



# ALEXANDRIA HISTORY

THE CITY OF ALEXANDRIA AND  
ALEXANDRIA (ARLINGTON) COUNTY

OLNEY WINSOR, MERCHANT

HISTORY OF SAINT JOHN'S ACADEMY,  
1833-1895

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# ALEXANDRIA HISTORY

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## The Alexandria Historical Society

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# The City of Alexandria and Alexandria (Arlington) County

by William B. Hurd\*

On 10 April 1606 James I gave to Sir Thomas Gates and others, "adventurers of and for our City of London," a tract of land in America called the "first Colony."<sup>1</sup> The London Company made its first settlement at James City in 1607. On 23 May 1609 the London Company was rechartered as the Virginia Company, and the boundaries of its grant were extended from Point Comfort along the coast 200 miles north and south, and east and west "from Sea to Sea"<sup>2</sup> The area added by the second charter included that now occupied by Arlington County and the City of Alexandria.

Until 1634 burgesses were elected on the basis of hundreds, plantations, and settlements. In 1634 the General Assembly divided the colony into eight shires, or counties, after the practice of England.<sup>3</sup>

The Virginia county court administered justice, licensed taverns and ferries, constructed and maintained bridges and roads, levied taxes, and appointed a sheriff and other county officers. It was a plural body, consisting usually of eight commissioners, who were appointed by the governor to serve, without compensation, for life. During the Commonwealth Period (1649-1661) the commissioners were elected by the House of Burgesses, and in 1662 the title of the office was changed to "justice of the peace." This form of county government survived virtually intact until 1851.<sup>4</sup>

The General Assembly in 1648 authorized the settlement of the north side of the Rappahannock River and created the county of Northumberland, which included all of Virginia between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers.<sup>5</sup> In 1653 Westmoreland County was created out of Northumberland; in 1664 Stafford was created out of Westmoreland; in 1731 Prince William was created out of Stafford; and on 1 December 1742 Fairfax County was created out of that part of Prince William designated as Truro Parish and lying north of Bull Run and the Occoquan.<sup>6</sup> The first Fairfax County seat was at Spring Fields—on Freedom Hill, near Tyson's Corner—and the county court met there in 1743.<sup>7</sup>

A town, named "Alexandria," was established at the settlement near the Hunting Creek tobacco warehouse by an act of the General Assembly passed on 11 May 1749. The town, a part of Fairfax County, was governed locally by a self-perpetuating board of trustees, which first met on 13 July 1749.<sup>8</sup>

In 1752, as a result of a petition by the townspeople, the Governor's Council ordered the Fairfax County seat removed to Alexandria. The first county court held at Alexandria met on 3 May 1752.<sup>9</sup>

\* William B. Hurd has lived in Alexandria since 1950. He is president of the Alexandria Library Company (chartered in 1799) and a former president of the Alexandria Association and Alexandria Historical Society.

On 4 October 1779 the General Assembly passed "An Act for incorporating the town of Alexandria." This act provided for a 12-member elected common council, which selected from among its members a mayor, a recorder, and four alderman. The council met as a body for legislative matters; the mayor, recorder, and aldermen were justices of the peace and sat as the court of hustings, with both criminal and civil jurisdiction. The new government took office on 9 March 1780.<sup>10</sup> The 1779 charter remained in effect until 1804.

In 1762, the original township having been filled up, the General Assembly had added the equivalent of some 14 city blocks to the town of Alexandria. In 1779 the town boundaries were again enlarged to include lots "adjoining thereto which have been and are improved," and in 1796 and 1797 they were extended so that they ran along the line that had been surveyed for the federal district from the river to West Street; then north, about one-block west of West Street, to Montgomery Street; then east, about one-half block north of Montgomery Street, to the Potomac.<sup>11</sup>

Meantime, under section 8 of Article 1 of the Constitution and the congressional acts of 16 July 1790 and 3 March 1791, the federal district boundaries had been surveyed, and the cession of a portion of Virginia to the United States for the purpose of establishing that district was awaiting formal action by the Congress to extend its jurisdiction over the ceded area.<sup>12</sup> In anticipation of this, the General Assembly on 4 December 1789 directed that the Fairfax County seat be moved to its present site as soon as a new courthouse could be built. The Fairfax County court met in the new courthouse in 1800.<sup>13</sup>

#### 1801-1847

The Virginia act of cession, passed 3 December 1789, provided that "the jurisdiction of the laws of this commonwealth. . . shall not cease or determine, until the Congress, having accepted such cession, shall by law provide for the government thereof under their jurisdiction. . ."<sup>14</sup> This condition was met on 27 February 1801, when the president approved "An Act concerning the District of Columbia."<sup>15</sup>

The 1801 act, insofar as it directly affected local government in the Virginia portion of the District of Columbia, provided:

- That the laws of Virginia, as they then stood, would continue in effect.
- For the creation of Alexandria County, the seat of which would be at the town of Alexandria
- For a circuit court of the District of Columbia, which would hold four sessions annually in Alexandria County, and from which appeals would be taken directly to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The only significant changes in the county government were those relating to the judiciary and the appointment of the justices of the peace constituting its governing body by the president rather than by the governor of Virginia.

The town continued under its Virginia charter until a congressional charter was approved on 25 February 1804.<sup>16</sup> This charter eliminated the offices of recorder

and alderman and provided for a common council of 16 members elected from four wards. The council elected the mayor until 7 February 1843, when the charter was amended to provide for direct election.<sup>17</sup>

The years between 1801 and 1847 were not happy ones for Alexandria—town or country. The town, particularly, had welcomed its inclusion in the new federal district because it felt that it would share in the financial, commercial, and industrial growth that the examples of Europe showed came to a nation's capital.

The townspeople, and those in what was called the "country portion" of the county were soon disillusioned. The 1801 act disenfranchised them in national elections and failed to provide either for a territorial government or for representation in the Congress. A prohibition in the 1791 act against the erection of public buildings for the central government south of the Potomac, the dislocation of trade patterns following the War of 1812, and a commercial rivalry between the towns of Alexandria and Georgetown that seemed always to be decided in favor of the latter by the executive and legislative branches of the government, doomed Alexandria's economic aspirations.

Repeatedly after 1801 Alexandria sought its return to Virginia. Finally, on 2 February 1846, the General Assembly passed "An Act accepting by the State of Virginia, the County of Alexandria, in the District of Columbia, when the same shall be receded by the Congress of the United States."<sup>18</sup> The Congress agreed to do this by "An Act to retrocede the County of Alexandria, in the District of Columbia, to the State of Virginia," approved 9 July 1846.<sup>19</sup>

Pursuant to the act of 9 July 1846, a referendum was held at Alexandria on 1 and 2 September 1846. The vote was 763 for recession, 222 against.<sup>20</sup> The principal opposition came from the country portion of the county, where an influx of farmers from the northern states had changed the earlier agricultural patterns and brought a substantial degree of local prosperity.

On 13 March 1847 the General Assembly voted to extend the jurisdiction of the State of Virginia over Alexandria County.<sup>21</sup> This was done after lengthy debate, in which the bill was opposed by members from the western counties, who saw in it a further unbalancing of the political relationships between the old tidewater aristocracy and the new western settlements.

An underlying, but rarely publicly expressed, issue was that of slavery. As its former trade declined, the town of Alexandria had become a major slave trading center. Alexandria town and eastern Virginia interests were concerned that the slave trade would be abolished in the District of Columbia—as it was by the Compromise of 1850—and that Alexandria, as part of the district, would not only lose a major economic activity but would also become a mecca for runaway slaves.<sup>22</sup>

### 1847-1869

The act of 13 March 1847, which was effective 20 March, created the county of Alexandria in Virginia and designated the town of Alexandria as the county seat. Provision was made for courts, representation in the General Assembly and the Congress, the assessment and collection of taxes, and the formation of the 175th

militia regiment. The legislative and judicial powers of the county were vested in a county court, consisting of 13 justices of the peace, to be appointed by the governor, as was still the Virginia practice. The act continued in effect the town charter of 1804.

In the compromise leading to the final passage of this act, Alexandria County, at the insistence of the western counties, was to share a delegate with Fairfax County.<sup>23</sup> In the following year, however, Alexandria County elected its own delegate, who was seated under an act passed 29 March 1848.<sup>24</sup>

Under the Virginia constitution of 1851 the office of justice of the peace became elective, as did those of officials formerly appointed by the county court.<sup>25</sup> On 4 August 1852 a new Alexandria charter became effective.<sup>26</sup> The town became the City of Alexandria, with a common council and board of aldermen in place of the unicameral council provided for in the 1804 charter. The city's northern boundary was extended about 500 feet, to what is now Second Street. In the following year the boundary was again extended, to include an area to the west bounded by the old District of Columbia line, Hooff's Run, and Cameron Street.<sup>27</sup>

In 1858 the city's southern boundary was extended to include the land between the old District of Columbia boundary on the north, Hooff's Run on the west, and Hunting Creek on the south.<sup>28</sup> In 1865 the restored government (see below) redefined the city boundaries to exclude this area.<sup>29</sup> It did not again become a part of the city until it was annexed from Fairfax County in 1915.

Alexandria County was occupied by federal troops on 24 May 1861—the day following the referendum on the Virginia ordinance of secession. Alexandria had voted 958 for secession, 48 against. For four years of war, Alexandria was a major supply, transportation, and hospital center and a staging area for the Union forces operating in eastern Virginia. During the occupation, the local governments continued in being, but many of their functions were taken over by the military government. The office of military governor of Alexandria was abolished on 7 July 1865.<sup>30</sup>

In August 1863, following the admission of West Virginia as a state, the Restored Government of Virginia, representing the seven Virginia counties under federal control, moved from Wheeling to Alexandria. On 27 February 1865 the restored government enacted a new Alexandria city charter, providing for an unicameral council of 16 members and an elected mayor.<sup>31</sup> The city government was returned to its pre-1865 form by the Virginia legislature in an act of 25 January 1866, which was effective 6 March 1866 after a referendum.<sup>32</sup>

### 1870-1893

The Virginia constitution of 1869 and the legislation that followed it in 1870 made profound changes in local government in Virginia.<sup>33</sup>

- The plural county courts, composed of justices of the peace who had both judicial and administrative functions, were abolished.
- County court judges, whose functions were to be primarily judicial, were to be elected by the legislature.



- County administrative functions were to be performed by a board of supervisors, consisting of the supervisors of townships.
- Each county was to be divided into not less than three townships, each of which would elect a supervisor, commissioner of roads, assessor, and other officers. The township board consisted of the supervisor, commissioner of roads, and assessor.
- A township was not to include any part of a city having a separate organization or a population of 5,000 or more. Thus, for the first time, Virginia cities were excluded from the territory of any county.<sup>34</sup>

On 26 May 1870 city residents did not vote for the newly-elected county officers, and in August the county board made two separate tax levies for the year 1870—one for the year up to May 1 to cover expenses “for which the whole county is chargeable,” and another for the period beginning May 1 for “the country portion of the county.”<sup>35</sup>

The county seat remained in the City of Alexandria until 16 November 1898, when a new courthouse at Fort Myer Heights was dedicated.<sup>36</sup> It was not until 1920 that Alexandria County was renamed “Arlington County.”<sup>37</sup>

The development of the Virginia independent city had a major effect upon the extension of city boundaries to accommodate urban growth. Previously, a city could annex without the county losing the annexed area, its population, or taxable property. After 1869 a county lost all three of these.

In 1904, as a result of a bar against special annexation laws in the 1902 constitution, the General Assembly established a judicial procedure for adjusting municipal boundaries.<sup>38</sup> Since the passage of that act, Alexandria has participated successfully in three annexation suits.

On 1 April 1915 the city annexed some 500 acres from Alexandria County and 450 acres from Fairfax County.<sup>39</sup> The evidence showed that Alexandria was the most densely-settled city in Virginia, and that many essential facilities, including its high school, had to be located outside the city boundaries. The new boundary extended the Second Street boundary to Braddock Road, then ran southwesterly to Janney's Lane and southeasterly to Roberts Lane and Hunting Creek.

On 31 December 1929 the city annexed from Arlington County all of its territory lying south of Four Mile Run, including the town of Potomac.<sup>40</sup> In the same proceeding the city annexed from Fairfax County the territory west to Quaker Lane. Following the 1929 annexation the General Assembly forbade the annexation of any portion of a county having less than 30 square miles unless the county as a whole was annexed.<sup>41</sup> Arlington alone met this description.

On 31 December 1951 the city annexed from Fairfax County the area lying generally between Quaker Lane and the present city limits to the west.<sup>42</sup> A petition for the annexation of the southern part of Fairfax County was withdrawn by the city in 1962.<sup>43</sup> Subsequently Arlington and Fairfax counties and the city have agreed on minor boundary adjustments in the King Street-Braddock Road-Quaker Lane area and along the Beltway.

The county government changed but little after 1874, when the townships



were replaced by magisterial districts, until 1912, when the General Assembly authorized the boards of supervisors in counties having more than 300 inhabitants a square mile to exercise the same powers as city councils.<sup>44</sup> An amendment to the Virginia constitution in 1928 permitted counties with more than 500 inhabitants a square mile to adopt by referendum either a modified commission plan or a county manager plan.<sup>45</sup> On 4 November 1930 the county voted to adopt the county manager plan, with a five-member board elected at large. The plan was effective 1 January 1932.<sup>46</sup>

On 4 October 1921 the city adopted the council-manager plan, with a five-member council elected at large and the mayor selected by council from among its members. The first council under this plan took office 1 September 1922.<sup>47</sup> A new city charter in 1932 enlarged the council to nine members, of which six were elected by wards and three at large. The mayor was the at-large member receiving the highest number of votes.<sup>48</sup> There was a general charter revision in 1950 in which the council-manager form was retained, with a seven-member council elected at large, which would choose one of its members to serve as mayor.<sup>49</sup> On 3 March 1956 the city charter was amended to provide that the mayor, while remaining a member of council, would be elected separately from the other six members.<sup>50</sup>

### FOOTNOTES

1. William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large, being a collection of all the laws of Virginia from the first session of the legislature in the year 1619*, 13 vols., reprint. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969). Cited by volume and page. 1 Hen. 57.
2. 1 Hen. 88.
3. 1 Hen. 224.
4. Albert Ogden Porter, *County Government in Virginia*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947), p. 12ff.
5. 1 Hen. 352, 362.
6. 1 Hen. 381, 4 Hen. 303, 5 Hen. 207; Morgan Portiaux in vol. 9 of the *Bulletin of the Va. State Library* establishes 1664 as the year in which Stafford was organized.
7. Wilmer L. Hall, ed., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond: Va. State Library, 1945), vol. 5, p. 93; Robert Nelson Anderson, "The Administration of Justice in the Counties of Fairfax and Alexandria (Arlington) and the City of Alexandria," *Arlington Historical Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Oct. 1961), pp. 9-10.
8. 6 Hen. 214; Waverly K. Winfree, comp., *The Laws of Virginia, being a supplement to Hening's The Statutes at Large* (Richmond: Va. State Library, 1971), p. 443; William F. Carne, *An Historical Sketch of the Municipal Government of Alexandria*, published by the City Council (Alexandria: Gazette Book and Job Shop, 1874), p. 9.
9. Hall, *Executive Journals*, vol. 5, pp. 379, 387; Anderson, "Administration of Justice," pp. 12-13.
10. 10 Hen. 172; Carne, *Historical Sketch*, p. 11.

11. 7 Hen. 604; 10 Hen. 192, 362; Samuel Shepherd, *The Statutes at Large of Virginia, being a continuation of Henric*, 3 vols. (reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1970), vol. 2, pp. 40, 122.
12. 1 Stat. 130, 1 Stat. 214.
13. 13 Hen. 79; Jean Geddes, *Fairfax County Historical Highlights from 1607* (Middleburg: Denlingers, 1967), p. 117.
14. 13 Hen. 43.
15. 2 Stat. 103, 2 Stat. 115.
16. 2 Stat. 255; amended by 4 Stat. 75, 4 Stat. 162, and 5 Stat. 599.
17. 5 Stat. 599.
18. Acts of Assembly 1845-46, ch. 64.
19. 9 Stat. 35.
20. *Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser*, 17 Aug., 1, 2, and 9 Sept. 1846.
21. Acts of Assembly 1846-47, ch. 53, as amended by ch. 54.
22. Dean C. Allard, "When Arlington was part of the District of Columbia," *Arlington Historical Magazine*, vol. 6, no. 2 (Oct. 1978), p. 41ff.
23. For the progress of the bill through the General Assembly, see the *Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser* 20 Feb. through 20 Mar. 1847.
24. Acts of Assembly 1847-48, ch. 56.
25. Armistead R. Long, *The Constitution of Virginia, an annotated edition* (Lynchburg: J.P. Bell Co., 1901).
26. Acts of Assembly 1852-53, ch. 358.
27. Acts of Assembly 1853-54, ch. 484.
28. Acts of Assembly 1857-58, ch. 270.
29. Acts of Assembly [meeting at Alexandria] 1865-66, ch. ix. There is evidence that this action was taken in contemplation of the return of Alexandria County to the District of Columbia.
30. On the Civil War period generally, see William B. Hurd, *Alexandria, Virginia, 1861-1865* (Alexandria: City of Alexandria, 1970).
31. Acts of Assembly [meeting at Alexandria] 1865-66, ch. ix.
32. Acts of Assembly 1865-66, ch. 152, as amended by ch. 153. An 1871 charter (Acts, 1870-71, ch. 73) contained essentially the same provisions as the 1866 charter and, much amended, remained in effect until 1932.
33. Acts of Assembly 1869-70, ch. 38, 39, and 40.
34. Chester W. Bain, "A Body Corporate" *The Evolution of City-County Separation in Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967). Bain concludes that the Virginia independent city evolved over time, and that it was first recognized formally in the provision of the 1869 constitution excluding cities from the townships into which counties were divided. Alexandria is not, as is often claimed, one of three independent cities in Virginia. All Virginia cities are independent, and there were 41 of them in the 1980 Census.

35. *Alexandria Gazette*, 27 May 1870; C.B. Rose, Jr., "The 1929 Annexation from Arlington by Alexandria," *Arlington Historical Magazine*, vol. 3, no. 3 (Oct. 1967), p. 13ff; Bain, "A Body Corporate," p. 40.
36. Acts of Assembly 1895-96, ch. 556; 1896-97, ch. 321; Frank L. Ball, "Arlington Comes of Age," *Arlington Historical Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Oct. 1958), p. 5ff.
37. Acts of Assembly 1920, ch. 241.
38. Acts of Assembly 1904, ch. 99.
39. The annexation court denied the city's petition (Fairfax Co. Common Law Order Book 5, p. 580). The finding was reversed by the Supreme Court of Appeals (117 Va. 230; 84 S.E. 630).
40. Arlington Co. Common Law Order Book 11, p. 566, and Book 12, pp. 247 and 293.
41. Acts of Assembly 1930, ch. 211.
42. Fairfax Co. Common Law Order Book 27, p. 29. The county's appeal was denied by the Supreme Court of Appeals (193 Va. 82; 68 S.E. 2d 101).
43. Fairfax Co. Common Law Order Book 54, p. 104.
44. Acts of Assembly 1912, ch. 349.
45. Acts of Assembly 1930, ch. 167.
46. Robert Nelson Anderson, "Arlington Adopts the County Manager Form of Government," *Arlington Historical Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Oct. 1958), p. 52ff.
47. *Alexandria Gazette*, 5 Oct. 1921 and 1 Sept. 1922. See also 27 Sept. 1921 and 29 Aug. 1922.
48. Acts of Assembly 1931, ch. 280.
49. Acts of Assembly 1950, ch. 536.
50. Acts of Assembly 1956, ch. 262.

# Olney Winsor, Merchant

by Elizabeth Hambleton\*

Alexandria Sept. 2nd 1786

My Dear,

This will inform you of my safe arrival in this Town last Evening about 4 oClock, in good health. . . .

On our arrival here we were very Politely received by Messrs [John] Murray, [Edward K.] Thompson and other northern acquaintances and introduced to a number of Gentlemen of the Town. I have been here so short a time that I can say little of the Place—it appears to be flourishing, many new Buildings going up—Wharves filling out, and other marks of profitable Business—There are several Lotts that we have to set our Store on—have not yet viewed them—shall do it this day or Monday and fix on the spot, in order to get the Store up as soon as possible. . . .

Our acquaintance here are very healthy and there is no complaint or appearance of Sickliness here and that is uncommon in all places. . . .

your ever Constant and affectionate Husband

O. Winsor<sup>1</sup>

So wrote Olney Winsor in the first of a series of letters to his wife Hope back at their home in Providence, Rhode Island. Olney, born in that city about 1752, was the fourth son of Samuel and Lydia Olney Winsor. Nothing is known about his early life, but he must have had good schooling, at least in grammar, penmanship, and literature, as shown by his well-written letters.

He and his first wife, Freelove Waterman, had four children, of whom Nancy, alone survived infancy. After Freelove died, Olney married Hope Thurber, whom he sometimes addressed as Hopee. Besides Nancy, they raised a nephew, Charles, as one of their own.

In Providence, Winsor worked in a store owned by John Jenckes, father of John, Joseph, Crawford, and Scott, all of whom visited Alexandria at one time or another.<sup>3</sup> Joseph, then 22, and Olney, about 34, were dispatched to Alexandria to start a branch of the family business, sailing on the Sloop Susan, Captain Samuel Packard.<sup>4</sup>

They found lodgings at Mr. John Short's boarding house,<sup>5</sup> which Winsor described on 7 September:

... he has from 8 to 12 Boarders of us from Providence (viz) In.<sup>6</sup> Murray, Edw.<sup>7</sup> K. Thompson, James Murray, Joseph Jenckes, Thomas Rogerson, John Wheaton and your humble Servant—the other Boarders at present are Mr. William McWhir, who is Master at the Academy in this Town,<sup>6</sup> he is from Ireland, has had the small Pox very badly and has many large and rough Features which distinguish that Nation—but he is a very sensible well bred Mann, and a very agreeable and witty Companion—And Mr. Joshua Merryman, a Young Gentleman from Baltimore who

\* Elizabeth Hambleton edited Volume I of *Alexandria History and Alexandria: a Composite History* (Alexandria, Va.: Alexandria Bicentennial Commission, 1975). She is a director of the Alexandria Historical Society and a member of the Alexandria Archeological Commission.

keeps a Book Store here?—We are very well Boarded—I breakfast on Coffee—Dine on Meats—Sup on Tea or Milk, most generally the latter—we have small Beer at all times.—I have been as well since I have been here as I ever was in my Life, and am fully convinced want of Care and attention is the foundation of the Fevers and Agues which some times prevail here—they do not now prevail, our Company of Boarders in general are more Fleishy than I ever knew them. . . .

In the same letter he added, "We have hired a good Lot, and I now spend my time adays in getting ready to raise our Store, . . ." and on 1 October he wrote, "We have got our Store in good forwardness, and hope to have it in readiness to receive Capt.<sup>n</sup> Wheaton's Cargo, who expect in about 10 days,—and the prospect remains good of doing Business to advantage, with proper application in which hope we shall not be wanting."

The transaction is described in an indenture of 5 October 1786 between John Fitzgerald and his wife, and John Jenckes, Olney Winsor, Joseph Jenckes, and Crawford Jenckes, in which the four partners, two of them in absentia, leased the parcel of ground at the southeast corner of King and Water [now Lee] streets, stretching 40 feet 6 inches eastward on King Street and 76 feet 6 inches south along Water Street, "the same being a part of the Wharf made by him the said John Fitzgerald or joining to or part of that Lott of ground described in the plan of said Town by No 11 . . ." Annual rent was to be "202½ Spanish milled Dollars at six shillings each or the value thereof in half Johannes's weighing nine penny weight at forty eight shillings each, or in any other Gold and Silver Coins according to those Rates and Values."<sup>8</sup>

Captain Samuel Wheaton arrived on 5 October in the brigantine *Absolonia* from Surinam,<sup>9</sup> and by 17 October they had launched their enterprise and had made "very good Sales of the Brig.<sup>s</sup> Cargo. . . Mr. Jenckes and myself harmonious exceedingly in our business, which is a great satisfaction." Captain Wheaton and Captain Samuel Packard seem to have been the chief provisioners of the store, and they carried various cargoes back to Providence. Olney Winsor often sent merchandise to his wife—a barrel of flour, half a dozen oranges, crackers, linens, and cambrics, and always mail. Letters in those days went by stage or by any ship that happened to be headed in the right direction. Due to the dangers of shipwreck or seizure by enemy ships, mail delivery was uncertain, and it was customary to send copies of letters by separate means of transportation. Winsor often sent a summary of his last letters just in case they had not arrived.

On 9 December 1786 Olney wrote to Hope, "I have begun to lodge in the Store," and two days later, "Mr Jenckes and myself this day began to breakfast and sup in the Store and have concluded to enlarge our Bed and lodge together during the cold Season. I will assure you it is more agreeable to lodge and board where our business is. . . We have a lad. . . who now Cooks for us. . ." They also acquired a dog.<sup>10</sup> The store is described in later advertisements as a "Large and Commodious Store and Dwelling House," and as "a two-story Frame Building, the upper part of which is divided into four rooms. . ."<sup>11</sup>

Business evidently prospered, and, on 29 October 1789, Jenckes and Winsor rented another piece of land from John Fitzgerald, described in an indenture of

that date as stretching along the east side of Water Street from a point 76 feet 6 inches south of King Street southward for 40 feet to an alley 20 feet wide, then eastward along the alley 40 feet 6 inches. The rent for this land, which adjoined the store, was 60 Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in half Johanneses, or the equivalent in other currencies. Both pieces of property were leased in the names of John, Joseph, and Crawford Jenckes, and Olney Winsor, but sometime in 1789 Crawford Jenckes died. In an indenture of 28 October John Fitzgerald returned 60 dollars of the rent of the corner property to "the heirs of C. Jenckes."<sup>12</sup>

Jenckes and Winsor Co. traded in whatever goods arrived in their cargo ships or other ships coming from the West Indies, Europe, or ports on the eastern seaboard. "We have a good Store of the Goods that we have, especially West Indian goods sell very well." Their first advertisement appeared in the *Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser* on 19 April 1787 and ran for a few issues thereafter:

# TO BE SOLD

Jenckes, Winsor and Company

At their store at the foot of King Street in Alexandria, by wholesale and retail, on the lowest terms, for cash or country produce.

|                          |                  |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| Muscovado and Loaf Sugar | Stone lime,      |
| Coffee,                  | Cheese,          |
| Chocolate,               | Vinegar,         |
|                          | Duck and Cordage |

A small assortment of EUROPEAN GOODS, among which are Lustrings, Muslins, Cambricks and Lawns.

Also, a few New-England POTATOES for feed or family use.

In one letter Winsor informed Hope that "printing Paper is very scarce here and I think will sell readily—The Paper in this Town is printed on Demoy, which generally sells @ 12/[shillings] km

Crown for Pamphlets etc. 10 km

Cotton and Linnen Rags to be had @ 12/per 100 weight"

The greater part of each letter that Winsor wrote to his wife concerns his family and their welfare, but occasional remarks give us snatches of life and events in Alexandria.

"...finding there were no Barber's Shops here, but that Barbers visited their Customers, for which they charge a high price, and it is very inconvenient, I have got my Ear Locks cut off, and stand my own Barber, in which I succeed tolerably well."

"There are here a Church, Prsbyterian and Quaker's Meeting. . . I have taken a Seat in Mr. Short's Pew in the Prsbyterian, which I have regularly filled the two Sundays I have been here. . ."

"Attended Meeting and heard a good Discourse by Mr. [Issac Stockton] Keith on the Prodigal Son. . .<sup>13</sup> but feeble state of Health and general formality renders his discourses void of that Animation w.<sup>ch</sup> I think adds greatly to Clerical Oratory,

and tends to impress the importance of the Subject on the Minds of the Hearers. . . .

"On Thursday I attended Friends Meeting by particular request from some of my acquaintance of that Society, had two Speakers, both in Petticoats—the Subject, Morality and adherence to Profession. . . ."

"This day Mr. John Joseph Heydick, a native of Germany, son of a Jewish High Priest, who was lately himself a Jewish Rabbi, but now converted to Christianity, dined with us, and this Evening a Sermon at Mr. Keith's Meeting, he is bound into the back County to preach to the Indians."

"Mr. Jenckes is introduced to a very agreeable Circle of Male and female acquaintance here, which renders it very probable that he will spend his time agreeably. . . . We are treated very well by the People in general. . . ."

"... the Girls do not show the effects of Hommini here now, because of the Scarcity of Corn this Summer I suppose—I have not seen anything made out of Indian Meal since I left home. . . ."

"Tomorrow the Alexandria Races commence, the Town is already crowded with people from all the Country round—this is a favorite diversion in the Country. . . ."

"Last Evening there was an elegant Ball in this Town, being the anniversary of General Washington's birth—no less than fifty Ladies elegantly dressed graced the Ball Room, tho' the mud in our intolerable Streets, was up to the Knees in Shoes (rather Boots) and Stockings.

"Mr. Jenckes attended—says the Ball was agreeable for one so numerous—he has formed considerable acquaintance with the Ladies, who are very agreeable, but in general they talk rather too broad Irish for him."

"This being the annual Election of Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council for this Town, Mr. Jenckes and myself were pressing called on by our Friends to give our Votes, out of Complaisance we went to the Court House and exercised that privilege, thus you see we are considered Alexandrians."

"... the great quantity of Rain which has fallen has made the Streets almost impassable—The ground in general is a red loamey clay, below which is a hard clay, that forms a Pan, to hold the Water on the Top of the ground—but as it is easily wet, so it dries surprisingly whenever the Sun opens and the notherly Wind prevails—I forgot to tell you that we have a great plenty of Musketoos, and that they are very troublesome in the Warm Nights."

"I have paid the greatest attention to my Health since I have been here that I ever did, . . . indeed it is very healthy here—I have not seen a Funeral since my arrival."

But a few months later he wrote:

My Dear, you have heard of Funerals being attended by an invited Guest, and that after returning from interring the deceased, they are highly treated with the best of liquors.



Here this improper, not to say indecent, Custom prevails, among the higher Ranks, and many of the Guests are frequently almost as insensible before they quit the house, as their deposited friend.—Among the lower classes they use almost as little ceremony as they would on the death of any common domestic animal—if the poor deceased happens to be a stranger, perhaps a few humane persons will contribute to purchase him a rough Coffin and to defray the expense of interment—otherwise perhaps they may lie two or three days before authority interferes, in which case the Corps is put on a Dray and drove off by two or three drunken Draymen, with as much noise and as little concern as tho they had a puncheon of Rum on their Dray.

On March 2, 1787 he wrote on another subject:

This afternoon we had a humiliating spectacle presented to view—Seven women of easy virtue, charged with keeping bad houses etc., tied on a Dray, or Truck and dragged through the Streets, by a large concourse of Boys, attended by a numerous train of Spectators of all ranks—they have a custom here of ducking these characters.—the Ducking Chair, was prepared and it was expected that these poor objects would have undergone, that watry trial; but it was said that several of them were pregnant, which prevented it.—However criminal these poor miserable wretches were, it could not but excite pity in a human mind to see them thus exposed.—

Persons who reside in New England and are accustomed to see the smart well dressed Females in the lower orders of life, have not adequate Idea of the appearance those orders make here.—In the midst of Winter, without a Shoe or Stocking to their feet, or other clothing sufficient to hide their nakedness, part of their daily business is to carry Water from the River in large Tubs on their heads—I think any Man might be well excused for living a Batchelor all his days if these were all the Females he was to see.

A hint of trouble appeared in Winsor's letter of 12 November 1786, "I mentioned in my last that I expected to attend the Trial of the Brig.<sup>e</sup> [brigantine *Absolonia*] at Williamsburgh. I propose to set off for there in the Stage next Tuesday morning—her Trial is to be the Monday after—I dread the long and tedious Journey, and the more disagreeable Business. On my return I will write you the first Conveyance and inform you how the Brig.<sup>e</sup> and Cargo stands. . . ." And on the 27th, "The Brig.<sup>e</sup> tryal is put off to 16th January next, in order to obtain Capt.<sup>n</sup> Wheaton's Evidence in the Case. . . ."

The "long and tedious Journey" is described in his letter of 5 December:

On Monday Evening (13th Nov.) about 10 oClock Mr. Jenckes waited on me to Lomax's Tavern, where I went to lodge in order to be ready for the Stage in the Morning<sup>14</sup>—at 4 oClock the Stage set off, in which was Mr. Lyon, of Baltimore, and Mr. Rice of New Orleans and myself, at 8 oClock arrived at Colchester, a small village situated on Aquacon Creek 17 miles from Alexandria—breakfasted, detained almost an hour in passing the Ferry, which is about one eighth of a Mile wide, about 10 oClock passed through Dumfries, situate on a Creek of the same name, 10 Miles from Colchester, it is a flourishing little Town, containing a few handsome buildings and considerable number of Inhabitants who appear to be

industrious in business—there is a large Tobacco house here—their houses are the Center of business in this Country—dined at Sanford Court House, at half after 4 oClock passed through Falmouth, a small village situated on the East side of the Rappahannock, where are large Tobacco houses, passed the River at the Rope Ferry and arrived at Fredericksburgh at about 5 oClock, where we put up for the night having rode 52 Miles. . . .

Saturday Morning 7 oClock (Nov. 18th) took Stage for Williamsburg—Dined at Birds about 3 oClock and at 5 oClock arrived at Williamsburg, being 60 Miles from Richmond. . . .

Nothing more is said about the situation of the brigantine until 17 December:

We have calculated that the Goods that we saved out of the Brig.<sup>e</sup> will fetch us about six Thousand Dollars including the Cocoa and Cotton sent home—we have sold to the amount of about four Thousand, six hundred and fifty Dollars of them, for the Cash in hand and shall doubtless sell the principal part of the remainder in a short time. . . you say that we have to reflect that the vessel was not lost at Sea, with the lives of the Seamen—I must say that I feel more mortified at the loss than I should to have lost the same Sum at Sea, providing no lives were lost—this is granting it eventually to be a loss, which I hope it will not—I think most probably that I am censured by my Friends, who are but partially informed—. . . I think you must be convinced that we complied to the General Custom of the place in the Entry, and that it was a particular unlucky time that subjected us to the Misfortune—On Capt.<sup>n</sup> Packard arrival, we entered fully to the minutest article, expecting that the Searcher would examin critically—but he has not been aboard but once and then did not see Capt.<sup>n</sup> Packard or the Permit—thus you see how things ebb and flow, we could have safely run half the Sloops Cargo, but shall run no more Risques of that kind. . .

This description provides a hint as to why the brigantine was on trial. As early as 1671 a customs officer had been appointed to collect duties from merchant ships plying the Potomac River. And in 1779 Alexandria was made a Port of Entry by the General Assembly, with a customs officer responsible for collecting duties on both sides of the river. Permits describing ships and their cargoes were issued to merchants who shipped goods in or out of Maryland or Virginia, and bonds were required to see that they adhered to the description on the permit and to the strict regulations of the port.<sup>13</sup>

Many merchants tried to evade these controls and duties, and the customs searchers constantly had their hands full. Congress, in 1789, finally closed the existing collections offices and created the U.S. Customs Service of the Potomac, with five districts in Maryland and Virginia, but smuggling was never completely stopped.

On 18 January 1787 Winsor wrote again about the trial:

You say you are displeased with Alexandria on account of the Rigor with which we have been treated. . . be assured that the People in Alexandria in general (the Searcher and his particular connections excepted) are friendly to us, and think the proceedings severe. I have been treated politely at this place by the officers of the Admiralty Court, but by the influence of the Judge Advocate Capt.<sup>n</sup> Wheaton's

deposition was rejected as Evidence—on which we prayed a Continuance, in order that the Capt.<sup>n</sup> may have time to appear in person, which was granted. . . .

I expect to get the Brig.<sup>n</sup> into possession by giving Bond for her Appraisement and to be paid if should be finally condemned, and if not to be void. By this you see, we must have another Journey for Trial, which I intend to endeavor to get Mr. Jenckes to attend with Capt.<sup>n</sup> Wheaton. . . .

The final word on the brigantine came on 23 March, "I met Capt.<sup>n</sup> Wheaton at Williamsburg the 14th Inst. the Trial of the Brig. came on Friday 16th and she was condemned with 24,826 lbs. Sugar and 1133 lbs. Coffee—altho' the Brig.<sup>c</sup> is condemned we have had refunded to us about three Thousand pounds of Coffee which has been retained ever since the Seizure of the Brig.<sup>c</sup>—the Sale of the Sugar and Coffee is to be on 5th April—hope to purchase in to advantage. I went down with considerable confidence of recovering our Property, but as I am disappointed I submit with fortitude."

On 6 April, "... the Sale of the Brig.<sup>c</sup> Cargo came on yesterday, at w.<sup>ch</sup> I stood principal Bidder and bought in all the Sugar except two Barrels, which the Searcher had the audacity to purchase—this made the Winsor blood boil and it displayed itself as much as I thought prudent—The Sugar averaged us 23/6 per Cwt, and the Coffee @ 9¼ per lb. We have made Sale to near £100—... the principal Inhabitants of this town exerted themselves to prevent any persons bidding on us, for which I feel very thankful. . . ."

For some time Olney had been writing to Hope that as soon as the matter of the brigantine was settled, he would be coming home. No letters are available after this last one of 6 April 1787 until 4 January 1788, so it may be assumed that he returned to Providence at that time. His first long letter of 9 January describes the journey back to Alexandria:

My Dear,

You doubtless recollect that it was on Friday the 7th of Dec.<sup>r</sup> that I left home, we arrived in Dutch Island harbour that Evening. . . . [He then describes in detail the vicissitudes of the voyage, the gale winds that blew them off course, drifting in the Gulf Stream and skirting the shoals of Cape Hatteras.] Early on Tuesday Morning, New Years day, was favoured with a S.W. wind which brought us into the Powtomac about Sunrise, soon after which Capt.<sup>n</sup> [Benjamin] Wheaton and myself got into a Pilot Boat,<sup>16</sup> in order to go into Yeocomico Creek to make Entry of the Brig.<sup>c</sup> we had with us one of our own People and a boy belonging to the Boat to manage her<sup>17</sup>—however the Boy, may justly be said to be a "stupid ass" for altho, he had been at the Office twice before in ten days past, he carried us up the wrong branch of the Creek two or three Miles and then declared that "he was a dog if he knew where he was" . . . we had no fire but what was in the Hold of the Boat, where they burnt pitch Wood, which produced a Smoke almost as dismal as that described to issue from the Tartarian Gulf<sup>18</sup>—you will judge that he now received "more Curses than Coppets" . . .

. . . called on the Boy to give us a Breakfast of warm Chocolate—he proceeded to wash his large (only) Iron Pot and to boil a suitable Quantity—when ready we called for Cups and Dishes, but were informed that there were none aboard—he then

produced two Spoons, which would not reflect the Visage, and paraded the Pot in the small Bunck of a Cabin—we each took his Spoon and laded out a good quantity of Warm Chocolate, which relished equal to the most elegant Repast—at Dinner had good Beef and Bacon—Stood in up the River all day... and at 5 oClock came up with the Brig.<sup>6</sup> at anchor, nearly opposite Port Tobacco—Next morning at daylight got underway again... The distance we now were from this Town rendered it very doubtful whether the Brig. would get up in the course of the day, and being very anxious to give information of our Arrivals by next days post, induced Capt.<sup>18</sup> Wheaton and myself again to embark in the Pilot Boat, the swiftness of which Sailing rendered our arrival at Town very probable—fortunately we arrived about 5 oClock and very unexpectedly the Brig.<sup>6</sup> between 9 and 10—If she had not arrived that Evening, she would have stopped in the Ice, which made rapidly in the River the next day, and the succeeding night closed it intirely, even so hard that it has been crossed with Horses for some days past. . . .

Our Company was so large that the Passage was rather uncomfortable—we diverted ourselves frequently in Psalmody, as some on board had some small knowledge of that Art and a few Notes were on board—I regretted leaving mine at home—Please forward me Billing's Books, and manuscript Notes that you will find with them, by the first Water Conveyance. . . .<sup>19</sup>

Business is very dull, and great complaint of scarcity of Casks—hope to get the Brig. away early in February. . . . Our River continues intirely shut. . . .

In another letter that summarized the voyage, he ended, "I have been cordially received by all Friends, who flock'd to the Store to see me on my arrival. . ." Not long after he reported that:

...on the Evening of Tuesday the 22d [of January] inst. we had an alarming Fire in Town, it caught in a Brewery, w.<sup>ch</sup> it destroyed together with a House and Store adjoining, all belonging to Mr. [Andrew] Wales<sup>20</sup>—the nearest part of these buildings was not more than 150 feet from our Store, but fortunately the Wind which was small drove the flames from us—we made the necessary arrangements to secure ourselves if a shift of Wind had taken place, by having Water in the Store.

My Dear, please to send my Fire Bags and Bucketts by the first Vessel—I may be better prepared in case of a repetition of the Calimity—Mr. Wales buildings are Stone and Brick, otherwise the Fire undoubtedly [would] have extended much farther for many buildings were very near to leward. . . . With my Buckets and Bags please to send one Sheet of the Printed Articles of our Fire Society.

A year before he had commented on the fire fighting situation in Williamsburg in his letter of 17 January 1787: "Last Monday Morning Week about one third of the City of Richmond was destroyed by fire—the part burnt was the richest and best Houses and Stores, great property was lost.—Last night about 1 oClock this Town was alarmed with the Cry of Fire—I proceeded to the fire and exerted myself to extinguish it and preserve property—continued out untill about 4 oClock, . . . three Houses only were destroyed, two of which could easily been saved, had they had any Fire impleyments—but they had no Engine, Hooks, or anything suitable for the Occasion."

Winsor's buckets and bags arrived in April 1788, and shortly after that he joined the Relief Society of Alexandria, one of the several fire companies in the

city. In the minutes of that society, probably for a meeting that year, the following resolution appears: "Resolved that whereas Mr. Olney Winsor having lost his bags, Mr. John Murray having lost Mr. Obadiah Bowen's buckets and one of his own bags at the time and place above mentioned, and the above gentlemen having reported the same to the clerk within the time limited for doing so; that the Treasurer is here by authorized to furnish them the money to replace same."<sup>21</sup>

The social life of Alexandria continued apace, and Olney often wrote of invitations to dine or drink tea:

Mr. Thomas Porter one of our New England Friends was married to Miss Sally Ramsay about six weeks past. I dined with them the day after wedding.

Our family [Edward Thompson and his brother, Joseph Jenckes and other close friends] dines with Mr. Murray—on Roast Beef and Tongues.

Just received a Billet from Miss.<sup>s</sup> Rogerson and Dabney to dine with them, but the previous engagement to Mr. Bowen would not admit. Thus you see we Yankeys live sociably.

I mentioned to you last Evening that I was to drink Tea with the Ladies... I called on Mr. Bowen and we paraded ourselves at Mrs. Murray's where we found Mrs. and Miss Swoope, Mrs. and Miss Fleming and the two Miss.<sup>s</sup> McClenachans, after being introduced, a considerable Chat took place—Miss Swoope being rather given to taciturnity in large Companies, took no considerable part—I believe I have told you that she was not handsom in the face, her figure is elegant and her manner easy, for further particulars of her enquire of Jos. Jenckes or Ned Thompson...

Yesterday afternoon attended the public Exhibition of the Scholars at Mr. McWhir's Academy with some select Friends, who requested my Company, among them were several agreeable females—The Parts of the Scholars were rather injudiciously chosen, in my humble opinion, but tolerably well performed....

... [stopped] at Miss Swoope's and were treated to a very good Pineapple....

The Loaf Cake you was so kind as to send me came in good order, and is very fine—it is a great rarity here—most of my particular acquaintances has had a Cut at it. The Pickles are excellent.

Then in late March, 1788, Olney Winsor and Joseph Jenckes received an invitation to dine with General and Mrs. Washington at Mount Vernon on Saturday the 29th. Winsor's letter describing this momentous occasion is published in Volume 4 of *Alexandria History*.

At that dinner the General had discussed with his guests the new Constitution of the United States of America, which had been referred to special conventions in the various States for ratification. He asked Winsor what he thought Rhode Island was going to do about ratifying the Constitution but Olney was not able to answer for his State. Rhode Island was balking. On 25 January he had written to his wife:

... a very cold stormy day has given me the opportunity to peruse our governors [John Collins of Rhode Island] long letter to the gen.<sup>l</sup> assembly on the Subject of the Present Confederation the defects of w.<sup>ch</sup> he has largely [dissected?] and declared its inadequacy to the Purposes of the Union, and of the Constitution proposed to cement and perpetuate it under a firm and energetic System. He

appears to be a real friend to the Union, we can only stand as a Nation—his fears of a dissolution are very freely expressed.

When he comes to state his objections to the Constitution, I think he speaks loudly to the Lesser States of the Union, and especially to the Eastern—"The equal Representation of the States in the Senate—and the submitting the Regulation of Commerce to the mere Majority of the Legislatures and the Reason why" he would wish an amendment of the Constitution before adopted, I think to be inconsistent for he says "it is much to be doubted, if after its operation is proved to be of general advantage, two thirds of the states can be [illegible] to amend—indeed they out not to—for upon republican and equal principles, the general Interest of the Union out to prevail. Pardon me for taking the Liberty to dissent from so great a Character, much more to comment on his letter. However it is a Right I claim as a Citizen and which I never did nor will surrender. The contest between the Federalists and the Anti, [federalists] in Penns.<sup>3</sup> has arisen to great heights. I have only to wish Peace and unanimity restored to them and to all the States.

20 April: "Inclosed you will receive a list of the General counties in this State, and part they have taken in choosing Delegates to act on the Constitution in the State Convention. I congratulate you on the decided majority in its favor—show the list to Major Keen and such other friends to good order and Government as you think would wish to know how we stand in Virginia, on the grand questions—'to be or not to be' as a Nation 'is the Question. . . .'"

28 April: "Saturday Evening we rec.<sup>4</sup> the agreeable intelligence that the Convention of Maryland adopted the Constitution the day before, by a majority of near six to one, that is 65 pro-11 con. . . ."

By 25 June 1788 the requisite number of States, nine, had ratified the Constitution, but Rhode Island still held out, refusing to agree to allow Congress a 5% impost and balking at the centralization of government. George Washington was elected president on April 1, 1789 and was inaugurated in New York on April 30.

The following anonymous letter from Providence, dated 19 December [1789] appeared in the *Virginia Gazette and Alexandria Advertiser*:

A complete renovation of the character and consequence of this State, or its further degradation. . . must rest with our General Assembly, at their session in January. The rule of conduct now to be pursued is plain as though written by a Sun-Beam. Of that reason and sound policy might determine the important question! Then should we be united under a government which bids fair to make Americans the happiest of humankind, and having for its supreme head THE MAN whom millions revere and almost adore, as the political Father and Saviour of his country.

In the same issue of the *Gazette*, dated 14 January 1790, another letter was published, this one from the *Federal Gazette*:

Address from the UNITED STATES to RHODE ISLAND on the 1st of January 1790

The twelve confederated sister States salute the deluded sister, who unkind to them and cruel to herself, stands aloof in solitary gloom from the joyful cordial band. . . .



The pleas and ridings must have helped, for, on 29 May 1790 Rhode Island finally ratified. It had been a long struggle.

The following letter to an unknown friend was found among the letters to Winsor's wife:

My Dear Friend,

...It is doubtless already in part known to you that previous to the American Revolution, the faith of the inhabitants of this State were Episcopalians, or rather that Episcopalianism was the established Religion—their preist were generally sent out from England, had large Salaries paid them by the Parishes in each of which elegant Churches were built; but to their disgrace and to the great let and hindrance of true Religion they too general lived in a manner unbecoming their Stations—under such Teachers, what may the People be expected to be—indeed Sir the people of this part of of the United States, tho' the first settled, may be truly said to be fifty years behind the New England States in literary and mechanic improvements, and fully that period advanced of them in the destructive vices of Mankind. The deficiency in the former may be principally attributed to the Custom of importing all articles of manufactory and Husbandry, which discourages the few Mechanics here; and the advanced state of the latter to the bad example of their late Clergy (they have few now, as there is no fix'd Salaries) and the great n.<sup>r</sup> of Europeans that emigrated here, bringing their vices with them—Previous to the War almost all the Commercial business in this State was transacted by Factors and agents from England, Ireland and Scotland. The Methodists, a religious sect nearly approaching to the Newlights in New England,<sup>22</sup> are alleged to have been of great service to this State for a few Years past, in checking the Vices and improving the Morals of the People—tho' some degree of superstitious enthusiasm may attend this people, yet certainly the "allowed" effects of their Principles in this case are those of the true Religion. State of Episcopal Churches—lethargic—Friends and Bap[tists] in neighb Counties of good report. . . .

Olney frequently wrote to his wife, telling her how much he missed her and how he hoped that she would come to Alexandria to live. On 18 March 1788 he wrote:

...supposing that Mr. Jos. Jenckes will settle in Providence [Jenckes was married in that city that year] in which case our business will demand my almost constant attendance here, I am led to ask you, if you are willing to remove to this place. I will assure you it is improving rapidly in the agreeable Arts of Society—the many people already here from our part of the Country will render Society much more agreeable at first than it otherwise could be. . . . Notwithstanding what Capt.<sup>n</sup> Wheaton formerly said of this Town, he now says that if he could sell his House in Providence for its value, he would quit the Seas and remove here and set up business.

Then on 16 May he wrote:

The Sloop wanting some repairs I have concluded to come home in her to make them, sometime in June, as early as I can, and to make some arrangement in our Company Business for the future, for I am fully convinced that our Business will suffer if I am absent from this place any considerable time whilst we make it a place of



discharge for our Vessels—this keep to yourself. And for me to live separate from you and our dear Daughter, and moulder away life as I have done for two years past, I cannot reconcile to my Ideas of duty to myself or family. Indeed it is inverting the order of nature—I am no modern Husband, who can be content from a wife and family for Months and years, without apparent anxiety—no, my affections are more sincere.

And home he went, for the last of his letters is dated 10 June 1788:

One oClock P.M.

Sailed from Alexandria, Virginia in the good Sloop Susan, Sam.<sup>l</sup> Packard Master, bound for Providence Rhode island—Wind S and SW—passed Mt. Vernon at about 6 oClock and continued our course down the River. . . . [there follows a detailed log of the journey, ending with the notation: Providence, June 21, 1788].

Exactly how long Winsor remained in Providence is not known, but he was definitely back in Alexandria by the next year, as he wrote in his genealogy of the Winsor family, "In the year 1789, when I resided in Alexandria, Virginia. . . ." Hope must have come back with him, as he states in the genealogy that "he had one daughter, Susan Jenks Winsor, born in Alexandria, Virginia." Neither Nancy nor Susan married, as they appear as "Miss Nancy and Miss Susan J. Winsor" in an attestation of 18 December 1846 that the genealogical records used in the book were copied from original manuscripts in their possession.<sup>23</sup>

Little is known about the Winsors' subsequent life in Alexandria, except what can be gleaned from a few newspaper accounts and official records. The King Street property, which was listed in the city's Land Book of 1787 as owned by John Fitzgerald and occupied by Jenckes and Winsor, in the 1788 book was owned by Crawford Jenckes and in the 1787 book by "Alney" Winsor. Jenckes, Winsor and Co. were the owners in 1790. Unfortunately land books do not exist for the next few years, but in 1795 the property is owned by the Jenks and Winsor Estate, and in 1796 by a different owner.

The following advertisement appears in the 11 July 1793 issue of the *Virginia Gazette*:

To be Rented

That large and commodious Store and Dwelling House, lately in the tenure of Messrs. Jencks, Winsor & Co. situated on Water and King Street, together with a new three-story Brick Warehouse, adjoining the same Lot, 24 feet front and 40 feet back, well calculated for the reception of Grain and Flour. For terms apply to Murrays and Wheaton

Then in the 1 July 1797 issue:

To be Rented

For one or more years, and possession given the first of next month. That valuable Property, situate at the intersection of King and Water Streets, now in the possession of Mr. John Ramsay. This property consists of a large two-story Frame Building, the upper part of which is divided into four rooms and neatly

finished for the accommodation of a family, with a covered passage leading to a convenient kitchen in the yard below. Also a large Three-story Brick Store at the foot of the lot on Water Street and an alley leading through to Union Street. The premises will be rented either separately or together, as may suit the applicant. To be leased on a ground rent forever. A vacant Lot of Ground situated on Water Street, between the aforesaid buildings. For terms apply to

Thomas Rogerson

Olney Winsor was evidently a respected and responsible citizen of Alexandria for the short time he lived here. He was on the grand jury in 1790, and was elected Recorder of the city on 17 February 1791 for a one-year term.<sup>24</sup> The records of the common council from 1780 to 1794 are not available. We do know that Winsor acted as arbiter in two cases in the county court, and that he was appointed on 10 February 1791 as one of the managers of a street lottery to raise money to pave some of the city streets.<sup>25</sup>

When or why Winsor returned to Providence is not known, but he left us a lively and graphic account of what life was like in Alexandria during the years he lived here—a period about which little is known.

### FOOTNOTES

1. "Letters of Olney Winsor of Providence, Rhode Island to his wife Mrs. Hopee Winsor—Written in Alexandria 1786-1788." Originals at the Virginia State Library Manuscript Division.
2. Olney Winsor, "Genealogical Account of the Ancient Winsor Family in the United States. . . ." (Providence, R.I.; L.W. Winsor, 1847), 12pp. Original at the Rhode Island Historical Society Library. This article was signed by Olney Winsor on Dec. 14, 1817. . . . in the 65th year of his age. This would mean that he was born about 1752.
3. *Representative Men and Old Families of Rhode Island*, 3 vols. (Chicago: J.H. Beers & Co., 1908), 3: 1464-1465, 2124.
4. *Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser*, 7 Sept. 1786-Inward Entries.
5. Erhelyn Cox, *Historic Alexandria, Virginia - Street by Street* (Alexandria, Virginia: Historic Alexandria Foundation, 1976.) p. 21. This house at 210 Duke Street was probably built by John Short soon after he acquired the lot in 1783. It was later owned by John Murray and by Dr. James Craik.
6. The first principal of the Alexandria Academy, or Alexandria Latin School, near the southeast corner of Washington and Wolfe streets.
7. *Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser*, 30 Aug. 1787. An advertisement says the store was ". . . next to Dr. Craik's House." As Dr. Craik lived in one or two houses before he bought 210 Duke, it is not certain to which house the advertisement referred.
8. *Alexandria Deeds D: 234*. The lot would have been to the east of lot 56. The Spanish milled dollar equalled six shillings, one piece of eight, peso, dollar or piaster, and was adopted by Congress in 1775 as the monetary unit of the United States, and by the Virginia General Assembly in 1792. A Johannes, sometimes called a "Joe," was a Portuguese coin.
9. *Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser*, 12 October 1786 - Inward Entries. The sloop Susan, Captain Samuel Packard, departed the same day.

10. Alexandria Tax Record, 1787, 1789. In 1787 "Winsor Jencks & Co." were taxed 9 shillings for 2 whites and 1 dog. In 1789, the dog does not appear, but they, Mr. and Mrs. Winsor, had 2 servants or slaves.
11. *Virginia Gazette*, 11 July 1793; 1 July 1797.
12. Alexandria Deeds: D 234
13. Minister of the Presbyterian Meeting House, 1780-89.
14. John Lomax ran a popular tavern at 310 Princess Street until his death in 1787.
15. Frederick Tilp, *This Was Potomac River*, (Alexandria, Va. n.p., 1978), p. 73-75.
16. Earlier in this letter Winsor said Capt. Benjamin Wheaton "was the master of the brigantine." An earlier newspaper mentioned "Samuel Wheaton, Master" of the *Absalom*.
17. This was the Kinsale naval office, which was responsible for issuing permits for shipping on the lower Potomac.
18. John Milton, "Paradise Lost," Books II and VI. This refers to the "Gulf of Tartarus," the fiery realm of Satan.
19. Probably William Billingsley's *New England psalm-singer*.
20. The brewery on Wales Alley south of King Street was on the Potomac River, whose shore at that time was near the present-day Union Street.
21. Ashton McKinney, *A History of the Relief Truck and Engine Company 1 of the Alexandria Fire Department*, (Alexandria, Va. n.p., 1958).
22. A religious movement that started in New England about 1734, called the *New-Light-stir*. Its members were called *New Lights*.
23. Winsor, *Ancient Winsor Family*.
24. Fairfax County Court Records, 1788, p. 298; *Alexandria City Directory*, 1791.
25. *Fairfax County Court Records*, 1788, p. 49; p. 413; *Virginia Gazette*, 10 Feb. 1791.

## History of Saint John's Academy, 1833 - 1895

by Allan W. Robbins\*

The story of Saint John's Academy begins on a sunny September morning in 1833. Father John Smith, newly appointed parish priest of Saint Mary's parish in Alexandria, sat in an improvised classroom on Prince Street east of Fairfax Street awaiting the arrival of the twelve boys whose names had been given him.

Father Smith was an "eloquent whole-souled Irishman"<sup>1</sup>; a strong believer in Catholic education for both boys and girls. He was a charitable and genial man who, at the same time, could enforce strict discipline. He induced the Sisters of Charity to establish a boarding school for girls while he, assisted by John Brigdon, a lay brother of the Society of Jesus, began Saint John's.<sup>2</sup>

Anticipating success in establishing his new school for boys, Father Smith bought a lot at the northwest corner of Duke and Royal streets on which he built the first home for the academy.<sup>3</sup> Success did crown his efforts and the number of his students grew to sixty-four that first year.<sup>4</sup>

Among the members of the first class were Bernard G. Caulfield, who became a member of congress, James M. Steuart, an officer in the U. S. Army in the war with Mexico and in the 17th Virginia Infantry during the Civil War, and John A. Roach, a local businessman and member of the Star Fire Company killed at the Dowell store fire on 17 November 1855.<sup>5</sup>

The new building on the corner of Duke and Royal streets was ready for occupancy in 1834. It was described in the *Academy Journal*:

...the frame building which has just [1873] been pulled down, was erected, on the lot now occupied by the new residence of Wm. H. Lambert, Esq., and Prof. H. C. McLaughlin, now of Rock Hill College, became teacher of the classics. The house was filled up in the best style then in vogue, though in a manner very far inferior to what is now the fashion of school houses. It was a high, one story frame, about 40 by 30, with a neat cupola, containing a small bell, the whole being painted white, and surrounded by a high fence, with a white paling in front. Between the street neat and the school house, some twenty odd feet was a beautifully arranged garden laid off with gravel walks and containing choice flowers, and such was the discipline of the school that though a hand rail, alone, separated it from the walk, no one ever saw a boy in it without permission.

Two paper-leaf trees and four locusts shaded the south side of the yard, and beneath their foliage was a pretty little bowling green, the only sort of place for physical exercises except ball alleys then used in schools.

The interior of the house was unequally devided [sic] into two rooms, the larger having eight long forms, of different heights, painted a light lead color and arranged in two rows, with an aisle between them. These forms were of different heights, for large and small boys, each student's place being fixed by a block or little stool, set upon the long bench, so that if he moved to the right or left, the teacher would

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observe it by his head being lower than it ought to be. A number, in yellow paint, designated each desk which was partitioned off from its neighbor, and was simply a shelf under the sloping top. The teachers desk was a plain table, with four legs, set into a platform raised about eighteen inches from the floor, and stood in front of the large, arched window, on the east; the water bucket, a tall, green, beer keg, with one head knocked out and iron handles on the sides, being at the window on the left, and the recitation benches, without backs, against the east and north walls, on the left, in the shape of the letter L. The ceiling was octangular, and the room was warmed by a large, ten plate stove, surmounted by a long, ugly, old drum, set, longitudinally, about two feet above it. The smaller room was furnished with desks of various patterns, placed pretty much ad libitum, and had a small stove [stove] in the middle. This was the Latin school.

Behind the house was a shed, one end of which was parti[tioned] off and closed in, as a chamber for Mr. Brigdon, who was on hand day and night, keeping things straight, and doing, though lame, a great amount of work both on the building and in his garden.<sup>6</sup>

In 1835, the third year of the school, Richard L. Carne entered at the age of eight. He was "nervous and unused to the society of boys. His first entrance into the world of school was an awful plunge to him, for the threat of school had long been held out as the punishment of his misdeeds and he viewed it as a malefactor does the penitentiary. However, the strict Irish gentleman who presided soon disarmed his fears and he came to love the school. . . ."<sup>7</sup>

The first era of Saint John's Academy lasted from 1833 until 1841. The teachers were Father John Smith, principal; Hugh C. McLaughlin; Joseph Brigdon; Nicholas Oahan; John Kellenberger; Peter Smith; and the Reverend William Grace.

The following passage from Richard Carne's speech in 1883 gives an excellent picture of life at Saint John's under Father Smith:

The school of that day was most unlike the present. Base ball was utterly unknown and bandy [a form of field hockey] now happily, almost obsolete, divided with foot ball the glories of the athletic field. In school the classification was defective; nothing like our present grading was thought of. The little boy I have mentioned went into a class of grammarians, classicists, and arithmeticians—such a thing as a class in arithmetic would have been deemed the invention of a lunatic. [Students] went on in Pike's Arithmetic until their comprehension or their industry failed and then—quietly turned back. Did some industrious boy prefer to learn, an application to the teacher who sat on his platform and read his book or newspaper, would procure him all the instruction he needed, but if he preferred not to learn, or was indifferent in the matter, his arrangements were not interfered with. Memorized lessons alone had to be studied and woe to the luckless mite who failed to study them! The rattan, renewed every few weeks after a short but active life, was a prominent factor in the school work and though often rebelled against, was always victorious. The chief instructor of that period was a gentleman from Georgetown, with a red face and white hair, though he was but forty. If ever a man had in his heart "the milk of human kindness", it was he. The little boys would leap upon his back as he came to school; the elder talk to him as to an elder brother. Companion in our walks, teacher of swimming and skating, easy in disposition and in discipline, he could still command obedience when it became necessary and would not hesitate to flog the biggest boy in school. Peace to his spirit. . . .<sup>8</sup>

In 1837 the Reverend John Smith was replaced by the Reverend Stephen L. Dubuisson, S. J., a native of San Domingo driven from his homeland by insurrection, officer in Napoleon's army, and president of Georgetown College. It appears that Father Smith's life became a little too "whole-souled". He left the Jesuit order and went to Brooklyn, New York, as an assistant to the pastor.

The administration of Father Dubuisson was brief because of poor health. In 1838-39 he returned to France to restore his health, and Joseph Kellenberger assumed the position of principal. However, the school faltered under his leadership, and in 1840 Hugh C. McLaughlin tried to carry on with no apparent success. During this period the name of the school was changed to the Alexandria Classical and Mathematical Institute.<sup>9</sup> The connection with Saint Mary's parish was severed when Joseph Kellenberger took over leadership of the school.

Saint John's Academy slept from 1841 to 1847, when Richard L. Carne, the young student of 1835, gathered seven students around him and made a new beginning. He resumed classes under the original name with a curriculum of mathematics, English, and the classics.

Mr. Carne carefully recorded in the *Grand Roll* of the school important facts regarding the later life of his students. Although the school closed its doors in 1895, he continued to make entries until 1902. Here are some of the notes he made on the outstandingly successful students of the first eight years of Saint John's.

Alexander A. Semmes became a captain in the U.S. Navy

John A. Heydon became a colonel in the Confederate States Army

Thomas Moore was killed in the Mexican War

John A. Roach and J. Carson Greene were killed at the Dowell store fire, 17 November 1855

Bernard G. Caulfield became a member of congress from the First District of Michigan

James M. Stewart was an officer in both the Mexican War and the Civil War

Patrick Madding was said to have made a great fortune in California

William F. Dement commanded an artillery battery, in the Confederate States Army

Saint John's Academy grew and flourished between 1847 and 1892. Although Carne started with seven students and one assistant, the next year he opened with eleven students. By the school year 1850-51 there were seventy-two students enrolled. Some of the names are well known to present day Alexandrians: Ballenger, Demaine, Dixon, Hurdle, Lawler, Lloyd, Lyles, Semmes, Summers, Triplett, Tyner, Woodall.

The curriculum included Greek, Latin, French, English grammar, composition, elocution, arithmetic, geography, history, penmanship, reading, and spelling. In 1852 William F. Carne joined his brother as head of the mathematics department. Algebra and bookkeeping were added to the courses of study. That year graduation exercises were held for the first time at Liberty Hall, on the north side of the 400 block of Cameron Street.

The circular for the fourteenth session, 1852-53, announced that two or three boarding students could be accepted. Although Father Smith had accepted a few

boarding students in the old Saint John's this was the first appearance of boarders at Mr. Carne's Saint John's.

The teaching staff was expanded in 1853 to include Joseph Carver, teacher of penmanship; Norval Foard, head of the primary department; and Arthur C. Kell, assistant in mathematics.

The circular for the sixteenth session, 1854-55, stated the terms of admission as board and tuition, \$125.00 per session (ten months); tuition for ten months, \$20.00; tuition per quarter, \$5.00. This circular made the first mention of uniforms, which were later described in 1885 as "cadet gray coat and pants, trimmed with black. The cap was blue, of cadet pattern, with the initials of the organization."<sup>10</sup> The following quotation is from the program of the closing exercises for this session.

At half-past two o'clock in the afternoon, the students, to the number of sixty-six, uniformly attired, and wearing a badge representing St. John in Patmos, moved in procession, through some of the streets, to Liberty Hall.

A splendid American flag was borne in front by Wm. Hohenstein, and in the centre, carried by John A. Delphey, appeared the elegant banner of the Academy, bearing the same device as the seal, with the motto "Pro Deo et pro Patria," on a white field, in front, and "St. John's Academy, Alexandria, Va., instituted A.D. 1833," on a crimson field, on the reverse. The banner is canopied with crimson, fringed with gold and surmounted by a large gilt eagle. . . .

The hall was densely crowded, and among those on the platform was George W.P. Custis, Esq. of Arlington, the adopted son of Washington.<sup>11</sup>

As the school grew, it became necessary to subdivide the students into classes. In 1853 the students were divided into a preparatory class (for those below academy level) and three upper classes divided by the academic level of the subjects. The first class, the most advanced, studied reading, spelling, English grammar and composition, modern geography, ancient and modern history, penmanship, and written and mental arithmetic. The second class studied spelling, reading, modern geography, U.S. history, penmanship, and written and mental arithmetic. The third class studied spelling, reading, modern geography, penmanship, and written and mental arithmetic. The first and second classes were allowed, with the permission of parents or guardians, to study such additional subjects as Latin, Greek, French, chemistry, astronomy, bookkeeping, elocution, and mathematics.

In the decade before the Civil War the school grew in numbers of students and facilities. A library was begun, barnacks were enlarged, debating and drama societies were formed, and a class for older students who had not learned to read, write, or manage arithmetic was started. A prominent part of the closing exercises at this time was a talk by George W. P. Custis, whose death was sadly announced in the circular for 1858. In 1861, the old building at Duke and Royal streets becoming too small the school rented the Eclectic Academy building on Columbus Street next to Christ Church, where it remained until after the Civil War.

Although Alexandria was occupied by Federal troops on 24 May 1861, Mr.



Carne decided to keep the school open. Attendance was large during the war years, reflecting the fact that most of the other schools in the city were closed, and also the enrollment of the children of northern officers whose families were here—including two of the military governors sons.

In October 1866 the school moved to the Odd Fellows Hall building, at 218 North Columbus Street. There was a vacant lot between the hall and Cameron Street on which Saint John's held military drill and played baseball until the mayor forbade playing baseball on the lot because of danger to passers-by. The school then used the field near Colross [probably the block bounded by Princess, Oronoco, North Fayette, and North Henry streets] for its outings.

As with most young men's schools, a school for young ladies was selected for feminine companionship. In this case it was Mount Vernon Academy under the leadership of Miss M.A. Roach at 108 South Washington. These estimable young ladies held fairs, made cakes, and saw the boys off on their annual school outing.

The academy had taken boarders since 1852. They stayed at first at the principal's home, 815 Prince Street. After public schools were established in 1871 the number of Alexandria boys attending Saint John's Academy greatly diminished, but for some unexplained reason, the number of boarders more than compensated for the loss. As the numbers of boarding students grew, the principal purchased 813 and 817 Prince Street for use as the barracks, library, and office.

The *Academy Journal* was started in December 1866. It was published for two years, then suspended until 1872. From 1872 until 1892 it was published regularly<sup>12</sup>. Its pages are rich in local news and genealogical information as well as biographical sketches of prominent Alexandrians, many of whom were Saint John's graduates.<sup>13</sup>

Beginning in 1873 the cadets made a trip of about a week each Summer. From 1873 to 1877 the students went to Shepherdstown and Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, on the canal. There are several fine descriptions of the canal, canal boats, sights along the canal, and the cadets' experiences while making the trip.

After 1877 Carne and the students made trips by boat or by train. One of their favorite excursions was to Leonardtown, Maryland, but they also visited Fredericksburg, Richmond, Ocean View, and Virginia Beach, Virginia as the opportunity arose. The last Summer encampment was at Ocean View in 1891.

Saint John's sponsored the Patrick Henry Society for debating and public speaking and the Demosthenes Society for drama. In sports there was a baseball club and a football team that played other private schools.

The alumni association of Saint John's was the Old Students Association. They met every year and the *Journal* had a column devoted to alumni news. These columns contain valuable genealogical information about the 1,588 students who attended the academy between 1833 and 1892.

In 1877 Mr. Carne added enough classes to the curriculum to qualify graduates for admission to the University of Virginia. In 1879 the University began administering scholastic tests somewhat like the College Board Examinations. There were examinations in English, mathematics, science, foreign languages, and

history. Certificates were issued to successful candidates. It was considered a mark of distinction for a school to have students successfully complete the examinations. The award of the certificates became an important part of the closing ceremonies each year.

The continued growth of the school forced the principal to seek larger quarters. He found them at the southeast corner of Duke and Columbus streets and moved the school there in September 1884. This beautiful building, which had been built by Abijah Janney in 1826 and enlarged about 1859 to forty rooms, was a source of great pride both to the students and to Mr. Carne. Its picture is the only illustration, beyond advertisements, appearing in the *Journal*. According to the *Journal*, it had been the Alexandria High School earlier. Perhaps this is a reference to the school kept there by Caleb Hallowell.<sup>14</sup>

The cadet corps participated in most local and many metropolitan area parades. On 21 February 1885 they marched in the parade for the dedication of the Washington Monument. Its performance and bright uniforms were described in the *Washington Post*, 22 February 1885. It always participated in the Washington Birthday parade and the *Journal* devoted space to describing these festivities.

An event occurred in March 1891 which, although it would not have seemed catastrophic at the time, proved to be so as far as the school was concerned: Mrs. Carne died. It was she who had managed and maintained discipline among the boarding students and in reviewing the problems which eventually caused the school to close, her death appears to have been the proximate cause. The last issue of the *Journal* in August 1892 contains the farewell address of Mr. Richard L. Carne, who had decided to become a priest and turn administration of Saint John's over to Captain William H. Sweeney, who had been associated with the school for many years.<sup>15</sup>

Perhaps a fitting conclusion to this history of the academy is the concluding remarks in the *Grand Roll* for the session of 1891-92 by the principal:

This session was an unfortunate one. In the early part of it, the Principal decided to retire at its end, to take orders, and was engaged during the year in studying theology in his leisure hours. Some unruly boys from other schools obtained admission, and it was difficult to govern them. From time to time requests for withdrawal were made and insisted upon, and, at last, the Principal, finding it necessary to preserve the discipline and reputation of the school, felt obliged to expel three resident cadets for a gross and open violation of orders and public scandal in playing baseball with a so-called Female Base Ball Club. Even after this, there was so insubordinate a spirit that the annual encampment, which it had been proposed to have at Leonardtown, Md., & for which preliminary arrangements had been made, was abandoned. The only public appearances of the cadet corps were in the parade on Confederate Memorial Day & at River View. Football & baseball teams were good & successful.

The school struggled on for a while under the new management. The 1892-93 session was moderately successful. The cadet corps paraded in the second inauguration parade of Grover Cleveland.

During the 1893-94 session the school was incorporated. The first board of trustees included the Rev. Richard L. Carne of Richmond, Leonard Marbury, Michael B. Harlow, James R. Caton, William F. Carne, Lawrence Corbet, and Samuel G. Brent.

The sixty-second session began on 17 September 1894 with only eighteen students, eight boarders and ten day students. The class was so small that military drill was suspended, and all the teachers resigned at the end of the session. The board of trustees gave permission to Mr. J.M. Vianney Ficklin, of the class of 1892, to attempt to revive the academy. He reopened the school on the ninth of September 1895 with seven day scholars, having refused to take boarders. The enrollment was so small that classes were suspended and the school was closed before winter set in.<sup>16</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

1. Edward L. Stephens, *One Hundred and Fifty Years for Christ*, (Alexandria, Va.: Saint Mary's Church, n.d.), p. 29.
2. Ibid. p. 30.
3. Ibid. p. 30.
4. *The Academy Journal*, 5 March 1873, p. 1.
5. Richard L. Carne, manuscript speech given at Armory Hall, Alexandria, Virginia, 25 June 1883. Alexandria Library—Lloyd House, Alexandria, Va.
6. *The Academy Journal*, 5 March 1873, p. 1.
7. Richard L. Carne, manuscript speech.
8. Ibid.
9. *The Grand Roll of Saint John's Academy*, Alexandria, Va., 8th Session, Alexandria Library—Lloyd House, Alexandria, Va.
10. *Alexandria Gazette*, 23 February 1885, p. 3.
11. *Circulars of Saint John's Academy, 1851-1859*, Alexandria Library—Lloyd House, Alexandria, Va.
12. *The Academy Journal*, August 1892, p. 2.
13. Ibid. p. 3.
14. *The Academy Journal*, August 1884, p. 2.
15. *The Academy Journal*, August 1892, p. 1.
16. *The Grand Roll*