Robinson Terminal South Property History



Prepared for EYA 4800 Hampden Lane, Suite 300 Bethesda, MD 20814

By Julia Claypool, Historian Edna Johnston, Principal

HISTORYmatters

1502 21st Street, NW Washington, DC 20036 202.223.8845 <u>www.historymatters.net</u>

November 12, 2014

Abstract

The Robinson Terminal South development site currently occupies the property located between Duke Street on the north, South Union Street on the west, Wolfe Street on the south, and the Potomac River on the east. The site lies within the City of Alexandria's Old and Historic District (established in 1946). It also is situated within the Alexandria Historic District, which was listed as a National Historic Landmark in 1966 and was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1969 (with a 1984 Addendum).

In the 18th century, this area marked the southeast corner of early Alexandria, which was laid out in 1749 around a shallow cove that was located between West's Point on the north and Point Lumley on the south. What is now the Robinson Terminal South (RTS) property stands on part of Point Lumley as well as on land that has been created by filling in the Potomac shoreline in subsequent years. Most of the site was extant by the end of the 18th century, but changes to the shoreline, including the construction of wharfs, piers, and bulkheads, have continued into the 21st century.

Between the 18th and 20th centuries, many of the property owners for this block and those who leased the property were among Alexandria's most prominent citizens. These merchants and industrialists were not only involved in the commercial activities of the city, but also in the political and social realms as well.

Although some residences once existed here in the 18th and 19th centuries, the RTS site primarily contained industrial and commercial operations throughout its history. The property exemplifies the commerce and industry that has fueled Alexandria's economy since its founding. Shipbuilding facilities, warehouses, a bakery operation, and stores occupied the property in the 18th century. The 19th century saw buildings constructed on the property that manufactured flour and iron products as well as storage facilities such as lumber yards, warehouses, a coal depot, and a railroad freight depot. A variety of small manufacturing plants and warehouses, particularly those for storing paper, occupied the property in the 20th century.

Today, the Robinson Terminal Warehouse Corporation (RTWC) facilities include three warehouses constructed between circa 1940 and 1965; a brick maintenance building and smaller brick storage building constructed in the 1940s; and a two-story, brick, office building that was constructed in the 19th century and repurposed many times in subsequent years. The latter building, 2 Duke Street, links the property to the 19th century activities on the site. It was most likely constructed on the foundations of the 1856 Pioneer Mills coopers shop that was devastated by a cyclone in 1896.

The following narrative describes the property's development from 1749 through the late 20th century, when the last construction projects occurred on the property. For the sake of clarity, we refer to the site as Robinson Terminal South (RTS) even though the Robinson Terminal Warehouse Corporation (RTWC) did not begin to take ownership of the property until the late 1930s.

Robinson Terminal South Property History, 1749-2000

1749-1781: Beginnings

Alexandria was established by the Virginia Assembly in May 1749. Lots were laid out on fields around a shallow bay, and the lots were purchased in an auction that occurred on July 13 and 14 of that year. Those who petitioned the Virginia Assembly to create the town were among the wealthiest landowners and established merchants in Northern Virginia; they saw the possibilities of the area as the farthest northern deep water port on the Virginia shore of the Potomac River. While a tobacco inspection warehouse already existed on the north point of the new town (West's Point at the foot of what would become Oronoco Street), the landowners and merchants envisioned shipping other products oversees and importing all of the goods that were not produced locally.



Figure 1. A Plan of Alexandria now Belhaven, George Washington, 1749. Drawn by Washington after the 1749 auction of lots, the map shows the shallow bay with Point Lumley (on left) and West's Point (on right). (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

In 1749, the southern boundary of Alexandria was a line of half-acre lots on the south side of Duke Street. Duke Street's eastern end was the area named Point Lumley—one of the two points of land that extended into the Potomac River around a shallow bay. When surveyed, Lots 69 and 77 were laid out north and south of Duke Street respectively on top of the Potomac River's bank; the bank was the approximate height of Lee Street (then known as Water Street). At the east end of Duke Street, the bank dropped off steeply to dry

ground which extended another 30 to 40 feet and ended in a rounded point in the Potomac River; this was Point Lumley.¹ During the July auction, Nathaniel Chapman of Stafford County purchased Lot 77, and the town trustees reserved Point Lumley for the town's own use. Their first step in making Point Lumley more useful to the new port was to cut Duke Street down through the bank in 1751 in order to provide direct access to the river.

In the 18th century, the buildings constructed on the property related to Alexandria's maritime aspirations. Shortly after the work on Duke Street was complete, the town trustees leased the public land at the foot of Point Lumley to Thomas Fleming for shipbuilding operations. In 1752, Fleming finished his first ship, the *Ranger*, possibly for the firm of Carlyle & Dalton, merchants who helped found the town and who traded with Whitehaven, England. By 1754, Fleming had constructed sheds under the bank and a small wharf to help with his shipbuilding activities.²

In 1755, Alexandria became the focus of Great Britain and the other American colonies when General Edward Braddock landed in the town with British troops at the beginning of what would become known as the French and Indian War (1755-1763). With the need to supply the troops, the war gave impetus to the new town's development as a commercial center, and the town began to prosper. In 1759, a visitor noted:

The Potomac 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.³

In 1761, the town trustees were pleased with Thomas Fleming's industriousness, and permitted him to build a warehouse "under the bank of Point Lumley...to have "the sole use and benefit...for three lives, at an annual rent of five shillings."⁴

With Britain's success in defeating the French, Alexandria stood ready to profit from a greater push for British land settlement in western Virginia and the Ohio country. Alexandria was positioned to gather the agricultural and mining products of the region for shipment to overseas ports and to furnish the commodities from overseas in return. In 1763, the town expanded its boundaries by adding lots on the south, west, and north sides. At that time, Lot 85 was laid out between Lot 77 and the new Wolfe Street on the south. In 1763, Thomas Fleming bought Lot 85 and Lot 86, the parcel adjacent to it on the west.



Figure 2. George West's 1763 map of Alexandria. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

Alexandria's early commercial focus centered on the tobacco inspection warehouse that was located at the foot of Oronoco Street; both the landowners who grew the tobacco and the merchants who exported it profited from this main cash crop. By the third quarter of the 18th century, two factors would change the commercial emphasis in Alexandria from tobacco to wheat. First, tobacco prices varied widely from year to year due to gluts on the European market and competition from other sources. Second, the demand for wheat and wheat products like flour and bread rose dramatically with droughts in Europe and the emphasis in the West Indies on growing single crops like sugar cane. Wheat farming expanded in northern Virginia and west to the Shenandoah Valley as wheat became a very profitable crop, partially because it could be raised with less labor than tobacco. Alexandria was the closest port to these areas, and more roads developed from the west that led to the port. In 1772, Virginia realized the need to regulate the quality of flour being shipped overseas as they did the quality of tobacco; the colony established flour inspection warehouses in Alexandria, Fredericksburg, and Occoquan.⁵

For the remainder of the 18th century, the Fleming family consolidated its ownership or lease of most of what would become the RTS property. In 1770, Fleming purchased Lot 77 from George Chapman. At that time, he sold Lot 85 to his son-in-law James Kirk, who had married Thomas' daughter Bridget Fleming. In 1774, trustees rented part of Point Lumley adjoining Fleming's lot to Thomas Fleming for a 63 year term.⁶

James Kirk, a merchant, started the process of filling in the waterfront at the foot of his property using a process known as "banking out," Kirk most likely constructed log-walled cribs and filled them with materials created from lowering the property up on the bank. The same process was repeated by Alexandria's other riverfront property owners including the town trustees at Point Lumley.

The American Revolution (1776-1781) caused obvious disruptions to the normal commerce of Alexandria, although the town served as a supply center for local troops. In October 1779, the Virginia Assembly incorporated Alexandria and made it an official port of entry for the state.⁷ In February 1780, elections were held for the first time to fill the positions of mayor and city council, a body that previously appointed its own members.

1781-1819: The Physical Development of the Property

100

The end of the war spurred the physical and commercial development of Alexandria. In 1788, Brissot de Warville, a visitor to Alexandria wrote:

Alexandria...is now, indeed, smaller than Baltimore but plans to surpass her...At the end of the war the people of Alexandria imagined that the natural advantages of their situation, the salubrity of the air, the depth of the river channel, and the safety of the harbor, which can accommodate the largest ships and permit them to anchor close to the wharves, must unite with the richness of the back country to make their town the center of a large commerce. In consequence they are building on all sides, they have set up superb wharves and raised vast warehouses.⁸

The RTS property exemplified the creation of land and building of resources. The property was essentially divided into three parts. The first consisted of Lot 77 east of South Union Street. Between 1782 and 1784, Union Street was extended through Lots 77 and 85.9 Lot 77 extended 56'1" east of Union Street with an additional 25-foot-wide strip that extended from its southeast corner to the river (approximately 280-300 feet); this belonged to Thomas Fleming. The second consisted of the property between Lot 77 and the river; this sat upon the Point Lumley riverbank, which was lowered and banked out by the 1780s. Point Lumley belonged to the town corporation and was leased for varying periods of time to individual merchants and commercial firms. The third part of the property belonged to James and Bridget Kirk. Lot 85 east of Union Street, together with the land that the Kirks created by banking out into the river at the foot of their lot, composed the southern half of the property that was located between Union Street and the River and fronted on Wolfe Street.



Figure 3. Sketch of the Robinson Terminal South block as it appeared circa 1790. The Kirks owned Lot 85. Thomas Fleming owned Lot 77, and the City of Alexandria owned Point Lumley. In the 1780s, the owners of the block laid out an alley and named it "The Strand." The Strand served as a continuation of the street from the Duke to Prince Street block. [Not to scale.] (History Matters, LLC, 2014)

Commercial activities on the RTS property exemplified Alexandria's burgeoning trade as evidenced by the building of wharves and warehouses. In 1780, the town trustees leased the area along the south side Duke Street to the merchant firm of Robert Townshend Hooe and Richard Harrison; they held the lease until 1802. Originally part of the Jenifer and Hooe mercantile firm and established in Alexandria prior to the American Revolution, Robert Townshend Hooe was elected the first mayor of Alexandria in 1780. Hooe formed a partnership with his cousin, Baltimore merchant Richard Harrison, in the late 1770s. Between 1782 and 1783, the firm built a three-story store and warehouse on their newly-constructed wharf; the warehouse ground floor and first story were built with stone walls while the upper stories were made of wood. From these facilities, Hooe and Harrison shipped tobacco, wheat, flour, and corn to Europe and the West Indics; they imported all manner of consumer goods such as fabrics, clothing, ship supplies, ceramics and glassware, tea and spices, and tools.¹⁰

The growth of Alexandria during this period can also be measured by the publication of a new, local newspaper, the *Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser*, in 1784.¹¹ Prior to the American Revolution, local news and advertisements for merchandise and real estate were published in either the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis) or the 1 *irginia Gazette* (Williamsburg). The presence of a new local paper meant that there was a population of readers to support it and of merchants supporting it financially with advertisements. Alexandria's growing importance as a port was also apparent in the 1785 Virginia act which noted "the great number of waggons which use the public roads leading from the northwestern parts of this state to the town of Alexandria''¹²

Early in 1786, Thomas Fleming divided his entire Lot 77 into seven parcels and leased them. Hooe and Harrison leased Fleming's 25-foot-wide parcel that extended to the river; it was a parcel that had previously been leased to Joseph Caverly who had built on the wharf and launched vessels from it. The terms of the lease provide a glimpse of how the waterfront was filled out—Hooe and Harrison were permitted to "dig and take from that Lott of Ground, whereon he the said Thomas Fleming now lives whatever Earth may be necessary to fill in the same [wharf] and to raise and fill in that part of the Wharf made by him the said Thomas Fleming." Thomas Fleming died in 1786, and Hooe later purchased the property after Fleming's estate was settled in 1794.¹³

In the mid-1780s, the Kirks had banked out enough land that they opened a 21-foot-wide alley which extended north from Wolfe Street across their wharf; it probably was aligned with a narrower alley that ran from Duke Street south along the east side of the Hooe and Harrison warehouse. This alley became the Strand, and James Kirk constructed a warehouse along the Strand to the north of Wolfe Street.¹⁴ James Kirk was elected mayor of Alexandria for the 1785-1786 term. When Kirk died later in 1786, his wife Bridget became their son Robert's guardian, and she began subdividing the property and leasing it.

Also in 1786, merchant William Hartshorne leased property on the wharf from Hooe and Harrison, and constructed a frame warehouse located just east of Hooe's warehouse and store. Hartshorne, a Quaker born in New Jersey, prospered in Alexandria. He imported general merchandise from Europe and filled commissions for prominent landowners like George Washington. In addition to this warehouse, he owned a general store on King Street.¹⁵

Public Sale.

On THURSDAY, the 10th of May, at 13 o'tlock, by virtue of a deed of trust from *H'illiam Hartsdorge* to the subscribers, they will proceed to sell, on a credit of 6 9 and 12 months the wharf known by the name of Kirk's wharf,

A Leafe of faid Wharf with the Buildings thereon, for the term of three years and four months from the first of May, 1810, subject to an annual rent of five hundred dollars, payable quarter yearly, the purchaser to have the privilege of removing the several buildings at the expiration of the lease on the first of September, 18:3. At the same time and place will be cold,

A Lease of the frame Warehouse, on Hooe's wharf. for the term of one year and five and a half months, and subject to an annual rent of one hundred and fify collars, with the privilege of removing the buildings at the expiration of the lease and also the privilege of the wharf and dock-MND FURTHER,

Figure 4. May 8, 1810 Alexandria Gazette advertisement for the Hartshorne buildings.



Figure 5. 1788 Plat Map. Circa 1782, merchants Hooe and Harrison built their store and warehouse (Building #2). In 1786, Hartshorne built his store (Building #3). "Prince William County Land Causes, 1789-1793" by Donald L. Wilson. (Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch)

In 1787, Bridget Kirk, on behalf of her son Robert, leased part of Lot 85 and the wharf that adjoined it to merchant Joseph Caverly; the lease remained in effect until 1802 (Caverly previously leased the parcel to the north owned by Fleming). Caverly built a two-story frame dwelling on or near the northwest corner of Wolfe

Street and the Strand. He proceeded over the next fifteen years to sublease portions of the property to other merchants-first Robert Hamilton and then Robert Henderson.¹⁶

In addition to merchants leasing the property for warehouses and shipping, a portion of the Kirk's Lot 85 contained a bakery operation. Bakeries that provided ship's bread were among the earliest industries in Alexandria.¹⁷ In 1791, Kirk leased a sixty-foot-wide parcel that was located on the north side of Lot 85 between the Strand and South Union Street to the baker Andrew Jamieson. Jamieson was to repair the bake house and ovens, tenement, and shed kitchen that already operated on the site. Jamieson built a dwelling and a fenced wood yard in southeast corner of property along the Strand. When Jamieson's lease ended 1802, he moved his bakery to 106 South Lee Street.¹⁸

The 1790s was an optimistic period in Alexandria's history. In the first federal census (1790), the town had 2,748 residents. By 1791, it became part of the new nation's capital as the southwest corner of the District of Columbia. In 1792, the Virginia Assembly chartered the Bank of Alexandria to provide credit and to help Alexandria merchants in their competition with Baltimore. While merchants continued to import mostly consumer goods, they exported 150,000 barrels of flour and 1,500 hogsheads of tobacco in 1795. The town's growing prosperity was evident to a visitor to Alexandria who commented: "what most struck me was the vast number of houses which I saw building...The hammer and the trowel were at work every where, a cheering sight." ¹⁹

Alexandria's increasing prosperity spurred property owners to divide their town lots and sell them to land speculators, to investors who constructed houses to rent, or to the professionals and skilled workmen who built their own homes. This occurred on what became the RTS property. The parcel on the southeast corner of Duke and South Union Streets was sold to George Slacum after Thomas Fleming's death in partial settlement of his debts. By 1796, Slacum built a two-story, frame dwelling on the corner lot and rented it to Samuel Hilton, who lived there and operated the first floor as a store.²⁰

The remainder of Lot 77 east of Union Street was divided among Fleming's heirs. In March 1797, they sold three parcels on South Union Street south of Slacum's corner lot to Thomas Patten. Between April 1797 and March 1798, Thomas Patten resold the parcels. By the early 1800s, what would become 306, 308, and 310 South Union Street each contained a house.²¹

The recently formed Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia began offering property insurance in Alexandria in 1796. Policies from the era for the RTS site show warehouses and one dwelling built by merchants as well as the presence of an additional five frame houses and one stone dwelling that evidently were not insured. The Mutual Assurance Society maps also show that, between the Strand and the Potomac River, just under 90 feet of fill composed Hooe's wharf (on the north side of the block), and approximately 100 feet of fill formed Kirk's wharf (on the south side of the block).²²



Figure 6. Detail, *Plan of the Town of Alexandria*, George Gilpin, 1798. Note the extent to which the waterfront was filled in by the end of the 18th century. The RTS block is highlighted. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

On Point Lumley, the 1796 Mutual Assurance Society policy for Robert Hooe insured the three-story warehouse that stood on land leased from the town on the southwest corner of Duke Street and the Strand. The 72-foot-long-by-44-foot-wide warehouse was divided by a 16-foot alley to the south from a frame dwelling with a stone foundation; also built along the Strand, the dwelling was owned by Hooe on land leased from the town and was occupied by John McManing. Hooe also insured a warehouse located on the 25-foot-wide parcel that Hooe purchased from Fleming in 1786; standing between the Strand and the river, the one-story, wood warehouse (74' X 24') stood approximately 150 feet south of Duke Street and had a smaller one-story wood shed located adjacent to it on the north.

By 1796, the property on the south half of the block owned by the Kirks contained a two-story frame warehouse owned by William Hartshorne (22' by 40') with an attached, one-story shed (22' by 48') on land he leased from the Kirks; the warehouse stood immediately south of Hooe's warehouse between the river and the Strand.²³ As mentioned previously, the Kirks had constructed a warehouse along the west side of Strand and set in from Wolfe Street. The Kirks' leases indicate that merchant James Caverly constructed a frame dwelling on land leased from the Kirks on the northwest corner of Wolfe Street and the Strand. Baker, Andrew Jamieson, operated the bake house, ovens, a tenement (rental house), and a shed kitchen on the north part of Kirks' property between Union Street and the Strand.

From the turn of the 19th century through the first two decades, the merchants who operated from the RTS site, like those throughout Alexandria, experienced great disruptions to their overseas and interstate trade. War in Europe and with Europe, trade embargos, and port-closing yellow fever epidemics caused their fortunes to vary wildly. In 1811, Alexandria's total exports amounted to \$2,000,000; when the British blockaded the coast in 1814, exports for the city dropped to almost nothing. Alexandria's population

reflected her varying prospects: in 1810, the population nearly tripled to 7,227 from its 1790 count of 2,748; by 1820, Alexandria's population growth rate slowed considerably and added less than 1,000 residents for a total of 8,191.²⁴



Figure 7. Detail, *A Plan of Alexandria in the Territory of Columbia, State of Virginia*, 1803. The RTS waterfront contained the Kirk wharf, (identified here as Hamilton for its lease-holder Robert Hamilton) and the Hooe wharf.

From 1800 to the 1820s, Alexandria continued to be the chief market for the wheat and corn produced in northern and western Virginia. In 1802, the Patowmack Canal Company completed the locks and opened a canal around Great Falls on the Virginia side; this increased the economic growth of Alexandria since more produce could be shipped to Alexandria for less cost. While much of the port's exports were in flour, all of the milling took place outside of Alexandria since the town had neither wind nor running water to power a grist mill. From 1800 to 1822, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York all exported more flour than Alexandria. In this period, Alexandria's exports annually were eight times those of Georgetown, her geographically nearest competitor.²⁵

The early 19th-century development on the RTS property mirrored Alexandria's increasing economic growth. In 1803, William Hartshorne owned three warehouses lined up on Kirk's wharf: the circa-1796, two-story warehouse and one-story shed; an additional two-story wood warehouse (22' by 32') adjacent to the second warehouse on the south with a 16' by 58' one-story shed behind that warehouse; and a one-story wood warehouse (28' by 32') adjacent on the south. By 1805, William Patterson leased the former Caverly dwelling and lot on the northwest corner of the Strand and Wolfe Street. Patterson's chief occupation seems to have been operating fisheries. Fish, particularly herring and shad packed in barrels of salt, were among Alexandria's chief exports in the 18th and 19th centuries. Good fishing locations in the Potomac River both

north and south of Alexandria and fishery operations were often rented by their owners for income. In 1814 Patterson bought a 26' by 82' parcel on his leased lot's west side and built a brick tenement.²⁶

The Subscriber
RESPECTIULLY informs his
friends and the public, that he has ta-
. ken the Ferry at HOLLEN POINT, to
the Maryland shore, knows by the
namo ol
Mason's Ferry,
Where he will use every exertion to
give general satisfaction. He wishes
to contract at the above-mentioned
place, with persons disposed to cure
Fish, as he will be able to supply them
with any quantity of Shad and Hor-
ring. The Subscriber also wishes to
Renthis GROCERY STORE, at the
lower end of the Ferry Landing in this
place.
William Patterson.
January 6. dima.

Figure 8. Alexandria Gazette Advertisement, January 18, 1814. William Patterson's store was located on the north side of Wolfe Street on property owned by the Kirks, near the Lower Ferry Landing at the east end of the street.

In 1809, Robert Townsend Hooe died, and the city advertised the lease of the stone warehouse on the corner of Duke Street and the Strand. The next year, William Hartshorne advertised a public sale of his lease of lots on Kirk's wharf including his three warehouses and his frame warehouse on the Hooc wharf.²⁷

In 1811, with the death of Robert Kirk (son of James and Bridget Kirk), his wife Sarah continued to lease the Kirk properties.²⁸ Merchant Joseph Deane leased a lot on the west side of the Strand and the old Hartshorne warehouses along the river. Deane advertised that he purchased "flour and grain and has on hand a large supply of the best FLOUR, suitable for family use and Bakers, also SALT of different kinds."²⁹ In 1814, house carpenter, Thomas Preston, and merchant Thomas Janney leased most of the Kirk property between the Strand and Union Street with the exception of Deane's and William Patterson's lots.³⁰



Figure 9. Alexandria Gazette Advertisement, November 11, 1813. Advertisement notifying readers that Joseph Dean had taken over the Hartshorne warehouses located on Kirk's wharf.

In 1818, Point Lumley contained the Hooe and Harrison stone warehouse then occupied by John Muncaster, who was Hooe's former partner. The dwelling Hooe constructed south of the warehouse still stood.

Hartshorne's frame warehouse on Duke Street was occupied by Thomas Preston who also owned a nearby lumbervard on the north side of Duke Street. ³¹

1820-1850; James Green's Ownership

For the two decades after the War of 1812, Alexandria's trade in wheat and tobacco deteriorated due to various factors among which was competition with other ports like Baltimore. In 1826, Anne Newport Royall recorded her view of the town in her traveller's sketches:

Alexandria has not recovered the loss she sustained by the late war [War of 1812], and from every thing I have seen respecting this town, it has seen its most prosperous days. It is a matter of some surprise, that with the same advantages, as to situation for trade, it should be so far behind Baltimore, which is only two years older...Besides ware-houses, it has commodious wharfs for the lading and unlading of vessels. These are built in the river on piles, differing in width, length, and heighth, to suit vessels of all sizes. They extend in a right angle, from the shore to a vast distance in the river, which comprises their length, and sufficiently asunder to admit vessels between them. They are perfectly level on the top, being filled up with gravel and earth, of such heighth as to be even with the decks of the vessels, which draw up close to them, side by side, and roll out the cargo, and the same, when going to lade.³²

The RTS property undoubtedly contributed to Royall's picture of Alexandria's warehouses and "commodious wharfs."

In 1823, Sarah Kirk began to sell the parcels that had once been leased. Between 1825 and 1828, Kirk sold three parcels on the northwest corner of Wolfe Street and the Strand to merchant Josiah Davis.³³ A member of the Common Council, Davis' advertisements in the *Alexandria Gazette* indicate that his main business was selling fishing supplies like rope, cables, twine, tar, and lime. He rented the brick buildings that stood on the Kirk parcels, and that had formerly belonged to Caverly and Patterson. By 1830, Davis' businesses included a tavern with an "additional brick house lately built, a large commodious Stable, Carriage Shed and other outhouses."³⁴ At this time, Wolfe Street ended in the Lower Ferry, which was the landing place for a steam ferry boat to Maryland.



Figure 10. Alexandria Gazette Advertisement, June 9, 1830. Advertisement notifying readers that Josiah Davis had taken over William Patterson's tenant house in the study area and replaced Patterson's grocery store with a tavern.

In 1830, Henry Dangerfield purchased the Kirk property between the river and the Strand. A prominent merchant, Dangerfield imported plaster and owned at least one ship, the 320-ton *John Marshall*, which was constructed in Washington. In addition, he was a subscriber to the Alexandria Canal Company, was on the board of directors of the Bank of Potomac, and was a director of the Marine Insurance Company of Alexandria. Like many others associated with the RTS property, Dangerfield served on the Common Council of Alexandria.³⁵

In 1828, local residents hoped that the development of the Chesapeake & Ohio (C&O) Canal would greatly improve trade in both Georgetown and Alexandria. The dedication memorial that year from Washington City to Congress prophesied that, with the construction of the canal, "Georgetown and Alexandria in whose streets the grass now grows green, will become once more the scenes of Commerce and wealth."³⁶

Alexandria's industries were limited because of the lack of wind or water power within the town. This began to change when, about 1830, Thomas W. Smith constructed a factory on the block south of Wolfe Street and east of Union Street (next to the RTS property) and began manufacturing steam engines. Steam engines enabled industrial manufacturing, and Alexandria was in position to take advantage of the wharf and warehouse space for the importation of raw materials and exportation of finished goods. In the 1830s, Smith's foundry produced steam engines for local businesses including James Green's cabinet shop.³⁷

In 1835, *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia and the District of Columbia* characterized Alexandria as having "extensive trade in flour, tobacco, sumack, lumber, etc. with the southern states, the West Indies, and Europe."³⁸ The Gazetteer also noted that the city's total value of exports in 1831 (\$864,484) was considerably less than what it had been twenty years earlier. The port of Alexandria had lost its advantages in the overseas and coastal trades.

The periods when Alexandria suffered from depressed commerce in the 19th century affected the town's ability to produce rent from their property in the RTS block. The city often placed newspaper advertisements in an attempt to keep their property leased. In 1843, one such advertisement placed in the Alexandria Gazette by the Real Estate Committee of the Common Council included an element of marketing as well:

Valuable Wharf and Warehouses for Rent. The long wharf and spacious warehouses attached thereto at the foot of Duke St (excepting the room occupied by Cartwright & Nash) will be rented for one year from the 1st day of September next...The wharf is in good order, is 175 feet long and 35 feet wide, and has ample dock room on both sides, and sufficient depth of water for ships. No better situation for the produce and shipping business can be found anywhere...³⁹

In 1843, the Alexandria Canal was completed from the C&O Canal in Georgetown with an aqueduct over the Potomac. The canal brought shipments of wheat and coal at reduced rates and in large quantities to Alexandria, and trade began to prosper again.⁴⁰

Between 1843 and 1845, the cabinetmaker James Green acquired much of the property on the RTS block. He rented parcels on Point Lumley from the city and purchased all of Lot 85. Green also bought two narrow parcels on Lot 85's north side that were originally part of Lot 77. Green emigrated from Sheffield, England in 1817. In 1827, during one of the most destructive fires in Alexandria's history, fire destroyed his cabinetmaking shop that was then located near a building at 112 South Royal. Green rebuilt the shop and

produced a wide assortment of furniture. About 1834, he purchased a three-story, brick building at the corner of Prince and Fairfax Streets.⁴¹



Figure 11. Detail, 1845 Map of Alexandria. Note Point Lumley's original location and the amount of landfill that had been banked out by 1845. (Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch)

In the 1840s, Green branched out into other businesses including real estate, coal, lumber, and other building materials. The coal that powered the Alexandria factories' steam engines was an expensive import until the 1843 completion of the Alexandria Canal. Coal from Pennsylvania and the Cumberland Valley in Maryland was transported for a fraction of the rates previously charged. By 1845, James Green established a coal yard on the riverfront parcel of the Kirk Wharf as well as a lumber yard in the center of the RTS block. He also continued leasing the parcels that contained dwellings and other buildings.⁴²

1851-1861: Pioneer Mills

The 1850s saw Alexandria's trade rebound due principally to transportation developments that made Alexandria an important port for shipping raw materials from the inland areas to other states and overseas. These developments included the utilization of the C&O Canal and the construction of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad.

Incorporated in 1848, the Orange and Alexandria Railroad's path was planned from Gordonsville, Virginia through Orange to Alexandria. In 1851, the Orange and Alexandria Railroad constructed railroad tracks that ran through a tunnel under Wilkes Street to Union Street and along Union Street from Wolfe Street on the south to Oronoco Street on the north.⁴³ The RTS property then had direct access to the railroad.

In 1852, James Green rented out his lumber yard to Joseph Masters and moved his lumber business adjacent to his furniture factory at Prince and Fairfax Streets." In 1854, Green was elected to a seat on Alexandria's

Common Council from the First Ward, and the next year he invested in Mount Vernon Cotton Factory with five others. January 9, 1855, a fire consumed the "frame warehouses on the wharf, owned by James Green and situated in the centre of his valuable property." In 1857, when sons John W. and Stephen A. Green took over the furniture business, the Greens evidently ceased direct operation of the coal yard and other buildings on their RTS property, which included two brick houses on Wolfe Street, two warehouses on the wharf, and the vacant lot previously used as lumber and coal yards.⁴⁴



Figure 12. Detail, 1852-1853 Map of Alexandria with RTS property highlighted. The north wharf area was still labeled as "Hooe's"; the south wharf area, then owned by James Green, had, by 1853, been enlarged in the direction towards the Potomac River. (Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch)

The north side of the RTS riverfront experienced a major change with the lease of city property on the southeast corner of Duke Street and the Strand. In 1853, William H. and George Fowle with a team of investors formed the Alexandria Flour Mill Company. The Fowle brothers were sons of the prosperous shipping merchant William Fowle who owned warehouses on the Strand, Prince, and Union Streets. The Alexandria Flour Mill Company leased the public land on the south side of Duke Street and east of The Strand where the Hartshorne store and riverfront Hooe warehouse had once stood. By April 1854, the four-and-one-half-story, brick mill building was completed, and the steam engine (made a block away by the Smith Foundry) along with most of the mill gear was in place.⁴⁵ The flour mill faced the river; due to its size, Pioneer Mills became an instant landmark for the waterfront and the city.

Mill operations began in June 1854. In July, a "steam dredging machine" worked to deepen the dock at the foot of Duke Street, and, in August, the mill was ready for the harvested wheat to arrive: "The Pioneer Mills are sending dense volumes of smoke from their tower-like chimney, whilst within all is busy life. As soon as grain begins to come in largely, it will find a splendid market at this mammoth establishment." The Mills required thousands of empty barrels for the flour, which it initially contracted for from a firm in Orange, Virginia. The *Alexandria Gazette* reported in September "that already the Flour from the Pioneer Mills, in this place, is quoted in the New York market, 'as a remarkably fine and attractive brand, and considered equal to extra State brands." The flour was offered locally as well as shipped by water to Philadelphia, New York,

Providence (Rhode Island), and Boston. During the month of November 1854 alone, Pioneer Mills produced 10,312 barrels of flour. ⁴⁶

Pioneer Mills exemplified the age of industrial development with its innovative facilities. In addition to its great size, the Mills became known for its grain elevator which unloaded the produce directly from a docked ship into the mill building.⁴⁷ In 1856, a new process to remove the hull in preparation for grinding the wheat was in use at the mill, which made a greater quantity and quality of flour.⁴⁸

Within a year, the Pioneer Mills started to have the problem that would plague its operations for the rest of the 19th century—the large mill required a constant and large supply of grain to keep its operations profitable. Pioneer Mills could not depend solely on the surrounding area to provide the quantities of grain that were needed, and the operators constantly sought shipments from southern Maryland and even as far away as Charleston, South Carolina.⁴⁹ The need for large supplies of wheat and the cyclical nature of grain harvests meant that Pioneer Mills' operations cycled through periods of great activity and inactivity.⁵⁰

In 1856, Pioneers Mills' requirement for thousands of empty barrels led the Alexandria Flour Company to build a coopers shop on the city property that it leased on the west side of the Strand (where the Hooe and Harrison two-story warehouse had once stood). The 30-foot-by-100-foot, two-story, brick building with a slate roof was planned by J.R. Howell; it was constructed by bricklayer Emanuel Francis and carpenters employed by the company. When completed, the building employed 25 to 30 coopers who were expected to produce 60,000 to 80,000 flour barrels annually. The newspaper report about the number of coopers to be employed may have been optimistic, because that spring and early summer the Pioneer Mills once again had down time while waiting for the wheat crop to be harvested.⁵¹



Figure 13. Note the coopers shop (with circa-1860s one-story, kitchen addition) on left and Pioneer Mills on right. This circa-1864 photograph was taken when the buildings were used as a solders' mess house and commissary by the Union Army. Photographer Unknown. (Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch)

By the summer of 1859, the Alexandria Flour Company could not sustain its business and advertised that the Pioneer Mills and the coopers shop were for sale. When this was unsuccessful, the Alexandria Flour Mill Company petitioned the city to permit use of Pioneer Mills for another manufacturing purpose in February 1860. William Fowle complained that he had lost a fortune in the flour mill operations, and that the taxes charged by the city for the property were levied at too high a rate for the mill to succeed. The city council voted to relieve the company of the tax burden, and, in June 1860, Wm. H. Fowle & Son (of Alexandria) and Wm. H. Newman & Co. (of New York) advertised for a chief miller to start operations again. By September, a new miller, G. Y. Worthington from Baltimore, had been hired and flour was being shipped to New York, Philadelphia, Boston, London, and other ports overseas.⁵²

By 1860, Alexandria's commercial activities in general began to prosper. Coal powered those industries and was imported in such quantities that it also was a major export commodity. There were four coal yards near the Queen and Duke Street wharves, including James Greens' yard that was then leased to the Swanton Coal Company of New York.⁵³

1861-1865: Civil War Influences on the Site

On May 24, 1861, the day after Virginia seceded from the United States, the Union Army moved into Alexandria. The city's location across the Potomac River from D.C. and at the transportation crossroads for Northern Virginia made Alexandria a logical place for the Union Army to control for its own purposes. The war and the Union Army occupation erased any forward commercial momentum for Alexandria.



Figure 14. Detail, Wharfs, Storehouses Etc..., a map of Union wharfs and storehouses in Alexandria during the U.S. Civil War (1861-1865) showing the coopers shop being used as a soldiers mess house and kitchen and Pioneer Mills being used as a commissary and storehouse. (Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch)

The Union Army took over the Pioneer Mills for use as a Union commissary and storehouse and occupied the coopers shop for use as a soldiers' mess house. It constructed a one-story, frame kitchen addition on the south end of the mess house. At that time, an open yard enclosed by fencing was located on the west side of

the mess house and kitchen. The circa-1800 brick dwellings and numerous sheds stood between the yard and South Union Street.

In April 1862, two Green warehouses on the property burned, probably in an event unrelated to the war. The brick warehouses were located on Wolfe Street.⁵⁴

In July 1862, Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote an article describing his trip to Alexandria and the effects of the Union occupation on the city:

Among other excursions to camps and places of interest in the neighborhood of Washington, we went, one day, to Alexandria. It is a little port on the Potomac, with one or two shabby wharves and docks, resembling those of a fishing-village in New England, and the respectable old brick town rising gently behind. In peaceful times it no doubt bore an aspect of decorous quietude and dullness; but it was not thronged with the Northern Soldiery, whose stir and bustle contrasted strikingly with the many closed warehouses, the absence of citizens from their customary haunts, and the lack of any symptom of healthy activity, while army-wagons trundled heavily over the pavements, and sentinels paced the sidewalks, and mounted dragoons dashed to and fro on military errands.⁵⁵

Alexandria continued to be an important port for supplying Union troops. A soldier in the 40th NY Infantry wrote that "it is quite impossible to conceive of the immense quantities of supplies piled on the docks…Thousands of barrels of beef and pork, and many more thousands of boxes of 'hard tack' were stacked in immense piles, tier upon tier, higher than the surrounding buildings."⁵⁶



Figure 15. Detail from Charles Magnus'1863 Bird's Eye View of Alexandria by Charles Magnus that shows the commercial and industrial waterfront from Wolfe Street (left) to King Street (right). Pioneer Mills is marked by an arrow. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

The earliest view of the RTS property is Charles Magnus' *1863 Birds Eye View of Alexandria*; it confirms the activity along the waterfront.⁵⁷ On the RTS block, the print shows Pioneer Mills with its riverfront shed; stacked boxes and bales proliferate on the riverfront south of the mill between the river and the Strand. Buildings depicted on the property included a front-gable building facing the Strand in the approximate location of James Kirk's warehouse; two side-gable houses stood along Wolfe Street; and a front-gable house faced Union Street near the corner with Wolfe. West of the mill were the coopers shop and the dwellings along Union Street.⁵⁸

A year later, a description of Alexandria appeared in The Cripple, a newsletter for Union Army hospitals:

At Duke street is a great pile of hay, covered with canvas, and a large shed for storage purposes. By the pier is a high and large brick building, with engine and tall smoke stack attached, as also a grain elevator, all betokening business on a large scale. As we pass along by the wharf, a brawny fellow sings out, "No business there,"...We pass along the railroad to Wolf street seeing little else but a shed for empty barrels, a few dilapidated shanties, and a yellow bank of earth. In the vicinity of Wolf street wharf are quite a number of tumble-down buildings, looking as if they had suffered by shell, shot, earthquakes, hurricanes, and fire. On the wharf is a forage storehouse...The group of buildings behind would look like the "Deserted Village" if they were not densely populated by contrabands.⁵⁹



Figure 16. Circa-1864 photograph taken from Pioneer Mills looking west along Duke Street. The roof of the coopers shop with two vent pipes is located lower left. (Andrew J. Russell, photographer. (Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch)

1865-1891: Recovery from the Civil Wat

With the surrender of Confederate General Robert E. Lee at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865 came the slow winding down of the war for Alexandria. On July 7, the office of Military Governor of Alexandria was abolished, and the town very slowly began to start its commercial life again.

By October 1865, activities were beginning to resume on the RTS property. An advertisement in the *Alexandria Gazette* announced the arrival of the schooner *Commerce* with coal "at Green's old Wharf, next to Pioneer Mills." George Worthington reopened Pioneer Mills. It would have been difficult to locate grain in northern Virginia because the Union Army destroyed fields in the Shenandoah Valley, and the wheat crops of 1865 and 1866 failed. The mill operated until 1871 when it foundered once again.⁶⁰

Unfortunately for the city, Pioneer Mills proved to be as unprofitable in the 1870s as it had in earlier decades. One of the New York partners of the Fowle brothers, Louis A. Von Hoffman, then owned the facilities and the city land lease. In October 1872, he sold the Pioneer Mills and coopers shop to fellow New Yorker, John H. Russell. Within two years, Von Hoffman sued Russell over nonpayment of state taxes and sought to regain the lease of the mills property; a tax sale of millstones and other machinery occurred in May of 1874. In May of 1875, an Alexandria court decreed a public sale of Pioneer Mills including the coopers shop in order for the city and state to recoup taxes and rent fees. In an attempt to realize some money from the property, Von Hoffman and another partner, W. H. Newman, applied to the U.S. House of Representatives for rent payment for the Union Army's use and occupation of Pioneer Mills during the Civil War. The House rejected the bill for relief in 1878 and again ten years later.⁶¹

In the latter part of the 19th century, atlases and insurance maps provided evidence of Alexandria's commercial and particularly industrial growth. For example, the 1877 *City Atlas of Alexandria* reported that Alexandria could ship Pennsylvania coal more inexpensively to San Francisco than the English could who had previously monopolized coal exports. James Green was one of Alexandria's leading coal dealers. Local manufacturers included the Mount Vernon Cotton Factory, breweries, tanneries which produced leather products, an iron bloomery set up by the Alexandria Ship Yard and Marine Railway, the W.S. Moore iron foundry that produced many metal products, the Aitchenson planning mill for lumber, and the Jamieson and Collins foundry which succeeded Smith's foundry in producing steam engines and machinery.⁶²





G.M. Hopkins' 1877 Alexandria Atlas showed that little had changed on the RTS property since the mid-1850s. James Green continued to own most of the site (but leased the lumber yard operations and occasionally the coal yard operations to others). He continued to own (and lease out) the 19th century buildings that stood on Wolfe Street and the Strand. The three, circa-1800 Union Street houses and the store and dwelling constructed by George Slacum on the corner of Union and Duke Streets were illustrated. Pioneer Mills functioned as a grain warehouse, and the coopers shop was marked as owned by "Russell," although John H. Russell lost possession of it and the mill two years earlier. A photograph taken approximately the same time as the Hopkins atlas was printed shows the back corner of Pioneer Mills, the rear of the coopers shop with the messhouse kitchen removed, stacked lumber in the area of Green's wood yard, and the houses along South Union Street.



Figure 18. Backyard of Pioneer Mills, n.d. This circa 1880 photograph shows the houses at 310-306 South Union Street (on the left), James Green's wood yard (center), the rear of the coopers shop with the kitchen addition removed, and a portion of the brick sheds (on right) southeast of the Pioneer Mills' main building. (Photographer Unknown, Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch)

In the late 1870s, the city attempted to lease the Pioneer Mills property as a flour mill to bring in income and provide jobs. The City Council received overtures from industrialists who requested that the city waive the ground rent and taxes and allow manufacturing other than for flour, but the council did not want to lose the income and turned down the offers. In 1880, the city offered the Pioneer Mills for sale, but received only one bid, and the property was withdrawn from sale. ⁶³

Finally, in desperation, the city offered the lease to the Potomac Manufacturing Company in 1881 with a twenty-year exemption from property taxes. Incorporated by the state of Virginia that same year, the Potomac Manufacturing Company purchased the lease on the Pioneer Mills and coopers shop with the plan to use the facilities for the purposes of iron smelting.⁶⁴

Potomac Manufacturing Company bought all of James Green's RTS property from Green's heirs that same year; this included the south half of the block (that was Lot 85), the 25-foot-wide-strip (part of Lot 77) that extended between Union Street and the river, and the lease on the city-owned parcels on Duke Street between the Union Street houses and the coopers shop. The company effectively owned most of the RTS block and also purchased property at the foot of Wolfe Street for their iron smelting operations.⁶⁵

In September 1882, the Washington *Evening Star* reported a revival underway on Alexandria's south waterfront:

The city authorities have under consideration considerable improvements at the Long Wharf property, foot of Duke street. Beyond, the Potomac Manufacturing company shows its work. The Pioneer mills, long dilapidated now looks as fresh as when first built. The iron works river front has notably improved, while below the two ship yards and the railway ferry make that end of the city its most busy portion. Except the unimproved river lots between Wolfe and Gibbon streets all that portion of the harborfront ever devoted to business is now in use again.⁶⁶

Over the next three years, the Potomac Manufacturing Company made several attempts to get their business underway. Part of their plans involved converting the Pioneer Mills into a grain elevator with a holding capacity of 500,000 bushels of grain. The iron works were established south of Wolfe Street. In 1883, the *Evening Star* reported that "The furnaces of the Potomac Manufacturing company are again at work, but no extensive operations are contemplated immediately;" it was beginning to sound like the same operational ups and downs experienced by the original Pioneer Mills owners. In February 1885, the Potomac Manufacturing Company contracted with workmen to fill in the portion of the riverfront between the Pioneer Mills and iron works. By the end of the year, Potomac Manufacturing Company restructured itself as the Virginia Iron Ship Building Company and transferred their property to the new company. ⁶⁷



Figure 19. Detail, 1891 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Plate 11 of the RTS property; there was no change from the 1885 Sanborn map. (Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch)

A Sanborn Fire Insurance Map depicts the buildings on and in the vicinity of the RTS property in 1885. Although surrounding blocks held industries such as the Moore iron foundry and the Aitchenson planing mill, the Pioneer Mill building served as a grain warehouse. The Mills' coopers shop seemingly was in poor condition with no identified use. The interior of the property contained no buildings, and its use was not labelled. Dwellings continued to stand along South Union and Wolfe Streets.

In 1887, it appears that Pioneer Mills was used for storage only. A small fire in the Mills in some lumber stored on the second story was soon extinguished; the building stored 40,000 bushels of grain.⁶⁸

The City Council grew desperate for income from their rental property that was leased to companies who were not profitable and who were not paying their rents and taxes. In May 1891, the City Council passed a resolution that the property leased to the Virginia Iron Shipbuilding Company on which taxes were due would be sold at public auction. The council excepted the Pioneer Mills property from this sale, and the city attorney was directed to sue the company to recover the ground rent for the mill.

1892-1900: The City Sells Their Property

In 1892, the ownership of various parcels of the RTS property changed, and it assumed a more industrial nature as a whole. J.C. Herbert Bryant purchased the lot on the southeast corner of Duke and South Union Streets. Bryant owned an extensive fertilizer operation on the north side of Duke Street.⁶⁹



Figure 20. Alexandria Gazette & Virginia Advertiser advertising insert for the Herbert Bryant Fertilizer operations., n.d. (Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch Vertical Files: Business & Industry)

The circa-1800 dwellings at 306-310 South Union were all purchased in 1892-1893 by Peter and Robert P. Aitcheson who owned a lumber yard on the west side of South Union Street and a planing mill that was located on the northwest corner of the Duke and Union Streets intersection.⁷⁰ In addition, the Aitchesons purchased the city's lease on property that was located east of 310 South Union Street on which they constructed a frame office and a small lumber yard.⁷¹



Figure 21. Photograph, 308 South Union Street, 1938. Taken before the building's demolition in 1938, this photograph shows the circa-1800 dwelling that was converted into an office circa 1910. (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey Record #VA-267, 1938)

In 1892, the city regained control of its property from the Virginia Iron Shipbuilding Company. The city council evidently sought to rid itself of the bother of renting the property at Point Lumley that it had owned since 1749. It accepted the offer of Haskins Wood Vulcanizing Company to purchase the city's interest in the Pioneer Mills. Haskins promised to install \$75,000 in machinery in the mill and turn out 200,000 feet of vulcanized timber per day.⁷²

The city separated the coopers shop lot from the Pioneer Mills property at this time. In October 1893, the City Council of Alexandria and William S. Moore conveyed to Annie L. Moore, William's wife, the parcel that contained the coopers shop together with the right to 2/5 of the interest in rents from the property.⁷³ Although the building continued to be known as the coopers shop, the Moores used it as a warehouse for their machine shop and iron foundry operation that was located on the north side of Duke Street and had been in existence since the 1850s. William Moore died in 1894; Annie continued to be involved in the business and later operated it with her sons as W.S. Moore Sons.⁷⁴

In 1893, on the southern half of the block, Haskins Wood Vulcanizing Company assumed control of the Virginia Iron Shipbuilding Company property that was sold to settle debts as part of the city's suit. In 1894, Haskins sold the property to the Real Estate and Improvement Company of Baltimore City, which would lease various portions of the property for the next forty years.⁷⁵

By 1896, the buildings that had stood on the northwest corner of Wolfe Street and the Strand were gone. Only the early 19th-century dwelling on Wolfe Street, now converted to an office and with an address of 718 Wolfe Street, remained standing. Of the dwellings that stood on the northwest corner of the block, only the circa-1800 brick house at 308 S. Union Street remained.⁷⁶ The Baltimore & Ohio (B&O) Railroad leased the southern half of the RTS block and built a freight house with a railroad siding in the southwest portion of the property.⁷⁷ Lumber storage was located between the freight house and the Moore's warehouse (former coopers shop). The "Formerly Pioneer Flour Mills" was vacant.⁷⁸





In September 1896, a cyclone swept through this area of Alexandria. The Alexandria Gazette reported that:

the southern portion of the Pioneer Mills collapsed from the wind, as did also that of the cooper shop on the opposite side of the Strand. The east end of the Vulcanizing works, at the foot of Wolfe street, was demolished, and the frame buildings at Agnew's shipyard, except the office were crushed. The roof of Capt. Herbert Bryan's storehouse, on duke street, running from Union to the Strand, was badly damaged.⁷⁹

In a somewhat different accounting of the event the *Evening Star* reported that "the Pioneer mills, unoccupied, was badly damaged, and the cooper shop just across the street was completely demolished, only the walls on one end being left standing."⁸⁰

In October 1896, Annie L. Moore obtained a building permit to repair the main building (coopers shop/warehouse that would become 2 Duke Street) and to add a one-story, brick, blacksmith shop.⁸¹ Phillip N. Dwyer was listed on the permit as the architect for the work.⁸² If the cyclone damage was as drastic as indicated by the *Evening Star*, the "repairs" most likely consisted of erecting new walls on the foundations of the coopers shop. The building now standing at 2 Duke Street is the same in footprint as the coopers shop, but does not have the same height or fenestration details as the 19th-century photographs of the coopers shop depicted.



Figure 23. This detail of the circa-1864 photo of the coopers shop's west elevation (on left) shows that the 2ndstory windows were as large as the first story and had a straight header. The 2014 photo of 2 Duke Street's west elevation (on right) shows that, although altered from the 1896 window conformation, the 2nd-story windows were smaller and had a rounded jack arch header. (1864 photographer unknown; History Matters, LLC 2014)

In the spring of 1897, the corner property at Duke and South Union Streets changed in appearance as Herbert Bryant constructed a fertilizer storage building. The one-story, post on the ground, frame building was 80-feet-by-90-feet in size.⁸³

Haskins Wood Vulcanizing Company apparently had as little luck bringing the Pioneer Mills into profitable operation as its previous owners. In May 1897, due to a suit with the Cleveland Shipbuilding Company, Haskins sold Pioneer Mills to Clarence Norment.⁸⁴

Norment's timing in buying the property in May was unfortunate. On June 3, 1897, the *Alexandria Gazette* headlines read "An Entire Block Destroyed—The Pioneer Mills a Mass of Ruins." A fire that started in the

Bryant fertilizer facilities between Duke and Prince Streets destroyed the buildings along the Strand between the two streets and left the Pioneer Mills as a shell with only the exterior walls standing. Norment was awarded the insurance money in November that year, but did not use the funds to repair the building.⁸⁵ It is not known whether Moore completed the repairs and construction on 2 Duke Street before the June 1897 fire that destroyed the Pioneer Mill. However, the charred roof timbers evident in the attic of 2 Duke Street indicate that the building was reconstructed by that time, and it was the new structure that survived the 1897 fire.



Figure 24. Pioneer Mills after the June 3, 1897 fire; photograph taken from Duke Street. (Unknown Photographer, Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch)

In 1899, Bryant Fertilizer Company purchased the Pioneer Mills parcel.⁸⁶ Within three years, the company began using the western portion of the mill building as a warehouse and left the rest of the mill in ruins.⁸⁷

1900 to 1940: The Industrialization of the Property

During the early decades of the 20th century, the RTS property turned almost exclusively to light industrial and warehouse uses, and this reflected the city's development as a whole. The 1902 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map indicates little change in the RTS property from 1896, although it did reflect the Bryant Fertilizer's use of a portion of the Pioneer Mills that remained standing. However, W.S. Moore Sons converted their warehouse at 2 Duke Street into a machine shop with attached blacksmith shop, which indicates an expansion of their manufacturing operations from the northwest corner of Duke and South Union Streets. ⁸⁸



Figure 25. 1902 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division; Courtesy of Thunderbird Archeology, a Division of Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.)

W. S. Moore Sons went bankrupt in 1907, and their machinery was auctioned in December of that year.⁸⁹ In 1912, the Emerson Engine Company acquired the machine shop at 2 Duke Street.⁹⁰ In 1904, as the Emerson Pump Company, it relocated from Baltimore because "we consider Alexandria one of the great shipping points of the country."⁹¹ The company constructed a building at the southwest corner of the Strand and Prince Street to manufacture the Emerson Steam Pump. Then, in 1908, as the Emerson Engine Company, it started manufacturing gasoline motors for speedboats and planes in the former Green furniture factory building that was located at the corner of Prince and Fairfax Streets.⁹²

In December 1910, the Emerson Engine Company acquired the Pioneer Mills property from the Bryant Fertilizer Company, demolished the remainder of the mill building, and built a \$50,000 boat engine manufacturing plant. In 1912, Emerson acquired 2 Duke Street from the Moores.⁹³ According to the 1912 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Emerson operated a marine engine manufacturing shop in the 2 Duke Street building as an extension of the operations in the new building where Pioneer Mills had once stood.



Figure 26. 1912 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division; Courtesy of Thunderbird Archeology, a Division of Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.)

The 1912 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map also showed two major changes on the southern half of the RTS block, although the property continued in the ownership of the Real Estate and Improvement Company of Baltimore City. The first change was that the Texas Company (later Texaco) took over the B&O Railroad freight depot to use as a petroleum storage depot. It also leased all of the former railroad property east to the river except for a lot on the southeast corner of the block and constructed a wood pier with approach about 180 feet north of Wolfe Street (approximately in the middle of the block's waterfront). The plank pier supported on timbers and piling was five feet wide extending east from the bulkhead out to the "Port Wardens Line" where it ended in a twenty-foot-by-ten-foot landing area. Two years later, the Texas Company applied for a permit to build a pump house; it and three oil tanks stood east of the depot.⁹⁴

The second property change indicated by the 1912 Sanborn map was the construction of the Herfurth Bros. operations along Wolfe Street. In 1909, Herfurth Bros., an artificial stone manufacturer, took over the 718 Wolfe Street building and added a sizable structure for manufacturing. Their advertisement in the *Alexandria Gazette* announced that they "have opened a concrete stone yard and equipped it with the best machines on the market for manufacturing concrete stone and are prepared [to] furnish all kinds of building blocks, caps,

UNICH STREET

sills, lintels, etc." In January 1912, Herfurth Brothers constructed a one-story office and a 16-foot-by-8-foot, cement block steaming oven on their property.⁹⁵

Figure 27. Building Permit Application, January 24, 1912, The Texas Company. Plat showing the railroad siding that ran to the Texas Company (former B&O) warehouse and wharf together with the plans for a new wharf. (Alexandria Library, Special Collections

In 1914, the Emerson Engine Company sold the Pioneer Mills property. The machine shop on the site of Pioneer Mills was leased and converted to airplane manufacture first by A.S. Richardson of Lowell, Massachusetts and then by Captain A.W. Briggs of the Alexandria Aircraft Corporation. Both constructed hydroplanes ("hydroaeroplanes" and "flying boats"), so the location was ideal for their purposes. Neither venture lasted long. In 1917, the Safety First Manufacturing Company, Inc. purchased the property. Although they leased it to the Alexandria Aircraft Corporation, little information has come to light about Safety First; they sold the property in 1923.⁹⁶



Figure 28: Circa-1915 photo of interior of the airplane factory on the site of Pioneer Mills, possibly when operated by the Alexandria Aircraft Corporation. (Unknown Photographer, Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch)

In 1917, Herfurth Engine & Machine Company acquired 2 Duke Street from Emerson Engine and added a storage shed close to the property's south side. Incorporated in Alexandria in 1914, the Herfurth Engine Company was chartered for the purpose of "manufacturing and dealing in engines, automobiles, machinery, etc." by Rudolph, Sallie, and Hugo Herfurth. From June 1915 through 1916, *Evening Star* advertisements located the Herfurth Engine Company at the foot of Duke Street, possibly leasing from commissioners for Emerson Engine Company until it purchased the property in January 1917. In 1918, the Herfurths' acquired the Aitcheson property which included 306-310 South Union Street and the parcel east of 306 South Union Street when the Aitcheson's declared bankruptcy.⁹⁷ Through 1922, the Herfurth Engine Company newspaper advertisements list their products as radiators, heating coils, pipe fittings, eye beams, engines, motors, concrete mixer, ice making machinery, boat propellers, and marine engine supplies.

In the early 1920s, the Bryant Fertilizer Company merged with the Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company; in 1922 the company moved its offices to Baltimore and Richmond. In 1923, the Bryant Fertilizer Company sold its parcels located between South Union Street and 2 Duke Street to the Sales Corporation. There is no evidence of any activities on these parcels until 1938, when the Sales Corporation, in receivership, sold the property to Southern Iron Works.⁹⁸



Figure 29. 1921 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Plate 11. (Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch)

Purchased by members of the Moore family in 1923, the Pioneer Mills site was conveyed to the Blake Palm Elevator Company in 1924 before being repurchased by A.L. Hawse and Warner Moore in 1926. The *Washington Post* noted that "the largest single item recorded was the sale of the old Pioneer mills property on the river front at the foot of Duke Street, which brought \$55,000."⁹⁹

In 1927, the newspaper reported that "Alexandria is soon to have an airplane factory. It will be in the old Pioneer Mills building, at the foot of Duke street...Henry A. Berliner, head of the Potomac Flying Service, which operates at Hoover Field, is the promoter. Henry A. Berliner developed a light, three-passenger monoplane that he started manufacturing as the Berliner Aircraft Company. Thirty-five workmen were expected to produce two monoplanes per week with parts made locally except for the motors. In 1929 the Berliner Aircraft Company relocated to outside Baltimore.¹⁰⁰



Figure 30. 1930 Aerial Photograph. (Courtesy of City of Alexandria, Office of Historic Alexandria)

Two fires caused major changes in the RTS property in the early 1930s. In February 1931, "the unoccupied old freight warehouse and office of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company formerly occupied by the Texas Oil Company" was destroyed by fire.¹⁰¹ In 1932, the Emerson Engine Company plant that was located on the former Pioneer Mills site and had been purchased a year earlier by the Hanover Realty Corporation, was consumed by fire.¹⁰² The only remnant of the building was a brick wall on the Strand side of the former building. The site would remain in ruins until 1944, when it was purchased by the Robinson Terminal Warehouse Corporation (RTWC). The 1937 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map showed that only three buildings remained on the RTS property, and they were all owned by the Herfurth Engine and Machine Company—2 Duke Street, the storage shed to its south, and the office at 308 South Union Street.



Figure 31. 1937 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map. (Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch)

1937-2000: Robinson Terminal Watehouse Corporation

Between 1937 and 1941, Southern Iron Works acquired all of the parcels on the south side of Duke Street between South Union Street and the Strand including 308 S. Union Street and 2 Duke Street. Formed in 1933 by brothers Thomas and Carlyle R. Boguess, Southern Iron Works was "one of Northern Virginias leading industries dealing in fabricated structural steel and iron products." Initially headquartered at 1 King Street, Southern Iron Works moved to the RTS property in 1938. ¹⁰³

On the RTS property, Southern Iron Works constructed a new building for fabricating structural and miscellaneous ironwork at the corner of Duke and South Union Streets where the Bryant Fertilizer warehouse had stood. With both one and two-story sections, the 50-foot-by-118-foot building stood on a concrete foundation with brick walls and steel sash windows. Southern Iron Works demolished the circa-1800 brick building at 308 South Union and constructed the two-story section fronting on South Union Street with the attached, barrel-vaulted-roof-section extending east along Duke Street. In 1941, Southern Iron Works purchased the 2 Duke Street property and converted the building to office space.¹⁰⁴


Figure 32. Plans, Shop & Office for Southern Iron Works, Union & Duke Streets, Alexandria, VA, 1937. (Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch)

Southern Iron Works' activities on the north half of the RTS property were mirrored by those of Clarence J. and T. Wilfred Robinson on the south half of the site. Doing business as Geo. H. Robinson Sons in 1937, and then as Robinson Terminal Warehouse Corporation (RTWC) in 1939, the Robinsons descended from merchants who occupied the Alexandria waterfront south of King Street from the 1850s.¹⁰⁵ In 1936, while operating his coal and oil importation business on the wharf between Prince and Duke Streets, Clarence Robinson developed the idea of importing, warehousing, and distributing paper for the local newspapers and other print outlets. In 1938, after the *Washington Post* expressed interest, Clarence and his brother purchased the property on the north side of Wolfe Street between South Union Street and the river from the Real Estate and Improvement Company of Baltimore City. The next year the brothers conveyed the property to the Robinson Terminal Warehouse Corporation (RTWC).¹⁰⁶

In 1939, the City Council passed a resolution that abandoned any interest the city might have in the Strand from the north side of Wolfe Street northerly for a distance of 213 feet and 11 inches—the width of the original Lot 85.¹⁰⁷ This allowed RTWC to close the former alley and build on that land.



Figure 33. First RTWC warehouse constructed in 1940 along Wolfe Street with the 1948 brick addition on the corner with South Union Street. (History Matters, LLC; December 2013)

In the fall of 1940, RTWC received building permits to pour concrete footings and to construct a steel-sidingon-steel, 100-foot-by-380-foot warehouse along Wolfe Street. This first warehouse building was purchased from a fertilizer manufacturing plant in Petersburg, Virginia and was reassembled to fit the parcel on the southwest corner of the RTS site by Robinson's assistant, Richard Cheeseman.¹⁰⁸ Positioned close to the water on the east end, the recycled warehouse did not extend all the way to South Union Street.



Figure 34. 1941 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division; Courtesy of Thunderbird Archeology, a Division of Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.)

Through the 1940s, RTWC acquired more parcels on the RTS block and expanded their facilities. In 1941, RTWC constructed its second warehouse on the north side of the first warehouse. This warehouse extended from South Union Street to even with the east elevation of the first warehouse. In 1944, RTWC acquired the Pioneer Mills site and constructed a one-story, brick maintenance building there.¹⁰⁹



Figure 35. Circa-1944 RTWC brick maintenance building. (History Matters, LLC; December 2013)

In 1948, the corporation constructed a brick and cinderblock addition to the west elevation of the first warehouse, bringing it in line with South Union Street and the second warehouse. The South Union Street elevations included loading docks so that materials shipped in by railroad could be unloaded directly into those warehouses. In a 1949 aerial photograph, it appears that Robinson Terminal filled in more of the waterfront to the east of the warehouses and constructed the small building at the new southeast corner of the property. This utility building served as a vehicle repair shop, employee locker room, and office. The one-story, flat-roofed, brick building was composed of four parts of differing heights.¹¹⁰



Figure 36. Small brick maintenance building which was completed before 1949. The small section on the right was reduced (or rebuilt) from a larger wing that contained locker rooms. (History Matters, LLC; April 2014)



Figure 37. 1949 aerial photograph. By 1949, the RTWC property contained two large warehouses, the brick maintenance building, and the small brick maintenance building on the southeast corner between the 1940 warehouse and the river. (United States Geological Survey)

During World War II (1941-1945), Southern Iron Works held a federal government contract to provide structural iron for plants that produced the atomic bomb. At the end of the war, when it switched to civilian work, the company employed 30 men; unlike other manufacturers that had to lay off war workers, Southern Iron Works' business was so successful that it hired additional workers.¹¹¹

In the 1950s, Southern Iron Works made alterations and repairs to their office at 2 Duke Street: in 1952, they replaced a lintel over the center window on the 1st floor, relocated a non-bearing partition, and installed a suspended celotex ceiling; also in 1952, their raised the north elevation (façade) wall approximately four feet and applied one inch of architectural concrete; and in 1953 they altered the first floor to add office space. In

1954, the company received approval from the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors for the rezoning of an area near Shirley Highway (I-395) and Edsall Road and construction of a \$500,000 steel prefabricating plant. It was completed in 1955, and the RTS property was sold to Duke and Union Corporation in 1956. ¹¹²



Figure 38. 2 Duke Street façade applied in 1952 by Southern Iron Works. (Photograph from the 1972 City of Alexandria property tax record card)



Figure 39. 1959 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division; Courtesy of Thunderbird Archeology, a Division of Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.)

By 1957, RTWC assumed control of the Southern Iron Works parcels even though the Duke and Union Corporation maintained ownership until 1966.¹¹³ RTWC repurposed the Duke and South Union Street corner iron works building to store paper and constructed a new warehouse between that building and the circa-1945 building to its south.¹¹⁴ After removing its western addition, the company began using 2 Duke Street as an office.



Figure 40. West elevation of 2 Duke Street on the south end. This photograph shows where Moore's 1896 blacksmith shop addition was attached to the building (white paint on the building). RTWC took over the building's operation in 1957, removed the addition, and added the small vestibule (painted white). (History Matters, LLC; December 2013)

In 1962, the RTWC applied for a building permit to combine the 1938 and circa-1945 buildings into one interior space by raising the roofs and installing new footings, steel posts, and corrugated metal siding. Parts of the Southern Iron Works building are evident today: on the exterior, the brick first story of the Southern Iron Works building with brick-filled windows and doors is visible; on the interior, the metal industrial windows and doors remain in place on the corner building and the two-story, brick office still stands.¹¹⁵



Figures 41 & 42. Interior of RTWC warehouse at corner of South Union and Duke Streets. When RTWC acquired the former Southern Iron Works property, it used the 1938 fabricating building with its two-story section along South Union Street (remains on left) and barrel-vaulted, one-story building (ghost marks from the barrel-shaped roof are seen on the brick structure, and the Duke Street elevation is seen on right). In 1962, the RTWC spanned these under one roof. (History Matters, LLC; April 2014)

In 1966, the Washington Post purchased an 85 percent interest in the RTWC. Clarence Robinson retired, and Richard Cheeseman became president.¹¹⁶

By 1969, the city made plans to remove what were now the Southern Railway's Union Street train tracks north of Prince Street. In November, an *Alexandria Gazette* article noted that "the Southern cars still will ease through parts of downtown Alexandria, across busy Washington St., through the dark Wilkes Street tunnel, past the area that used to be called Tunnel Town, and up Union as far as Prince. Chiefly, it will serve the Robinson Terminal warehouse complex and other warehouses at the south end of Old Town."¹¹⁷ Within ten years, all train service to Robinson Terminal ceased.

Within the RTWC complex, one of the last changes to the buildings occurred in 1972 when the company constructed a new locker room in the east end of Warehouse #1, the warehouse that stands on Wolfe Street.

The locker room has brick siding and an entrance in the east elevation. The former locker space in the westernmost section of the circa-1949 utility building was demolished and rebuilt in a smaller configuration or was cut down to its present size; it is currently used as an office.¹¹⁸

In 1986, RTWC constructed parks at the ends of Wolfe and Duke Streets as part of the settlement agreement with the United States and the City of Alexandria over the waterfront boundaries. That year, RTWC also demolished a small brick building that stood at the northeast corner of the circa-1949 brick utility building. In 1989-1990, RTWC renovated 2 Duke Street by installing a new door, windows, and a new brick façade on the north elevation.¹¹⁹ Since then, waterfront improvements to the RTS block have included a new bulkhead.



Figure 43. North elevation of 2 Duke Street after the 1990 façade renovation. (History Matters, LLC; December 2013)

The RTS block sits at the southern end of Alexandria's early waterfront—a waterfront that was commercial and industrial in nature from its founding in 1749 through most of the 20th century. Like much of the waterfront, the property includes areas that were banked out to fill in parts of the Potomac River. As a microcosm of Alexandria's commerce and industry, the RTS block reflected the city's periods of economic prosperity, stagnation, and depression in the variety of dwellings, warehouses, stores, storage yards, and manufacturing plants that occupied the property at various times. The history of the property is a cycle of building, altering, demolishing, and building again as succeeding renters and owners attempted to make a living at the site. It contained some of the most ambitious and innovative commercial and industrial efforts to take place within the City of Alexandria.

While the RTWC complex of buildings contains few of the prior structures, the building at 2 Duke Street best represents the site's history. Most likely built on the foundations of a pre-Civil War coopers shop that was connected to a major waterfront landmark (Pioneer Mills), 2 Duke Street participated in the industrial uses of the property and later became an office for two of the major industries there—Southern Iron Works and RTWC.

End Notes

⁶The Robinson Terminal South property's chain of title was compiled by Ted Pulliam during his research on the property for Alexandria Archaeology. We are indebted to Ted for his diligent work and to Alexandria Archaeology for their permission to use his material. Notes on 1 January 1794 deed ECH) p. 419, Ethelyn Cox collection, Duke –River and 100, Box 287B #4, Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch.

⁷ Ethelyn Cox, *Historic Alexandria Street by Street* (Alexandria, VA: Historic Alexandria Foundation, 1976), p. xiii.

⁸ Harrison, p. 409.

⁹ Newspaper References to Union Street 1784-1789, Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch, Vertical File: Historic Property/Union Street.

¹⁰ Alexandria Deed Book B, p. 153, June 10, 1785; Pulliam, "Gunpowder…," p. 2-3; 1796 Mutual Assurance Society policy for Robert T. Hooe, Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch. The warehouse was 72' X 44'(along Duke Street); *The Virginia Journal & Alexandria Advertiser*, February 3, 1785.

¹¹ Donald Sweig, "1649-1800," Fairfax County, Virginia, A History (Fairfax, VA: Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, 1978), p. 128. This newspaper became the Alexandria Gazette.

¹² Harrison, p. 410.

¹³ Fleming's ad in the *Virginia Journal* on March 2, 1786 noted that he had divided Lot 77 into seven lots
"being part of that lot where the Subscriber now lives" and was leasing them. Alexandria Deed Book B, p. 226. Thomas and Betty Fleming lease to Robert Townshend Hooe and Richard Harrison, February 21, 1786. Alexandria Deed Book E, p. 419, January 1, 1794; Alexandria Deed Book R, p. 255, August 11, 1808.
¹⁴ Alexandria Deed Book D, p. 469, Dec 11, 1792.

¹⁵ Robert H. Wilson, *The Story of Old Town & "Gentry Row" in Alexandria* (Alexandria, VA: Norma W. Dempsey, n.d.), pp. 27-28. Hartshorne's success was evident in his appointment as a trustee of the Alexandria Academy (Wilson, p. 27-28); in being treasurer of the Patowmack Company and selling shares in his store; his real estate investments in town (Wilson, p. 30); keeping the subscription books for the Little River Turnpike (Artemel, p. 192); and owning a flour mill west of town [Robert L. Madison, *Walking with Washington* (Baltimore, MD: Gateway Press, Inc., 2005), p. 74.]

¹⁶ Alexandria Deed Book F, p. 309, Sept 8, 1795. In the 1803 map of Alexandria, the Kirk wharf was labelled as the Hamilton wharf.

¹⁷ G. Terry Sharrer, "Commerce and Industry," from *Alexandria: A Towne In Transition, 1800-1900*, ed. by John D. Macoll (Alexandria, VA: Alexandria Bicentennial Commission & Alexandria Historical Society, 1977), p. 18. By 1800, five bakeries supplied the town's chandlers and offered loaf bread to households.
¹⁸ Alexandria Deed Book D, p. 413, March 3, 1791; Alexandria Deed Book D, p. 469, December 11. 1792; Cox, *Historic Alexandria Virginia Street by Street*, p. 77.

¹⁹ Artemel, p. 155, 174; Harrison, p. 509; Sharrer. p. 21; Thomas Twining as reported in Harrison, p. 417 (fn. 49).

²⁰ 1796 Mutual Assurance Society policy for George Slacum, Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch. George Slacum was a ship's captain and merchant who traded with the West Indies and Portugal and owned a warehouse along the waterfront between Prince and Duke Streets in the early 19th century. Slacum invested

¹ Ted Pulliam, "Robinson Terminal South Overview—Highlights," Alexandria Archaeology Vertical Files.

² Ted Pulliam, "Gunpowder, Flour, Fire and Heirs: A Waterfront block from Duke to Wolfe Streets," *The Alexandria Chronicle*, Fall 2007, p. 2.

³ Andrew Burnaby, *Travels through the Middle Settlements*, as quoted in Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William* (Berryville, VA: Chesapeake Book Company, 1964), p. 416 (fn.45)

⁺ Minutes of Town Trustees Meeting, August 17, 1761. From Ethelyn Cox Collection, Duke—River and 100, Box 187B #4, Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch.

⁵ Janice Artemel, "1800-1840," Fairfax County, Virginia, A History (Fairfax, VA: Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, 1978), p. 178.

the money made from trade into Alexandria real estate which included, at various times, dwellings that he constructed on South Fairfax Street, South Lee Street, Prince Street, and Wilkes Street. Slacum resided on a small farm on the Leesburg road (King Street; Route 7) about three miles from Alexandria at the time of his death in 1810. [Cox, *Historic Alexandria Street by Street*, pp. 42, 51, 82, 116-118, 126, 190-191; *Alexandria Daily Gazette*, October 15, 1810 & April 11, 1812]

²¹ Alexandria Deed Book I, pp. 287, 419, & 466; Alexandria Deed Book K, p. 284. Subsequent deeds for the parcels known as Southern Iron Works #4,5,&6 in Pulliam's chain of title (Appendix A) mention houses and their rear elevations can be seen in the photograph of the backyard of Pioneer Mills (Figure 13).

²² 1796 Mutual Assurance Society policies for Robert T. Hooe and William Hartshorne. Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch.

²³ 1796 Mutual Assurance Society policy for William Hartshorne. Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch.

²⁴ Cox, pp. xiv & xvi; Artemel, p. 155.

²⁵ Sharrer, pp. 18-19; Artemel, p. 184.

²⁶ 1803 Mutual Assurance Society policy for William Hartshorne, Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch; Alexandria Deed Book K, p. 92, July 1, 1805; *Alexandria Daily Gazette, Commercial & Political*, October 26, 1810; *Alexandria Gazette*, April 3, 1824; Sharrer, p. 26; Alexandria Deed Book N-2, p. 168, September 8, 1823. In 1823, Patterson was forced to sell the parcel.

²⁷ Pulliam 2006, p. 10 (Alexandria Gazette, October 14, 1809); Alexandria Daily Gazette, Commercial & Political, May 8, 1810.

²⁸ Alexandria Will Book 1, p. 132, March 11, 1811.

²⁹ Alexandria Deed Book F-2, p. 316, May 16, 1814; *Alexandria Gazette, Commercial and Political*, November 11, 1813; *Alexandria Gazette & Daily Advertiser*, May 23, 1818. Among Deane's other activities, he was on the Alexandria Common Council and was president of the board of directors of the Little River Turnpike Company. Deane's name also appears as Dean.

³⁰ Alexandria Deed Book F-2, p. 316, May 16, 1814.

³¹ Alexandria Gazette, October 7, 1818; Miller, Prince to Duke Street Part II, Fireside Sentinel Nov/Dec 1993, Vol. VII, No. 6.

³² Anne Newport Royall, *Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the United States by a traveller.* New Haven printed for the author, 1826. (NY: Johnson Reprint Corp.) p. 106, Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch Vertical File: Travel Accounts.

³³ Alexandria Deed Book G-3, p. 280, October 26, 1825; Alexandria Deed Book P-2, p. 331, March 6, 1826; Alexandria Deed Book R-2, p. 60, April 5, 1828.

³⁴ Alexandria Gazette April 7, 1828, December 2, 1828, January 20, 1830, June 25, 1830 and August 9, 1830. ³⁵ Alexandria Deed Book S-2, p. 107, January 4, 1830 (Also spelled Daingerfield); Alexandria Gazette July 23, 1833, April 15, 1834, July 26, 1834, November 8, 1827, March 5, 1829, and January 14, 1839; Artemel, p. 209. ³⁶ Harrison, p. 418 (fn 53)

³⁷ Sharrer, p. 27.

³⁸ Artemel, p. 173

³⁹ Alexandria Gazette, Aug 21, 1843.

⁴⁰ Artemel, p. 209; Sharrer, p. 28.

⁴¹ Oscar P. Fitzgerald, *The Green Family of Cabinetmakers: An Alexandria Institution, 1817-1887*, catalog for exhibition at The Lyceum April through November 1986 (Alexandria, VA: The Alexandria Association, 1986), pp. 5-7. In 1850, the cabinet factory employed 45 males and 15 females.

⁴² Fitzgerald, p. 7; Ames W. Williams, "Transportation," *Alexandria: A Towne In Transition, 1800-1900* (Alexandria, VA: Alexandria Bicentennial Commission & Alexandria Historical Society, 1977), p. 55; *Alexandria Gazette*, September 12, 1845.

⁴³ "Wilkes Street Tunnel," Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch, Vertical File: Historic Property— Wilkes St. "The tunnel linked the railroad to Alexandria's commercial wharves. Located nearby was the Smith and Perkins Foundry, an ironworks which manufactured the O&A's first locomotive, the Pioneer." "Shortly after the end of the Civil War, the old O&A RR., along with several other Virginia railroads, were incorporated into Washington City, Virginia Midland, and Great Southern Railroad controlled by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad."

⁴⁴ Fitzgerald, p. 8-10; *Evening Star*, January 10, 1855. These may have been the old Hartshorne warehouses. ⁴⁵ *Alexandria Gazette*, March 11, 1854 and May 23, 1854.

⁴⁶ Alexandria Gazette, June 23, 1854, September 2, 1854, and December 4, 1854; Washington, DC Daily Evening Star, July 8, 1854, August 16, 1854, and August 29, 1854.

⁴⁷ Alexandria Gazette, February 13 1857. Developed by the mill's superintendent, J.R. Howell, the grain elevator was evidently remarkable enough that he applied for space to exhibit the elevator in the 1857 Fair of the Mechanics Metropolitan Institute in Washington, D.C. In 1857, Howell invented a new "direct motion and reaction Water Wheel" for which he obtained a patent. [Alexandria Gazette, April 20, 1857]

⁴⁸ *Alexandria Gazette*, November 13, 1856. Samuel Bentz of Maryland developed the process. The hulls were then used to make paper and as a substitute for hops in manufacturing beer.

⁴⁹ Alexandria Gazette, September 19, 1855. In October 1855, the Alexandria Gazette reported that the mills had received about 160,000 bushels of wheat during that growing season[Alexandria Gazette, October 27, 1855] ⁵⁰ Alexandria Gazette, July 18, 1857 and December 2, 1857, for example.

⁵¹ Alexandria Gazette, April 4, 1856 and July 3, 1856. Located at 2 Duke Street, the Cooper's shop stood until a cyclone destroyed a large part of it in 1896.

⁵² Alexandria Gazette, June 28, 1859, July 7, 1859, and June 1, 1860; *Evening Star*, September 21, 1860. ⁵³ Sharrer, p. 28; *Evening Star*, March 27, 1860.

 ⁵⁴ Alexandria Gazette, May 13, 1862; Circuit Court Case January 1868 James Green vs. Fire Insurance Company of Alexandria, Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch Vertical File: Cabinetmaking.
 ⁵⁵ "Chiefly About War-Matters" by Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Atlantic Monthly*, July 1862 [as printed in *Civil War Times Illustrated*, November 1983), Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch Vertical File: Travel Account.s.

⁵⁶ Jeremy J. Harvey, Oaupied City, Portrait of Civil War Alexandria, Virginia (Alexandria, VA: Alexandria Convention & Visitors Association, 2003), pp. 20-21.

⁵⁷ Charles Magnus, "Bird's Eye View of Alexandria, Va." Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division. ⁵⁸ Harvey, p. 21. The view was completed before stockade fences were built around the wharfs in 1863 to prevent Confederate raids.

⁵⁹ *The Cripple.* Vol. 1, No 5, November 5, 1864. Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch Vertical File: Civil War.

⁶⁰ Alexandria Gazette, October 5, 1865 and October 31, 1865. Alexandria Gazette, March 1, 1871. "Mr. Simpson...cited the Pioneer Mills as an example on which taxes had been exerapted [sic], and which, at present time, lies idle."

⁶¹ Alexandria Deed Book 5, p. 139; *Alexandria Gazette*, September 26 and 28, 1872, March 14, 1874 and May 15, 1874, and May 22, 1875.

62 Sharrer, p.32; 1877 Atlas of Alexandria, G.M. Hopkins and Company.

63 Washington Post, November 14, 1878, November 15, 1878, May 7, 1880, and June 9, 1881.

⁶⁴ Sharrer, p. 33. Potomac Manufacturing Company was headed by John B. Archer and investors from Alexandria, New York, Massachusetts, Indiana, and Kentucky.

⁶⁵ Washington Post, July 6, 1881. By September 1881, the Washington Evening Star reported that the mill was "being fitted up as a vast work shop." [Evening Star, September 17, 1881]

⁶⁶ Evening Star, September 25, 1882.

⁶⁷ Washington Post, September 10, 1883. The article insinuates that the City Council the potential uses of the Pioneer Mills to dealing with grain. *Evening Star*, November 17, 1883 and October 2, 1885; *Washington Post*, February 5, 1885.

68 Washington Post, March 23, 1888.

⁶⁹ Alexandria Deed Book 28, p. 226, February 23, 1892. According to the "Herbert Bryant, Manufacturer of Fertilizers" insert in a *Alexandria Gazette & Virginia Advertiser* (n.d.): "The fertilizer works of Herbert Bryant were established in 1873, immediately in the rear of his agricultural warerooms and retail store; the plaster mill, and bone mill, and the fertilizing department was at the foot of Queen street. The works were removed to the present site in 1891-2. The present plant fronts on Union street, on both sides of Duke 184 feet runs from there to the river taking in both sides of the square, and running to the river, 250 feet from Union street. His crib wharf with dirt floor is 178 feet long by 36 feet wide where he has deep water floating vessels with a draught of 20 feet. The property runs up The Strand to a distance of 184 feet. [description of fertilizer manufacturing] The size of the bagging room is 30 feet wide by 100 feet deep, and it fronts on the Union street tracks, where the goods are bagged up and loaded immediately on the cars by a tramway from the factory...His agricultural implements, wholesale and retail, garden feed and grass seed, and fertilizing warehouse is at 117 King street. He established business at that place January 1, 1866..." Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch, Vertical File: Business & Industry (misc.).

⁷⁰ Alexandria Deed Book 28, p. 229, July 1, 1892 (306 S. Union); Alexandria Deed Book 30, p. 375, July 6, 1893 (308 S. Union); Alexandria Deed Book 29, p. 49, October 28, 1892 (310 S. Union).

⁷¹ Alexandria Deed Book 31, p. 252, October 25, 1893; Alexandria Deed Book 67, p. 97, July 1, 1918 (mentions frame office and lumber yard in description).

⁷² Evening Star May 25, 1892; Alexandria Gazette, September 17, 1892 and September 28, 1892; Alexandria Deed Book 38, p. 441, November 16, 1892.

⁷³ Alexandria Deed Book 30, page 505, October 25, 1893. In an 1883 Alexandria business directory, W. S. Moore is listed as the "proprietor of the 'Old Dominion Works,' Nos. 59 and 65 South Union street, is prepared to furnished [sic] at the shortest notice and upon reasonable terms, all kinds of Machinery, Iron and Brass Castings, Wrought and Cast Iron Fences, Mill work, &c." F.L. Brockett and Geo. W. Rock, *A Concise History of the City of Alexandria, V.A., from 1669 to 1883 with a Directory of Reliable Business Houses in the City* (Alexandria, VA: Gazette Book and Job Office, 1883), p. 64. A September 6, 1888 *Alexandria Gazette* advertisement notes that W.S. Moore was a "Machinist, Iron and Brass Founder, Shipsmith and Blacksmith (Old Dominion Works)".

⁷⁴ Alexandria Gazette, April 9, 1894, pg. 3; Evening Star, March 24, 1894. Alexandria Gazette, April 9, 1894: 'The will of the late W.S. Moore was admitted to probate and Mrs. A.L. Moore qualified as executrix. 'The deceased left his property to his widow.

⁷⁵ Alexandria Deed Book 30, p. 119, April 6, 1893; Alexandria Deed Book 33, p. 128 and Deed Book 45, p. 155, June 9, 1894.

⁷⁶ However, the 1927 deed for 306-310 South Union notes that each lot contained a single brick building. Alexandria Deed Book 91, p. 368.

⁷⁷ After the Civil War, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad gained control of the successor to the Orange and Alexandria Railroad; in 1875, a railroad car ferry was constructed at the foot of Wilkes Street, which the B&O Railroad continued to use until 1906. Their freight business in Alexandria was substantial in this period, so they leased land on the RTS property and constructed a freight house. Williams, "Transportation," p. 62. ⁷⁸ 1896 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Plate 11.

⁷⁹ Alexandria Gazette, September 30, 1896.

⁸⁰ Evening Star, September 30, 1896.

⁸¹Alexandria Building Permit, October 15, 1896, Alexandria Archives and Records Center. April 9, 1894 Alexandria Gazette: The will of the late W.S. Moore was admitted to probate and Mrs. A. [Annie] L. Moore qualified as executrix. The deceased left his property to his widow.

⁸² Born in Alexandria, Dwyer practiced in Washington, D.C. where he designed and often acted as the construction contractor for over 250 dwellings and ecclesiastical buildings between 1883 and 1894. In 1895 he moved to Alexandria, where he died in 1897. John E. Wells and Robert E. Dalton, *The Virginia Architects* 1835-1955 (Richmond, VA: New South Architectural Press, 1997), p. 127; *Washington, D.C. Architects*

Biographies database, Historic Preservation Office, D.C. Office of Planning, Washington, DC; Washington Post, June 11, 1897.

⁸³ April 15, 1897 building permit; City of Alexandria Archives and Records Center.

84 Alexandria Gazette, May 31, 1897.

⁸⁵ Alexandria Gazette, June 3, 1897 and November 22, 1897.

⁸⁶ "Alexandria News, May 20, 1899 in The Washington Post, May 21, 1899, p.8.

87 1902 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Plate 11.

⁸⁸ Annie L. Moore died in 1900 and bequeathed the 2 Duke Street parcel to her sons Norman H., William W., Joseph T., T. Alton, and Charles W. Moore. Alexandria Will Book 2, p. 394, October 10, 1900.

⁸⁹ Alexandria Gazette, 17 Dec 1907. The newspaper notice advertised the auction of W.S. Moore & Sons facilities on December 19, 1907.

90 Alexandria Deed Book 62, page 135, June 28, 1912.

⁹¹ Miller, Prince to Duke Part II (cont'd), *Fireside Sentinel* Jan/Feb 1994, Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 10-11. ⁹² *Alexandria Gazette*, March 3, 1909 and July 5, 1910; *Washington Post*, November 20, 1910. The Virginia Corporation Commission granted the Emerson Engine Company a charter to buy, sell, and manufacture all kinds of engines in 1909, and, within a year the company had an annual pay roll of more than \$50,000, a sizeable number of workers for the time.

⁹³Alexandria Deed Book 60, p. 401; T. Michael Miller, "Alexandria and the Aircraft Industry," in Alexandria Archaeology Volunteer Newsletter *Moments in Time*, July 1997, Vol. XV No. 7; Alexandria Deed Book 62, p. 135, June 28, 1912.

⁹⁴ January 24, 1912 Building Permit with map, Alexandria Archives and Records Center. The map indicates that the B&O Railroad retained a lot on the southeast corner of the block, although this is not depicted in the 1912 Sanborn map. October 7, 1914 Building Permit, Alexandria Archives and Records Center. No permit was located for the three storage tanks, but they are depicted in the 1921 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Plate 11.

⁹⁵ Alexandria Gazette, September 14, 1909; January 22, 1912 Building Permit, Alexandria Archives and Records Center.

⁹⁶ Alexandria Deed Book 63, p. 596, July 21, 1914; Alexandria Deed Book 66, p. 97, April 11, 1917; Alexandria Deed Book 77, p. 101, July 5, 1923. *Washington Post*, June 21, 1915: "Several thousand persons from land and water yesterday viewed the big Richardson hydroaeroplane, which was constructed in the old Pioneer Mills building, foot of Duke street...A.S. Richardson of Lowell, Mass., the builder of the craft, said to be the largest heavier-than-air machine ever constructed in this country..." *Washington Post*, June 28, 1915: "Richardson hydroaeroplane, now at anchor in the Pioneer Mills dock..."; storm on 7/20 wrecked the plane at the dock. *Washington Post*, May 16, 1918: company organized by Capt. A.W. Briggs now called Alexandria Aircraft Corporation leased Pioneer Mills property to manufacture "flying boats" (planes).

⁹⁷ Alexandria Deed Book 66, pp. 41 & 76, January 13 & 14, 1917; *Evening Star*, September 19, 1914, p. 20. No information has been located about the relationship of the Herfurth Bros. artificial stone company to the Herfurth Engine & Machine Company. Alexandria Deed Book 66, p. 76, January 14, 1917. Alexandria Deed Book 67, p. 97, July 1, 1918.

⁹⁸ Evening Star, July 15, 1922; Alexandria Deed Book 78, p. 373, July 23, 1923; Alexandria Deed Book 141, p. 60, January 27, 1938.

⁹⁹ Alexandria Deed Book 82, p. 256, February 24, 1924; Alexandria Deed Book 88, p. 570, November 8, 1926; *Washington Post*, August 25, 1926.

¹⁰⁰ Washington Post, August 16, 1927; T. Michael Miller, "Wings of Flight, Part II," in Alexandria Archaeology Volunteer Newsletter Moments in Time, August 1997, Vol. XV No. 8.

¹⁰¹*Alexandria Gazette*, February 17, 1956; "25 Years Ago" column. The building, a one-story frame structure on the east side of Union St. between Duke and Wolfe Sts. made a spectacular blaze. Its flooring and sides were coated with grease and oil and in addition there were three barrels of oil holding 50 gallons each in metal containers which added to the strength of the blaze.

¹⁰² Alexandria Deed Book 110, p. 52, March 16, 1931; Miller, "Wings of Flight, Part II."

¹⁰⁴ Southern Iron Works Plans, November 1937, Alexandria Library Special Collections Branch; October 26, 1937 Building Permit Application, Alexandria Archives and Records Center; Historic American Buildings Survey Record #VA-267; Alexandria Deed Book 172, p. 298, March 21, 1941.

¹⁰⁵ George II. Robinson was a merchant in Alexandria before the Civil War; he leased the Fowle warehouse at 204 S. Union and conducted a business on the wharf starting with groceries and adding putty, paint, lamp black and window glass. After the war the firm concentrated on agricultural needs. [Diane Riker, "Alexandria Waterfront Timelines, 204-206 S. Union Street," Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch Vertical File: Historic Property—Union Street.] George H. Robison and Sons incorporated after the Civil War with John P. and Thomas W. Robinson—imported building materials by ship and rail. Son John branched out to establish a manufacturing plant on riverfront named Alexandria Chemical Company making fertilizers. Thomas brought son Clarence into the building supply business. Clarence took over the building supply business in the 1920s and began importing coal and oil, then sand and gravel; he leased the Atchison wharf between Prince and Duke Street. ["Robinson on the Waterfront," *The Alexandrian Magazine*, February 1977, pp. 4-6.]

¹⁰⁶ Alexandria Deed Book 149, p. 403, December 21, 1938; "Robinson on the Waterfront," *The Alexandrian Magazine*, February 1977, pp. 4-6; Alexandria Deed Book 153, p. 561, June 19, 1939.

¹⁰⁷ Minutes of the City Council, November 14, 1939, p. 632.

¹⁰⁸ Building Permit Applications October 7, 1940 and November 7, 1940, Alexandria Archives and Records Center; "Robinson on the Waterfront," p. 6. Richard L. Cheeseman became a partner in Robinson Terminal Warehouse Corporation with Clarence Robinson. Cheeseman was the president from 1966-1980 (Robinson died in the 1960s) and chairman of the board from 1980-1983. It was Cheeseman who sold a majority interest in RTWC to the Washington Post Company.

¹⁰⁹ 1941 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Plate 11; Alexandria Deed Book 210, p. 22, July 21, 1944.
 ¹¹⁰ Building Permit Application August 27, 1948, Alexandria Archives and Records Center; 1949 Aerial Photograph, HistoricAerials.com.

¹¹¹ Washington Post, August 9, 1945, p. 5 and August 19, 1945, p. M1. On the RTS property, a 1949 aerial photograph shows an additional building that extended from South Union Street east and across the south elevation of 2 Duke Street to the west side of the 1944 RTWC maintenance building; this building may have been added during the war since no depictions of the property are available during that period. [1949 aerial photograph]

¹¹² Building Permit Applications, July 18 and August 12, 1952 and April 23, 1953, Alexandria Archives and Records Center; *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, November 11, 1954, p. 28 and July 3, 1955; Alexandria Deed Book 438, p. 619, August 24, 1956. Research efforts into the Duke and Union Corporation have had no results.

¹¹³ 1957 aerial photograph (USGS ARLGW0000030388); 1959 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Plate 11; Alexandria Deed Book 657, p. 71, September 21, 1966. The 1957 aerial photograph shows what the 1959 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map would later label as RTWC buildings. The Duke and Union Corporation may have been a holding company for RTWC, although no evidence for this has been found to date.

¹¹⁴ Robinson Terminal Warehouse Corporation papers. Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch. At that time, RTWC handled paper for *The Washington Post*, International Business Machine, *Daily News*, *Alexandria Gazette*, Journal Publishing, *Northern Virginia Sun*, *Wall Street Journal*, Frank Parsons, *Arlington Sun*, *Evening Star*, and *Prev Lance Star*.

¹¹³ Building Permit August 1, 1962, Alexandria Archives and Records Center; 2013 and 2014 site visits.
 ¹¹⁶ William H. Jones and Laird Anderson, "The Washington Post's March to 100th Birthday," Washington Post, July 31, 1977; "Robinson Firm Names President," Washington Post, March 8, 1980. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post (1877-1997).

¹⁰³ Washington Post, April 12, 1974, p. C4; March 14, 1976, p. B7; September 13, 1936, p. R4; and December 25, 1938, p. R2

^{117 &}quot;Old Town Train's Last Run," Alexandria Gazette, November 26, 1969.

¹¹⁸ Application for Repairs and Alterations, November 20, 1972, Alexandria Archives and Records Center; 1979 Aerial Photograph, HistoricAerials.com.

¹¹⁹ Construction Application, January 6, 1986; sited Case No. 7302211 in the U.S. District Court of D.C.; Application for Permit to Demolish, April 31, 1986; Construction Application, August 3, 1989; Code Enforcement Inspection Ticket March 7, 1990. Alexandria Archives and Records Center.

Notes on Sources

In order to reconstruct the Robinson Terminal South property as it appeared from the 18th through the 20th centuries, the property's complex chain of title was essential. In 2006, Ted Pulliam conducted research on the property for Alexandria Archaeology; the chain of title that he prepared followed the creation of the lots and their division into multiple parcels. For the first 150 years of its history, much of the property was leased to a variety of individuals and businesses, and Ted diligently followed the leases as well as the deeds. His sketch maps were critical in being able to follow the property divisions and the construction of varying buildings on the site.

History Matters thanks four City of Alexandria departments which were particularly critical sources for information on the Robinson Terminal South block. The first is Alexandria Archaeology whose previous work on the property and decades of work on the waterfront resulted in valuable sources of information in their vertical files. History Matters thanks Alexandria Archaeology staff for making these files available as well as Ted Pulliam's chain of title and his other research.

The second invaluable source was the Special Collections Branch, which is located in Alexandria Library's Barrett Branch. Special Collections provided critical information including early photographs of the site and area, maps, vertical files on subjects that pertained to the site, and local history materials. Their librarians, particularly George Combs and Julie Downie, were very helpful in located appropriate materials from the collection.

A third City of Alexandria entity—Alexandria Archives and Records Center—provided the building permit information that filled in many informational gaps. We particularly thank Jackie Cohan, the City Records Administrator & Archivist, for diligently searching for the Robinson Terminal South block materials.

The staff of the Alexandria's Board of Architectural Review have also been a great assistance in gathering information on the site and understanding it from a whole-waterfront perspective. We particularly appreciate the help of Al Cox and Catherine Miliaras in providing sources for aerial photographs and guiding us through the BAR process.

History Matters also thanks Thunderbird Archeology for the use of Sanborn maps from their *Due Diligence Investigation—Archeological Assessment*, *Robinson South Terminal*. This 2013 report provided an outline of the property's development that they will be expanding into a full documentary study in 2014.

Robinson Terminal South Bibliography

Primary Sources

1930 Aerial Photograph. City of Alexandria, Office of Historic Alexandria.

Alexandria Gazette. Alexandria, VA. 1784-1969.

City of Alexandria Archives & Records Center. New Construction Permits 1930-1960, Building Alteration Permits 1930-1950, and Demolition Permits.

Evening Star, Washington, D.C. 1854-1896.

HistoricAerials.com. 1949-2009.

Library of Congress. Geography and Maps Division.

Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division.

Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia, 1796-1815.

Pulliam, Ted. Chains of Title, Robinson Terminal South Property. City of Alexandria, Alexandria Archaeology.

_____. Interviews with Robert W. "Willie" Taylor, Robinson Terminal Corporation Operations Manager, July 6 and 21, 2006. City of Alexandria, Alexandria Archaeology.

Washington Post, Proquest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post (1877-1997). 1878 - 1980.

Secondary Sources

Alexandria Archaeology. Ted Pulliam's Chain of Title for Robinson Terminal South Property. Vertical Files.

- Alexandria Library, Special Collections Branch. Ethelyn Cox Collection, Map Collection, Vertical Files, Local History Collection.
- Alexandria Office of Planning and Zoning. *Alexandria Waterfront: Existing Resources Design Analysis*. November 30, 2011; updated October 2013.
- Brockett, F.L. and Geo. W. Rock. A Concise History of the City of Alexandria, VA., from 1669 to 1883 with A Directory of Reliable Business Houses in the City. Alexandria, VA: The Gazette Book and Job Office, 1883.
- Cox, Ethelyn. Historic Alexandria Virginia Street by Street: A Survey of Existing Early Buildings. Alexandria, VA: Historic Alexandria Foundation, 1976.
- Fitzgerald, Oscar P. The Green Family of Cabinetmakers: An Alexandria Institution, 1817-1887. Alexandria, VA: The Alexandria Association, 1986.

Harrison, Fairfax, Landmarks of Old Prince William. Berryville, VA: Chesapeake Book Compnay, 1964.

- Harvey, Jeremy J. Occupied City, Portrait of Civil War Alexandria, Virginia. Alexandria, VA: Alexandria Convention & Visitors Association, 2003.
- Macoll, John D. ed. Alexandria: A Towne In Transition, 1800-1900. Alexandria, VA: Alexandria Bicentennial Commission & Alexandria Historical Society, 1977.
- Miller, T. Michael. "Alexandria and the Aircraft Industry," *Moments in Time* (Alexandria Archaeology Volunteer Newsletter), August 1997, Vol XV, No. 7.
- "Prince to Duke, Part II" *Fireside Sentinel*, (Alexandria Library Special Collections publication), Jan/Feb 1994, Vol. VIII, No. 1.
- _____. "Wings of Flight, Part II," Moments in Time (Alexandria Archaeology Volunteer Newsletter), August 1997, Vol XV, No. 8.
- Netherton, Nan and Donald Sweig, Janice Artemel, Patricia Hicken and Patrick Reed. Fairfax County, Virginia: A History. Fairfax County, Virginia: Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, 1978.
- Patton, Julie Ballin and Rita Williams Holtz. *Historic Photos of Alexandria*. Nashville, TN: Turner Publishing Company, 2008.
- Pulliam, Ted. "Gunpowder, Flour, Fire and Heirs: A Waterfront Block from Duke to Wolfe Streets," *The Alexandria Chronicle*, published by the Alexandria Historical Society, Inc. Fall 2007.
- "Point Lumley Its Location, Appearance, and Structures 1749-1809." October 2006.
- _____"Robinson Terminal South Overview—Highlights." n.d.
- "Robinson on the Waterfront," The Alexandrian Magazine, February 1977.
- Smith, William Francis and T. Michael Miller. A Seaport Saga: Portrait of Old Alexandria, Virginia. Norfolk, VA: The Donning Company/Publishers, 1989.
- Stephens, John F. "Economic and Legal Issues in Waterfront History and Planning for Alexandria's Maritime Heritage." n.d. (Special Collections—VF Waterfront)
- Thunderbird Archeology. Due Diligence Investigation-Archeological Assessment Robinson South Terminal., October 2013.
- United States War Department, Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors. The Ports of Baltimore, MD, Washington, D.C., and Alexandria, V.4. Port Series No. 16. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1926.
- Washington, D.C. Architects Biographies database. Washington, D.C.: Historic Preservation Office, D.C. Office of Planning, 2012.

Wells, John E. and Robert E. Dalton. The Unginia Architects, 1835-1955. Richmond, VA: New South Architectural Press, 1997.

Wennerstein, John W. The Historic Waterfront of Washington, DC. Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2014.

Wilson, Robert H. The Story of Old Town &" "Gentry Row" in Alexandria. Alexandria, VA: Norma W. Dempsey, n.d.

<u>Maps</u>

1749

Washington, George. A Plan of Alexandria, Now Belbaren. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

1763

West, George Map of Alexandria. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

1775

Reps, John Williams. Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland. Figure 138: Map of Alexandria, Virginia: 1775.

Circa 1780

Copy of the Original Plat of the town of Alexandria, with the number of and the names of the purchasers. (Alexandria Archaeology, Vertical Files)

1788

Plat Map from Richard Arrell vs. James Kirk, Mayor of Alexandria [Oct. 1789]. From Prince William County Land Causes. Abstracted from a book labeled "Prince William County Land Causes, 1789-1793" by Donald L. Wilson. (Alexandria Library, Special Collections)

1798

Gilpin, George. Plan of the Town of Alexandria in the District of Columbia. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

1803

A Plan of Alexandria in the Territory of Columbia, State of Virginia. (Alexandria Archaeology, Vertical Files)

1804

Plat of the lands of John Gill, made prior to March 4, 1804. Alexandria Deed Book G p. 264. (Alexandria Archaeology, Vertical Files)

1845

Ewing, Maskell C. Plan of the town of Alexandria, D.C. with the environs: exhibiting the outlet of the Alexandria Canal, the shipping channel, wharves, Hunting Cr. e² c. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

1852/1853

Map of Alexandria. (Alexandria Archaeology, Vertical Files)

Circa 1861-1865

Map, Wharfs, Storebouses, Etc... (Alexandria Library, Special Collections)

1863

Magnus, Charles. Birds Live View of Alexandria, 174. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

1877

Alexandria Atlas.

Hopkins, G.M. Map of Maryland, Delaware and the District of Columbia. Atlas of Baltimore county, Maryland. Philadelphia: G.M Hopkins and Co., 1877. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

1885

Sanborn Map Company. Insurance Maps of Alexandria Virginia. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

1891

Sanborn Map Company. Insurance Maps of Alexandria Virginia. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

1896

Sanborn Map Company. Insurance Maps of Alexandria Virginia. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

1902

Sanborn Map Company. Insurance Maps of Alexandria Virginia. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

Circa 1905

Alexandria Map, with business addresses. (Alexandria Archaeology, Vertical Files)

1912

Sanborn Map Company. Insurance Maps of Alexandria Virginia. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

1921

Sanborn Map Company. Insurance Maps of Alexandria Virginia. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

1937

Sanborn Map Company. Insurance Maps of Alexandria Virginia. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

1939

Real Property Survey, Land Use Survey Maps, Alexandria, VA. Work Projects Administration. OP Number 665-31-3-276. Vol II. 1939.

1941

Sanborn Map Company. Insurance Maps of Alexandria Virginia. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

1959

Sanborn Map Company. Insurance Maps of Alexandria Virginia. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)