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## **“PHOTOGRAPHIC PRESENTMENTS OF THEM WILL BE ACCEPTED BY POSTERITY WITH AN UNDOUBTING FAITH”**

**CORRECTING TWO CIVIL WAR-ERA PHOTOGRAPHS OF ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA  
ATTRIBUTED TO WILLIAM R. PYWELL AND PUBLISHED IN  
GARDNER’S *PHOTOGRAPHIC SKETCH BOOK OF THE WAR* (1866)**

### ***PART II: THE MARSHALL HOUSE***

**BY BENJAMIN A. SKOLNIK, PhD**



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**BENJAMIN A. SKOLNIK, PHD**

*[CONTINUED FROM PART I: 1315 DUKE STREET SLAVE PEN]*

## ***PART II: THE MARSHALL HOUSE***

### **INTRODUCTION**

In Part I of this article (see *Winter 2023-2024* issue of the [Alexandria Chronicle](#)), we were able to conclude that William R. Pywell’s photograph of the Alexandria Slave Pen at 1315 Duke Street, which appears in Alexander Gardner’s 1866 *Gardner’s Photographic Sketch Book of the War* (referred to here as *Sketch Book*) could not have been taken in August 1862 as claimed by Gardner.<sup>1</sup> From the available evidence, we were also able to conclude it likely had to have been taken some time after April 15, 1865 but before the late fall of 1865.

Part II of this article will strengthen this argument by similarly examining the given date for the photograph of the Marshall House, which stood on the 400 block of King Street at the southeast corner of Pitt Street, now the site of the Alexandrian Hotel (**Figure 0**). Taken by William Redish Pywell, the iconic photograph depicting the location of the first two Civil War casualties was published by Alexander Gardner and appears on the previous page of the Slave Pen image in *Sketch Book* (**Figure 1 & 2**). This research will conclude that like Pywell’s photograph of the Slave Pen, his photograph of the Marshall House could not have been taken in August 1862 as claimed by Gardner, but instead was most likely taken between August 1, 1865, and sometime before the end of the fall of 1865. Furthermore, it will also suggest several possible explanations for why both Alexandria photographs in Gardner’s book appear to have been backdated from 1865 to 1862.



<sup>1</sup> Skolnik, Benjamin A., “Photographic Presentments of Them Will Be Accepted by Posterity with An Undoubting Faith’: Correcting Two Civil War-Era Photographs of Alexandria, Virginia, attributed to William R. Pywell and Published in *Gardner’s Photographic Sketch Book of the War (1866)*, Part I—1315 Duke Street Slave Pen/Military Prison,” *The Alexandria Chronicle*, Winter 2023-2024.



**Figure 1: Plate 3.**  
**The Marshall House,**  
**King Street, Alexandria, VA**



**Figure 2: Plate 4.**  
**The Slave Pen & Military Prison,**  
**1315 Duke Street, Alexandria, VA**

Because the subject and contents of these two photographs are different, the sources used to conduct this analysis in Part II are also a little different from those used in Part I. In addition to other Civil War-era photographs of the Marshall House (possibly one of the only sites in Alexandria photographed during the Civil War more than the Slave Pen), these include Civil War-era

Internal Revenue tax lists as well as advertisements and notices for local businesses that appeared in the local newspapers. This deep dive focusing on just one half of one side of one block during five years between 1861 and 1866 is not intended to be a detailed history of the Marshall House or an exhaustive catalog of every known photograph of it; rather, it is an attempt to document the features visible in a single photograph of the Marshall House and then use those documented features to correct the date erroneously provided for that photograph by its publisher. By establishing that Gardner backdated this photograph of the Marshall House for inclusion in his book, we can further support the argument presented in Part I of this study that Gardner also backdated Pywell's photograph of the Slave Pen that appears on the following page of his book (**Figure 3a**). While the Marshall House no longer exists, the former Slave Pen does, and it is currently interpreted by the Office of Historic Alexandria as a museum of the domestic slave trade. Being able to correctly date the Pywell photograph of the Slave Pen has significant implications for sequencing and dating the changes that were made to that building during the Civil War and, by extension, helps us establish the configuration of that site prior to May 24, 1861, when it was still being used as a site of the domestic slave trade. This conclusion will help guide the Office of Historic Alexandria as it interprets the surviving building at 1315 Duke Street as the Alexandria Slave Pen Museum.

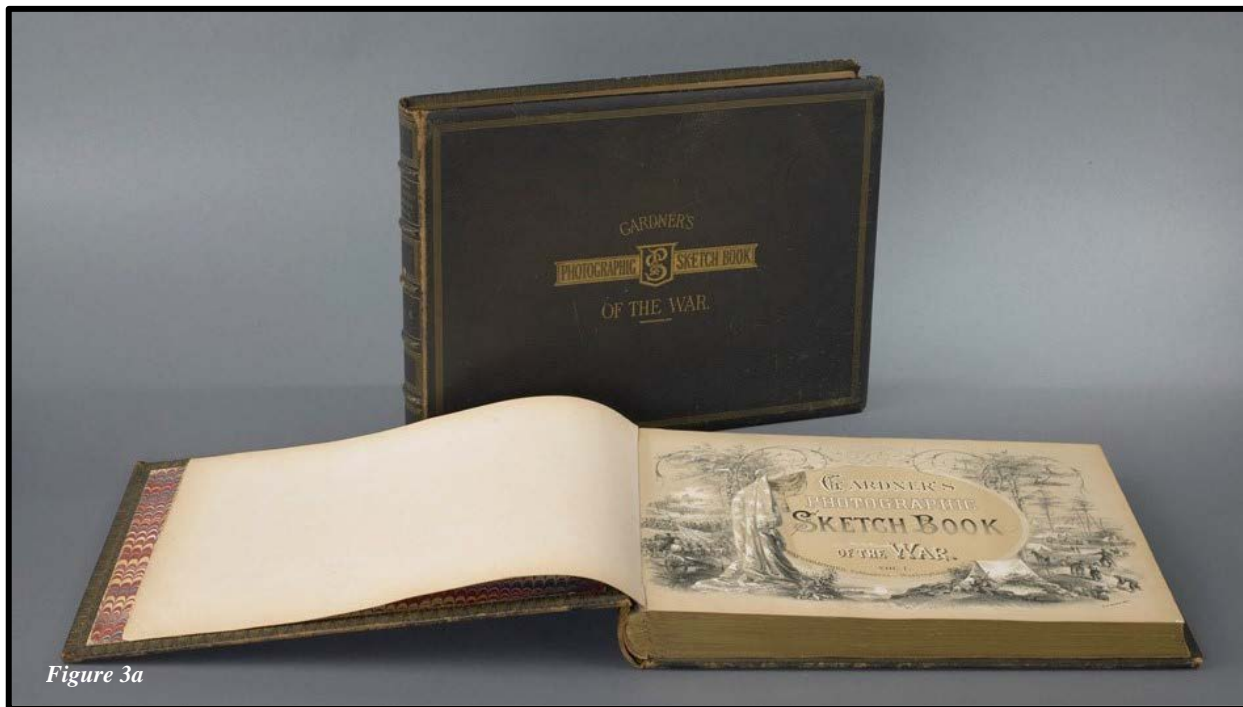


Figure 3a

**NOTE:** Due to the highly visual nature of this article's topic and the limitations of some reading devices, the images that appear in the following pages are linked to enlarged versions of the same images. Online images provide opportunities for closer scrutiny of the source material and, in some cases, aid with discussed comparisons. Where possible, the links go to the official repositories of the images such as the Library of Congress or the National Archives. If the reader is online, the enlarged versions of the pictures can be reached by clicking on the images in the text or in many cases from links listed in the footnotes.



**PROBLEMS WITH DATING THE WILLIAM R. PYWELL  
PHOTOGRAPH OF THE SLAVE PEN, ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA IN  
GARDNER'S PHOTOGRAPHIC SKETCH BOOK OF THE WAR**



Figure 1

To further support this ultimate hypothesis—that the Pywell photograph of the Slave Pen at 1315 Duke Street was not taken in August 1862 (or in one instance August 1863) as Gardner claims, but sometime after the death of Abraham Lincoln on April 15, 1865, and was backdated for inclusion in Gardner's book—we can turn to the photograph of the Marshall House on the previous page of Gardner's book. Appearing as the first image in Gardner's *Sketch Book*, this image of the Marshall House in Alexandria, Virginia, was also taken by Pywell and was also assigned an August 1862 date by Gardner. Like with Pywell's photograph of the Slave Pen in Part I, by examining this photograph with the help of other historical sources, we also can reject Gardner's date of August 1862 for this photograph.

This exercise of turning to the Marshall House photograph to better understand Gardner's treatment of the Slave Pen photograph was suggested to me by local historian Walton Owen during

an early conversation about sequencing the Pywell photograph of the Slave Pen that culminated in Part I of this study. This project follows in the footsteps of other deep dives into Civil War-era photography, notably William A. Frassanito's 1975 *Gettysburg: A Journey in Time* and Susan E. Williams' "Richmond Again Taken: Reappraising the Brady Legend through Photographs by Andrew J. Russell."<sup>2</sup> Both of these studies attempt to bring order and depth to an otherwise dis-articulated body of static Civil War-era images that have not been in conversation with each other as an assemblage in more than 100 years.

In the case of Frassanito and the scenes of the battlefield at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, he sought to firmly establish answers to the most basic questions regarding some of the most famous and well-known photographs taken during the Civil War—where and when were these photographs taken, and by whom?—before diving deeper and asking questions like: Why were these photographs taken? Why was this specific scene chosen?

Working primarily with photographs taken in and around Richmond, Virginia, Susan Williams sought to disentangle the work of government photographer Andrew J. Russell from that of the more famous Mathew Brady and his studio. She traced Russell's apprenticeship and career as a photographer and turning to the physical prints and glass plate negatives left by these photographers in the collections of places like the Library of Congress, the National Archives, and the Virginia Historical Society to properly assign credit and better understand Russell's role as a government photographer more than 140 years after the fact.

Opposite Pywell's photograph of the Marshall House, Gardner provides readers of his *Sketch Book* with some context with the following paragraph (**Figure 3b**):

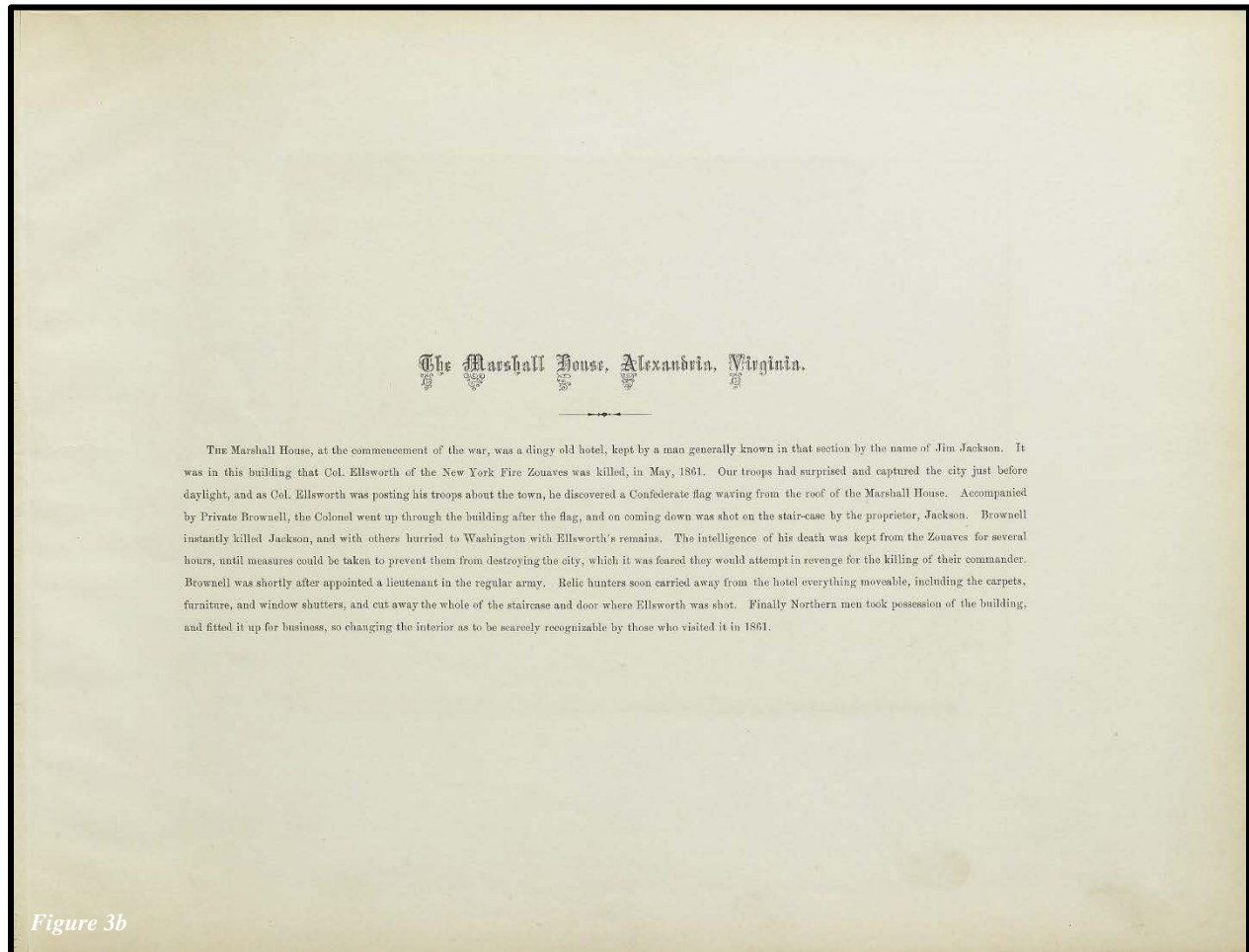
The Marshall House, Alexandria, Virginia

The Marshall House, at the commencement of the war, was a dingy old hotel, kept by a man generally known in that section by the name of Jim Jackson. It was in this building that Col. Ellsworth of the New York Fire Zouaves was killed, in May 1861. Our troops had surprised and captured the city just before daylight, and as Col. Ellsworth was posting his troops about the town, he discovered a Confederate flag waving from the roof of the Marshall House. Accompanied by Private Brownell, the Colonel went up through the building after the flag, and on coming down was shot on the stair-case by the proprietor, Jackson. Brownell instantly killed Jackson, and with others hurried to Washington with Ellsworth's remains. The intelligence of his death was kept from the Zouaves for several hours, until measures could be taken to prevent them from destroying the city, which it was feared they would attempt in revenge for killing of their commander. Brownell was shortly after appointed a lieutenant in the regular army. Relic hunters soon carried away from the hotel everything movable, including the carpets, furniture, and window shutters, and cut away the whole staircase and door where Ellsworth was shot. Finally Northern men took

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<sup>2</sup> Frassanito, William A., *Gettysburg: A Journey in Time*, 1975 and Williams, Susan E., "'Richmond Again Taken': Reappraising the Brady Legend through Photographs by Andrew J. Russell," in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol 110 (4), 2002, pp. 437-460.

possession of the building, and fitted it up for business, so changing the interior as to be scarcely recognizable by those who visited it in 1861.



Pywell's photograph was taken from the northwest of the Marshall House, looking back southeast across the intersection of King and Pitt Streets, to where the Alexandrian Hotel stands today on the south side of the 400 block of King Street. It was taken from a fairly high vantage point, likely from a third story window or roof of the building on the northwest corner of that intersection. The history of the Marshall House and this block on King Street prior to May 24, 1861 (when Colonel Elmer Ellsworth was shot and killed descending the Marshall House steps) and after February 1866 (when Gardner published *Sketch Book*) is beyond the scope of this investigation, as such a study is not necessary to determine when this photograph was taken.

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**...the Marshall House caught fire in 1873 and was largely rebuilt, before it was completely torn down around 1950. Archaeology was conducted on this block in 1974 ...as part of an urban renewal project...**

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Just as a signpost for future research, the Marshall House caught fire in 1873 and was largely rebuilt, before it was completely torn down around 1950.<sup>3</sup> Archaeology was conducted on this block in 1974 by Richard Muzzrole of the Smithsonian Institution as a part of an urban renewal project, which

razed the north half of this block.<sup>4</sup> The site was recorded with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources as 44AX91 (4KS, Holiday Inn Site). Material recovered from this site includes 163 boxes of artifacts and other associated records and is curated by Alexandria Archaeology, Office of Historic Alexandria. This material has not yet been systematically analyzed but may represent a sizable and significant collection of 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, and early-20<sup>th</sup> century material. While the analysis below concentrates on the years 1861-1866, the commercial nature of this block lends itself to visibility in the historical record and provides high temporal resolution in terms of tenant occupancy. While outside the scope of this research, the 44AX91 (4KS) collection may be a good candidate for reanalysis when coupled with the kind of fine-grained occupational history presented here.

Gardner's complete Sketch Book and Pywell's photograph reproduced as a standalone print can be found in many institutional collections, including the Library of Congress<sup>5</sup>, the Smithsonian Museum of American History<sup>6</sup>, the National Gallery of Art<sup>7</sup>, the Met<sup>8</sup>, the Getty<sup>9</sup>, the Museum of Modern Art<sup>10</sup>, and the Art Institute of Chicago.<sup>11</sup> The National Archives has a series of Gardner photographs not bound in his two-volume set, but mounted on photographic mounting cards with handwritten captions that include the original photographer, a date, and a copyright date.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> "A Civil War landmark destroyed by fire," Out of the Attic, *Alexandria Times*, September 29, 2016.

<sup>4</sup> Virginia Department of Historic Landmarks, Research Center for Archaeology, Archaeological Site Inventory Form, 44AX91, 4KS Holiday Inn Site, prepared by B. H. Magid, Alexandria Archaeology, 1986.

<sup>5</sup> "Marshall House, Alexandria, Virginia/negative by Wm. R. Pywell; positive by A Gardner," created August 1862, published c. 1866, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2006685362/>

<sup>6</sup> "Plate 1. Marshal House, Alexandria," National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, [https://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah\\_1293152](https://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah_1293152); Gardner's *Photographic Sketchbook of War, Volume 1*, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, [https://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah\\_905595](https://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah_905595).

<sup>7</sup> "The Marshall House, Alexandria, Virginia, August 1862, published 1866," National Gallery of Art, <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.220156.html>.

<sup>8</sup> Gardner's *Photographic Sketchbook of the War, Volume 1*, 1863, The Met Museum, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/283195>.

<sup>9</sup> "Marshall House, Alexandria, Virginia," August 1862, The Getty Museum, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/1099BS>.

<sup>10</sup> "Marshall House, Alexandria, Virginia," August 1862, The Museum of Modern Art, <https://www.moma.org/collection/works/83188>.

<sup>11</sup> "Marshall House, Alexandria, Virginia," August 1862, The Art Institute of Chicago, <https://www.artic.edu/art-works/143455/marshall-house-alexandria-virginia>.

<sup>12</sup> Virginia, Alexandria, Marshall House," August 1862, National Archives, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/533275>.



In the case of Pywell's photograph of the Slave Pen, the original glass plate that was the source for the images appearing in Gardner's book has survived, but unfortunately Pywell's original glass plate photograph that was the source for these prints of the Marshall House has not.



However, the Library of Congress has in its collection a notable print of the Pywell photograph that includes additional areas on all four sides of the original image that have been cropped out of the version published by Gardner in his book. This also appears to be the one of the most detailed and sharpest of the surviving prints derived from Pywell's original photograph (**Figure 4**). Both points make this specific print useful for our analysis here.<sup>13</sup> Before continuing, we need to first confirm that this copy held by the Library of Congress was produced from the same source image as the one published by Gardner. To do so, compare:

- the signs over the storefronts along King and Royal Streets,
- the pattern of the degraded white paint or handbills at the corner of the first floor of the Marshall House,
- the positions of each of the window sashes and shutters visible in the photograph,
- the cloth and other articles for sale displayed in front of the stores at 106, 108, 110, and 112 King Street,

<sup>13</sup> "Marshall House, Alexandria," [1862], Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/95519340/>

- the wagon or carriage to the far right of the photograph,
- the woman standing on the cellar door in front of the window at 112 King Street, and
- at least five or six other people faintly visible in the image.

All appear to be identical between the Library of Congress print and the version appearing in Gardner's book. Because of the sharpness of this print and its inclusion of areas cropped out of the other prints, the remainder of this analysis will focus specifically on this copy held by the Library of Congress and not one of the prints appearing in Gardner's book, as it will provide us with additional data points to investigate and allow us to resolve more detail from the image to analyze.

### 19th Century Maps Showing the 400 Block of King Street

Historic maps are generally a useful source to consult when attempting to understand the history of a site. They can convey the arrangement of the built environment at a specific moment in time, show change in that site over time, and be used in conjunction with other datasets to inform the analysis of the site.

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**There are no detailed Civil War-era maps that show the streetface captured by Pywell in his photograph of the Marshall House.**

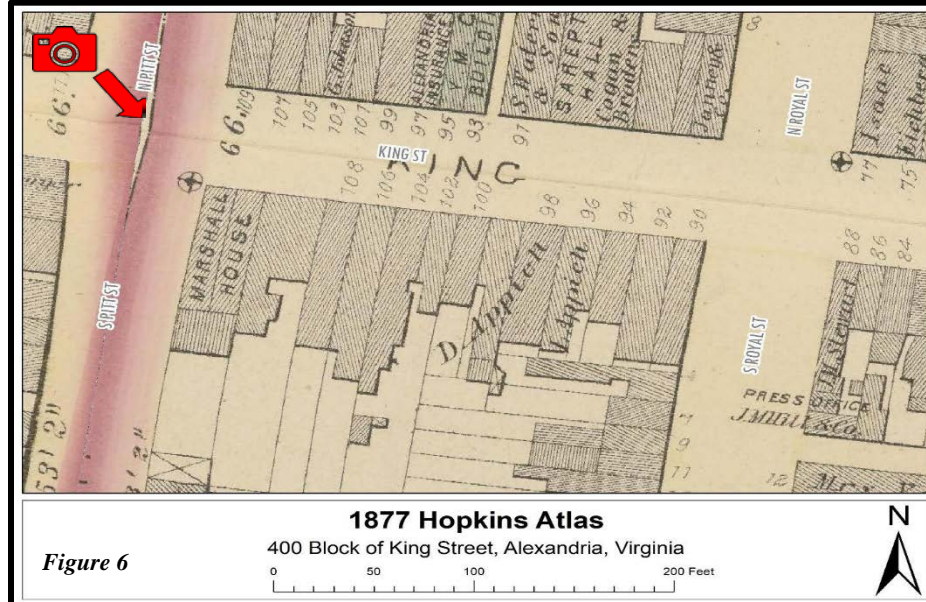
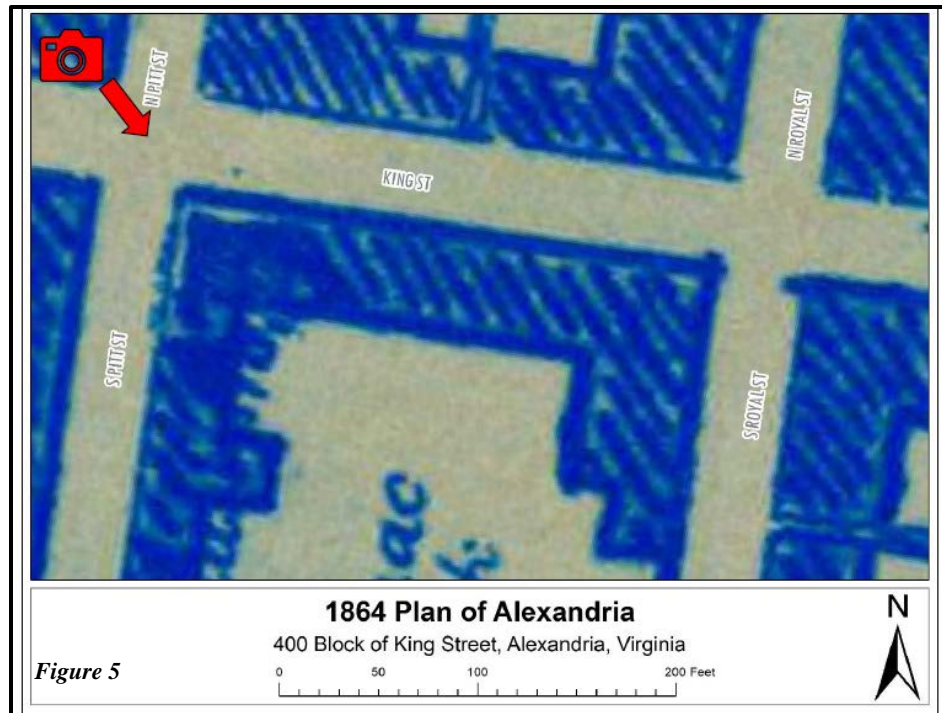
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Unfortunately, in this specific case, historic maps are less than helpful. There are no detailed Civil War-era maps that show the streetface captured by Pywell in his photograph of the Marshall House. The 1864 Plan of Alexandria (**Figure 5**) shows the Mar-

shall House on the southeast corner of the intersection of King and Pitt Streets, as well as buildings along the 400 block of King Street, but this depiction is not intended as an architectural plan view of the buildings shown, nor does it convey an accurate sense of the built environment.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> "Plan of Alexandria," 1864, Office of Coast Survey, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, <https://www.historicalcharts.noaa.gov/image.php?filename=32-1-1864>. This map appears to be an older map, possibly created c. 1853, that was acquired by the United States Army Coast Service, or possibly U.S. Sanitary Commission during the Civil War with rough representations of the built environment that were added during the war. A handwritten notation and the inclusion of Civil War-era sites such as Soldier's Rest suggest these additions to the map date to c. 1864. A similar map is held by the Library of Congress and includes several handwritten notes, including one that reads, "Autographic transfer – from an old map of Alexandria furnished by the U.S. Sanitary Commission," and another that reads, "Printed at the Coast Survey Office, October 25, 1862." This 1862 copy only includes the outlines of major public buildings in the City and does not include rough representations of the built environment.

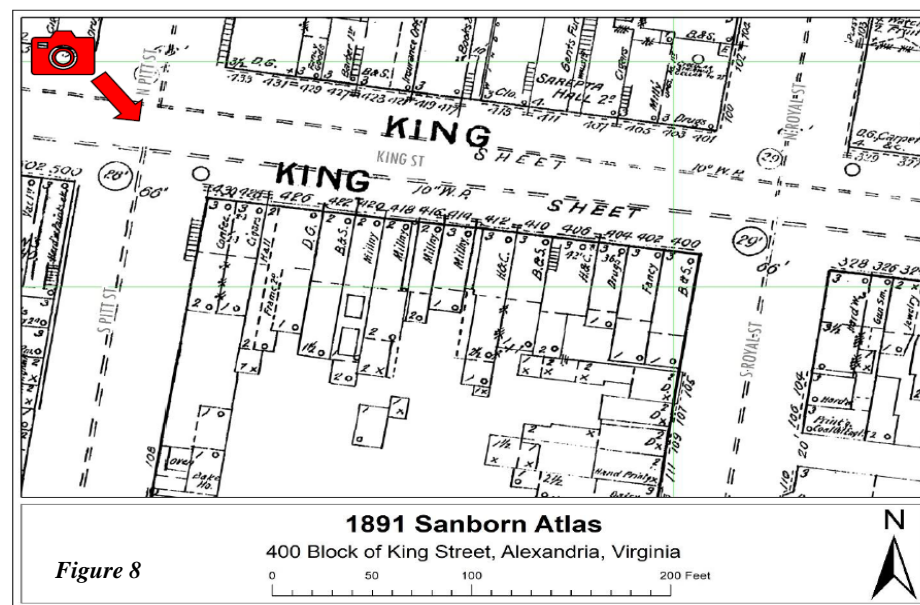
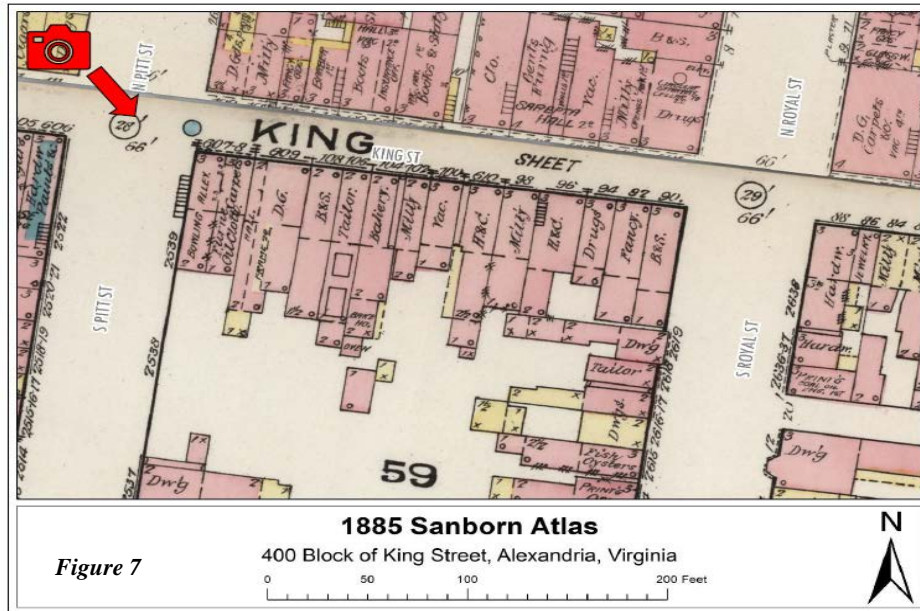


Neither the Marshall House nor this block on King Street is mapped at all as a part of the Quartermaster map series.<sup>15</sup> The best, earliest map of this intersection and what is now the 400 block of the south side of King Street is the 1877 Hopkins Atlas of the City of Alexandria, Virginia (Figure 6).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Quartermaster Map Series, Post and Reservation Maps (1820-1905), Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General (1774-1985), Record Group 92, National Archives.

<sup>16</sup> *City Atlas of Alexandria Va: From Official Records, Private Plans, and Actual Surveys, Based Upon Plans Deposited in the Dept. of Surveys*, Griffith Morgan Hopkins, Jr., Philadelphia, 1877. Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, [https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/uva\\_library/items/u1833937](https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/uva_library/items/u1833937).





The 1877 Hopkins Atlas and the slightly later 1885 and 1891 Sanborn Atlases (**Figures 7 & 8**) do show the same block face as seen in the photograph, but not without an issue.<sup>17</sup>

While these maps date to the decades after the Civil War and are unable to show us the configuration of this block between 1861 and 1866, what they should be able to provide are the original street addresses along this stretch of King Street. Having grown organically since the town's founding in 1749, the streets in Alexandria were renumbered in the summer of 1887 to the present system wherein each block is assigned a sequential batch of one hundred numbers, split

<sup>17</sup> Alexandria, Virginia, Sanborn Map and Publishing Co., New York, July 1885. Library of Congress, [https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn08968\\_001/](https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn08968_001/); Alexandria Virginia, Alexandria County, Sanborn-Perris Map Co., July 1891. City of Alexandria, GIS Division.



between odds on one side and evens on the other. The difficulties of navigating the streets of Alexandria and the importance of bringing order to the numbering system were reported in the *Gazette* in advance of the 1887 renumbering campaign:

It is to be hoped that the committee on streets will report promptly and that the City Council will pass a proper ordinance for numbering the houses at its next meeting....It really makes but little difference what system is adopted in a place of this size; the new would probably be more convenient, but the old will do; the thing is to have *some* system carried out as soon as possible. At present one has to be told that to find Mr. B----'s house, the location of which he does not know, he must first go to Mr. S----'s, which he does, and then turn round the corner and go to the opposite side of the street and he will find Mr. B----'s, the fifth door from the corner, &c., &c. Strangely enough the framer of the existing ordinance failed to provide for continuing its operation after the original numbering, and, as a consequence, though some few people took the trouble to count and measure and then to put numbers on their houses, most of those who built did not, and thus the hundreds of buildings erected during the past thirty years are, for the most part, unnumbered.<sup>18</sup>

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**...though some few people took the trouble to count and measure and then to put numbers on their houses, most of those who built did not, and thus the hundreds of buildings erected during the past thirty years are, for the most part, unnumbered.**

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The above two pre-1887 maps reference this older numbering system (which was in effect during the Civil War) and the 1891 Sanborn Atlas uses the current system.<sup>19</sup> That being said, there is a discrepancy between the addresses visible in (or are able to be deduced from) the Pywell photograph as well as other period sources and those shown on these maps.

Presently, in theory, the south side of the 400 block of King Street encompasses the even numbers from 400-498 with 400 on the east side of the block and 498 on the west (but presently only 400 and 480 King Street are in use). The numbering system along this streetface as it existed during the Civil War used even numbers starting with 90 at the corner of King and Royal and went up to 112 one door east of the Marshall House. The Marshall House does not have a street number on the 1877 Hopkins Atlas, but the 1885 Sanborn Atlas assigns it 607-608 King Street. No address is known for the Marshall House prior to the 1880s and it is possible the address was relational instead of numerical and was referred to as something like "Marshall House, King and Pitt." Prior to demolition in 1968, the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) photographed 416 (previously 104), 418 (previously 106), and 420 (previously 108) King Street, as

<sup>18</sup> "Alexandria," *Alexandria Gazette*, June 23, 1877, 3.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid; "The Numbering Process," *Washington Star*, July 27, 1887, 4; "Local Brevities," *Alexandria Gazette*, August 30, 1887, 4.

well as parts of 414 (previously 102) and 422 (previously 110) King (**Figure 9**).<sup>20</sup> While heavily modified in the century that elapsed between Pywell's and HABS' photographs, 416, 418, and 420 King Street are still recognizable as 104, 106, and 108 King Street.



Given that the addresses visible in the Pywell photograph match the numbering from the Civil War-era tax lists and newspaper advertisements and notices, but do not match the corresponding numbers on the 1877 and 1885 atlases, it is possible either the cartographers made a mistake in the preparation of their atlases (transposing the 100-108 numbers one address to the west), a small renumbering campaign occurred along this block between the end of the Civil War and the preparation of the Hopkins Atlas in 1877 and the first Sanborn Atlas of Alexandria in 1885, or significant demolition and rebuilding occurred here during the same period that has obfuscated the historical continuity here (which does not seem likely). In any case, being able to match addresses from Civil War-era datasets to later or modern addresses is not the goal of this study, (nor is it necessary) because as will be shown, only the Civil War-era records are needed to identify when this photograph was taken. For the purposes of the following report, all addresses given are using the address system that appears to be consistent between the Civil War-era tax lists prepared by the Office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, period newspapers, and the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House and not those provided by the 1877 Hopkins atlas or 1885 Sanborn atlas. See **Figure 10** and **Table 1** for a summary of the historical addresses on the current south side of the 400 block of King Street.

<sup>20</sup> Historic American Buildings Survey, Kennedy Buildings, 416-418 King Street, Alexandria, Independent City, VA, Library of Congress, HABS VA,7-ALEX,142—2, 1968, <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/va0138.photos.164235p/>; Samuel Miller Building, 420 King Street, Alexandria, Independent City, VA, Library of Congress, HABS VA,7-ALEX,143—1, 1968, <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/va0166.photos.164236p/>.



Addresses above from:

**Pywell photograph, tax lists, and newspapers (Civil War-era)**

1877 Hopkins Atlas

1885 Sanborn Atlas

1891 Sanborn Atlas

**Historical Addresses for the South Side of the 400 Block of King Street,  
Listed from East (Royal Street) to West (Pitt Street)**

Pywell Photograph Sign Text	Pywell Photograph Address	1877 Hopkins	1885 Sanborn	1891 Sanborn (post- renumbering)
(out of frame)	(out of frame)	90	90	400
(out of frame)	(out of frame)	92	92	402
(out of frame)	(out of frame)	94	94	404
(out of frame)	(out of frame)	96	96	406
(out of frame)	(out of frame)	98	98	410
(out of frame)	(out of frame)	(not numbered)	610	412
(out of frame)	(out of frame)	100	100	414
(out of frame)	(out of frame)			
G. E. French [Book] Seller	104 (inferred)	102	102	416
Gazette Office				
106 S. Dealham 106	106	104	104	418
Great Western Clothing House	108 (possibly on sign)	106	106	420
[Freeman & Pflaunlacker]				
J. & W. J. Entwisle's City Bookstore	110 (possibly on sign)	108	108	422
James Entwisle				
112 Dry Good Store 112 Julius Schonfield	112	(not numbered)	609	426
Marshall House		(not numbered)	607-608	428-430



## Brief Histories of Properties Visible in the Pywell Photograph of the Marshall House

From the following brief histories of the properties and businesses appearing in the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House, we can determine a narrow window of time during which all these businesses were present here together on the 400 block of King Street and therefore determine when Pywell's photograph had to have been taken. These sketches are not intended to be biographical descriptions of the proprietors of each shop, nor are they intended to be exhaustive or even necessarily complete; rather, they are intended as an initial survey only to determine when each of the signs visible in the Pywell photograph could or could not have been present at the site to be photographed by Pywell. Future research could attempt to further refine the chronology presented here, but for the purposes of dating the Pywell photograph to a fairly narrow, approximately three- or four-month window between August 1, 1865, and late fall of 1865, this additional work is not necessary beyond what is presented below. The two principal historical sources used for this analysis are the Civil War-era tax lists for Alexandria prepared by the Office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue between 1862 and 1866 and Civil War-era newspaper advertisements and notices relevant to the businesses along this block.<sup>21</sup> These are buttressed by other Civil War-era photographs of the block because they appear to be internally consistent with each other, the following analysis will use the address numbering system visible in the Pywell photograph and used by the tax lists and newspapers and not that used by later, post-Civil War-era maps.

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*...it is assumed that the names, addresses, and dates [on the] tax lists are generally correct...*

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Before continuing, it will be helpful to state some of the underlying premises and assumptions behind this analysis. First, it is assumed that the names, addresses, and dates provided by the Office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue tax lists are generally correct unless there is reason to suspect otherwise. That is, if the tax lists record somebody or their business at an address at a specific point in time, they were at that address at that point in time. While there are variations in spelling and a few entries crossed out and numbers overwritten, the names and addresses examined here appear to be fairly consistent across years and with what is seen in other sources like the newspapers also examined here. The tax lists consulted for this study are United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, created by the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, the precursor to the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). These assessments and that office were created by the Revenue Act of 1862, the nation's first progressive income tax, which was passed by Congress to help fund the war.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> "United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, 1862-1874." Images. FamilySearch. <https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/2075263>: 18 July 2022. Citing Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

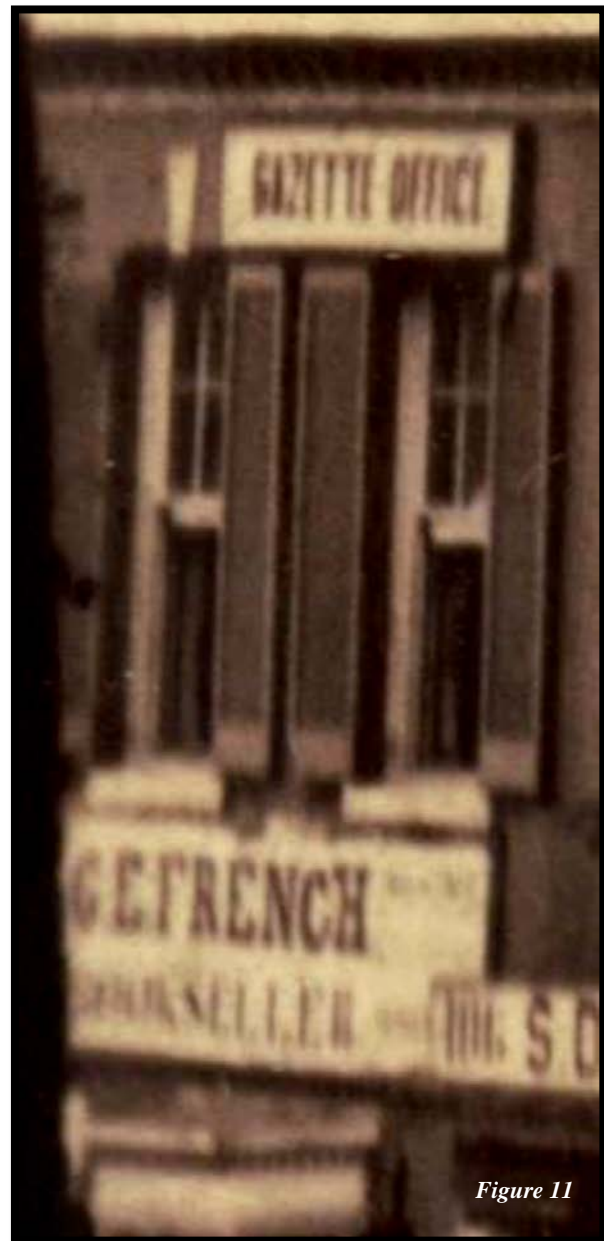
<sup>22</sup> "Pollack, Sheldon, D. "The First National Income Tax, 1861-1872." *The Tax Lawyer*, Vol 67 (2), 2014, pp. 311-330.

Second, it is assumed that the names and addresses provided in business' own advertisements and notices in the newspaper are correct and relatively up-to-date at the time when they were published. Third, and most importantly, it is assumed the business signs visible in the Pywell photograph are generally sensitive temporal markers. The premise here is that new businesses at an address will tend not to operate under their predecessor's sign (that is, any old signs will be taken down when a new business moves in) and businesses will tend to put up their own signs when (or shortly after) they move in to a new address. This appears to be true here with the possible exceptions of the "Great Western Clothing Company" sign visible above 108 King and the "G. E. French" bookstore sign visible above 104 King (see below). In both cases, there is some confusion about the timeline of the occupancy of these addresses and evidence suggests these stores continued to operate as landmarks even after those specific businesses were no longer operating there and may explain why their signs remained in place.

The following analysis is presented spatially, that is, from east to west up the 400 block of King Street (from left to right in the Pywell photograph). The Civil War-era history of each address will be presented (in some cases, the analysis will begin prior to 1861 and conclude after 1865 to help establish date brackets for the occupancy of each of these addresses) and compared to the sign or signs visible at that address in the Pywell photograph in order to determine the date range when each of those businesses visible in the photograph were at each of these addresses at the same time.

#### **104 King Street – "GAZETTE OFFICE" and "G.E. FRENCH [BOOK] SELLER"**

Prior to the Civil War, George E. French ran a "Book and Periodical Depot" (a bookstore) (**Figure 11**) at 104 King Street. French's advertisements in the *Alexandria Gazette* show he was at 104 King by at least January 18, 1855 (**Figure 12**).<sup>23</sup> Advertisements as early as 1849 place



*Figure 11*

<sup>23</sup> "Great Excitement" *Alexandria Gazette*, January 18, 1855, 2.

**G**REAT EXCITEMENT—*Publication Extraordinary.—Come a Running.*—Chevalier Wikoff's new Book, at **GEO. E. FRENCH'S** Book and Periodical Depot, 104, King St.—*My Courtship and its Consequences*, a true account of the author's adventures in England, Switzerland, and Italy, with Miss I. C. Gamble, of Portland Place, London, with the unpublished correspondence of Miss Gamble, Mrs. George Grote, the Emperor Napoleon, Lord Palmerston, Dr. Baker, (U. S. Consul,) Count D'Orsay, besides a host of others in high places, too numerous to mention. The Chevalier Wikoff is altogether a superior person compared with the Chevaliers Greeley and Barnum. This work is complete in one handsome volume, 12 mo., cloth, \$1 25—paper covers \$1 00.

*May and December, a Tale of Wedded Life*, by Mrs. Hubback, author of the "Wife's Sister," "The Forbidden Marriage," &c., 2 vols. complete, price 50 cts. each. jan 18

[Rockingham Register, Piedmont Whig.]

Figure 12 Alexandria Gazette, January 18, 1855

what is now the 400 block of King Street, placing French on the south side of the King Street by the 1840s. Additional research with the City's tax lists may be able to further refine French's occupancy of 104 King but is beyond the scope of the present analysis.

French frequently advertised his bookstore at 104 King in the pages of the *Alexandria Gazette*, taking out long advertisements listing many of the recent acquisitions available for purchase at his store (see for example **Figure 13**), and these ran up until May 24, 1861, when the Union Army crossed the Potomac River and captured the City of Alexandria and the Marshall House. Either publication of the local newspaper appears to have been sporadic during the early period of the war or there are temporal gaps in the surviving issues, but at least one additional advertisement for French's Book Store appeared on October 18, 1861 (**Figure 14**).<sup>26</sup>

French's store (then described as a "Cheap Book, Magazine, Newspaper, and Periodical Depot") on the south side of this block of King, likely at 104 King, but do not provide a specific address. These locate French's store as "directly opposite J. D. Corse's Exchange Office," which an 1844 advertisement for a third business that was described as being "next door to Mr Corse's Exchange office" placed that third business at the northwest corner of King and Royal Streets.<sup>24</sup> Another advertisement from 1846 placed George W. Johnston's Dry Goods at the corner of King and Royal Streets and also noted it was "next door to Corse's Exchange Office."<sup>25</sup> Both of these advertisements place Corse's Exchange Office somewhere on the eastern half of the north side of

**BOOKS AND PERIODICALS.**

**N**EW BOOKS! NEW BOOKS!!—Now ready and for sale at **GEORGE E. FRENCH'S** Book and Periodical Depot, No. 104, King-street.

*Trumps, a Novel*, by Geo. Wm. Curtis, author of "Potiphar Papers," "Prue and I," &c., splendidly illustrated, by August Hoppin, \$1.50.

*The Crossed Path*, by Wilkie Collins, author of "The Woman in White," \$1.25.

*Father Tom and the Pope, or a Night at the Vatican*, illustrated, 25c.

*The Wits and Beaux of Society*, illustrated, \$1.50.

*The Queens of Society*, illustrated, \$1.50.

*The Attorney, or the Correspondence of John Quod*, by John T. Irving, (nephew of Washington Irving,) \$1.25.

*Harry Harson, or the Benevolent Bachelor*, by John T. Irving, (nephew of Washington Irving,) \$1.25.

*Elsie Venner*, by Oliver Wendell Holmes, \$1.75.

*Lavinia*, by the author of Dr. Antonio, \$1.25.

Appleton's and Dinsmore's Railroad Guides for April.

Parton's Life of Jackson, 3 vols, \$5.

Figure 13 Alexandria Gazette, May 23, 1861 (fragment)

<sup>24</sup> "Pro Bono Publico" *Alexandria Gazette* December 14, 1849, 3; "The Cheap Cash Store Removed" *Alexandria Gazette*, February 27, 1844, 3.

<sup>25</sup> "New Spring and Summery Dry Goods" *Alexandria Gazette*, April 18, 1846, 3.

<sup>26</sup> "The New York Papers," *Alexandria Gazette*, October 18, 1861, 1.



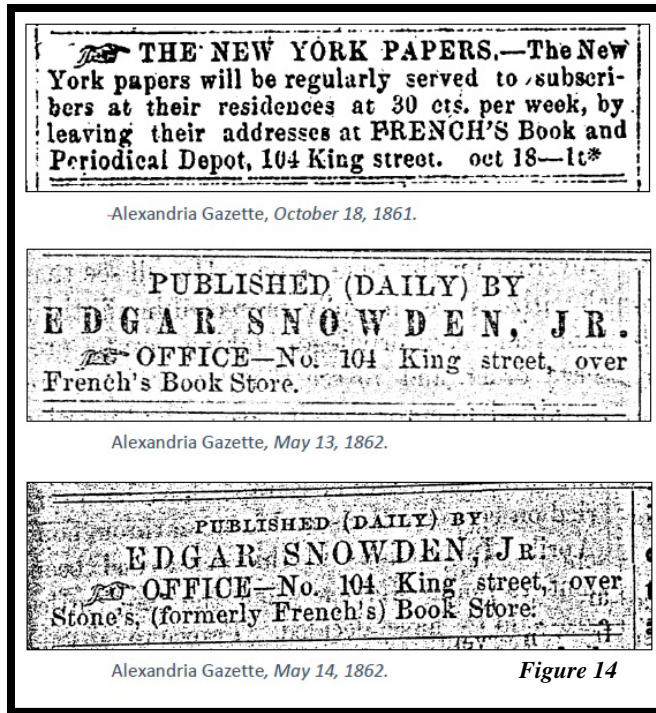


Figure 14

On February 10, 1862, a fire destroyed the office of the *Alexandria Gazette*, then likely at the corner of Prince and Fairfax, halting publication until May 13, 1862.<sup>27</sup> When printing resumed, the colophon (the section of a newspaper that lists the name of the publisher, the location of their offices, subscription information, advertising rates, etc.) of the newly reprinted *Alexandria Gazette* announced that the paper was “PUBLISHED (DAILY) BY EDGAR SNOWDEN, JR.” and that his office could be found at “No. 104 King street, over French’s Book Store.”<sup>28</sup> The following day, the second day of the paper’s renewed run, the description of the location of Snowden’s office changed to “No. 104 King street, over Stone’s, (formerly French’s Book Store).”<sup>29</sup> One possible in-

terpretation of this changing colophon is that French moved out of 104 King and Stone moved in on the evening of May 13, 1862. This seems unlikely, but there is no evidence to reject this possibility. Another explanation is French moved out and Stone moved in at some point prior to May 13, 1862, and after running the previous colophon on May 13, Snowden noticed the erroneously listed former proprietor of the store under his offices and decided he needed to make a correction going forward. In either of these cases, by May 1862, a new tenant was operating a bookstore out of 104 King Street, but French’s name was still attached to the location by the printers of the *Gazette*, even if only as the former proprietor.

Stone’s bookstore also appeared in notices and advertisements in the *Alexandria Gazette* (but not as frequently as French’s had) beginning shortly after Snowden resumed publication. References to Stone’s shop appear in a wide variety of advertisements including:

- for clothing stencils, “Mark Your Clothing” *Alexandria Gazette*, August 21, 1863, 3
- by someone looking to rent a piano “A Piano Wanted” *Alexandria Gazette*, June 21, 1862, 3.
- by a professor of music, “Music” *Alexandria Gazette*, May 24, 1864, 3.
- as a drop-off location for a lost gold chain “Lost” *Alexandria Gazette*, April 3, 1863, 3. or a pocket book, “\$10 Reward” *Alexandria Gazette*, January 7, 1864, 3.

<sup>27</sup> “The Alexandria Gazette,” *Alexandria Gazette*, May 13, 1862, 2; “The Local News of Three Months,” *Alexandria Gazette*, May 13, 1862, 4; “Job Printing, Handbills, Cards, Bill Heads, Circulars, &c., &c.” *Alexandria Gazette*, December 19, 1861, 3.

<sup>28</sup> Colophon, *Alexandria Gazette*, May 13, 1862, 1.

<sup>29</sup> Colophon, *Alexandria Gazette*, May 14, 1862, 1.



- as a location to buy:
  - concert tickets, “Liberty Hall!” *Alexandria Gazette*, June 1, 1863, 3; March 18, 1864, 3.
  - steamboat tickets “Excursion to Glymont” *Alexandria Gazette*, August 24, 1863, 3.
- as a landmark to find the business of P. Seldner, located one door to the east at 102 King and out of Pywell’s frame (and therefore not discussed here) or “Madame Dubois, the Lady Hair Dresser” *Alexandria Gazette*, August 12, 1862, 3.

The *Alexandria Gazette* itself continued to utilize the bookstore as a landmark, not just in its colophon, but in advertisements that offered “All Kinds of Job Printing neatly executed,” noting they were located on “King st., over Stone’s Book Store, opp. Theatre,”<sup>30</sup> as well as noting that advertisements to be printed in the pages of the *Gazette* could be left “at Stone’s Book store, (over which is the office).”<sup>31</sup>

The Internal Revenue tax list for September, October, November, and December 1862 (unlike other monthly lists, these four months are grouped together as a single list) placed L. B. Stone at 104 King Street, as did the May 1863 (entry dated May 18) and 1864 (entry dated March 24) annual tax lists<sup>32</sup>. G. E. French is listed on King Street in an entry dated July 31 in the July 1863 monthly assessment, but no specific address on King is given.<sup>33</sup> The colophon of the *Alexandria Gazette* on that date continued to list the location of their office at “No. 104 King street, over Stone’s (formerly French’s) Book Store” and French cannot be placed specifically at 104 King Street at this time.<sup>34</sup> In an entry dated May 8, 1864, Edward Snowden was also listed at 104 King in the annual 1864 tax list.<sup>35</sup> The annual 1865 list (entry dated April 10) put G. E. French back at 104 King and described him as a “Retail Dealer,” and this timeline roughly corresponds to the reversion of the *Alexandria Gazette*’s colophon to exclude Stone and place French back in the bookstore under the offices of the *Gazette* at 104 King Street (see below).<sup>36</sup> Interestingly, L. B. Stone is also listed 104 King in the 1865 annual tax list, but the entries on this line have all been crossed out or erased, perhaps suggesting a recent change or some other confusion about whether or not Stone was still at this address at that time.<sup>37</sup>

Another photograph of the Marshall House, this one attributed to Mathew Brady (or at least his studio), shows another view of the businesses along this block of King Street (**Figure 15**, referred to below as “the Brady photograph”).<sup>38</sup>

<sup>30</sup> “Alexandria Gazette,” *Alexandria Gazette*, January 19, 1865, 4.

<sup>31</sup> “Advertisements for the Alexandria Gazette,” *Alexandria Gazette*, February 16, 1865, 2.

<sup>32</sup> “United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, 1862-1874.,” <http://FamilySearch.org>, Virginia, District 3, Division 1, September 1862-December 1866, 33; 54; 100; 276.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 63.

<sup>34</sup> Colophon, *Alexandria Gazette*, July 31, 1863, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 280.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 517.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 538.

<sup>38</sup> “Marshall House, Alexandria, Va,” Brady National Photographic Art Gallery, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/529398>.



Figure 15

Like Pywell's photograph, this one is also taken from the corner of King and Pitt, although Brady's is taken from ground level a little further west up King Street and angled to east back down King Street than southeast. This photograph is comprised of four separate exposures on the same glass plate, each shot from the same location but one after another (compare for example the location of the horse-drawn wagon, the figures, or the hanging flag in each exposure). The level of detail resolvable in this photograph is not as high as in the Library of Congress print of the Pywell photograph (Figure 4) and it is difficult to read many of the signs along this block. Perhaps future research could try to match known businesses from this portion of King Street to the not-quite legible signs in the Brady photograph. While most of the signs are difficult to read, the signboard leaning against the west side of the Marshall House is partially legible and likely datable. Therefore, if we can determine the date of Brady's photograph, while we may not be able to read all the words on the signs, it will be useful for establishing at least the presence or absence of the signs that we can read in the Pywell photograph (**Figure 16**) .



Figure 16

theatre by this name can be found after the end of the 1859-1860 season.<sup>40</sup> After January 1860, some performances were still held at this site, but reviews and advertisements referred to it just as Phoenix Hall and not the New Theatre.<sup>41</sup>

The theatrical scene in Alexandria must have been negatively impacted by the war because advertisements and reviews for entertainment at Phoenix Hall practically disappeared from the pages of the *Alexandria Gazette*. In March 1863, it was rumored in the newspaper that, "...it is said on the street, [Alexandria] is again to boast a theatre." Three potential sites were identified,

While much of the text on this sign is illegible, it appears to be an advertisement for a theatrical production at the New Theatre. The New Theatre was operated by Joseph Parker and opened the evening of October 12, 1863, providing the earliest possible date this photograph could have been taken. The theatre was located on the north side of the 400 block of King Street, "opposite the Gazette office" (104 King) in Fig 17.<sup>39</sup> While an identically named New Theatre operated in Alexandria at Phoenix Hall, located across the street at the corner of King and Royal, between September 1859 and January 1860, no further reference to this

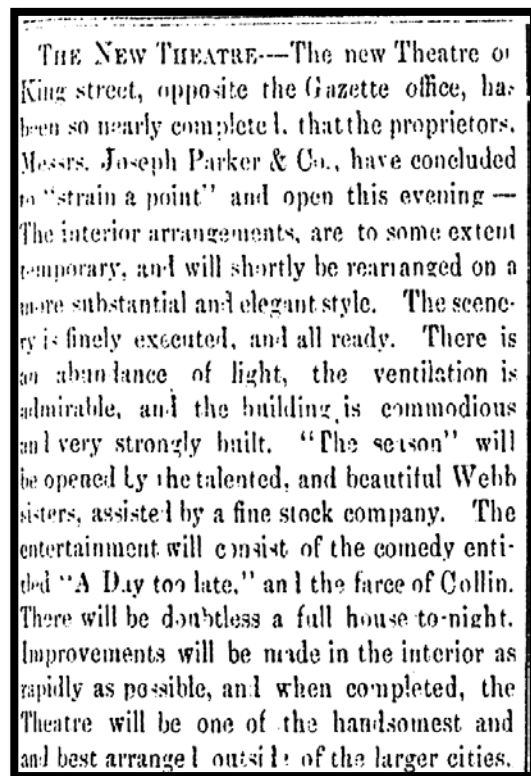


Figure 17

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> "Theatre," *Alexandria Gazette*, September 16, 1859, p. 3; "New Theatre! New Theatre!!," *Alexandria Gazette*, September 28, 1859, p. 3; and "New Theatre, Alexandria," *Alexandria Gazette*, January 12, 1860, p. 3.

<sup>41</sup> See for example "Phoenix Hall, Alexandria," *Alexandria Gazette*, January 31, 1860, p. 3; "Phoenix Hall, Alexandria," *Alexandria Gazette*, February 8, 1860, p. 4.



including this one on the north side of the 400 block of King Street.<sup>42</sup> In September 1863, John T. Ford (manager of Ford's Theatre across the river in Washington) leased the site on the north side of the 400 block of King Street and announced plans to build a new brick theatre that was to be completed by the winter.<sup>43</sup> A month later, an item in the *Alexandria Gazette* noted "The new Theatre on King street, is rapidly approaching completion, and is a spacious building, and all the accessories will be in good taste and order."<sup>44</sup> On October 12, 1863, it was reported that "the new Theatre on King street, opposite the Gazette office, has been so nearly completed" and the proprietors were straining to "open this evening."<sup>45</sup> As evidenced by the reporting in the next day's paper which read, "Parker & Co's. New Theatre, on King Street, opened last night," they were successful in those efforts, and from the middle of October 1863, the New Theatre on King Street was open for business.<sup>46</sup>

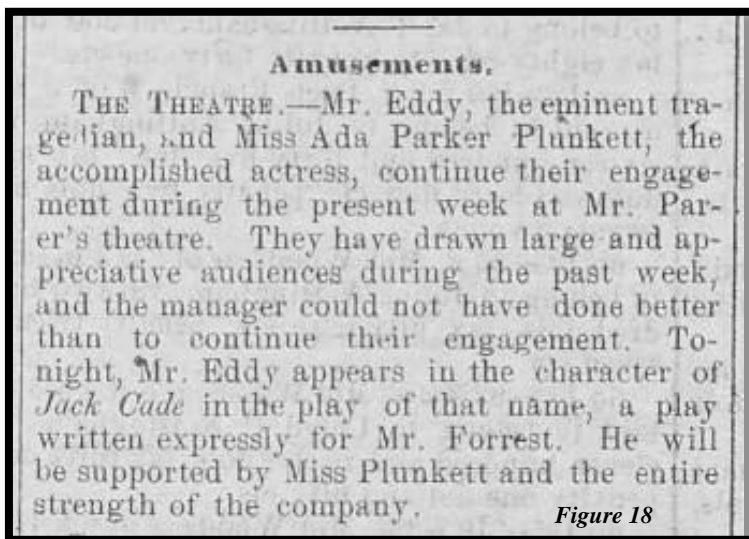


Figure 18

Billed on this sign for the New Theatre in the Brady photograph is Mr. E. [Edward] Eddy and Ada Parker Plunkett, two well-known mid-19<sup>th</sup> century actors. The name of the production may be listed on the line below Ada Parker Plunkett's name, but it is not legible here. The entire advertisement is repeated on the lower half of the sign. The only instance in which Eddy and Plunkett could be identified performing together in Alexandria was an engagement at the New Theatre

on King Street on the north side of the 400 block of King Street (directly opposite the Gazette printing office at 104 King) between at least May 12 and May 21, 1864 (**Figure 18**).<sup>47</sup> While additional biographical research is needed, it seems as if Ada Parker Plunkett (previously Ada Clare, originally Ada Stetson)<sup>48</sup> regularly appeared in theatrical advertisements and reviews as

<sup>42</sup> "Local," *Alexandria Gazette*, March 24, 1863, p. 2.

<sup>43</sup> "New Theatre," *Alexandria Gazette*, September 2, 1863, p. 2.

<sup>44</sup> "Local News," *Alexandria Gazette*, October 10, 1863, p. 2.

<sup>45</sup> "The New Theatre," *Alexandria Gazette*, October 12, 1863, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup> "Theatre," *Alexandria Gazette*, October 13, 1863, p. 3.

<sup>47</sup> See "Amusements," *Virginia State Journal*, May 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, and 21, advertisement on page 2 and review on page 3. Copies of the *Virginia State Journal* between May 4 and May 11, 1864 (inclusive) could not be located for this study. Eddy and Plunkett's engagement at the New Theatre likely began before May 12, but not as far back as May 3, 1864, when Alice Placide was listed to perform there; "Amusements," *Virginia State Journal*, May 3, 1864, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> "Theatrical Matters," *New York Atlas*, August 5, 1855, p.3; "Burton's New Theatre," *New York Herald*, February 12, 1857, p. 7.



Ada Plunkett from February 1857 through March 1862, when she divorced her husband.<sup>49</sup> Beginning early that next month, in April 1862, she began appearing as Ada Parker and items appearing in the papers that month (including in the *Washington Evening Star*) confirmed she would “assume her maiden name, and be henceforth known as Ada Parker.”<sup>50</sup> At this time, Ada Parker was performing at Ford’s Atheneum in Washington, D.C., and then later returned to the city in October 1862, and then again in March and April 1863 when she was performing at Grovers’ Theatre, and then again in February 1864 at Ford’s New Theatre. Ada continued to appear in theatrical advertisements and reviews as Ada Parker until late February 1864. Up through this point, neither Ada Parker/Ada Plunkett nor Edward Eddy appear linked to any Alexandria-based productions, nor do they appear in any theatrical productions together.<sup>51</sup> Ada’s name, as it appears on the sign in front of the Marshall House “Ada Parker Plunkett” could only be found in conjunction with two engagements, one at the Academy of Music in Albany in September 1864, and the second at the New Theatre in Alexandria in May 1864 when she appeared with Edward Eddy between at least May 12 and May 21, 1864.<sup>52</sup>

Unfortunately, coverage of Eddy and Plunkett’s performances at the New Theatre only appeared in the *Virginia State Journal* (a Unionist publication that was published in Alexandria and for which the existing runs are incomplete), which leaves many of the theatrical productions in Alexandria either unreported or lost to historians. So, while the coverage of Eddy and Plunkett’s run at the New Theatre in May 1864 does not conclusively prove this was the only time the pair performed here together, it is another datapoint suggesting a post-October 1863 (and in this case possibly a mid-May 1864) date for the Brady photograph.

A post-October 12, 1863, date for this Brady photograph of the Marshall House (corresponding to the opening of the New Theatre), and specifically a mid-May 1864 date (corresponding to the Eddy and Plunkett engagement there) appears congruent with what is suggested by newspaper and tax list sources. Here at 104 King in the Brady photograph, the sign of the *Alexandria Gazette* office is visible (if not quite legible). Likewise, the sign for the bookstore below it is also not legible, but the height, shape, and length of the letters suggests it may be the G. E. French

<sup>49</sup> “Theatrical and Musical Items,” *New York Atlas*, March 2, 1862; an Ada Parker appears in advertisements for theatrical productions as early as 1847; see “Concert Hall,” *Newark Daily Advertiser*, October 7, 1847, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> “Ford’s Athenaeum,” *National Republican*, April 7, 1862, p. 3; [no title], *Washington Evening Star*, April 9, 1862, p. 2; “Scraps, Musical and Dramatic,” *New York Sunday Dispatch*, April 27, 1862, p. 6. It would appear that Ada went by Ada Parker (presumably her maiden name) on at least four occasions prior to this; see “A Good Cast of Hamlet,” *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, October 24, 1856, p. 2; “Burton’s New Theatre, Broadway,” *New York Herald*, September 13, 1857, p. 7; “Musical and Dramatic,” *Memphis Daily Appeal*, October 3, 1858, p. 5; and “Amusements Elsewhere,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 6, 1858, p. 1.

<sup>51</sup> See for example: “Amusements,” *Washington National Republican*, April 11, 1862, p. 3; “Grovers’ Theatre,” *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, October 10, 1862, p. 3; “Grovers’ Theatre,” *Washington Evening Star*, March 17, 1863, p. 2; “Ford’s New Theatre,” *Washington Daily National Intelligencer*, February 26, 1864, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup> *Players of a Century: A Record of the Albany Stage*, Henry P. Phelps, 1880, p. 341.

sign visible in the Pywell photograph (**Figure 19**). While the colophon of the *Alexandria Gazette* suggests French was not operating here in 1863 or 1864, the continued presence of his sign at 104 King may explain why the *Alexandria Gazette* continued to use the location of his former

shop as a landmark to find their offices throughout much of the war.

On April 24, 1865, an advertisement in the *Alexandria Gazette* announced that tickets to a concert at Liberty Hall could be purchased at L. B. Stone's bookstore at 104 King Street. This is the latest reference to business being conducted at Stone's bookstore that has been found.<sup>53</sup> The final day the colophon of the *Alexandria Gazette* included reference to Stone's bookstore ( "No. 104 King street, over Stone's (formerly French's) Book Store") was June 5, 1865.<sup>54</sup> The following day, the colophon changed back to read "No. 104, King street, over French's Book Store," as it had on May 13, 1862 before being changed to include Stone (**Figure 20**).<sup>55</sup> By the late summer, passing references to French's store reappear in the *Alexandria* newspapers and on August 30, 1865, French's advertisements for his bookstore also reappeared in the *Alexandria Gazette*.<sup>56</sup> He is again listed at 104 King in the 1866 annual tax list.<sup>57</sup>



Figure 19

<sup>53</sup> "Liberty Hall!," *Alexandria Gazette*, April 24, 1865, p. 4.

<sup>54</sup> Colophon, *Alexandria Gazette*, June 5, 1865, 1.

<sup>55</sup> Colophon, *Alexandria Gazette*, June 6, 1865, 1.

<sup>56</sup> "Excursion," *Alexandria Gazette*, August 12, 1865; "Books and Stationary," *Alexandria Gazette*, August 30, 1865, p. 3.

<sup>57</sup> "United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, 1862-1874.," <http://FamilySearch.org>, Virginia, District 7, Division 1-7, 1866 Annual Lists, 7.

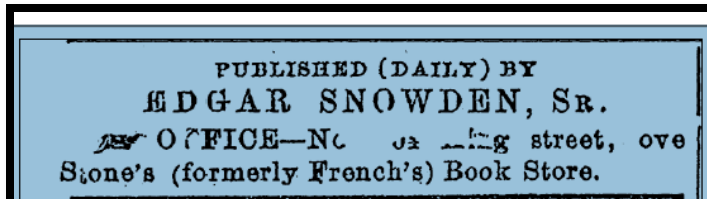


Figure 26. Alexandria Gazette, June 5, 1865.

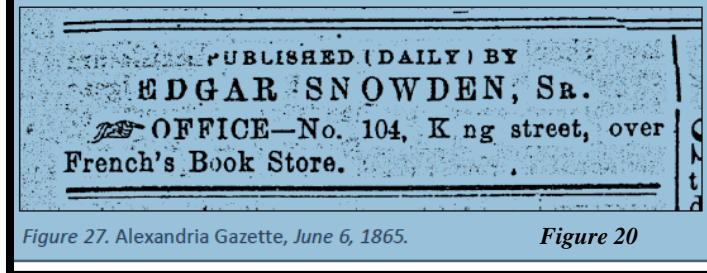


Figure 27. Alexandria Gazette, June 6, 1865.

Figure 20

The presence of the “Gazette Office” sign at 104 King in the Pywell photograph indicates a post-May 13, 1862, date for the photograph. It is difficult to make a conclusion about the date of Pywell’s photograph from the presence of French’s sign. In addition to the Brady photograph that appears to show a sign very similar to French’s at 104 King, the *Alexandria Gazette* continued to reference French’s former bookstore between 1862 and 1865, suggesting the possibility that French’s sign remained in-

stalled at 104 King as a kind of landmark during these years, even if he no longer operated the store there. From the available documentation, it is not immediately clear when French ended his first occupancy at 104 King Street and Stone began his, but it would appear that Stone ended his sometime in the spring of 1865 and French returned here by the late summer of 1865.

Therefore, from the available evidence at 104 King, it is possible this photograph was taken after the spring of 1862 (when the Gazette Office opens here). Additional research is needed in order to determine if French’s sign is a reliable temporal marker, but from the available evidence, French was absent from 104 King for most of the war and did not return until the spring or summer of 1865.

### 106 King Street – “106 S. DEALHAM 106”

At the outset of the Civil War (or within a few months of it), the shop at 106 King Street was occupied by a Mrs. M. Brodbeck, who was running a confectionary business there. She advertised in the *Alexandria Gazette* “all kinds of candies, creamdrops, oranges, lemons, figs, al-



Figure 22

monds, &c.” and also “at all times a good plate of ice cream” at her “new store, 106 King.”<sup>58</sup> Brodbeck continued to advertise as late as the week of Christmas 1860 that her “Choice Confectionary” was available “at her store, 106 King Street” (Figure 22).<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> “Mrs. M. Brodbeck” *Alexandria Gazette*, October 25, 1860, 1.

<sup>59</sup> “A Merry Christmas and New Year” *Alexandria Gazette*, December 22, 1860, 1.

By the fall of 1862, there were new occupants at 106 King Street. The September, October, November, and December 1862 Internal Revenue tax lists recorded them as Dealham & Hirsh, who were listed as “Retail Dealers.”<sup>60</sup> Dealham & Hirsh (sometimes just Hirsh, without Dealham) also appeared at 106 King in the monthly tax lists for May and July (just Hirsh) 1863, and also the annual lists for 1863 and 1864.<sup>61</sup> The annual tax list for 1864 placed an I. Hirsh at 124 King Street down the street, but it is unknown if this is the same Hirsh as at 106 King Street.<sup>62</sup>

While the tax lists can place Dealham and Hirsh at 106 King as early as 1862, the first time Dealham appeared in the Alexandria newspapers is in July 1864 in relation to a recent court ruling in the case of *Dealham & Hirsh vs. Baggett*.<sup>63</sup> The paper noted the case was decided in favor of the plaintiff and they were entitled to “recover possession of the premises in controversy.” Additional research may uncover more details about this case, as the “premises in controversy” may be 106 King. Here at 106 King, the Brady photograph of the Marshall House believed to date to after October 1863 and possibly to

mid-May 1864, shows no sign over 106 King (**Figure 23**). The lack of a sign at 106 King Street in the Brady photograph complicates our assessment of that image, but its absence may be related to the events that culminated in *Dealham & Hirsh v.*

*Baggett* that was decided in the summer of 1864. Baggett was in possession of 106 King as a tenant

prior to July 1864 and was removed by the verdict of the court in that case, which would explain why there is not a Dealham & Hirsh sign visible here in the Brady photograph). However, more research is required to reach this conclusion.

Neither Dealham nor Hirsh (nor Dealham & Hirsh) appeared in the annual list for 1865. Nor is 106 King Street listed elsewhere in the tax lists for that year. The first time Dealham is explicitly linked to 106 King Street in the Alexandria newspapers is not until July 7, 1865, when the *Alexandria Gazette* reported a robbery of “the bed chamber of Mr. S. Dealham, over his store, 106, King street” (**Figure 24**).<sup>64</sup>



Figure 23

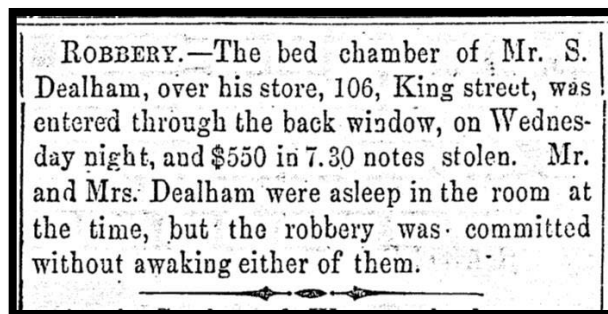


Figure 24

<sup>60</sup>“United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, 1862-1874.” <http://FamilySearch.org>, Virginia, District 3, Division 1, September 1862-December 1866, 27.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 46; 64; 83; 90; 220.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 238.

<sup>63</sup> “County Court” *Alexandria Gazette*, July 9, 1864, 1.

<sup>64</sup> “Robbery” *Alexandria Gazette*, July 7, 1865.



The first time Dealham advertised in the newspaper as “S. Dealham” (the text on the sign at 106 King) was not until September 8, 1865, when his name appeared flanked on either side with a pair of “106”s, similar to how it is depicted in the Pywell photograph (**Figure 25**).<sup>65</sup> In the 1866 annual tax list prepared by the Office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, S. Dealham re-appeared at 106 King after not appearing in the 1865 list, but this time without Hirsh.<sup>66</sup> Dealham continued to operate here at 106 King until February 14, 1868, when he announced in the *Alexandria Gazette* that he had “removed to his new and elegantly fitted up store, No. 108, King Street, (formerly occupied by Schoolher & Bro.,) one door above the old stand” (this is, next door to the west).<sup>67</sup>

Therefore, from the available evidence, Dealham’s name on the sign in front of 106 King Street indicates this photograph had to have been taken after December 22, 1860, when Mrs. M. Brodbeck was still the occupant there. The lack of Hirsh’s name on the sign suggests the photograph was taken some time after Hirsh left the site, which had to be after he was recorded here in the 1864 annual tax assessment, which was conducted that spring. Circumstantially, given the history of Dealham’s advertisements, that the sign at 106 King reads “S. Dealham” and uses paired 106s on either side of his name hints the possibility for an even later date in the late summer or fall of 1865 for the Pywell photograph, but cannot be used on its own to conclusively date the Pywell photograph.



Figure 25

### 108 King Street – “GREAT WESTERN CLOTHING HOUSE” and “[TREUMAN & PFLAUNLACKER]”



Figure 26

The Great Western Clothing House (**Figure 26**) was an establishment run by Louis Schoolherr (sometimes spelled Schooler or Schoolherr) and further up King Street where they had operated for at least three months (**Figure 27**).<sup>68</sup> Around 1857, the Schoolherr brothers either added another partner to their business (possibly Isaac Rosenthal) and changed their company name to Schoolherr & Co,

<sup>65</sup> “New Advertisements,” *Virginia State Journal*, September 8, 1865, p. 2; See also, “Selling off!” *Alexandria Gazette*, November 7, 1865, 4.

<sup>66</sup> “United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, 1862-1874.,” <http://FamilySearch.org>, Virginia, District 7, Division 1-7, 1866 Annual Lists, 6.

<sup>67</sup> “City Items – Removal” *Alexandria Gazette*, February 14, 1868, 3.

<sup>68</sup> “Facts and No Humbug!” *Alexandria Gazette*, January 15, 1852, 4.

**SCHOOLHERR & BRO'S GREAT WESTERN CLOTHING HOUSE.**—The undersigned respectfully inform the public, that they are this day removed from their old stand, located themselves two doors below the Marshall House, where they will continue to sell wholesale or retail, *at cost*, their remaining stock of DRY GOODS.

Grateful to the friends and customers for the liberal support heretofore bestowed upon them, the undersigned respectfully requests its continuance at the new Store, as above, where may be found the most extensive and best selection of READY MADE CLOTHING and GENTLEMEN'S FURNISHING GOODS, as has ever been exhibited in Alexandria, and distinguished for variety, style, finish, and *cheapness*, not to be surpassed South of New York.

Merchants from the country will do well to send a call, as we are determined to offer great inducements in the way of CLOTHING, and have made arrangements in New York to have our garments made of the latest fashion of best materials, especially for our own use. We feel confident that we can please who favor us with a call, and shall always keep on hand boys', youths', and gentlemen's CLOTHING, of every variety; also, Shirts, Pants, Drawers, Neck and Pocket Handkerchiefs, Umbrellas, Trunks, Carpet Bags, &c.

Call early at the Great Western Clothing House of  
**SCHOOLHERR & BRO.,**  
 Third door below the Marshall House, Alexandria, Va.  
 ap 7

brothers titled this advertisement "The Union Forever" (Figure 28), perhaps shedding some light on their political leanings and explaining why they appear to sell their Alexandria business that fall. On October 24, 1861, a notice in the *Alexandria Gazette* announced that Schoolherr & Bro. sold "their entire stock of goods and entire business in Alexandria" to M. Treuman & Co.<sup>74</sup> An item placed in the newspaper by both companies, M. Treuman & Co. asked for the Schoolherr's customers to continue to provide them with their business. From this notice,

or they created a second business called Schoolherr & Co.<sup>69</sup> In either case, they opened and operated another location on the northwest corner of King and Royal Streets (across the street and at the other end of the block from 108 King) called the Phoenix Hall Clothing Rooms, but it is not clear if they carry on at this location into or beyond 1858.<sup>70</sup> Through this period, they continued to advertise for the Great Western Clothing House at 108 King Street, and reminded their customers that their old store continued to exist, including statements in their advertisements such as "Remember the old place"<sup>71</sup> and "give them a call at their Old Stand"<sup>72</sup>.

The final advertisement in the *Alexandria Gazette* for the Great Western Clothing House ran on April 15, 1861, just two days after the surrender of Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor and just over a month before the Union Army would cross the Potomac River and occupy the City for the duration of the war.<sup>73</sup> Interestingly, the

**THE UNION FOREVER.**—Strangers and citizens, one and all, are requested to examine the new and magnificent STOCK OF FALL and WINTER CLOTHING, at **SCHOOLHERR & BRO'S Great Western Clothing House, 108 King street, Alexandria, Va.,** which comprises garments of every description for Men, Youths, Boys, and Servants, together with a full assortment of FURNISHING GOODS.

Their Clothing is all well made, of the best materials, warranted a perfect fit, and can be bought at much lower prices than the same kind of Clothing can be had elsewhere. Recollect they manufacture for themselves, therefore, every one who desires beautiful Clothing, at economical prices, should call at once at

**SCHOOLHERR & BRO'S.,**  
 Great Western Clothing House,  
 108 King street, 3 doors below the Marshall House,  
 Alexandria, Va.  
 sep 8

Figure 28

<sup>69</sup> "Notice" *Alexandria Gazette*, January 4, 1858, 3.

<sup>70</sup> See "New Stores," *Alexandria Gazette*, September 25, 1857, 4; "Phoenix Hall Clothing Rooms" *Alexandria Gazette*, October 15, 1857, 4.

<sup>71</sup> "Clothing for Fall and Winter" *Alexandria Gazette*, October 5, 1858, 1.

<sup>72</sup> "The Very Latest. And Highly Important" *Alexandria Gazette*, December 12, 1857, 4.

<sup>73</sup> "The Union Forever" *Alexandria Gazette*, April 15, 1861, 5.

<sup>74</sup> "Miscellaneous" *Alexandria Gazette*, October 29, 1861, 3.

it would appear that the Schoolherrs no longer operated at 108 King Street after the fall of 1861 (**Figure 29**); however, the tax lists suggest they did not cut all ties to the site at this time.

Despite their notice in the *Alexandria Gazette* that they had sold their stock and their business to Treuman, Schoolherr & Bro. (spelled Schooler here) are located still at 108 King Street in the September, October, November, December 1862, May 1863, annual 1863 (entry dated June 14), and annual 1864 (entry dated April 29, but address given as either 104 or 106 King) tax lists prepared by the Office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue.<sup>75</sup> Louis Schoolherr (spelled Lewis Schooler and L. Schoolheir) was recorded at 108 King in the annual 1863 (entry dated August 21), 101 King in the annual 1864 (entry dated May 17), and 108 again in the 1865 (entry dated April 10) tax lists.<sup>76</sup> So while their October 26, 1861 notice in the newspaper stated the Schoolherrs sold their business to Treuman, the Office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue was still recording and taxing them as Retail Dealers who operated at this location throughout the war, suggesting the reality of their business is more complicated than their self-reported sale suggests.

The May 1863 and annual 1863 tax lists prepared by the Office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue also identified a company by the name of R. R. Loomis & Co. operating as a wholesale dealer at 108 King Street, but no additional information can be found on this company, nor does

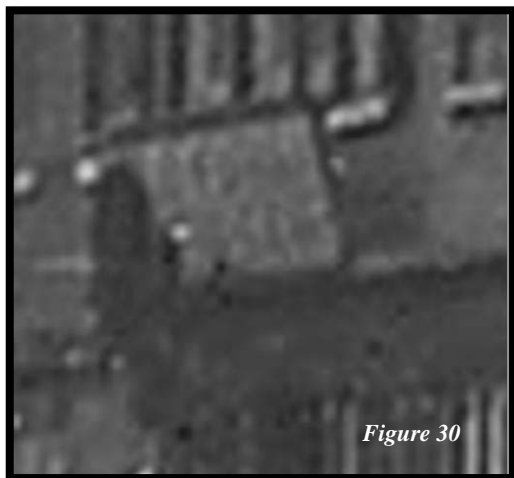


Figure 30

their name appear in the Pywell photograph.<sup>77</sup> The Brady photograph of the Marshall House believed to date to after October 1863 and possibly to mid-May 1864 shows the Great Western Clothing House sign (although it is partially obscured and not legible in the photograph) but does not include the sign visible below it in the Pywell photograph that possibly reads “Treuman & Pflaunlacker” (**Figure 30**, also see below). A notice appearing in the *Alexandria Gazette* on November 7, 1865, identifies “Trueman & Pflaunlacker” as clothiers somewhere on King Street, but does not specify exactly where (**Figure 31**).<sup>78</sup>



Figure 29

<sup>75</sup> "United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, 1862-1874.," <http://FamilySearch.org>, Virginia, District 3, Division 1, September 1862-December 1866, 33; 55; 101; 278.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, 102; 280; 535.

<sup>77</sup> "United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, 1862-1874.," <http://FamilySearch.org>, Virginia, District 3, Division 1, September 1862-December 1866, 51; 93.

<sup>78</sup> "Police Report," *Alexandria Gazette*, November 7, 1865, 3.

The cool breeze prevailing last evening about dusk, so affected the morals of a thinly clad individual as he walked up Kingstreet, that he removed a fine overcoat from the door of Messrs. Trueman & Pflaunlacher, clothiers; not deeming it at all necessary to pay for the same.

Figure 31

Treuman, who supposedly purchased the stock and business of the Schoolherrs in the fall of 1861, did not appear in the 1863 or 1864 tax lists, but did appear on four lines of the 1865 annual tax list (spelled M. Trueman,) both individually and with Pflaunlacker (possibly spelled Pflounlacker,) but is recorded at 105 King Street, not 108 King.<sup>79</sup> The

1866 annual tax list placed both M. Trueman individually and Trueman & Pflounlacker together at 118 King Street, not 108 King (see below for more on Pflaunlacker.)<sup>80</sup>

It is not until the annual 1866 tax list (conducted around May 1866) that the Schoolherrs no longer appeared at 108 King Street in the tax records. In their place was an S. Pflaunlacker.<sup>81</sup> Several Pflaunlackers appeared in Alexandria in various tax lists during the Civil War. One J. Pflaunlacker appeared at 157 King and S. Pflaunlacker at 105 King in the annual 1863 tax list.<sup>82</sup> Both B. and J. Pflaunlacker appeared at 157 King in the annual 1864 tax list.<sup>83</sup> In addition to Trueman & Pflaunlacher (above), another reference to a Pflaunlacker on King Street is in a dry goods directory published in 1868 that identifies a firm named Freeman & Pflaunlacker operating in Alexandria, Virginia.<sup>84</sup> Given the similarity between the names Freeman and Treuman, it is possible the directory meant Treuman and not Freeman, but there is no further evidence to suggest that this might be a typo. The text on the sign below the "Great Western Clothing House" sign in the Pywell photograph is *extremely* difficult to read, but in light of the directory, newspaper notices, and tax lists, it appears to read either "Treuman & Pflaunlacker" or "Freeman & Pflaunlacker" on the first line, and maybe a description of their business on the second, possibly with "108" at the beginning and end of the line, similar to the signs at 106, 110, and 112 King (refer to Figure 26). The

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***Several Pflaunlackers appeared in Alexandria in various tax lists during the Civil War.***

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<sup>79</sup> "United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, 1862-1874.," <http://FamilySearch.org>, Virginia, District 3, Division 1, September 1862-December 1866, 539.

<sup>80</sup> "United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, 1862-1874.," <http://FamilySearch.org>, Virginia, District 7, Division 1-7, 1866 Annual Lists, 17.

<sup>81</sup> "United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, 1862-1874.," <http://FamilySearch.org>, Virginia, District 7, Division 1-7, 1866 Annual Lists, 14.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 97.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, 266.

<sup>84</sup> *The Dry Goods Trade, and Cotton, Woolen, Silk, and Linen Manufacture of the United States; A Directory of the Jobbers, Importers, Commission and Retail Dealers in Dry Goods, and Cotton, Woolen, Silk and Linen Manufacturing Corporations, Firms, &c., in the United States; Together with Valuable and Interesting Statistics of the Same*, C. A. Dockham & Co., Boston, 1868, p. 196.



first line appears to contain the same number of letters and general shape of the visible letters and their spacing is consistent with the name of that firm.

Even after the Civil War, succeeding businesses at 108 King frequently reminded their customers that 108 King was the former site of the School

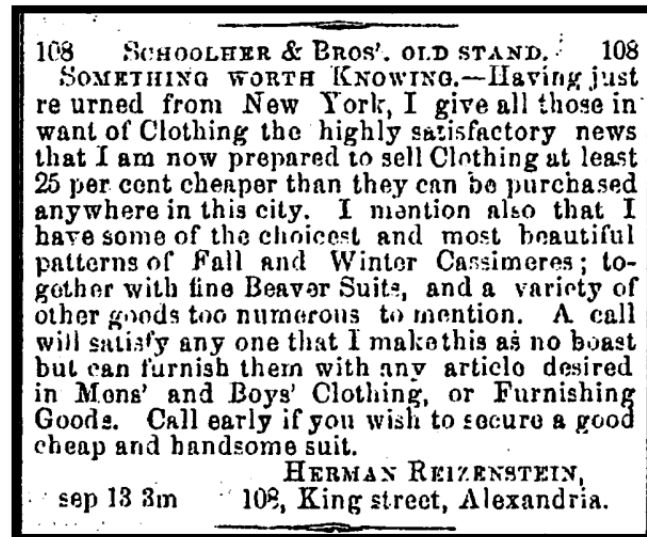


Figure 32

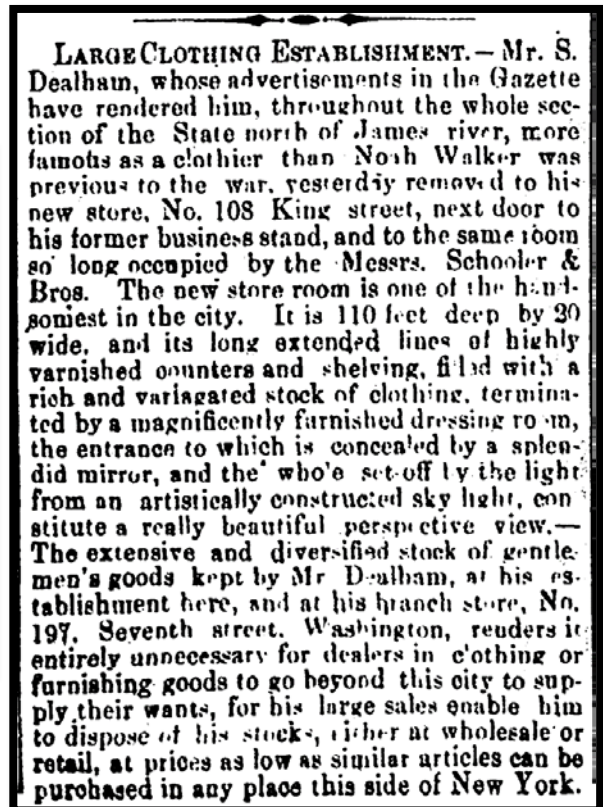


Figure 33

herr brothers' Great Western Clothing House. In 1867, Herman Reizenstein began one of his advertisements with "Schoolher & Bro's Old Stand" (Figure 32)<sup>85</sup> and when Dealham moved his shop in 1868 from next door at 106 King to 108 King (see above), he made certain to note he was moving to "No. 108 King street, next door to his former business stand, and to the same room so long occupied by the Messrs. Schooler & Bros." (Figure 33).<sup>86</sup> If the Schoolherrs did not leave 108 King in October 1861 when they sold their business to Treuman, or by the spring of 1866 when the annual tax list records S. Pflaunlacker at the address, they were certainly gone by September 1867 when Reizenstein began advertising his occupancy of the site. Likewise, the "S. Dealham" sign visible at 106 King in the Pywell photograph would have almost certainly been moved next door to 108 King when Dealham moved in February 1868 (or possibly replaced with a new one).<sup>87</sup> He likely operated until the following year when his shop was advertised for rent. Dealham was gone from 108 King by 1873 when Joseph Kaufman occupied both 108 and 110 King Street.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>85</sup> "Schoolher & Bros'. Old Stand" *Alexandria Gazette*, September 19, 1867, 4.

<sup>86</sup> "Large Clothing Establishment" *Alexandria Gazette*, February 11, 1868, 4.

<sup>87</sup> "City Items – Removal" *Alexandria Gazette*, February 14, 1868, 3.

<sup>88</sup> "For Rent—The Two Large Fireproof Stores, Nos. 108 and 110 King Street" *Alexandria Gazette*, March 11, 1869, 2; "Notice" *Alexandria Gazette*, December 27, 1873, 5.

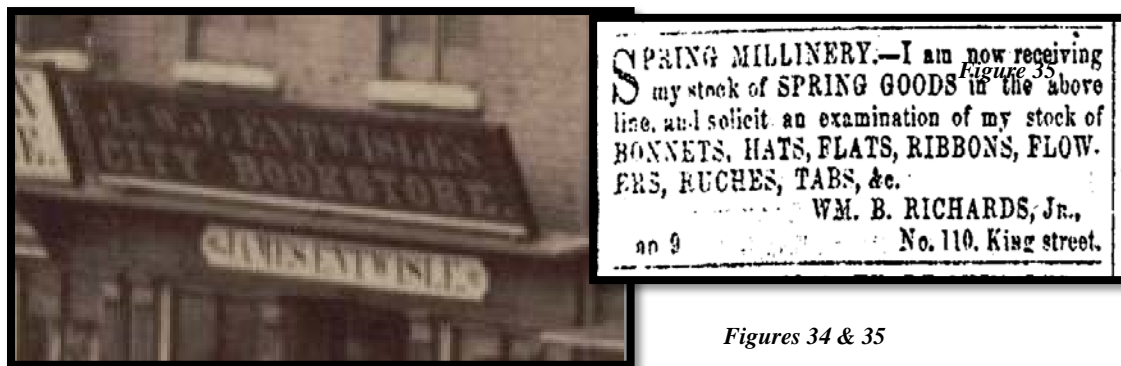
From the available evidence, the Schoolherr brothers stopped their regular advertisements for their Great Western Clothing House business approximately five weeks before Ellsworth crossed the river and was shot at the Marshall House. Furthermore, they supposedly sold their business in Alexandria ten months prior to the August 1862 date claimed for the Pywell photograph. The tax lists prepared by the Office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, however, suggest they remained (or are at least taxed here) until at least May 1865. Successive occupants of 108 King continued to refer to the Schoolherr's use of the space in their own advertisements. Therefore, from the other analysis presented in this report, it would appear that either they remained operating their business at the site after their purported October 1861 sale to Treuman or their "Great Western Clothing House" sign remained installed on the building after their occupancy as a kind of landmark for the remaining businesses (see Brady photograph, Figure 15). Without additional research, this sign may not be a useful temporal marker for dating the Pywell photograph except to note that Dealham probably would have moved his sign from 106 King to 108 King when he moved there in early 1868. If the difficult-to-read sign below the Great Western Clothing House sign does indeed read "Treuman [or Freeman] & Pflaunlacker," then this would suggest the Pywell photograph dates to sometime after the annual 1865 tax assessment was conducted around May 1865 (which does not yet show them at 108 King) but before the annual 1866 tax assessment (which places Pflaunlacker there), and strongly discounts an August 1862 date.

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*...this would suggest the Pywell photograph dates to sometime after the annual 1865 tax assessment was conducted ... but before the annual 1866 tax assessment... and strongly discounts an August 1862 date.*

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### 110 King Street – "J. & W. J. Entwisle's City Bookstore" and "[110] JAMES ENTWISLE [110]"



Figures 34 & 35

From at least 1855 to the beginning of the Civil War, 110 King Street was occupied by William B. Richards, who operated a millinery shop (Figures 34 & 35).<sup>89</sup>

<sup>89</sup> "Richards' New Stock at His New Store," *Alexandria Gazette*, September 25, 1855, 1; "Spring Millinery" *Alexandria Gazette*, May 24, 1861, 4.

Elsewhere on this block, at the onset of the war, James Entwisle, Jr. operated an apothecary at 94 King Street, located at the east end of the block (**Figure 36**),<sup>90</sup> and James Entwisle & Son operated a bookstore across the street at 95 King Street (**Figure 37**).<sup>91</sup> Presumably, the “& Son” here

**DRUGS AND PATENT MEDICINES.**—India Senna, Chamomile Flowers, Gum Tragacanth, Flour of Sulphur, Croton Oil, Kreosote, Li- quorice Root, Wistar's Cough Lozenges, Refined Borax, Pepper, Cubebs, Refined Salt Petre, Pow'd Ipocacuanha, White Mustard Seed, Sago, Ayer's Cherry Pectoral, Lemon and Raspberry Gum Drops, No. 1 Potash, just received and for sale by  
**Figure 36 JAS. ENTWISLE Jr.,**  
 ap 17 Apothecary, 94 King st.

is Wilmer J. Entwisle (see below), but additional genealogical research is required in order to determine the relationships between these Entwisles.

James Entwisle & Son operated their bookstore at 95 King Street until the night of March 8, 1862 when it was “embraced” in a large fire that broke out on the north side of this block of King Street (**Figure 38**).<sup>92</sup> Just several weeks after this fire, another Entwisle, this

**OLD CHURCHES, MINISTERS, and Families of Virginia.** by Bishop Meade, new edition, 2 vols. 8vo. cloth, \$5.  
 The Life of Trust, being a narrative of the Lord's dealings with George Muller, written by himself, with an introduction by Frances Wayland, 12mo. cloth, \$1.25.  
 The Crossed Path, or Basil, a Story of Modern Life, by Wilkie Collins, \$1.25.  
 Elsie Venner, a Romance of Destiny, by Oliver Wendell Holmes, 2 vols. 16mo., \$1.75.  
 The Bible and the Classics, by Rt. Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D., 8vo. cloth, \$2.50.  
 A Catechism for the instruction of persons of color, by Rev. J. M. Pringle, 13c.  
 A short Catechism for the use of Plantations and Sunday Schools in country parishes, &c., by Rev. J. M. Pringle, 6c. For sale by  
**JAMES ENTWISLE & SON,**  
 mh 27 **Figure 37** No. 95 King-street.

March 9.—A large fire broke out about midnight of the 8th, at the three-story brick store on King street, between Sarepta Hall and Exchange Block. The flames made great headway, and, before the progress of the fire was stayed, Sarepta Hall and Exchange Block were destroyed. The establishments of Messrs. Henry Cook, Coles & Ramsay, Corse & Co., James Entwisle & Son, Jas. M. Stewart, D. Haas and others were embraced in the conflagration, the total loss being estimated in the neighborhood of \$150,000—the largest destruction of property by fire in Alexandria since the great fire of 1827.  
**Figure 38**

time Isaac Entwisle, took out an advertisement in the newspaper stating he had “purchased the entire stock of drugs and medicines, of Jas. Entwisle, Jr. and will continue the business at the old stand, No. 94 King street.”<sup>93</sup>

By October 1862, a notice in the *Alexandria Gazette* suggests the James Entwisle & Son bookstore had reopened, as tickets to a concert at Liberty Hall that evening could be purchased there. From this advertisement it is not clear if the bookstore had been reopened in the old address at 95 King Street or the new one that would open at 110 King (**Figure 39**).<sup>94</sup>

<sup>90</sup> See “Ellis’s Solution Citrate Magnesia” *Alexandria Gazette*, March 15, 1861, 5; “Drugs and Patent Medicines” *Alexandria Gazette*, May 24, 1861, 4.

<sup>91</sup> “See Christmas Notice” *Alexandria Gazette*, December 18, 1860, 4; “James Entwisle & Son” *Alexandria Gazette*, October 29, 1861, 2.

<sup>92</sup> “March 9” *Alexandria Gazette*, May 13, 1862, 4.

<sup>93</sup> “Drugs and Medicines” *Alexandria Gazette*, May 20, 1862, 4.

<sup>94</sup> “Notice” *Alexandria Gazette*, October 17, 1862, 3.



**NOTICE.**—Tickets for the Concert to be held this evening, at Liberty Hall, for the benefit of the Orphan Asylum, may be had at the book stores of Robt. Bell, Jas Entwisle & Son and L. B. Stone, and at the Drug Store of Dr. Jas. Entwisle. An ear'y attendance on the part of the ladies is requested, in order that they may secure comfortable seats.  
The doors will be opened at 6½ o'clock.  
Let all go who can. *Figure 39* 1t

assessments.<sup>95</sup> Also appearing at 110 King in the tax lists for these years was a Dr. Lipsnard (June 1863) or Lispnard (annual 1863), a physician.<sup>96</sup> No additional information could be found on this individual. 110 King did not appear in the annual 1864 tax list, but J. Entwisle was listed on King Street this year with no specific address given.<sup>97</sup>

Neither of the two Entwisle signs visible at 110 King in the Pywell photograph of the Marshall



*Figure 40*

placed here with W. J. Entwisle (Wilmer J.), nor does their bookstore (neither the one run by James Entwisle nor the one he ran jointly with W. J. Entwisle) appear specifically linked to 110 King in the newspaper prior to August 1865.

However, on August 1, 1865, James Entwisle began running a notice in the *Alexandria Gazette* that “the Book and Stationary business heretofore conducted by James Entwisle, at No. 110, King street, will be continued by the undersigned, from and after this date, under the name and style of J. & W. J. Entwisle” (*Figure 41*).<sup>98</sup> This notice was signed by both James Entwisle and Wilmer J. Entwisle, and beneath

James Entwisle appeared at 110 King Street in many of the tax lists prepared by the Office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue during the Civil War. He appeared as a retail dealer in the September, October, November, December 1862 (the specific date listed here is September 1), May 1863, annual 1863 (entry dated June 30), and annual 1865 (entry dated April 8) tax

House appear in the Brady photograph believed to have been taken post-October 1863 (and possibly in mid-May 1864) (*Figure 40*). While James Entwisle appeared at 110 King Street in many of the Civil War-era tax lists, he cannot be

**CO-PARTNERSHIP NOTICE.**—The Book and Stationery business heretofore conducted by James Entwisle, at No. 110, King street, will be continued by the undersigned, from and after this date, under the name and style of J. & W. J. ENTWISLE.  
JAMES ENTWISLE,  
WILMER J. ENTWISLE.  
Alexandria, Va., August 1st, 1865.  
JAS. ENTWISLE. WILMER J. ENTWISLE.  
J. & W. J. ENTWISLE,  
CITY BOOK STORE,  
No. 110, King Street,  
Dealers in BOOKS, PAPER, ENVELOPES, SHEET MUSIC, MUSIC BOOKS, &c., &c. A general assortment of STATIONERY, SCHOOL BOOKS, BLANK BOOKS, and JUVENILE BOOKS, BIBLES, Prayer and Hymn Books, Photograph Albums, together with all articles usually found in a first class Book and Stationery Store. Prices low, and for cash only. *aug 1—1w*

*Figure 41*

<sup>95</sup> "United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, 1862-1874.," <http://FamilySearch.org>, Virginia, District 3, Division 1, September 1862-December 1866, 27; 47; 83; 516.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid, 60; 93.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 224.

<sup>98</sup> "Co-Partnership Notice" *Alexandria Gazette*, August 1, 1865, 2.



this notice was an advertisement for the J. & W. J. Entwisle City Book Store. It is this business, J. & W. J. Entwisle, whose name appears on the sign over 110 King Street in the Pywell photograph.

*Assuming this notice is correct...that James Entwisle did not conduct his ... business at 110 King Street ... until "from and after" August 1, 1865, then the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House could not have been taken until on or after this date.*

Assuming this notice is correct, that is, that James Entwisle did not conduct his book and stationary business at 110 King Street as J. & W. J. Entwisle until "from and after" August 1, 1865, then the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House could not have been taken until on or after this date.

The annual 1866 tax assessment (prepared around May 1866) listed James H. Entwisle for income tax, W. J. Entwisle for income and a watch tax, and W. J. & J. Entwisle as a retailer at 110 King Street.<sup>99</sup> This is the first year Wilmer J. Entwisle appeared at 110 King Street, further suggesting he arrived here and joined James Entwisle in a capacity to also be listed as a retail dealer sometime between the 1865 assessment in the spring of 1865 and the 1866 assessment in the spring of 1866. James and Wilmer J. Entwisle operated here for only a few years, as their shop (like Dealham's next door) was advertised for rent in March 1869 (Figure 42).<sup>100</sup> In 1871, S.

**FOR RENT—The TWO LARGE FIRE PROOF STORES, Nos. 103 and 110 King street, one occupied by S. Dealham as a ready made clothing store, the other by J. & W. J. Entwisle as a book and stationery store—both well adapted to large dry goods business.—Depth 90 feet, with shelving, counters, gas burners, &c. Possession given 1st of April and May. Apply to mar 11—eotf SAM'L. MILLER.**

Lindheimer opened a "twenty-five and fifty cent" store at 110 King Street (Figure 43).<sup>101</sup>

From the available evidence, the presence of the James Entwisle sign beneath the J. & W. J. Entwisle City Bookstore sign at 110 King Street indicates the Pywell photograph was taken after the May 8, 1862, fire that destroyed his original bookstore at 95 King on

the other side of the street.

Figures 42 & 43

This sign could have been at 110 King Street in August 1862 when the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House is claimed to have been taken, and the tax lists can place Entwisle at this address on September 1, 1862, just one day after the claimed August 1862 date. However, if the name of Entwisle's business changed on August 1, 1865, as he notifies the public it did (and if he did not operate under that name until this date as

**NEW STORE.**  
A NEW TWENTY-FIVE AND FIFTY  
CENT STORE  
Will be opened at  
110 King street,  
Wednesday morning, by  
nov 13 S. LINDHEIMER.

<sup>99</sup> "United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, 1862-1874.," <http://FamilySearch.org>, Virginia, District 7, Division 1-7, 1866 Annual Lists, 7.

<sup>100</sup> "For Rent—The Two Large Fireproof Stores, Nos. 108 and 110 King Street" *Alexandria Gazette*, March 11, 1869, 2.

<sup>101</sup> "New Store" *Alexandria Gazette*, November 15, 1871, 3.

he claims), then the J. & J. W. Entwisle City Bookstore sign above the James Entwisle sign in the Pywell photograph would indicate the photograph was taken after James Entwisle re-formed his business under that name on August 1, 1865, not in August 1862 as is claimed on the photograph. If a higher-quality version of this photograph is ever found, perhaps the text on the other signs in front of the Entwisle shop can further refine this date, as it is likely these signs advertise new books or products for sale within, and these could be expected to be chronologically sensitive and datable.

Of all the available evidence presented in this article, this “J. & W. J. Entwisle City Book Store” sign visible at 110 King Street is the latest datable feature, and it dates the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House to sometime on or after August 1, 1865, as a partnership by this name did not exist until this date. This is in line with other evidence presented here that indicates the photograph could not have been taken in August 1862, and had to have been taken much later, likely in the summer or fall of 1865.

### 112 King Street – “112 DRY GOOD STORE 112 JULIUS SCHONFIELD”

At the onset of the Civil War, the store at 112 King Street was occupied by William A. Hart.<sup>102</sup> He moved to 112 King from 109 King (across the street on the same block at the northeast corner of King and Pitt) in January 1860.<sup>103</sup>



Two early-war photographs of the Marshall House show Hart's sign over 112 King (**Figures 45 & 46**).<sup>104</sup> Hart does not appear in any of the Civil War-era Internal Revenue tax lists.

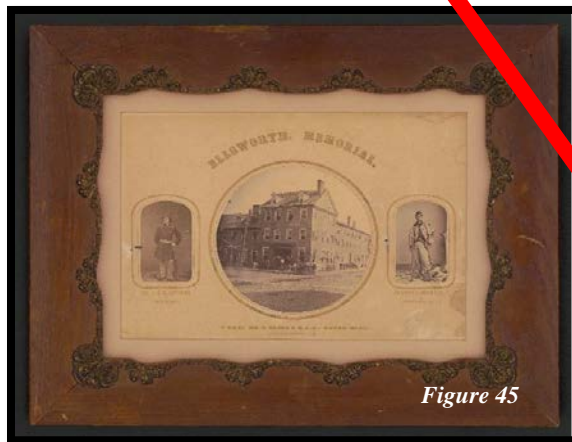


Figure 45



Figure 46

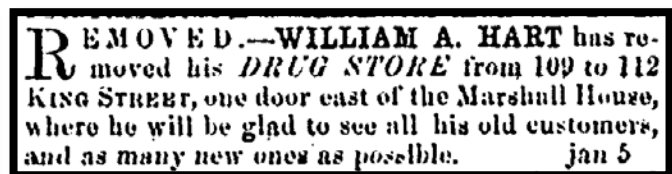
<sup>102</sup> “Pickles,” “Honey! Honey!!,” and “Vinegar,” *Alexandria Gazette*, May 24, 1861, 4.

<sup>103</sup> “Removed” *Alexandria Gazette*, January 13, 1860, 1.

<sup>104</sup> “Marshall House, Alexandria,” photographed by A. A. Turner, published by D. Appleton & Co., 1861, <https://www.cowanuctions.com/lot/civil-war-photograph-of-the-marshall-house-alexandria-virginia-signed-by-elmer-ellsworth-s-avenger-frances-brownell-140425>; “Ellsworth. Memorial Col. E.E. Ellsworth, the patriot martyr. The Marshall house, Alexandria, Va. Francis E. Brownell, the avenger of Ellsworth.” Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2015645487>.

The September, October, November, December 1862 and annual 1863 (entry dated May 23) tax lists prepared by the Office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue placed J. R. Green here and listed his occupation as a hotel keeper and owner of a livery stable at 112 King Street.<sup>105</sup> The annual 1865 tax list (entry dated May 31) specifically placed him at the Marshall House and the annual 1866 tax assessment placed a John B. (this “B” could very well be an “R,” but it looks very much like a “B”) Green also at the Marshall House.<sup>106</sup> The 1885 Sanborn Atlas labeled a narrow stretch of 112 King Street (then 609 King) as a “hall” (see Figure 7). This lines up with the door located to the west (right) of the shop at 112 but east (left) of the Marshall House steps. Given that the tax records and photographs also placed retail merchants at 112 King Street at the same time (see below), it is possible this door and hall served as a passthrough to the rear of the Marshall House or to access interior spaces within it, or that operations within the Marshall House extended into the second-floor space over the storefront at 112 King Street. Green’s presence here at 112 King in the tax lists suggests some of the Marshall House’s activities were carried out next door as well.

The January and February 1863 (this entry is dated January 1), May 1863, annual 1863 (entry dated June 18), and annual 1864 (entry dated April 29) tax assessments listed Max Koenigsberg (sometimes listed with just his first initial or spelled Koenegsberg) as a retail dealer at 112 King Street.<sup>107</sup> Several photographs of the Marshall House taken during the Civil War show Koenigsberg’s sign at 112 King.<sup>108</sup> From the clearest of these photographs (**Figure 47**), the sign read “112 M. KOENIGSBERG 112,” and the tax lists reveal it predates the “DRY GOOD STORE/JULIUS SCHONFIELD” sign seen in the Pywell photograph. A sign at 112 King Street is also visible in the Brady photograph of the Marshall House believed to date to post-October 1863 (and possibly to mid-May 1864) (**Figure 48**). While not quite legible in the Brady photograph, Hart’s, Koenigsberg’s, and Schonfield’s signs are different enough in lettering and layout that it is clear this sign photographed by Brady is not Hart’s or Schonfield’s signs and is likely Koenigsberg’s sign.



Figures 47 & 48

<sup>105</sup> "United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, 1862-1874.," <http://FamilySearch.org>, Virginia, District 3, Division 1, September 1862-December 1866, 28; 86.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, 520; "United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, 1862-1874.," <http://FamilySearch.org>, Virginia, District 7, Division 1-7, 1866 Annual Lists, 9.

<sup>107</sup> "United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, 1862-1874.," <http://FamilySearch.org>, Virginia, District 3, Division 1, September 1862-December 1866, 37; 50; 92; 246.

<sup>108</sup> "Marshall House, Alexandria, Va.," Brady National Photographic Art Gallery, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/529398>.

The annual 1865 tax list for Alexandria placed a J. or I. Hirsch at 112 King Street.<sup>109</sup> It is unknown if (but likely that) this is the same as Isaac Hirsh, partner in Dealham & Hirsh, located just three doors down at 106 King the previous year. Also listed in the 1865 annual tax assessment is Julius Schonfield (spelled Schoonfield), but his address is given as 13 Royal Street.<sup>110</sup> It is not until the annual 1866 assessment (prepared around May 1866) that Schonfield appeared at 112 King Street, suggesting he arrived here at some point between the spring of 1865 and the spring of 1866.<sup>111</sup>

On March 30, 1866, Julius Schonfield sold at auction his “entire stock of dry goods and fancy articles.”<sup>112</sup> The following week, Victor Schonfield began advertising the “Best and Cheapest Dry Goods and Fancy Goods in the City” at Julius Schonfield’s old stand at 112 King Street (**Figure 49**).<sup>113</sup>

Then, on July 3, 1866, J. Rosenthal placed a notice in the Alexandria Gazette that he had removed to 112 King Street where he would remain temporarily until his new store was completed.<sup>114</sup> A court order dated to November 1866 placed the property for sale at public auction on April 4, 1867.<sup>115</sup>

From the available evidence, the sign at 112 King Street in the Pywell photograph belongs to Julius Schonfield and not Max Koenigsberg. This dates it to sometime after the annual tax assessment of 1865, which was conducted around May 1865, thereby also dating the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House to sometime after May 1865.



Figure 49

### Marshall House – “MARSHALL HOUSE”

While a discussion of the history of the Marshall House before, during, and after the Civil War would be interesting and noteworthy, it is largely outside the scope of this report. Ironically, this author is unable to refine the date of the Pywell photograph (**Figure 50**) of the Marshall



Figure 50

House by using the history of the Marshall House except to say the photograph was taken some time shortly after May 24, 1861, when Colonel Elmer Ellsworth and James Jackson were killed inside the hotel but before it burned February 5, 1873.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>109</sup> "United States Internal Revenue Assessment Lists, 1862-1874.," <http://FamilySearch.org>, Virginia, District 3, Division 1, September 1862-December 1866, 522.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, 537.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, 16.

<sup>112</sup> "Trustee's Sale of Dry Goods" *Alexandria Gazette*, March 27, 1866, 3.

<sup>113</sup> "The Best and Cheapest Dry Goods" *Alexandria Gazette*, April 3, 1866, 4.

<sup>114</sup> "Removal" *Alexandria Gazette*, July 3, 1866, 4.

<sup>115</sup> "Valuable Real Estate in Alexandria, VA." *Alexandria Gazette*, March 19, 1867, 3.

<sup>116</sup> "Burning of the Marshall House" *Alexandria Gazette*, February 25, 1873, 3.



The sign for the Marshall House at that time consisted of individual letters hung directly on the brick façade between the second and third floors and was taken by souvenir seekers during the early part of the Civil War,

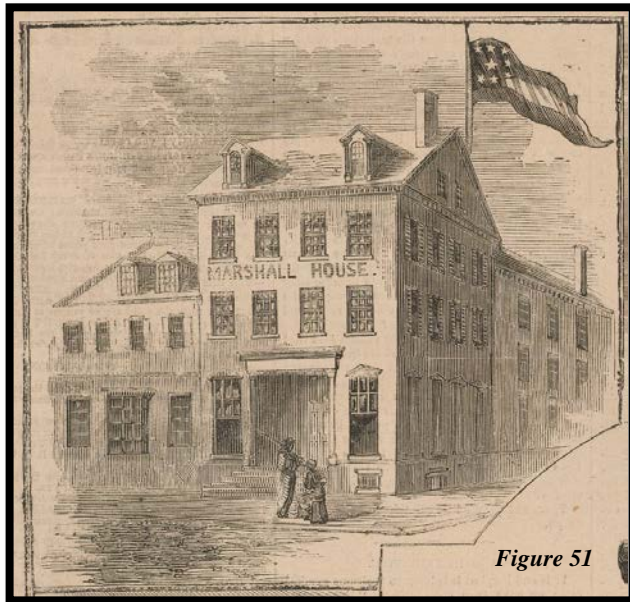


Figure 51

likely by late May or early June 1861.<sup>117</sup> An earlier sign is depicted on the cover of the June 15, 1861 issue of *Harper's Weekly* (**Figure 51**) as is clearly visible in a triptych of the Marshall House, Ellmer Ellsworth, and Francis E. Brownell held by the Library of Congress (**Figure 52**).<sup>118</sup>



Figure 52

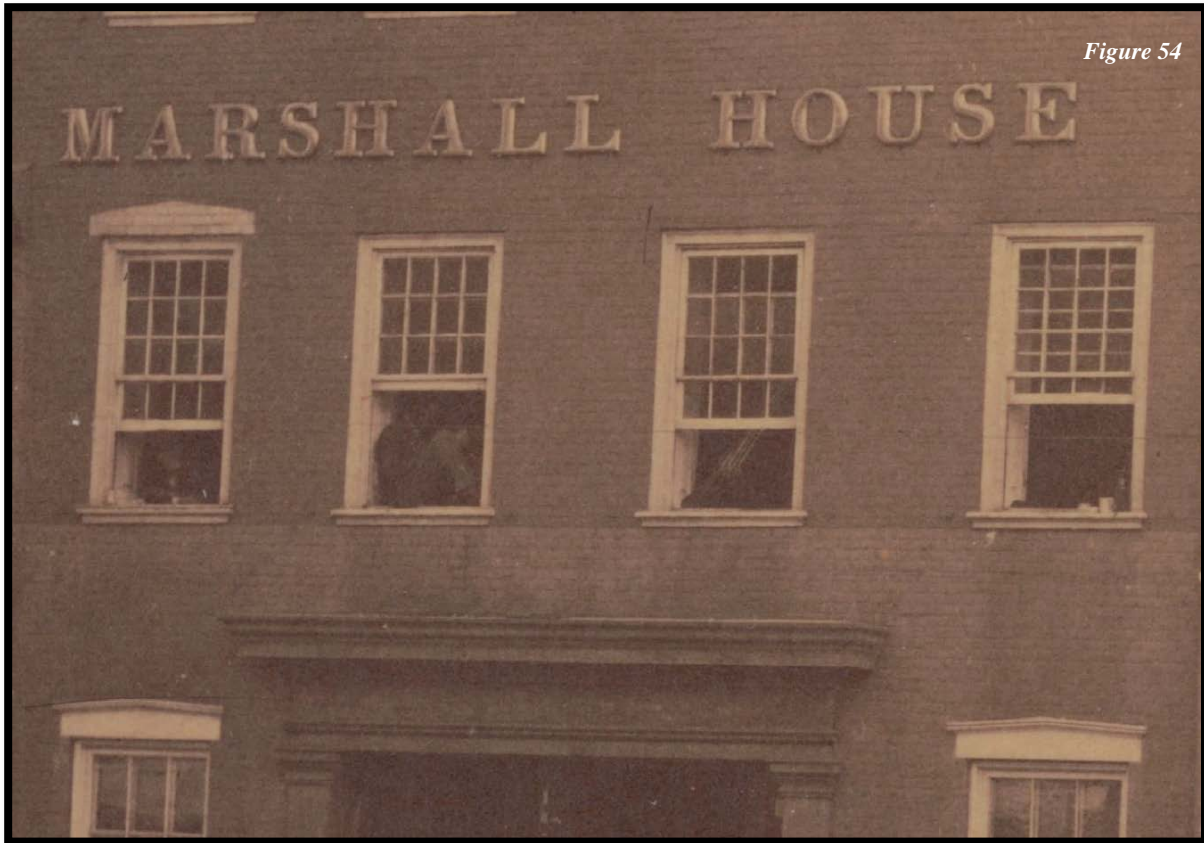


Figure 53

The “O” from this original sign is now owned by the City of Alexandria as a part of the Fort Ward Museum collection (**Figure 53**). A faint outline indicating the three-dimensional (**Figure 54**) sign's location on the façade can be made out in one of the early-war photographs that shows the sign of William Hart at 112 King (Figure 46). Therefore, the painted sign visible in the Pywell photograph over the door of the Marshall House is a later replacement. As evidenced by the Hart and Brady photographs, the Marshall House went without an external sign for at least part of the war.

<sup>117</sup> “The Marshall House,” *New York Evening Express*, May 31, 1861, 2; “The Marshall House,” *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, June 7, 1861, 2; “Vandalism,” *Baltimore Daily Exchange*, June 11, 1861, 2; “Dilapidation of the Marshall House,” *Janesville Daily Gazette*, June 15, 1861, 1.

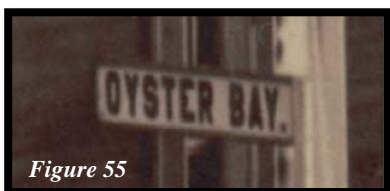
<sup>118</sup> “Elmer Ellsworth,” *Harper's Weekly*, unidentified artist, 1861, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, [https://npg.si.edu/object/npg\\_NPG.2008.113](https://npg.si.edu/object/npg_NPG.2008.113); “Ellsworth. Memorial Col. E.E. Ellsworth, the patriot martyr. The Marshall house, Alexandria, Va. Francis E. Brownell, the avenger of Ellsworth.” Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2015645487/>.



The later sign is visible in two other photographs of the Marshall House. These photographs were also possibly taken by Pywell on the same date as the photograph that appears in Gardner's *Sketch Book* (see Figures 58 & 59 below), although more work is needed before this can be stated more conclusively.

One additional point to note about the Marshall House (and several other buildings visible here) is that many of the windows are open and many of the shutters (both interior and exterior) are closed. This suggests the photograph was taken on a warmer day, such as is typical in the summer and common in much of the spring and fall in Alexandria, rather than on a cooler day. If the Pywell photograph was taken after August 1, 1865 as suggested by the presence of the J. & W. J. Entwisle sign, and was published in Gardner's *Sketch Book* some time before February 6, 1866 when booksellers began advertising it in their shops (see below), then it would appear likely that the Pywell photograph was not taken during the cold winter months between those two dates, suggesting a latest possible date of sometime in the late Fall 1865 before it became impractical to leave these windows open to the cold winter air.

#### [2539 S. Pitt Street] – “OYSTER BAY”



The sign here along the S. Pitt Street side of the wing behind the Marshall House appears to mark a business being run from the basement. (**Figure 55**) The address given here comes from the 1885 Sanborn Atlas. During the Civil War, there appears to be an identically named establishment across the Potomac in

Washington, D.C. at 13<sup>th</sup> Street and Pennsylvania Avenue<sup>119</sup> and another at Bridge and Montgomery Streets in Georgetown.<sup>120</sup> Unfortunately, not much else is known about this business and it cannot be used to help date this photograph of the Marshall House.

### **Summary of the Properties Visible in the Pywell Photograph of the Marshall House**

In terms of dating the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House, the single most important piece of data is the notice placed in the *Alexandria Gazette* by James and Wilmer J. Entwisle on August 1, 1865 (Figure 41). In it, they state that the business conducted by James Entwisle at 110 King Street “will be continued...from and after this date” under their new name of J. & W. J. Entwisle, which is the name that appears on the sign in the Pywell photograph.

The Internal Revenue tax lists cannot place all the businesses visible in the Pywell photograph along this stretch of King Street until the 1866 annual assessment, which provides a window for the Pywell photograph between the conclusion of the 1865 annual assessment (approximately May 1865) through the conclusion of the 1866 annual assessment (May 1866). Furthermore, several other pieces of evidence all point to this same general time frame with varying degrees of certainty. These telling details include:

- the sign for French’s bookstore and not Stone’s at 104 King Street (post-spring 1865),
- Dealham’s use of “106 S. Dealham 106” without Hirsh at 106 (this appears in the newspapers starting in September 1865),
- the presence of Pflaunlacker on the sign at 108 (Pflaunlacker moves in here sometime between May 1865 and May 1866), and
- Schonfield’s presence at 112 King Street (like Pflaunlacker, Schonfield appears to move here sometime between May 1865 and May 1866).

All this evidence suggests the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House was taken some time in 1865 or 1866, and not in August 1862 as claimed by Gardner. The positioning of the windows and shutters in the Pywell photograph suggests it was taken in a warmer month (in the spring, summer, or fall) and not in winter. It is worth noting that while we can reject Gardner’s attribution of the year 1862 to Pywell’s photographs, we cannot rule out that these photographs were possibly taken in the month of August as claimed by Gardner, albeit August 1865 and not August 1862.

## **BRIEF PUBLISHING HISTORY OF *GARDNER’S PHOTOGRAPHIC SKETCH BOOK OF THE WAR***

Because Pywell’s photograph of the Marshall House appears in *Gardner’s Photographic Sketchbook of the War*, which was published in 1866, the photograph of the Marshall House had to have been taken at some point prior to the time when Gardner’s book began appearing in

<sup>119</sup> “Wanted at Oyster Bay,” *Washington Evening Star*, November 21, 1861, 4; “Oysters” *Washington Evening Star*, February 15, 1862, 2.

<sup>120</sup> “Notice” *Washington Evening Star*, April 28, 1864, 3.



stores in 1866. A circumstantial and inconclusive clue as to the origin of the Pywell photographs of the Slave Pen and the Marshall House can be found in the text below each of these images in Gardner's *Sketch Book*. Appearing between "Negative by Wm. R. Pywell" and "Positive by A. Gardner, 511 7<sup>th</sup> St., Washington" the text reads, "*Entered according to act of Congress, in the year 1866, by A. Gardner, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Columbia.*" This shows that Gardner did not seek to copyright Pywell's images until 1866 (likely early 1866, see above). Unfortunately, the other 98 photographs in both volumes of *Sketch Book* are accompanied by a similar passage with either an 1865 or 1866 date, even photographs that can be conclusively dated to earlier in the war, and so this passage alone cannot be used to cement 1865 dates for the Pywell photographs of Alexandria. However, this 1866 copyright date leaves open the possibility Pywell's photographs were taken at any point up to 1866 (February 6, 1866, at the absolute latest, see below) which therefore allows for the timeline described in this article.



Figure 56

An item appearing in the *Washington Evening Star* on January 22, 1866, noted that "Gardner, the Photographer, is getting out a superb *Photographic Sketch Book of the War*, in two large volumes. The work is considered the finest collection ever published."<sup>121</sup> From the phrase "is getting out," it would appear that Gardner was then still in the final stages of publishing *Sketch Book*, and it had not quite reached consumers. The earliest confirmation of Gardner's completed book dates to February 6, 1866, when an advertisement appearing in the *New York Daily Tribune* on February 6, 1866, stated the book can be seen at 200 Broadway in New York and had 100 plates (the full two volume set indeed has 100 plates, meaning Pywell's photographs of both the Marshall House and the Slave Pen at 1315 Duke Street can be accounted for by this date) (Figure 56).<sup>122</sup> One advertisement/review for the two-volume set even positively confirms the existence of the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House by the end of February 1866 (but at the same time erroneously dates the incident that took place there) by stating "The first view represents the Marshall House, Alexandria, where Colonel Ellsworth was murdered by the proprietor, Jackson, in May 1860" (Figure 57).<sup>123</sup>

<sup>121</sup> "Personal," *Washington Evening Star*, January 22, 1866, 2; reprinted in "Personal," *Richmond Examiner*, January 24, 1866, 4.

<sup>122</sup> "Photographic Sketch-book of the War," *New York Daily-Tribune*, February 6, 1866, 2.

<sup>123</sup> "Photographic History of the War," *Philadelphia Press*, February 27, 1866, 4.



### Photographic History of the War.

At once superb and unique is a publication now to be seen at the bookstore of E. H. Butler & Co., 137 South Fourth street, where subscribers' names will be received. It is an intensely National work, none more so, entitled Gardner's Photographic Sketch-Book of the War. It is complete in two large volumes, imperial elongated quarto, handsomely and solidly bound in morocco, has been got up and is published by Philip & Solomons, the well-known booksellers of Washington, and will be sold by subscription only. The advertisement in our paper this day does not mention the price—which is \$150. That may seem a large price for a book; but it is put within very reasonable limits for such a work as this, which contains one hundred admirable photographs of places which have become known to the world as scenes of memorable events in the great civil war now ended—many of these places being known, indeed, solely on that account. The preface states, very correctly, "Localities that would scarcely have been known, and probably never remembered, save in their immediate vicinity, have become celebrated, and will ever be held sacred as memorable fields, where thousands of brave men yielded up their lives a willing sacrifice for the cause they had espoused." During the four years of the war Mr. Gardner photographed about three thousand views—the contents of the two volumes under notice are the best and most striking out of that collection. Each view is accompanied with letter press, in which a sufficiently full and always accurate description is given. The date is affixed to each view, and the name of the locality is en-

Like the forward to Gardner's *Sketch Book* which proclaims, "photographic presentations of [such places or scenes] will be accepted by posterity with an undoubting faith," this review in the *Philadelphia Press* also emphasizes the "sufficiently full and always accurate description[s]" for each

graved. These photographs are mounted on toned paper, which makes them resemble India proofs. The price comes to \$1.50 for each mere photograph—mounting, letter-press, lithographed title-pages, and rich binding, being thrown in for nothing. Thus, this really is a remarkably low-priced work. As an addendum to every History of the Rebellion it will be found invaluable. Another advantage is, the whole arrangement of these views has been strictly according to time. The first view represents the Marshall House, Alexandria, where Colonel Ellsworth was murdered by the proprietor, Jackson, in May 1860, and the last shows the dedication of the Monuments, on Bull Run battle field, so late as June 1865. The whole course of the War is traced, pictorially, in the ninety-eight photographs which intervene between the first and the hundredth. We believe that photography has never before been employed so extensively, in any published work, and the letter-press descriptions are sufficiently explicit and graphic to assist the memory of American citizens, who may spend a few hours in tracing the war through these volumes, without the necessity of referring to any history whatever.

Figure 57

photograph. Another review of Gardner's work appeared in the *Baltimore American* on March 10, 1866, stating it was "a work of great value, and will be treasured in all time to come."<sup>124</sup>

Of all the available evidence, this notice in the *New York Tribune* related to the publication of Gardner's *Photographic Sketch Book of the War* dates the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House to sometime before February 6, 1866, as a copy of the book with all 100 plates was reported to exist by this date.

## OTHER PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE MARSHALL HOUSE

As has been shown above, in addition to the Pywell photograph, there exist several other photographs of the Marshall House that date to the Civil War-era. It is possible that at least two

<sup>124</sup> "Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the War," *Baltimore American*, March 10, 1866, 1.

of them were taken on the same day as the photograph that appears in Gardner's book (**Figure 1**). Unlike the photograph in Gardner's book, the original glass plates for these two other photographs survive and are held by the Library of Congress. One of these is in the same collection of 181 Civil War-era photographs as Pywell's original glass plate photograph that is the source for his image of the slave jail that appears on the following page in Gardner's *Sketch Book* (Lot 4161).<sup>125</sup> Also in this same collection is a stereoview glass plate photograph of the Fairfax County Courthouse attributed to Timothy H. O'Sullivan that is not quite identical to the third image in Gardner's *Sketch Book*, but from the arrangement of figures was very likely taken within minutes of the one that appears in *Sketch Book*.<sup>126</sup>

This third photograph in *Sketch Book* is dated June 1863, and unlike Pywell's photographs of the Slave Pen or the Marshall House, a number of photographs attributed to Sullivan appear in a catalog of Gardner's studio's work dated September 1863, including several taken of and at the Fairfax County Courthouse in Alexandria at that time. It seems likely the photograph of the Fairfax Courthouse that appears in *Sketch Book* was taken when Gardner claims it was taken and not backdated like the photographs of the Marshall House and the Slave Pen.<sup>127</sup> Given that material in this collection at the Library of Congress appears to come from photographers affiliated with Gardner and given that at least several of these subjects end up in Gardner's *Sketch Book*, additional research could examine the creation and history of this collection and compare its contents to the images that appear in Gardner's *Sketch Book* to determine the extent of the overlap between these two sets of photographs.

These two additional photographs of the Marshall House (referred to here as the Library of Congress plates) potentially taken on the same day as the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House are similar enough to each other that they could have been captured at nearly the same time and from the same location. See the far-left side of **Figure 58** for what appears to be the far-right side of an adjacent image on the same original glass plate, either the other half of a stereopair or a multi-part, sequential exposure like the Brady photograph of the Marshall House, **Figure 59**.

There does not seem to be any change in perspective or parallax between the two images, nor does anything appear to change position between the two views, and it would seem more likely these are copies of the same exposure rather than separate halves of a stereopair. In any case, these two photographs are also taken from near the corner of King and Pitt Streets, but at ground level and several feet north of the intersection. Whereas the photograph in Gardner's book captures the Marshall House and the businesses along King Street to the east, this photograph captures the Marshall House and the buildings along Pitt to the south.

<sup>125</sup> "Alexandria, Virginia. The Marshall house," Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2018670535/> and "Alexandria, Virginia. Marshall house," Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2018671430/>.

<sup>126</sup> "[Fairfax Court House, Va. The courthouse], Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2018666293/>.

<sup>127</sup> *Catalogue of Photographic Incidents of the War, From the Gallery of Alexander Gardner, Photographer to the Army of the Potomac, Corner of 7<sup>th</sup> and D Streets, Washington, D.C., September, 1863*, H. Polkinhorn, Washington, 1863, p.8, <https://ia800600.us.archive.org/16/items/catalogueofphoto00gard/catalogueofphoto00gard.pdf>.

*Figure 58**Figure 59*

They both capture the Dry Good Store sign of Julius Schonfield at 112 King Street, which ac-



according to the tax lists and discussed above, should not have existed prior to the annual 1865 assessment conducted around May 1865, as well as the Oyster Bay sign around the corner on S. Pitt Street. These other two photographs are also the only other known photographs that show the same sign over the door to the Marshall House as seen in the Pywell photograph, also suggesting their temporal proximity to the Pywell photograph.

To develop the argument that these two photographs and the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House were all captured on the same day, we can compare:

- the items for sale in the window and hanging in front of Schonfield's shop,
- the position of the carriage or stagecoach at the right of the image, and
- the location and the position of each window, and exterior and interior shutter.

The arrangement of the people, the horse, and especially of the fabric hanging from Schonfield's store *strongly* suggest the two Library of Congress plates were taken at the same moment and one may be a copy of the other. Of the approximately sixty windows and doors visible in both Pywell's image and the Library of Congress plates, only three appear to be positioned differently between Pywell's view and the Library of Congress plates. On the second floor the shutters:

- directly above the door to the shop at 112 King are closed in Pywell's photograph and cracked open in the others,
- on the first window to the right along S. Pitt are open in Pywell's photograph and closed in the others, and
- on the third window from the right on the same wing are closed or cracked open in Pywell's photograph and open partially in the others.

That the positions of only three windows or shutters had changed would indicate at least some time had elapsed between these views, but at the same time, suggests that maybe not a lot of time had elapsed between the shots.

Unlike the photograph that appears in Gardner's book, one of the Library of Congress plates includes a tree at the far right. From the presence of leaves on this tree, this photograph was not taken during the winter months. If this photograph was taken on the same day as the one taken by Pywell that appears in Gardner's book, then this would also be true for the latter. In addition to what we have been able to demonstrate about the timing of the Pywell photograph above, the presence of leaves in this similar Library of Congress plate and the fact that many windows are open suggests the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House had to have been taken between August 1, 1865, and late Fall 1865. By then all of the leaves would have fallen off of this tree and the windows would have been closed to regulate the temperature of the building. Additional research should attempt to determine if these two Library of Congress plates were taken by Pywell on the same day he took his photograph of the Marshall House that appears in Gardner's *Sketch Book*. Further research could examine the shadows cast in these photographs of the Marshall House to estimate the time of year and time of day these photographs could have been taken.



## CONCLUSION

Like with the Pywell photograph of the Slave Pen that appears on the following page of *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the War*, examining the details visible in his photograph of the Marshall House and building the historical context for those details leads us to the conclusion that Pywell's photograph of the Marshall House cannot have been taken in August 1862, as Gardner claims on the published image.

Based on the available Internal Revenue tax lists of Alexandria, Virginia, the earliest possible date that the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House could have been taken has to be sometime after the annual 1865 assessment conducted around May 1865. From the available advertisements and notices in the newspaper, this date can be further refined to August 1, 1865, when James Entwisle re-organizes his book-selling business at 110 King Street "under the name and style of J. & W. J. Entwisle."

From information uncovered about the publication and sale of *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the War*, the last possible date that the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House could have been taken is February 6, 1866, when a copy of the book with all 100 plates was available for viewing in New York City. Realistically, the last possible date for the Pywell photograph of the Marshall House is almost certainly some undefined date prior to February 6, 1866, to allow for the preparation, printing, assembly, and distribution of Gardner's book. The open windows visible in the Pywell photograph strongly suggest warmer, rather than colder weather. Similarly, if the glass plate image of the Marshall House held by the Library of Congress (specifically Figure 58 that shows a tree at the far right of the image) was also taken on the same day as the one that appears in Gardner's book, then we can further support this conclusion. Therefore, the most likely end date that Pywell's photograph could have been taken is sometime in late Fall 1865.

**We can conclude that rather than being taken in August 1862 as Gardner indicates on the published photograph, the William R. Pywell photograph of the Marshall House in Alexandria, Virginia was taken at some point in an approximately three- or four-month long window starting August 1, 1865, and ending in the late fall of 1865.**

Three speculative attempts to explain the discrepancy between the date provided by Gardner and the date of the photograph as determined by the above analysis are as follows. First, Gardner may simply not have had access to Brady's early-war photographs (or the photographs Gardner took while in the employ of Brady) of the Marshall House and Slave Pen at 1315 Duke Street when he was preparing *Sketch Book* for publication.<sup>128</sup> A published catalogue of the work of Gardner's studio dated September 1863 contains no entries for any photographs of the Marshall House or of the Slave Pen, nor does it contain any entries for photographs taken by Pywell.<sup>129</sup> This catalog would suggest that neither Gardner nor his studio had taken (or had access to) early-

<sup>128</sup> *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War*, Alexander Gardner, Dover Edition, 1959, forward by E. F. Bleiler, [np].

<sup>129</sup> *Catalogue of Photographic Incidents of the War, From the Gallery of Alexander Gardner, Photographer to the Army of the Potomac, Corner of 7<sup>th</sup> and D Streets, Washington, D.C., September, 1863*, H. Polkinhorn, Washington, 1863, <https://ia800600.us.archive.org/16/items/catalogueofphoto00gard/catalogueofphoto00gard.pdf>.

war photographs of the Marshall House or the Slave Pen, or else they would be listed here for sale along with the rest of their work.

Second, it is possible Gardner had access to existing photographs of the Marshall House and the Slave Pen, but his decision to have Pywell take new ones was simply one of editorial discretion. As described in his brief forward, Gardner conceived of his *Sketch Book* as a kind of visual narrative, “designed that it shall speak for itself.” It is possible, that for whatever reason, Gardner was not satisfied with the visual story told by any of the existing images for these two sites.

Even if Gardner both possessed and was satisfied with early-war photographs of the Marshall House and the Slave Pen, there exists a third possible explanation for why Pywell took his photographs of these two sites in the second half of 1865. In the early morning of September 25, 1865, a fire broke out at Gardner’s Washington, D.C., studio and workshop (Figure 60).<sup>130</sup> Initial reports suggested Gardner’s losses might reach several thousand dollars and noted that “a large number of photographs” were destroyed, either by the fire itself or the water used to put out the fire. One report noted a separate incident that occurred a few weeks prior in which one of Gardner’s employees left water running overnight, destroying “some very fine photographic scenes” while others were “seriously spoiled.”

By October 4<sup>th</sup>, Gardner was advertising that his gallery was “ONCE MORE IN RUNNING ORDER” and that “business will be resumed THIS MORNING, (WEDNESDAY, October 4<sup>th</sup>).<sup>131</sup> From the newspaper reports, it is not clear how many original glass plates (as opposed to photographic prints) were lost in the fire. The account in the *Daily National Republican* states, “A large number of pictures were safely removed from the building, one glass only having been broken,” but it is not clear if the one broken glass was among those removed from the building and broke in the process or if it was left behind and was the only one destroyed in the fire. In any of these cases (whether not having access to previously taken

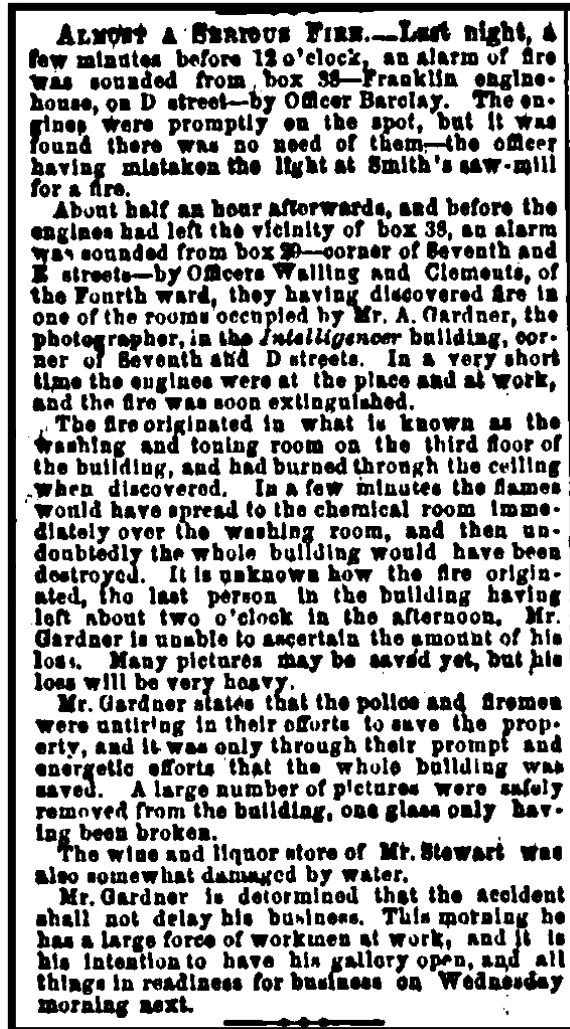


Figure 60

<sup>130</sup> “Almost A Serious Fire” *Washington Daily National Republican*, September 25, 1865, 4; “Fire” *Washington Evening Star*, September 25, 1865, 3.

<sup>131</sup> “Gardner’s Photographic Art Gallery” *Washington Daily National Republican*, October 4, 1865, 4.

photographs, not being satisfied with the existing photographs, or loss of existing photographs to a pair of accidents at his studio), Gardner would have needed to obtain new photographs for his book of these two important Alexandria sites located just across the Potomac River from his Washington, D.C. studio and gallery.

These two opening photographs in *Sketch Book* (the Marshall House and the Slave Pen) are framed by Gardner as incidents or scenes encountered by Union troops during the opening phase of the war. In the case of the Slave Pen, it was used almost as a proxy for the entire institution of slavery and a major cause of the war in the first place. Given that he seems to have published late-war (or even post-war) photographs of these two sites, for Gardner to provide accurate 1865 dates for these two photographs would undercut the perceived power of his photographs as eye-

witnesses to the events of the war, which is the way he framed his project.

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***Makeda Best...explains the moral role Gardner assigns [Pywell's photograph of the Slave Pen] at the beginning of Sketch Book.***

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For an in-depth examination of Gardner's body of photographic work as a kind of ideological discourse, see Makeda Best's 2020 *Elevate the Masses: Alexander Gardner, Photography, and Democracy in Nineteenth-Century America*.<sup>132</sup> Her chapter on Pywell's photograph of the Slave Pen at 1315 Duke

Street specifically discusses that image, places it in conversation with other 19<sup>th</sup> century abolitionist imagery, and explains the moral role Gardner assigns it at the beginning of *Sketch Book*.<sup>133</sup> In the introduction to *Sketch Book*, Gardner contrasts the photographs contained within his book with "verbal representations of such places, or scenes," which he says, "may or may not have the merit of accuracy." He concludes this thought by writing, "but photographic presentations of them [the photographs] will be accepted by posterity with an undoubting faith." Here, with just the first two images of his book, Gardner appears to be playing fast and loose with the "undoubting faith" of his audience by backdating these two photographs to better fit his narrative and his recounting of the recent war. In doing so, Gardner has made it more difficult for historians to document the Civil War-era history of these two specific sites without first uncovering his erroneous (or perhaps just outright falsified) dates and then determining the correct ones.

This Alexandria-based research is not the first work that calls into question Gardner's photographic practice (see, for example, Frederic Ray's 1961 "The Case of the Rearranged Corpse" or William A. Frassanito's 1975 *Gettysburg: A Journey in Time*, especially pages 175-176, 186-192, and 222-226),<sup>134</sup> but in uncovering two fabrications by Gardner on the first two images of *Sketch Book*, it further casts a shadow over Gardner's self-proclaimed "merit of accuracy." It is

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<sup>132</sup> Best, Makeda, *Elevate the Masses, Alexander Gardner, Photography, and Democracy in Nineteenth-Century America*, 2020.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid, Chapter 2, pp. 52-84.

<sup>134</sup> Ray, Frederic, "The Case of the Rearranged Corpse," *Civil War Times*, Vol. 3(6), 19-23; Frassanito, William A., *Gettysburg: A Journey in Time*, 1975

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*...the analysis presented in this report reminds us of the importance of understanding the origins and context of the historical datasets with which ... historians work.*

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probably not fair to judge Gardner's work by modern photojournalistic or historiographic standards, not only because these standards were much different in Gardner's time (if extant at all,) but because Gardner likely would not have considered himself either a photojournalist or a historian in the first

place.<sup>135</sup> That being said, the analysis presented in this report reminds us of the importance of understanding the origins and context of the historical datasets with which we as historians work.

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Part II of this deep dive into the Alexandria scenes in Gardner's *Sketch Book* shows Gardner backdated Pywell's photograph of the Marshall house for inclusion in his book. This analysis, based on historical newspaper items, Internal Revenue tax lists, and other photographs of the Marshall House, increases our confidence that Gardner also backdated Pywell's photograph of the Slave Pen at 1315 Duke Street on the following page of his book (as discussed in Part I of this analysis). Ultimately, being able to correctly date the Pywell photograph of the Slave Pen at 1315 Duke Street is of fundamental importance to the Office of Historic Alexandria's efforts to understand the configuration of that building during its use as a Slave Pen and its efforts to interpret the building as a museum of the domestic slave trade. Beyond this pair of Alexandria-specific conclusions, it is hoped that these two case studies build on a successful template for other researchers to examine critically, and bring order to, other Civil War-era photographs.

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<sup>135</sup> Frassanito, 176.