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THE BURIAL OF GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Lesser Known Participants

by Richard Klingenmaier

“Saturday, Decr. 14th, 1799.

This day being marked by an event which will be memorable in the History of America, and perhaps of the World, I shall give a particular statement of it, to which I was an eye witness.”

So began Tobias Lear’s first-hand account of the death and burial of General George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the American Revolution and first president of the United States.

The interval between George Washington’s unexpected death on Saturday evening, December 14, 1799 and his internment the following Wednesday, December 18th, was marked by a series of events essential to late eighteenth century burial preparation practices. The people who participated in these events -- unlike those who took part in the formal burial ceremony on December 18th -- are relatively unknown. Who were these people? Where did they live and work? How were they chosen for their respective roles?

Tobias Lear, Washington’s personal secretary and a close family friend, provided the most detailed first-hand account of those four tense and hectic days prior to Washington’s burial, and of the days immediately thereafter.

“Monday, Decr. 16th. 1799.”

“Engaged Mr. Inglis (sic) and Mr. McMunn to have a Mahogany Coffin made, lined with lead,

in which the body was to be deposited.”

“Mr. Anderson (Washington’s farm manager) went to Alexa. to get a number of things preparatory for the funeral. Mourng. was ordered for the Family Domestics and Overseers.”

“Having received information from Alexa. that the Militia, Freemasons &c, were determined to show their respect to the General’s Memory by attending his body to the Grave, I directed provision to be prepared for a large number of people, as some refreshment would be expected by them.”

“Tuesday, Decr. 17th. 1799.”

“About one o’clock the Coffin was brought from Alexa. in a stage. Mr. Ingle and Mr. McMunn accompanied it. Also Mr. Grater (sic) with a shroud.”

“Wednesday, Decr. 18th. 1799.”

“About 3 o’clock the procession began to move...[it]...proceeded round in front of the lawn, & down to the vault...The body born by the Free Masons & Officers...the Revd. Mr. Davis read the service...The Masons performed their ceremonies, & the Body was deposited in the Vault...After the ceremony the Company

returned to the house where they took some refreshment, & retired in good order."

"Wednesday, Decr. 25th. 1799."

"I this day sent to Alexa. for the Plumber..I attended the Closing of the coffin...."

Surviving Mount Vernon estate accounts list the following individuals who submitted bills for services rendered during the pre-burial preparations:

Joseph and Henry Ingle
George McMunn
Michael and Margaret Gretter
John and James S. Scott
William Bowie
George and Judy Edick

Undertaker Services

Today we rely on the services of a funeral home director, or undertaker, for much of the burial preparation for deceased loved ones. In the eighteenth century, an "undertaker" was in fact a contractor -- one who "undertakes" to provide a service. Any service. Since embalming was not yet a standard practice, nor were corpses laid out in funeral homes, an undertaker as we know him/her today did not exist at the time of Washington's death. In the eighteenth century all supporting services for a funeral were provided by various individuals hired for their specific skills.

In England, where most early American burial practices originated, the burial process in the 18th century was much more clearly defined and better organized as a service industry. The participants were "Undertakers," "Coffin Makers," and "Funeral Furnishers." They were often competitors, but also provided material support to each other. All three were distinct branches of the English funeral trade.¹ The Undertaker, who might be his own coffin maker, generally provided funerals to the lower end of the social scale, and therefore, they were less elaborate. Whereas, the Coffin Maker made his living by making his own coffins, selling them directly or indirectly to customers, and occasionally performed funerals. The Funeral Furnisher, on the other hand, purchased his coffins from the coffin maker, or made his own, including dressing and upholstering them himself, and provided from his special warehouse supply of "soft furnishings," all the other required accessories -- special coffin hardware, "grave clothing," black crepe, family hatchments, mourning hat and arm bands, gloves, shrouds, palls, cloaks, mourning clothing, and hearse, carriages and horses. It was the Funeral Furnisher who catered to the wealthy.

In late eighteenth century Alexandria, Virginia, the

more organized and competitive funeral trade as practiced in England had not yet been established. In the case of George Washington's funeral arrangements, the Washington estate was served by individuals who provided distinct burial preparation services, as individual "undertakers", i.e., contractors.

The cost of a late eighteenth century funeral would depend on the deceased's place in society as well as how much the family could afford. The most expensive part of the burial process could be the burial casket. Probably less than 1% of burials, however, included caskets constructed of expensive mahogany; most people were buried in less expensive, plain wooden caskets made of pine, walnut, poplar, or cherry, or in the case of the very poor, simply wrapped in a burial shroud and placed in the grave. Clearly the wealthy and those considered the social and/or political elite -- including George Washington -- could and were expected to afford a more elaborate burial.

But even among all classes, burial costs could vary significantly depending upon a number of factors beyond the cost of the casket itself. Was it necessary to pay a grave digger to prepare the site? Were family members required to wear special mourning clothing that had to be purchased? How elaborate was the post-burial reception, if any? Was expensive mourning jewelry purchased to be given to immediate family members and close family friends? And was there a cost, in the case of a deceased male, for having a barber shave, wash, and perhaps dress the corpse in "grave clothes," as was sometimes done when immediate family members were unable or unwilling to perform these basic functions. (Note: Accounts for "The Estate of John McKnight" of Alexandria, Virginia, dated November 12, 1835, show charges for a "grave digger -- \$2" and "Green, barber -- \$2.") Depending on how elaborate the funeral needed to be, were a hearse, carriages, and horses also rented? Were there costs for "black stuff" -- the black crepe, a family hatchment for the front door, and other "house drapery" that announced a death in the household to passersby? And finally, were special "soft furnishings" such as special coffin linings, lead coffin liners, biers, shrouds, palls, gloves, cloaks, and mourning hat and arm bands required?

We know from surviving accounts that George Washington's funeral costs (those actually billed to his estate) were about 260.00 dollars in U.S. currency of 1799. That figure equates to approximately 62 British pounds at that time.² The value of those 62 pounds in modern-day dollars (2010) has been calculated to be \$6,386.³ Interestingly, the average cost of a modern-day funeral is calculated to be about \$7,000 according to the insurance industry.

Eighteenth century burial practices in America usually required, as a minimum, a suitable casket, a burial shroud

in which to wrap the body, and a black (white for children and women who died in childbirth) pall cloth usually with fringes, to cover the casket.⁴ We know from Tobias Lear's diary that Martha Washington asked him to arrange for a suitable casket to be constructed. Lear subsequently contacted Joseph and Henry Ingle, cabinet makers, on South Royal Street in nearby Alexandria, Virginia to provide "...a Mahogany coffin...lined with lead in which the body was to be deposited." The Ingles subsequently billed Washington's estate \$99.25; \$88.00 for the casket with engraved silver plates and furnished with black lace, handles and a covered case with lifters. An additional \$11.25 was charged for hiring a coach, a bier, and a horse for delivery. George McMunn, a copper-smith and plumber located a block away on South Fairfax Street, was probably tasked by the Ingle brothers directly to provide the lead liner, for which he was paid 14 pounds 10 shillings (roughly \$59.00 in 1799 currency).

Washington's estate accounts identify Michael and Margaret Gretter of Alexandria as the individuals who provided the burial shroud and the black pall cloth. They were paid \$12.00, \$6.00 each for the shroud and pall cloth. Lear's account does not indicate how the Gretters' service was arranged, only that Michael Gretter arrived at Mount Vernon with the burial shroud and pall cloth on Tuesday, December 17th "... in a stage" along with "...Mr. Ingle and Mr. McMunn..."

There were two additional requirements for George Washington's burial preparation: 1) acquiring suitable mourning clothes for family members and specific household staff; and 2) providing sufficient refreshments for the expected mourners when they paid their respects to Mrs. Washington following the burial service.

Mourning Clothing

John and James Scott, "Tailors/Habit Makers," located on King Street in Alexandria were hired to provide twelve mourning suits. Their subsequent bill dated December 23, 1799, charged the Washington estate \$78.50 for this clothing, and an additional \$2.50 for hiring a horse for delivery of the clothing to Mount Vernon. Tobias Lear's diary notes James Anderson's trip to Alexandria "...to get a number of things preparatory for the funeral" on December 16th. In the very next sentence, Lear states "Mourng. was ordered for the Family Domestic and Overseers," which would suggest that Anderson was tasked with ordering mourning clothing as well.

According to Mary Thompson, Research Specialist at the Mount Vernon Estate, the order for mourning clothing included, in addition to two family members, mourning apparel for Albin Rawlins, Washington's clerk or secretary; overseer Roger Ferrell; gardner William Spence; and a Mr. Gassett. Overseer Moses Dowdal was provid-

ed a coat and vest, and suits were made, as well, for several of the Manson House slaves. A suit of mourning was also made for Davy, a 56 year old slave who was overseer at Washington's Muddy Hole farm.⁵

Apparently though, the Scotts were unable to fulfill the entire order, specifically, suits for Tobias Lear, overseer George Rawlins, two slaves, as well as a pair of breeches for Mr. Dowdal. Either sufficient fabric was not available or the Scotts lacked the manpower to fill the order in time.⁶ These additional items were provided by tailor William Bowie, whose shop was located a few doors east of the Scotts' establishment on King Street, and confirmed by a bill dated December 23, 1799.

Post Burial Refreshments

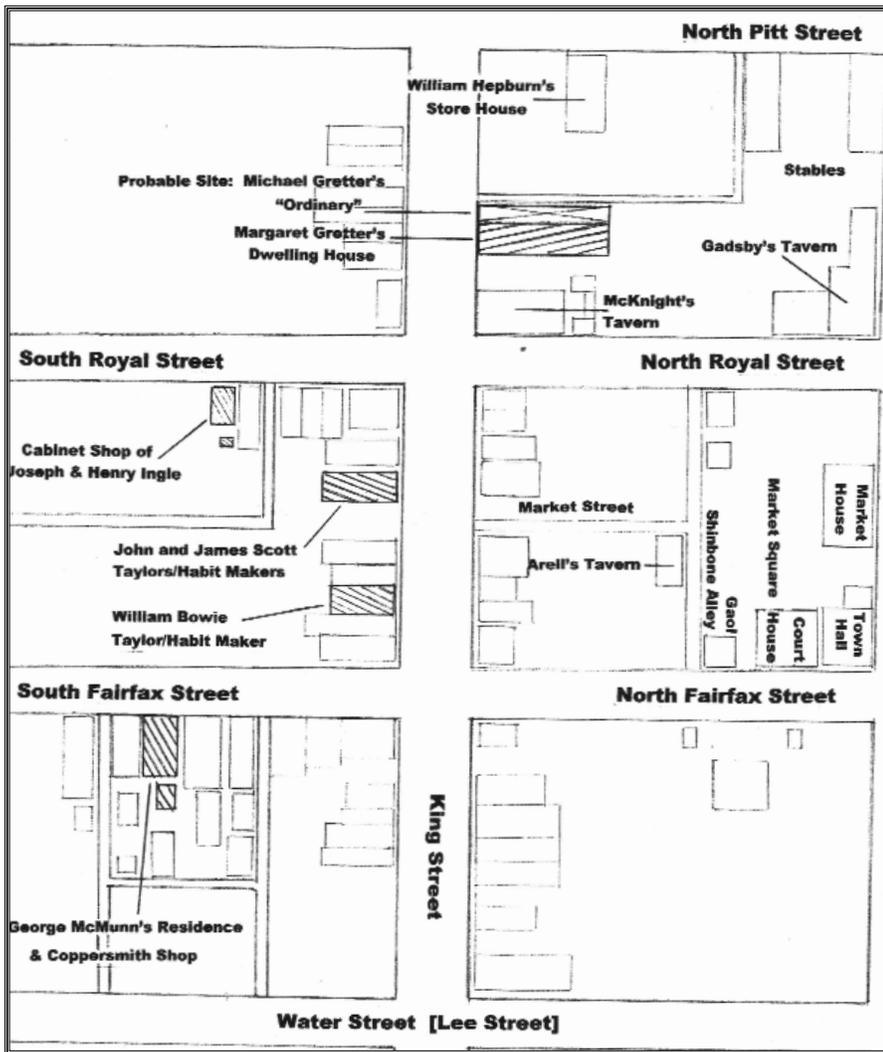
Tobias Lear notes on December 16th, that contrary to a small, family burial service as specifically requested by George Washington in his will, "...I directed provision to be prepared for a large number of people, as some refreshment would be expected..." Lear had been informed that the attendance could be expected to be quite large given the wish of three Masonic Lodges and local military units to pay their last respects to Washington, to say nothing of the potential large number of mourners from both Virginia and Maryland as the news of his passing spread. How many people actually attended has never been fully determined. However, estimates of a thousand or more have been suggested.

Thomas Law, husband of Elizabeth Park Custis, described the funeral scene as attended by "...a vast concourse of people..."⁷ Yet another attendee advised that "...at the funeral there was not one dry eye among the thousands of people who gathered to render him honors..."⁸

An account published December 20, 1799 in *The Alexandria Times and District of Columbia Advertiser*, entitled "Washington In Glory -- America in Tears," also suggests a figure of perhaps a thousand or more participants and mourners.

"On Wednesday, the inhabitants of the town, of the county, and adjacent parts of Maryland proceeded to Mount Vernon.... All the military within a considerable distance and three Masonic lodges were present. The concourse of people was immense."

The subsequent "provision" consisted of forty pounds of cake, three large cheeses weighing a total of 61 pounds, and 29 gallons of rye whiskey from Washington's own distillery.⁹ The "spirits" may have included peach and apple brandies from the Mansion



No.1: Where the “Behind-the-Scenes” Participants Lived and Worked in Alexandria, Virginia, 1799.

House cellar as well. Plantation accounts record an October 1799 inventory of 67 gallons of apple brandy and 60 gallons of peach brandy. In addition, George Gilpin, an Alexandria merchant and Revolutionary War officer under Washington, donated an additional 10 gallons of “spirits” on December 17th. Gilpin’s donation probably came from his store stock which he purchased from Washington’s distillery on a regular basis for resale.

How much of these “provisions” were left after the mourners departed that cold winter evening is not recorded. Tobias Lear’s statement that “The remains of the provisions were distributed among the blacks...” is no doubt misleading, if taken at face value. If as strongly suggested the mourners numbered close to 1,000 people, it would appear highly unlikely that anything more than a few crumbs of cake and a few shavings of cheese remained. Given the cold weather and an eighteenth century thirst for alcoholic beverages, the liquid refreshments too were likely fully consumed.

On March 21, 1800, the Washington estate was billed

\$7.00 by George and Judith Edick of Alexandria for “...a 40-pound cake and basket to hold the cake.” The bill stated that the basket must be returned to Judy Edick. There is no documentation to indicate who provided the 61 pounds of cheese; presumably, this came from the Washington estate.

BEHIND-THE-SCENES

Joseph and Henry Ingle

Henry Ingle, born in Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1764, began his cabinet making career in Philadelphia under the apprenticeship of John Webb, a cabinetmaker and house joiner, who owned the largest and most successful shop in the city.¹⁰ Completing his apprenticeship in 1784, he moved to Albermarle County, Virginia where he worked as a young journeyman. After four years, he moved to Richmond where he worked until moving back to Philadelphia about 1790. In October 1789, he advertised that he was leaving Richmond and needed to settle his accounts.¹¹

In Philadelphia he joined his brother Joseph, also a cabinetmaker, and set up shop on High Street next door to the residence of Thomas Jefferson, then serving as Secretary of State under President George

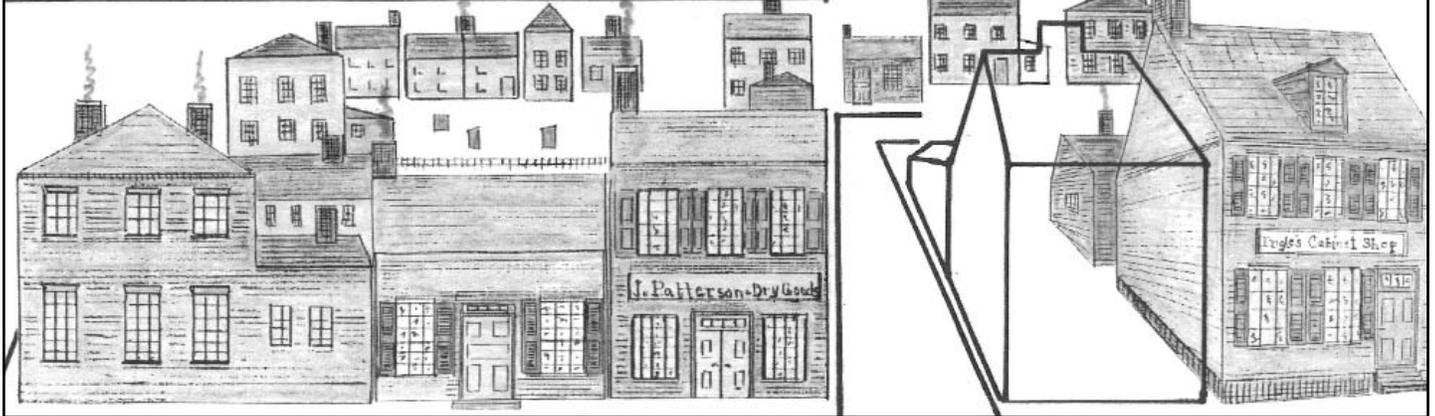
Washington¹² *The Biddle Directory of Philadelphia for 1791* listed Henry and Joseph Ingle, “Joiners,” as living at 273 High Street. That same year Henry married Mary Pechin, daughter of a wealthy Philadelphia merchant. He and Mary moved to a home on Elfretth Alley. Joseph, unmarried at the time, probably continued to reside at 273 High Street.

It was in January 1791 that Thomas Jefferson began doing business with Henry Ingle on a fairly regular basis, a relationship that was to continue for many years. Jefferson is known to have made extensive improvements to his Philadelphia residence, among them cabinetwork. Notations in Jefferson’s Memorandum Book dating from January 1791 until March 1809, show payments to Henry for cabinetwork, tools, hardware, supplies, writing instruments, wire, and a writing box, etc.¹³ In the latter years, the building supplies were for Jefferson’s extensive renovations to his Monticello estate.

In 1793 Joseph Ingle moved to Alexandria, Virginia



Cabinet Shop of Joseph and Henry Ingle



No. 2: South Royal Street. This dwelling still exists on its original site at what is now 112 South Royal Street.

where he purchased a two-and-one-half story, frame dwelling house with an adjacent work shop in back located on South Royal Street. (Note: This dwelling still exists on its original site at what is now 112 South Royal Street.) On June 9, 1795, he advised in *The Columbia Mirror and Alexandria Gazette*: “Joseph Ingle has MAHOGANY PLANK, and continues to carry on the Cabinet and Chair-Making business at his shop on Royal Street, four doors below King Street.”

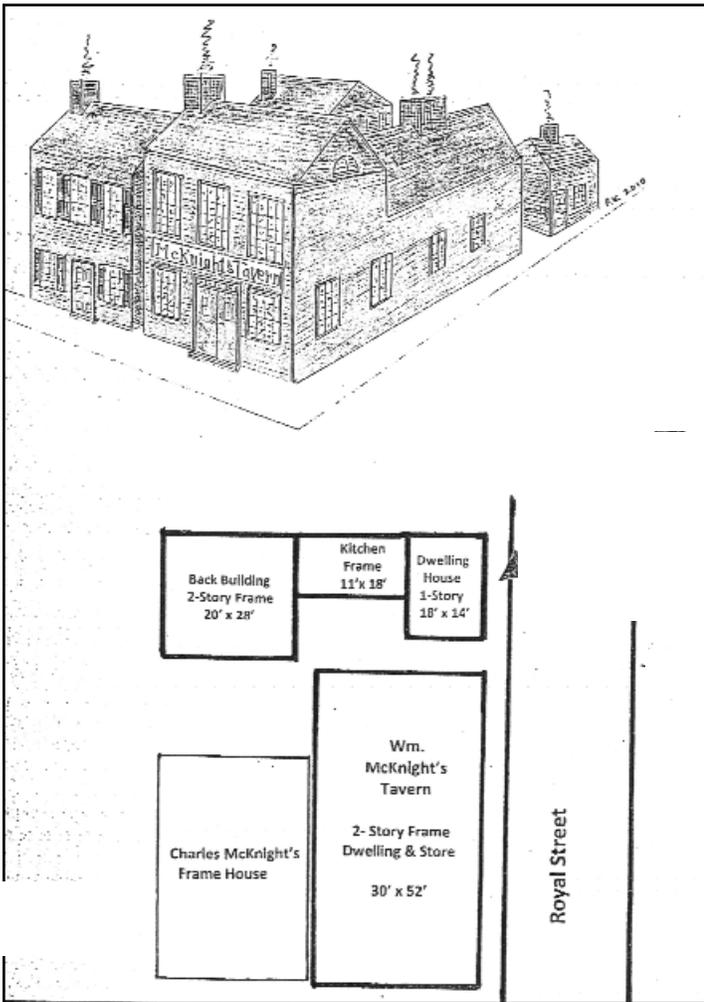
In December 1795, Joseph married Mary Simmonds in the First Presbyterian Meeting House on Fairfax Street in Alexandria. Census records for 1799 show that Joseph Ingle, his wife, two children, one hired servant, and one apprentice were residing at the South Royal Street address. (See Illustrations No. 1 and 2)

In 1799, Henry Ingle, his wife and three children joined Joseph in Alexandria, and once again Joseph and Henry were partners in the cabinet making business. However, the 1799 census lists Henry’s profession as a “Ironmonger,” a possible indication that Henry felt it economically prudent to pursue simultaneously, a second career. His future business success would clearly

demonstrate the wisdom of that decision.

Census data shows Henry, his wife, four children and two apprentices residing in the City’s Second Ward. The 1799 Land Tax Record identifies Henry as renting a frame dwelling house located at the northwest corner of King and North Royal Streets from tavern owner William McKnight. In an advertisement in *The Columbia Mirror and Alexandria Gazette*, dated September 7, 1799, Henry Ingle describes his “Hardware Store” as containing “A General Assortment of Ironmongery, Cutlery and Brass Ware” located “...At the North-West corner of King and Royal Street...”

Since William McKnight’s tavern was located on the immediate north west corner of King and Royal Streets, it would appear that Henry Ingle’s “Hardware Store” and his residence were not right on the corner as the advertisement would suggest, but rather located immediately behind McKnight’s Tavern in several buildings also owned by McKnight. These buildings appear on McKnight’s Virginia Mutual Assurance Society fire policy dated June 8, 1796. Henry’s residence was most likely located in a small one story frame dwelling that faced Royal Street. Immediately behind and to the west



No. 3: Henry Ingle's Dwelling House and Hardware Store at the northwest corner of King and Royal Streets, 1799. Virginia Fire Assurance Policy, dated 1796.

stood a frame kitchen with an adjoining two story frame back building which likely housed his hardware store. (See Illustration No. 3)

In 1800, Henry Ingle moved his business and family across the Potomac River to Washington City near the United States Capitol. Advertisements in Washington newspapers reveal that Henry did continue his cabinet and chair-making business while also concentrating on the building trades and establishing the first hardware store in the nation's capitol. He was briefly in partnership with one Enoch Pelton according to an advertisement in *The National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser* of October 21, 1801: "The CABINET and CHAIR MAKING BUSINESS is carried on by Ingle and Petton (sic), at their shop...where orders in that line will be thankfully received and punctually attended to."

Approximately a year later, the partnership between Ingle and Pelton ended on the 4th of November, "...by mutual consent." *The National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser* explained further that "The Cabinet business will be continued at the same shop, on New Jersey Avenue, by Henry Ingle."

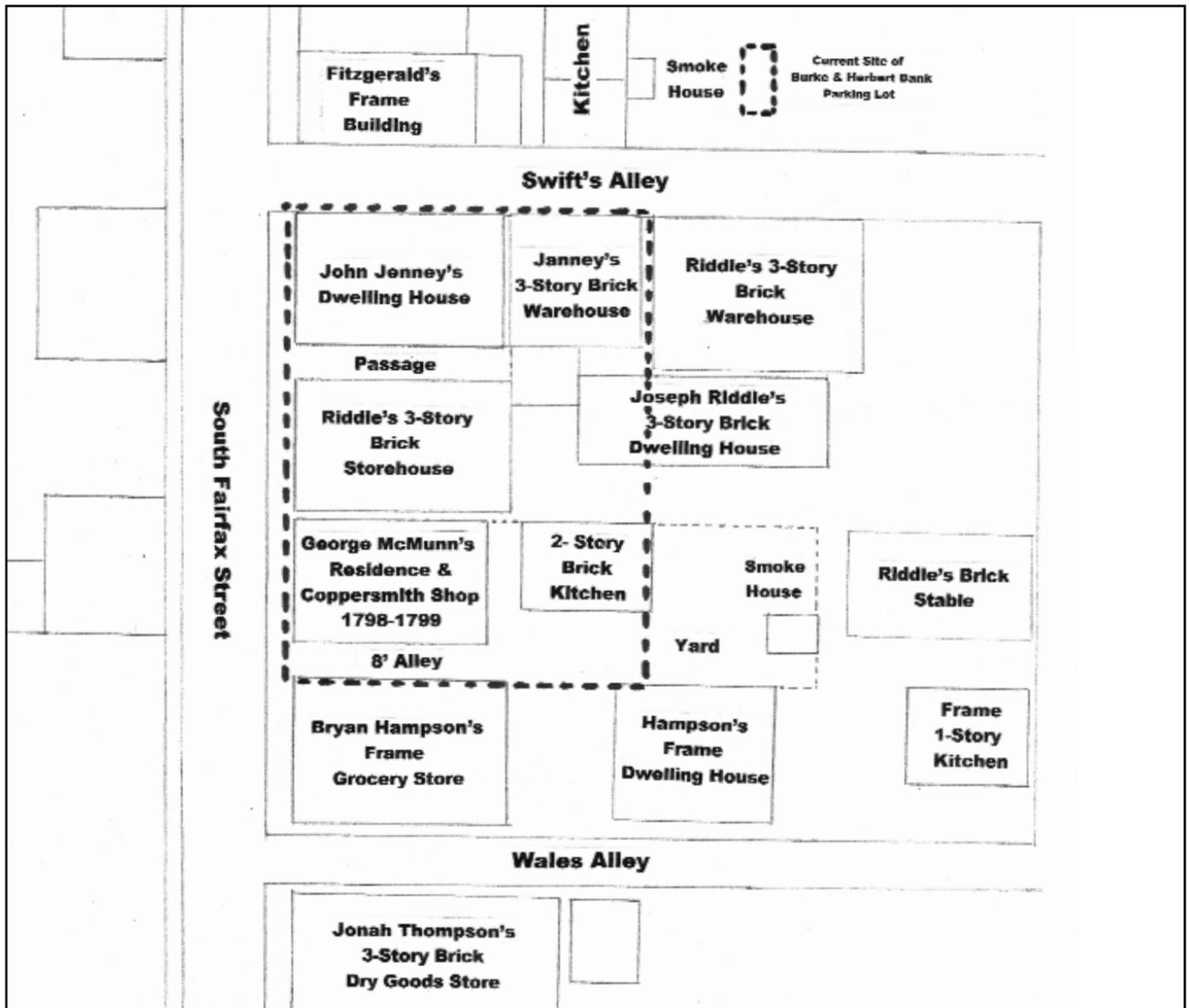
In September 1803, according to the same newspaper, an on-site auction was held at the Ingle residence on Capitol Hill during which "...Handsome Household Furniture viz. Mahogany Dining, Card, and Tea Tables, Bureaus, Candle and Wash Stands, Knife Cases, Field and Low Post Bedsteads, and sundry other goods..." were sold to the highest bidder. The reason for this sale is not mentioned, although it is possible that Henry was attempting to consolidate his finances to focus on his expanding hardware and shipping business. An advertisement in the same newspaper dated June 30, 1806 announcing the rental of three houses owned by Ingle, also states that "Henry Ingle...has on hand a good assortment of Mahogany Furniture...", suggesting that he was still in the cabinet making business. Indeed, Jefferson's *Memorandum Book* records payments to Henry for "ironmongery" throughout this period, but most importantly, confirms that Jefferson paid Ingle 16 pounds 11 shillings for "cabinet work" as late as February 1809.

Henry Ingle died a wealthy man.¹⁴ His obituary notice in the *Alexandria Herald* on October 4, 1822 advised: "Died. In Washington, on Tues. the 1st inst., Mr. Henry Ingle, an old and respected inhabitant of that city, in the 59th year of his age."

Joseph Ingle continued his cabinet and chair making business at his South Royal Street location until sometime in 1817 when he sold the property and presumably closed his business. He died in October 1818.

Available records suggest that Joseph had moved his residence to the west side of Royal Street in 1815 to a two-story brick dwelling house that Mary had inherited from her father Samuel Simmonds, while he maintained his cabinet shop across the street.¹⁵ (Note: The site was later designated as 109 South Royal Street. This much altered brick structure was demolished in 1968 as part of Alexandria's urban renewal project.) Advertisements in the *Alexandria Gazette -- Commercial and Political* for the years 1815, 1816, and 1817 show that Joseph was attempting to sell or lease both of these Royal Street properties, apparently in anticipation of retirement. By June 18, 1816 he was carrying on his "...cabinet and upholstery business..." in "... a large back building... an excellent frame, two stories high..." on the alley to the east (and back) of what is now 112 South Royal Street. The main house fronting on Royal Street may have been empty awaiting sale or lease.

Unlike his brother, Joseph's final estate inventory, dated November 6, 1818, reflects a more modest success. Of his household furnishings, his most valuable piece of furniture was a "...side board & furniture..." valued at \$25.00. "Appendages to his trade" include one chest & tools valued at \$12.00; two chest of drawers valued at \$5.00; and a work bench worth \$10.00. The value of his entire estate was listed as \$189.75.¹⁶



No. 4: Neighborhood of George McMunn, Coppersmith/Plumber. (The street above Swift's Alley is King.)

George McMunn

George McMunn, Coppersmith/Plumber, first appears in Alexandria, Virginia records in 1795, where he is listed in land tax documents as owner of property on "Gretters Alley" (currently the north side of the 400 block of King Street). He moved to Alexandria from Winchester, Virginia shortly after marrying Elizabeth Sittler on December 23, 1793.¹⁷ Elizabeth was the daughter of Isaac Sittler, a coppersmith by trade. Although not documented, McMunn may have served his apprenticeship under his future father-in-law. They were to become partners in McMunn's Alexandria shop.

By May 1797, McMunn had moved to a new business location on Prince Street, "...three doors above Royal Street..." A business advertisement dated August 31, reveals he was now in business with his father-in-law Isaac Sittler.¹⁸ Their advertisement advised the public that "...they have on hand as usual, Stills of different sizes, Wash, Tea, Hatters, and Fuller's Kettles, Best English Brass...Copper, pewter, and tin measures, an

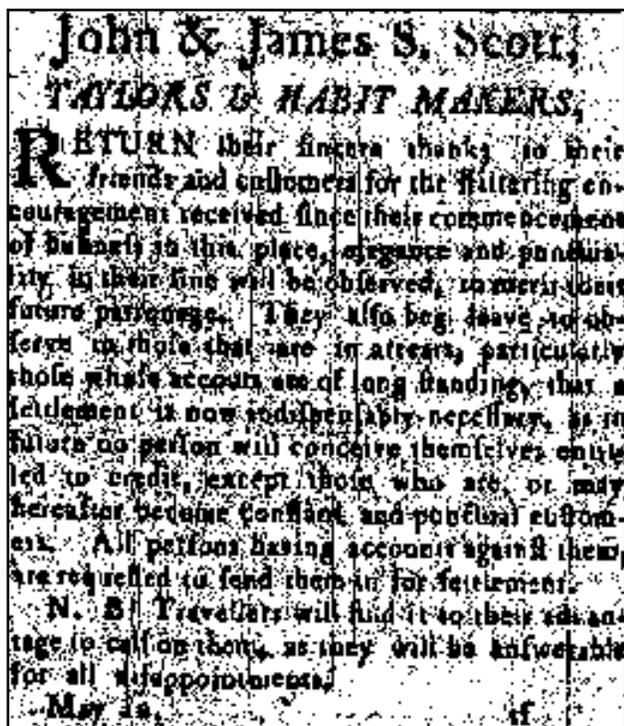
assortment of Tin Ware." They also "...have thin copper (sheets) suitable for spouts and gutters, which will come cheaper than lead."

A Virginia Mutual Assurance Society fire insurance policy dated November 12, 1798 shows that by this date George McMunn had moved to the east side of South Fairfax Street, "...between Swift Alley and Prince..." (currently the 100 block) to a two story frame dwelling house with "...coppersmith shop in the cellar." The property also included a two story brick "back building" serving as a kitchen. A smoke house was located at the rear of the lot. (See Illustrations No. 1 and 4)

The Alexandria Census for 1799 lists George McMunn as residing at this location with a wife, three children, six hired servants, one apprentice, and one boarder by the name of George Trusler, also a coppersmith. The second story of the brick kitchen may have housed some or all of the hired servants. McMunn continued to reside and work at this location until his death in early 1810. His

Will dated 10 February 1810 lists the following beneficiaries: his wife Elizabeth; brother William; sons William, George, and Robert; and daughters Fanny and Eliza. The Alexandria Census for 1810 lists Elizabeth McMunn as “Head” of the household.

Like many Alexandria business owners, George McMunn believed in investing heavily in local real estate. His ability to do so likely reflected the success of his coppersmith business. The 1799 property/tax records



No. 5: John & James S. Scott, Tailors & Habit Makers, *The Columbia Mirror and Alexandria Gazette*, May 17, 1798

show that he owned and rented out a property located at the corner of Prince and Fairfax Streets, two properties near Prince and Royal, and three properties on Royal, King, and Prince Streets, respectively. He also owned three vacant properties (possibly empty lots) “...contiguous to Alexandria.” His rental income from these properties for 1799 alone amounted to 329 pounds.

Two years prior to Washington’s death, McMunn was hired by George Washington’s Scottish farm manager James Anderson to construct a number of copper pot stills for a new five-still whiskey distillery Washington was establishing on the Mount Vernon estate along Dogue Run. A bill from George McMunn dated January 1798 for 103 pounds for three of these stills identified them as having 120, 116, and 110 gallon capacities, respectively.¹⁹ There is no surviving documentation for the two other stills provided earlier, presumably in mid to late 1797. These were most likely also provided by McMunn. The record output of these stills is probably partly indicative of their quality. While the average Virginia distillery in 1799 produced about 650 gallons of whiskey per year, Washington’s five-still distillery pro-

duced almost 11,000 gallons, valued at \$7,500.

George McMunn, though identified as a “Coppersmith” by trade, was also recognized as a plumber. It was his ability to work with lead that earned him his role in George Washington’s burial preparation. To ensure that Washington’s body would be protected from deterioration for as long as possible, Tobias Lear had an inner liner of lead installed within the mahogany coffin. This liner was to be “...soddered at the joints - and a cover of lead to be soddered on after the body should be in the Vault. The whole was (to be) put into a case lined & covered with black Cloth.”

On Christmas Day, December 25, 1799, after no further family members expressed a desire to view the body, Lear noted in his diary, “I this day sent to Alexa. for the Plumber to come down & close the leaden Coffin containing the General’s Body. The Plumbers came. I attended the closing of the Coffin...” Thus, George McMunn was one of the last three people to look upon the face of George Washington. The “other” plumber, may have been Isaac Sittler, his father-in-law. (Note: In October 1837, George Washington’s remains were transferred to a new more secure tomb at Mount Vernon. In the process, the partially damaged lid of the lead liner was removed to reveal Washington’s face. As Lear had hoped, even after 37 years in the old damp, brick family tomb, “Washington was recognizable. His skin was dried...”²⁰)

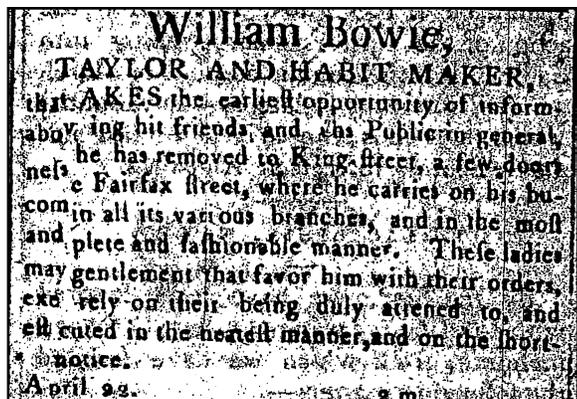
John and James S. Scott

As early as 1796, John and James S. Scott, “Tailors/Habit Makers” conducted their business from a shop on the south side of King Street, “...opposite McKnight’s Tavern,” between Royal and Pitt Streets in Alexandria, Virginia. In an advertisement in May 1798, “John & James S. Scott, Tailors & Habit Makers, Return their sincere thanks to their friends and customers for the flattering encouragement received since their commencement of business in this place...”²¹

In August 1799, the Scotts moved their business further east on King Street to a dwelling “...lately occupied by Messrs. Robert Patten & Charles Scott.” A fire insurance policy dated March, 1796 issued to Robert Patten & Charles Scott, “Merchants,” describes this building as a two story frame dwelling on the south side of King Street between Fairfax and Royal Streets, the first story consisting of a retail shop. The structure measured 21 feet wide and 30 feet in depth. (See Illustrations No. 1 and 4)

The City of Alexandria Census for 1799 lists “Jno. and Jas. Scott and wife”-- Tailors & Habit Makers” residing in the City’s Second Ward, which at first glance would suggest the area north of King Street. However, given the peculiarity of early city ward boundaries, which in the case of King Street included a portion of the area on the

south side of King Street in the Second Ward, it would appear the Scotts resided above their tailor shop on King



No. 6: William Bowie, Taylor and Habit Maker
“...King street...” *The Columbia Mirror and Alexandria Gazette*, April 1797.

Street. Included in the household were boarders Jno. Tarlton, Thos. Pope, Charles Gretter, Bennet Scott, and Jno. Evans. Three of the boarders were apparently apprentice tailors and two were hired servants. This census listing would suggest that James Scott was already married at this time. However, this conflicts with a marriage announcement in the *Alexandria Gazette* of November 27, 1801 which records his marriage to Mary Adgate on November 26, 1801. The discrepancy likely resulted from a misunderstanding on the part of the census taker. It was John Scott’s “wife,” not James’, residing in the King Street residence. First Presbyterian Church marriage records clearly indicate that John Scott was married two years earlier on October 26, 1797, also to a wife named “Mary.”

The business partnership of John and James S. Scott was apparently dissolved by 1801. While James continued to appear in city census documents as late as 1810, no such listing for John Scott is in evidence. He may have left the area after their partnership ended. In any event, the 1810 census lists “James S. Scott, Taylor” now residing in the First Ward, which would imply that he either moved his residence, or perhaps both his residence and his business, from the King Street business location. Available documentation does not reveal when or where James Scott died.

William Bowie

“Taylor/Habit Maker” William Bowie earned his role in George Washington’s burial preparation by default²² Unable to fulfill the entire request for suitable mourning clothing for both family members and household and farm staff at Mount Vernon, “Taylors” John and James Scott either subcontracted a portion of the order out to their nearby competitor, or Mount Vernon farm manager

James Anderson hired tailor William Bowie directly to complete the order. In any event, it was William Bowie who made Tobias Lear’s mourning suit, for which he charged the Washington family estate 1 pound 16 shillings.

William Bowie’s professional life in Alexandria is thinly documented with the exception of a couple of advertisements in local newspapers and a few official documents. What we know about his personal life comes from early Alexandria church records.

According to The First Presbyterian Church Registry of baptisms, marriages and funerals, William Bowie and Mary Goldsmith were married on April 5, 1796. However, the burial records of Christ (Episcopal) Church for April 18, 1794, two years earlier, document the burial of “William Bowie’s child...”, “...paid Oliver Price a dollar”. (Oliver Price may have been the grave digger.)

First Presbyterian Church records indicate that William and Mary’s second child, named Forrest Bowie was baptized on May 6, 1796. A third child, William Bowie, Jr., was baptized on December 1, 1797. The Bowies may have had a fourth child, a daughter. The Presbyterian Church registry records the marriage of an “Elizabeth Bowie” to one John Cohagen on May 24, 1812.

It would appear the Bowies’ changed their church affiliation from Christ Church to the First Presbyterian Church following the death and burial of their first child in 1794. This may have had something to do with their marital status. It seems clear that at least two of their children -- the unnamed infant and their second child, Forrest, were in fact conceived out of wedlock. This raises an interesting question. Was their move to the First Presbyterian Church an attempt to avoid criticism from fellow Christ Church parishioners because of their children’s illegitimate status?

Early Christ Church records contain numerous references to payments made to parishioners for “...maintaining..” and educating “...Bastard children.”²³ While this charitable activity would suggest genuine concern for the children, parishioner tolerance shown the parents of these same children may have been a far different matter. Perhaps the Presbyterian Church was more understanding in this regard.

It is not until early 1796 that Bowie’s advertisement in a local newspaper confirms his tailoring business in Alexandria. The same advertisement, however, also suggests that he may have already been in the tailoring business at a Fairfax Street location prior to 1796. The February 1796 advertisement advises: “Taylor and Habit Maker William Bowie ...Begs leave to inform his friends and the public, that he has remov’d to Prince street, two doors above the post-office.” “N.B. The house in Fairfax street...to let...” In any case, it would appear that he was not in business earlier than 1792; he is not listed in the

City Directory for 1791.

A fire insurance policy dated January 6, 1797 confirms “William Bowie - Occupant” renting a “...one story brick dwelling & kitchen, front room as aretail store,” located on Prince Street between Union and Water streets. (Note: Probably the current site of 113 Prince Street. The current building was probably constructed after the fire of 1827.) The property was owned by Thomas Vowell, Sr.²⁴ Bowie apparently maintained his tailoring shop at this Prince Street location from February 1796 until about May 1797 when he again moved. In an advertisement in *The Columbia Mirror & Alexandria Gazette* dated May 25, 1797, he announced: “William Bowie Taylor/Habit Maker, King Street -- a few doors above (west of) Fairfax Street...Where he carries on his business...in the most complete and fashionable manner.” (See Illustrations No. 1 and 6)

A study of available documents suggests that the residences of William Bowie and his family were co-located with his tailoring business. Bowie appears to have owned the dwelling house on Fairfax Street, and it may have served as his place of business as well. His subsequent residences, however, were likely rentals, since property and tax records do not indicate ownership on his part. Alexandria, Virginia Hustings Court Deeds 1783 - 1797 do not reveal any land transaction references for William Bowie. A review of transactions for the period 1797 to 1801 revealed only one document dated June 23, 1798. On this date, Bowie leased a property on Cameron Street, east of Water Street, from William and Sarah Herbert for 21 pounds 12 shillings. This property was adjacent to Herbert’s warehouse on Cameron Street. Assuming that Bowie’s tailor shop and residence were still on King Street, this Cameron Street location, near the river, may have served as a storage site for his clothing materials or as an ancillary work site.

While we know that Bowie was still in Alexandria in December 1799, and that he was briefly mentioned in a city tax list for 1800, i.e., “Bowie, William, 1-0” (1 male over 21 years of age; 0 horses), he may have subsequently moved his business and family to Norfolk, Virginia by August of that year. Or perhaps he was just visiting that city. In any event, an obituary notice in *The Times and District of Columbia Daily Advertiser* (published in Alexandria) on August 26, 1800, advised: “Died at Norfolk, a few days ago, Mr. Wm Bowie, of this place.”

Michael and Margaret Gretter

Michael and Margaret Gretter worked and resided in Alexandria, Virginia for close to forty years: he in municipal government and as a local tavern keeper; and she as a local business woman.

According to family history, Michael Gretter emigrat-

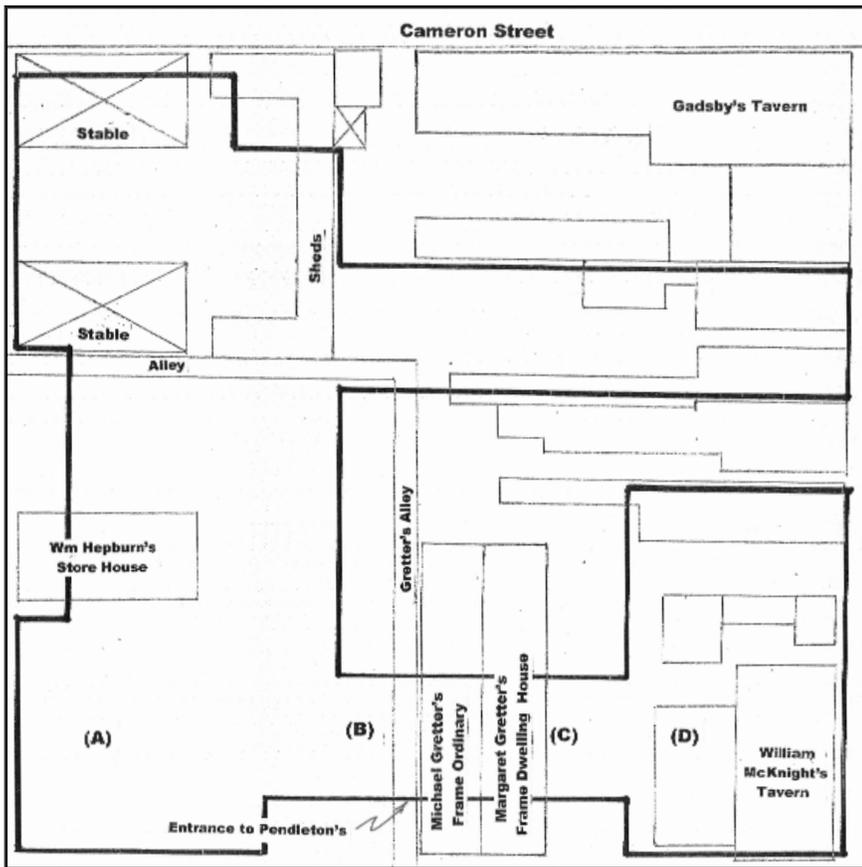
ed from Wurtemberg, Germany some time prior to 1770.²⁵ He may be the same “Georg Michael Gretter” shown on a “German” passenger list as arriving in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on September 5, 1751 on board the ship “...Shirley, Capt. James Allen, from Rotterdam... by way of Orkneys in Scotland.”²⁶ Documents identify him as a “foreigner” who took the oath of allegiance to the Province and State of Pennsylvania on the day of his arrival. The ship’s manifest does not show Gretter traveling with family members. In all likelihood, he was a young man between 16 and 20 years of age seeking his fortune in the new world. Although his profession in Philadelphia is unknown, he may have resided there until his financial resources allowed him to move to Alexandria, Virginia by 1762.

He first appears in Alexandria as “Michael Gretter” as early as May 19, 1762 when he was cited by Fairfax County authorities for “...retailing spirituuous liquor...” without a license.²⁷ He was subsequently granted a license on the same day; apparently no fine was imposed.

On May 9, 1763 the Board of Trustees of the town approved his purchase of town lot number 115 on King Street between Pitt and Royal Streets.²⁸ He paid 50 pounds 10 shillings, a sizable amount, which would indicate he already had substantial resources.

Margaret Gretter’s documented background, prior to her marriage to Michael, is limited. Where and when she was born, her maiden name and details of a previous marriage are not known. It would appear that she was residing in Alexandria, Virginia or nearby when she and Michael first met. While we do not know exactly when or where they were married, available church documentation shows that they were married as early as November 24, 1773 when Elizabeth appeared in the Christ Church, Alexandria parish, registry bearing the surname “Gretter.” (Note: “Margaret” and “Elizabeth” were used interchangeably throughout contemporary accounts for Margaret Gretter.) Alexandria land transaction documents for July 4, 1774 list Michael and Elizabeth as husband and wife when they conveyed portions of city lots no. 50 and no.115 located on King street (currently the 400 block, north side) to Thomas Grant and Thomas Armat, respectively, for 300 pounds each. A third portion of lot 115 fronting on North Pitt street was sold to William Hepburn on September 9th for 150 pounds, “...subject to wife Elizabeth’s dower.” (Note: This notation confirms that Margaret was previously married, since a “dower” is part of a deceased husband’s property given to his widow for life.)

Michael and Margaret had at least two children, a daughter Elizabeth and a son John. John married Margaret Goulding on July 13, 1782 and their son, Michael, Jr., was born on March 11, 1785. Assuming John Gretter was 18 or 19 years of age at the time of his



No. 7: Michael Gretter's Tavern and Margaret Gretter's Dwelling House, Then and Now. The block: Cameron Street on the north, Royal on the east, King on the south and Pitt Street on the west. The darker outline represents 20th century structures. (A) is The Loft, (B) Pendleton's Clothing, (C) Irish Walk and (D) PNC Bank.

marriage, he could have been born about 1763 or 1764. This would suggest that his parents Michael and Margaret probably met and married in Alexandria about 1762. Margaret's Pitt street "dower" property would further support the likelihood that Margaret and her first husband (identity unknown) were residing in or near Alexandria at the time of his death. It is therefore unlikely that Michael and Margaret met in Philadelphia. Christ (Episcopal) Church records confirm Michael's active participation in Church activities for the years 1769, 1770, and 1771. On November 25, 1771, Michael Gretter received payment from the Parish "...for burying of Cope," presumably a fellow parishioner.

Michael Gretter was active in local governmental affairs and apparently well known and respected by the early trustees of the town. As early as October 1768, Michael was serving as the town gaoler, according to a notice in the *Maryland Gazette* announcing the detention of runaway John Hoget held in the Fairfax County (Alexandria) gaol by "...Michael Gretter, Gaoler." Eighteen years later he was still serving as the town's gaoler. (See Illustration No. 1 for location of gaol on Market Square)

"Notice is hereby given, That Negro Peter, who says he belongs to Capt. Thomas Ashton of Hanover County, is now in the gaol of this County, He is about 25 years of age, has a mark on his nose, a cross on his left cheek, and says he is a ditcher. - His master is desired to send for him, pay charges, and take him away.

MICHAEL GRETTER, Gaoler
Alexandria, Nov. 16, 1786"

On October 4, 1779, the Virginia General Assembly passed an Act incorporating "The town of Alexandria" and appointing a Mayor and Aldermen. In March 1780, a new municipal government was appointed and key officials were designated. Michael Gretter was appointed town "Sergeant" by the Hustings Court, a position requiring him to monitor the activities of the local taverns, and specifically "...to give information to the magistrates of all those persons who kept tipling, disorderly or gaming houses so they could be proceeded against."²⁹ By 1786, Gretter was listed in a local newspaper advertisement as a "Tavern Keeper," and Personal Property Tax records for 1787 note Gretter receiving "...an Ordinary License." Although he continued his municipal duties as town Sergeant until March 22, 1787 when his commission expired, interestingly, this situation did not appear to be considered a conflict of interest.

Gretter's Tavern

Michael Gretter originally owned a number of properties on the north side of King Street in what is now the 400 block. He subsequently sold several in 1774 as previously noted. The *Alexandria Hustings Court Deed Book D*, describes a "Quadripartite" property transaction dated April 19, 1794 in which Michael Gretter ensured his remaining properties on King Street would be inherited by his children. The tavern property is described as beginning at a point 136 feet 3 inches east of Pitt Street and measuring 16 feet wide and 130 feet 9 inches deep. An alley called "Gretters Alley," bordered the lot on the west. (See Illustrations No. 1 and 7) In this transaction, Michael conveyed this property to his son John Gretter. As early as 1791, however, the *City Business Directory* lists John Gretter as owner/occupier of what appears to be the same property. Either this was not the same property or was a mistake by the *Directory* staff, or the ownership of Michael's tavern property had already been conveyed to his son via a previous deed transaction, now lost. The

same *Directory* shows Michael Gretter owning two other properties, a dwelling on Queen Street that he rented out, and a property on "Love Alley" that was not occupied at the time. His wife Elizabeth is also identified in the *Directory* as "...owner/occupier..." of the property adjacent to the tavern to the east. (See Illustrations No. 1 and 7)

Since ownership of property outright by a female in 18th century America was rare, Elizabeth may have acquired this property prior to her marriage to Michael as part of her dower from her first marriage. Consequently, while Michael controlled the property during their marriage, he could not sell it without obtaining court approval and her consent. So technically, the property was hers and was recognized as such.

While we do not know specifically who the Gretters employed in their tavern, an interesting announcement in the local paper on December 12, 1787 may offer a clue. The notice advised of a female indentured servant who ran away from her owners Michael Gretter and John Sutton of Alexandria. The "runaway" is identified as Anne Ferrel, a 25 year Irish female.

John Sutton, a Dry Goods merchant, is known to have been in business as early as 1784, and to have owned and occupied a dwelling house on Royal Street according to the *City Directory* for 1791. His part "ownership" of Anne Ferrel, the indentured servant, suggests that Sutton may have been in partnership with Gretter in the tavern, or just as likely, they may have shared Ferrel's indentured service in their respective households.

Margaret Gretter's Dwelling and Business

Margaret Gretter's dwelling house and place of business was located immediately next door to the family's tavern on the north side of King Street. The earliest reference to Margaret's (Elizabeth's) place of business is an advertisement in the *Virginia Journal* of April 7, 1785 in which "A Lot of Ground, situated on the South side of King Street, between Royal and Pitt streets, opposite Mrs. ELIZABETH GRETTERS..." was advertised for sale. While this advertisement does not specify the significance of her location, it certainly infers a site well known to local inhabitants, and most certainly one known for more than just her place of residence. Indeed, this was both her residence and place of business. (See Illustration No. 8)

In light of Margaret's role in providing both the shroud and pall cloth for George Washington's funeral, which presumably she made, one can speculate as to her profession. Seamstress, mantua maker, etc., immediately come to mind. In actual fact, Margaret Gretter's profession was that of "laundress," as indicated by her own advertisement in the *Virginia Journal & Alexandria Advertiser* of October 18, 1785.

PUBLIC VENDUE.

On Monday next the 18th Inst. will be Sold at the Vendue-Office, opposite the Court-House,
A Variety of Wet and Dry Goods,
Among which are Three large and elegant LOOK-
ING-GLASSES.
C. COPPER, Vendue-Master.
Alexandria, April 6, 1785.

On Tuesday the 26th Inst. will be Sold at Public Vendue, for the Benefit of the INSURERS,
 **THE Brigantine INDUSTRY,** with all her MATERIALS, as she now lies at Capt. HARPER'S Wharf.—An Inventory of Materials may be seen by applying to Captain CHARLES RUSSELL, on board said Brigantine, or at my Office.
C. COPPER, Vendue-Master.
Alexandria, April 5, 1785.

To be Sold at Public Vendue, on Tuesday next the 12th Instant,
A LOT of GROUND, situated on the South side of King-street, between Royal and Pitt streets, opposite Mrs. ELIZABETH GRETTER'S, 30 feet front and running back 72 feet.—The situation of this Lot is truly valuable being central in the town, and on the principal street leading from the Back Country.—The terms of payment are, one third in hand, one third in three months, and the remaining third in six months after the day of sale, on bond with security.—A general warranty will be made the purchaser.
CYRUS COPPER, Vendue-Master.
Alexandria, April 5, 1785.

No. 8: *Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser*, April 5, 1785. "...between Royal and Pitt Streets, opposite Mrs. Elizabeth Gretter's..."

"Just imported by the Subscriber in the ship Wade, Captain Grayson, A MACHINE called a MANGLE by which silk, linen and cotton stockings and other articles are smoothed and glossed, in the most expeditious and approved manner... the machine to be let by the day, month or year. — The Subscriber, at her house on King street, takes in WASHING on moderate terms. MARGARET GRETTER"

An advertisement in the same newspaper, dated four months earlier, would suggest Margaret also operated a boarding house at her residence on King Street.

*"Richard Weightman,
Taylor and Habit Maker,
Begs leave to acquaint his friends and the public, that he has removed from Mrs. Gretter's on King Street, to a convenient house on Fairfax - street, near the Printing Office, where all favors*

will be gratefully received and executed as usual.

An APPRENTICE is wanted to the above business.

Alexandria, June 15, 1785”

The U.S. Census for 1790 lists Michael Gretter as “Head of Family” and categorizes his household members as follows: White - 9; Black - 2. Besides Michael, his wife and two children, some if not all of the remaining five white members of the household may indicate that Margaret continued to take in boarders to supplement her income. While Michael is listed as “Head of Family,” the Quadripartite Deed dated April 19, 1794 identifies Margaret’s King Street dwelling house as the place “...where she now lives,” suggesting that she and Michael may not have been living together by this time.

Margaret Gretter passed away in early 1802. Her estate inventory dated March 20, 1802, reflects a somewhat modest level of possessions.³⁰ Her main room (likely her parlor) contained a walnut desk, square and round walnut tables, a small table, four green chairs (probably “Windsor” chairs), and four walnut chairs, “...none of exceptional value.” Mahogany furniture is conspicuous by its absence. Her “best room” did contain some decoration: “prints on the wall and clay ornaments on the mantel.” While her bed chamber contained a large bed with bolster, curtains, pillows and sheets, it was described as a “...low bed that stands apart from its frame, which is draped (possibly a “Press” bed which folded up against the wall when not in use). The rest of the inventory is listed as “...One lot of crockery and china, trays, candle snuffers, candlesticks, an old carpet, knives and forks, a tea kettle and a small pot, and 22 pounds of feathers “...not yet sacked.” Where she was buried is not known; available church burial records do not include her name. Local obituary notices do not mention her.

As with the other participants involved in George Washington’s burial preparation, the question arises -- how were the Gretters chosen for their specific role?

The selection of Michael and Margaret Gretter would not appear as obvious, except for the fact that Michael Gretter was a member in good standing of Alexandria’s Masonic Lodge. His position as “First Tiler” (Gate Keeper) from 1783 to 1791 no doubt established a “brotherly” connection with General Washington, a fellow Mason, who was named “Worshipful Master” of the Alexandria Lodge in 1788. It would appear that the Masonic Lodge may have officially requested Michael and Elizabeth’s assistance in this regard, or they simply volunteered their services.

Michael Gretter was both active in Masonic Lodge activities, as well as highly thought of by his fellow Masons. On April 15, 1791, Michael participated in the

formal Masonic ceremony during laying of the first cornerstone of the new District of Columbia at Jones Point at the mouth of Great Hunting Creek south of Alexandria.

According to Lodge history, Michael Gretter was described “as a God fearing man ... (who never) indulged himself. Many times when (Lodge) members were too deep in their cups to return to the Lodge, Gretter assisted the few officers in the duty. Often when a brother was unable to travel, Gretter provided transportation or a place to spend the night.”³¹ He is said to have attended the special Funeral Lodge on Monday, December 16th in preparation for the Masonic burial service at Mount Vernon, although his name is not listed in the official Lodge records as doing so. In all likelihood though, Michael and Margaret were among the “immense ... concourse” of mourners during Washington’s burial service at Mount Vernon on December 18, 1799.

What happened to Michael Gretter after 1799, where and when he died, remain a mystery. Available newspaper obituaries and Alexandria church burial records do not mention him. While land transaction records show no further sale of properties or the status of the family tavern, a brief notice in *The Columbia Mirror and Alexandria Gazette* on May 11, 1799 announced the sale of Michael Gretter’s “...house near Market Square.” It is not clear whether this property was in fact the family tavern on King Street between Royal and Pitt Streets or another property nearby. Perhaps Michael retired as a tavern keeper, moved in with family members, and moved away some time prior to his death.

George and Judy Edick

Of all the participants in George Washington’s funeral preparations, George and Judy Edick, providers of the 40 pounds of cake, have been the most elusive. Were they “bakers” by profession? Or were they chosen for their role based on a less formal connection with the Washington family?

George and Judy Edick appear briefly in a number of documents both individually and together from 1799 to as late as 1816. Of particular note however, are the number of spelling variations of their surname in these documents. At first glance one could easily assume the variation in spelling actually denoted different people. This, however, does not appear to be the case, but rather the result of a common tendency on the part of eighteenth century writers to spell names as they heard them, or thought they heard them. In addition, if the person whose name was in question was illiterate, his/her name could easily vary in spelling each time it was recorded. This was most likely the case with those responsible for recording the “Edicks” and has created the greatest challenge to identifying who George and Judy actually were.

The *Alexandria, Virginia Property/Tax List* for 1799 lists a George “Eddicks” with a double “d” and one “s.” The tax list for 1800 identifies a George Eddick with a double “d” but no “s” as “...owner/occupier...” of an unidentified property valued at \$250.

The 1808 *Alexandria City Census* reveals a Mrs. Judith “Edicks” with an “s,” residing in the city’s Fourth Ward, and a George “Eddick,” a free black, occupation “porter/house keeper,” residing in the Second Ward with two other free blacks in a one story dwelling. By 1816, Judith “Edicks” is listed as “Head of Household.”

Virginia Mutual Assurance Society fire insurance policy records do not reflect any insured dwellings listed under any of the “Edick” spelling variations; neither does The *Alexandria City Business Directory for 1791* list anyone bearing any variation of this surname. The latter perhaps confirms that the “Edicks” were not professional bakers with an open shop, but rather persons known to the Washington estate as having such skills.

The answer to this mystery may in fact rest with the free black community of Alexandria, and a possible connection between black slaves on the Mount Vernon estate and free black members of the nearby Trinity United Methodist Church in town. Mary V. Thompson, Research Specialist at Washington’s Mount Vernon Estate, draws an enticing connection between Mount Vernon and Alexandria. She believes that Washington’s slaves likely interacted with members of the Methodist, Baptist, and Quaker congregations. According to Thompson, research has revealed “... that throughout Virginia in the last half of the eighteenth century, Baptists and Methodists actively sought new members from the slave community...”²⁸ Apparently, this outreach was especially successful among those black slaves who were younger and had been born in America. She concludes, “Therefore the presence of Baptists and Methodists among the Mount Vernon slaves is to be expected.”

We also know that George Washington was particularly accommodating to the off-duty activities of his slaves. Unless they took undue advantage of his goodwill, Mount Vernon slaves were able to travel to Alexandria to sell produce and other items of their own manufacture at the weekend markets, and presumably to attend local church services as well.

The Trinity Methodist Church of Alexandria, prior to 1834, was located in Chapel Alley off of the south side of Duke Street between Royal and Fairfax Streets. This church boasted a large number of free black parishioners. Among a listing of “Colored Male” and “Colored Female” members in the Trinity Church register for February 20, 1806 are a George “Edrick” and a Judy “Edrick.”³³ Their names appear again in the registry five days later indicating they were enrolled in church classes

No. 2 and No. 8, respectively. No other documentation, other than the Washington estate account, reflects a George and Judy with identically spelled surnames, a strong indication that they were in fact a couple.

The weight of evidence, though somewhat circumstantial, would suggest that the George and Judy “Edick” documented in the Washington estate accounts were most likely the same George and Judy “Edrick” of the Trinity United Methodist Church of Alexandria. Further documentary support for this assumption is found in a City of Alexandria document entitled “Register of Free Blacks & Mulattoes,” dated September 26, 1809, which lists in sequential order, “Return No. 81 -- George “EDEC” and Return No. 82 -- Judy” (no surname given).³⁴ Their sequential listing would also suggest they were a couple. While the spelling of the surname is a bit different than previous versions, the pronunciation is quite similar, supporting a conclusion that they too are likely the same couple referred to in the Mount Vernon estate accounts.

George and Judy “Edick,” “Edrick” or “Edec” were likely known to slaves or black overseers at George Washington’s estate through the Trinity Methodist Church connection, perhaps by way of previous catering services for Washington family events. In any case, it would not have been unusual for the Washington family to rely on this outside source of support, especially at this most critical time.

What became of George and Judy, unfortunately, remains a mystery. Assuming that the “Judith Edicks” listed as “Head of Household” in 1816 is the same “Judy Edrick” of Trinity Methodist Church, it is likely that her husband George had passed away by 1816, since there is no reference to a George “Edick,” “Eddick,” “Eddicks,” “Edrick” or “Edec” in available documentation after 1809. Another possibility may be that the George “Eddick” listed in the 1808 census as a free black, occupation “porter/house keeper,” residing in the Second Ward, was in fact the husband of the Mrs. Judith “Edicks” of the Fourth Ward, also listed in the 1808 census. By 1808, they may have been living apart.

Unfortunately, the Trinity Methodist Church’s burial registry does not show any listing for either George or Judy Edrick, or any other variation of their surname. Where and when George and Judy may have died, remain unanswered. While we can make certain assumptions regarding the identity of the cake makers for Washington’s burial service, George and Judy, nevertheless, remain somewhat elusive.

NOTE: The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Dr. Pamela Cressey, Director of Alexandria Archaeology, for suggesting a possible connection between the Trinity Methodist Church of Alexandria and the Mount Vernon Estate.

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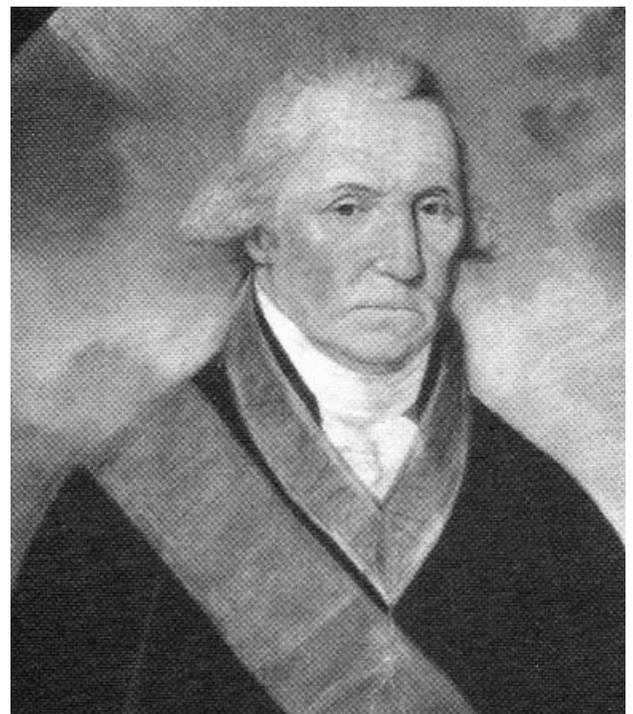
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In the next issue of the *Alexandria Chronicle*, historian Dan Hicks sheds new light on the whereabouts of runaway slaves in the early 19th century.



An older George Washington depicted here as a Mason by William Joseph Williams, 1794. In this issue Richard Klingenmaier chronicles the lives of those who provided their services for the burial and funeral of the first president.