisions of this Project Statement shall control over the provisions of any other part of the contract.

3. The City agrees to pay the Consultant the sum of TWENTY SEVEN HUNDRED DOLLARS (\$2700.00), to be paid in one installment, to be used and expended by the Consultant for completion of a documentary study on the potential historic and archaeological submerged cultural resources along the Alexandria waterfront. This study will consist of gathering of data from both primary and secondary sources including, but not limited to: federal, state, and city records relating to registered shipping, known shipwrecks and disasters, and harbor activities; local newspapers; official naval documents; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers records; and historic and contemporary maps. Payment will be made upon receipt of the documentary study report on January 1, 1985, and acceptance of the same by the project director, Steven J. Shephard. This report will include: 1. an historical overview of the maritime history of the Port of Alexandria, 2. a list of all known shipwrecks, wharves, docks and other waterfront structures with associated dates as gathered in research, 3. a map showing the locations of all the items listed in "2." above that are known, 4. a map or maps delineating the areas of high, medium, and low potentials for the presence of submerged resources, 5. copies of any pictorial or photographic portrayals of items listed in "2." above which are encountered in research, 6. a map showing the locations and dates of all known dredging activities along the Alexandria waterfront, and 7. recommendations for conducting an underwater survey to locate and identify the submerged resources along the Alexandria waterfront. Revision will be made of this report by the Consultant upon request from the project director, Steven J. Shephard. In addition, the Consultant agrees to present a 30 minute illustrated lecture on the findings of this documentary study to the public as part of the 1985 Alexandria Waterfront Forum in June, 1985.

4. The Consultant agrees to:

a. Conduct a documentary study of the potential historical and archaeological submerged cultural resources along the Alexandria waterfront employing, but not being limited to, the primary and secondary sources listed above.

b. Produce and deliver to the project director, Steven J. Shephard, a documentary study report including the results of the research in the form of: 1. an historical overview of the Port of Alexandria, 2. a list, with dates, of shipwrecks, wharves, docks, or other historic structures or items potentially in the research area, 3. a map showing the locations of the items in "2.", 4. a map or maps de-

lineating areas of high, medium, and low potential for submerged cultural resources, 5. copies of any pictorial or photographic portrayals of the items listed in "2.", a map showing the location and date of any dredging which has taken place in the research area, and 7. recommendations for conducting an underwater reconnaissance survey to locate and identify the submerged cultural resources along the Alexandria waterfront.

c. Present a 30 minute lecture on the findings of the documentary study to the public as part of the 1985 Alexandria Waterfront Forum.

5. The Project Director will be Steven J. Shephard until further written notice from the City.

ATTEST:

By: Helen Holleman
Helen Holleman
City Clerk

CITY OF ALEXANDRIA, a municipal corporation of Virginia

By: Douglas Harman
Douglas Harman
City Manager

10/4/84
Date

CONSULTANT

Donald G. Shomette (SEAL)
Donald G. Shomette

August 22, 1984
Date

Approved as to form:

Steven J. Turton
Asst. City Attorney