

ANDREW WALES: ALEXANDRIA'S FIRST BREWER

GARRETT PECK

Andrew Wales has the distinction of being Alexandria, Virginia's first commercial brewer - and also the first brewer in the District of Columbia when Alexandria was incorporated into the district in 1791. Wales brewed in the port city for a remarkable 28 years from 1770 to 1798.

Wales was born in Scotland around 1737 and came to the American colonies at an unknown date. He worked from 1765 to 1769 at John Mercer's Marlborough Brewery in Stafford County, Virginia before coming to Alexandria in 1770 to start his own brewery. The Wales Brewery operated at three separate locations in Old Town over the years.

The Scots who helped found Alexandria in 1749 were known for their business savvy, their frugality, and for their shrewd investments in land and trade goods. Wales proved to be an adaptable businessman, and while he was never wealthy, he and his wife Margaret reached the ranks of the upper-middle class as local merchants.

Researching an eighteenth century brewer comes with its challenges. There is sadly little in the record that we could call 'personal' from either Andrew or Margaret Wales, such as diaries or letters. We have no images of the couple, nor do we know when and where they married. Nor is there a record of them having children: Wales willed his property to his niece. We know little about Andrew's early life, such as when or even why he emigrated to America. But we do know he learned the trade of brewing in Scotland - and he was literate.

Fortunately there is a significant documentary record of the brewer's time in America; however, much of it is

transactional in nature. We seldom get a glimpse of what Andrew Wales was actually like. What we can glean from Andrew and Margaret Wales comes from property deeds, newspaper articles, church records, journals, wills and trusts, and trustee papers - and the meticulous records of George Washington, who did business with Wales for three decades. Contemporaries often spelled the name 'Wailes' or even 'Wayles'. We also know that Wales was a Tory who opposed the American Revolution, but one who remained in America after independence and was actively engaged in local civic life.

What follows is a history of Andrew and Margaret Wales's life in America. Their nearly three decades in Alexandria began a tradition of local brewing that continues to this today, and they contributed significantly to the development of Alexandria's waterfront and its success as the Port City.

Wales at Marlborough

Andrew Wales learned to brew while in Scotland, and that skill likely was the reason for his migration to America. We pick up Wales's documentary trail at the Marlborough Brewery in Stafford County when he was about twenty-eight years old. The ruins of the Marlborough plantation are northeast of Fredericksburg, on the Potomac River just south of Aquia Creek.

John Mercer (1705-1768) was a retired lawyer who sought to make his Marlborough plantation more profitable by building a large brewery. He noted a major opportunity: the Virginia colony was importing £30,000



Figure 1. Wales Alley is named after Alexandria's first brewer, Andrew Wales. In the background is the ca. 1795 Fitzgerald Warehouse, the oldest building on the Alexandria waterfront. Photo. Garrett Peck.

sterling in English ale annually, and the high demand for good beer could be met by Virginia production. Mercer invested £8,000 into this operation and purchased 40 slaves to grow barley. Mercer hired 'one Wales, a young Scotch Brewer' on the recommendation of Philip Ludwell Lee of Stratford Hall in 1765. Mercer wrote in a 1767 letter that, 'Wales affirmed that he had some years the charge of a brewhouse at Edinburgh'. Mercer built a house for Wales and his wife Margaret, who lived in it rent free, and then spent another £100 altering the malt house to Wales's specifications.¹

Mercer then second-guessed himself and hired a master brewer, William King, who found fault with Wales's design. King unexpectedly died just three weeks later. King's nephew, William Bailey, then showed up with a letter of recommendation as a brewer, and Mercer hired him.²

Wales was not happy about this situation. He had gone from being the master brewer to being King's assistant, and now Bailey was to be the brewmaster. In a step that shows us both Wales's confidence in himself but perhaps an unwillingness to work for others, he approached Mercer. He 'insisted that he could make as good beer from his malt as Bailey could from any of his making & desired he might brew his own', Mercer wrote to his son George. Mercer gave Wales permission to brew a little beer on the side, but Bailey was in charge at Marlborough, and he would do most of the brewing.³

Bailey's beer was ready for market in spring 1766. An advertisement appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* on 30 May announcing the availability of ale, porter and strong beer at the Marlborough Brewery. Mercer promised that this beer would be as good as any found in the world, 'as nothing but the genuine best MALT and HOPS will be used'.⁴

In fact, the beer turned out to be awful, and no one would buy it. Mercer attempted but failed to distill it into whiskey. Andrew Wales's beer, on the other hand, was quite good. 'That brewed by Wales was the only beer I had that Season fit to drink', Mercer lamented. Yet 'the quantity brewed by Wales was so small that it barely paid his wages of £40 & the charge of his & his wife's maintenance was so much out of my pocket'.⁵

By the following year Wales had been promoted to brew master, but the brewery again failed to turn a profit. The barley crop was meager, and, according to Mercer,

a considerable part of the beer & ale proved bad, which Wales excused by alledging great part of the barley sprouted in the field as we had an extreme wet harvest.⁶

Wales was probably right about the barley: as we shall see, many plantations in the Mid-Atlantic tried and failed to grow the crop.

The brewery was meant to be a profit center for the Marlborough plantation, but instead proved a serious drain on Mercer's finances. Concerned about his rising debts, he renegotiated the terms with Wales. Mercer stated,

He thereupon proposed to be answerable for any beer or ale that shou'd prove unmerchantable in consideration of being allowed five percent of the net proceeds of all that was sold.

Wales had provided a guarantee for his product - but he also showed his entrepreneurial side in asking for a cut of the sales.⁷

Wales produced good beer, but the volume was only a fraction of what Mercer had hoped. Mercer hoped to produce beer from 10,000 bushels of barley annually, but he was only able to obtain 2,000 bushels - and the brewery required much more manpower than expected. It was all greater cost with diminished revenue.⁸



Figure 2. George Washington's 1749 survey map of Alexandria laid out the city's lots and noted the shallow waters between Duke and Oronoco streets. Point Lumley, Lot 57, and later Lot 56 would become sites for the Wales Brewery. Source. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division.

The business earned one notable customer: George Washington of Mount Vernon ordered a cask of Wales's beer in April 1768, paying nearly £4 for it. The following January, Washington noted that he owed money for purchasing 54 gallons of Strong Beer, as well as 52 gallons of ale - all of it brewed by Wales. On 2 August 1769, Washington provided a £15 promissory note to Wales for ale (he noted in his November 1771 cash accounts that he still owed more than £6). These were the first transactions between the two men in a business relationship that would last three decades.⁹

John Mercer died in October 1768, and the Marlborough estate was liquidated a year later to pay the enormous debts. Wales remained at Marlborough through 1769, brewing more beer and guaranteeing its

quality. The brewery advertised in the *Virginia Gazette*: 'Mr. Wayles, the brewer, has brewed four crops, and has always made good liquor'. Wales accompanied Captain Thomas Casson on a sales trip up the Rappahannock River to vouch for the beer's quality. 'He is so confident of his success, that he has agreed to pay for all that is not good', the advertisement promised.¹⁰

The Marlborough Brewery was an expensive failure. John Mercer borrowed thousands of pounds for the venture, and in the end it was all for naught. Andrew Wales gained experience, but he was an employee, not an owner. He moved on. Wales would start over in Alexandria, the 20-year old port that lacked a single brewery - and he would never work for someone else again.

Wales comes to Alexandria

When Alexandria was founded in 1749, Water Street (now Lee Street) was aptly named: it ran along the Potomac River. A shallow, crescent-shaped cove curved into Alexandria between Oronoco Street in the north down to Duke Street (Point Lumley) to the south. George Washington's 1749 surveying map (Fig. 2) noted that the water in this shallow cove was only four to five feet deep. This was problematic for early merchants, as they couldn't get ships into the shallows.¹¹

Andrew and Margaret Wales arrived in Alexandria in late 1769 or early 1770 to find the young port bustling with his fellow Scottish merchants, Irish workers, and African slaves. Wales rented space in the Town Warehouse, which stood on Point Lumley at the foot of Duke Street, and began commercial brewing. His name shows up in the records of the Board of Trustees as owing rent in February 1770.¹² Up to 2015 the Town

Warehouse was the site of the Art League building, which was demolished and is being replaced by Hotel Indigo. Between these two events an archaeological excavation was carried out and photographs of this can be seen below (Figs. 3, 4 & 5).

Wales alerted the public in the *Virginia Gazette* on 26 July 1770 that an indentured servant named Michael Tracey had run away. Indentured servitude was an investment on the part of the employer, who sponsored their passage from England to Virginia, and the servant was expected to work without pay until the debt was paid off. Wales offered 40 shillings reward to anyone who secured and returned Tracey within Virginia, or three pounds if found beyond the border. There is no word if Tracey ever returned.

The following year, Wales took a young boy as an apprentice, as was noted in a Fairfax County court on 20 March 1771: 'Ordered that the Churchwardens of Fairfax parish bind John Parker seven years old appren-



Figure 3. The Town Warehouse sits at the foot of Duke Street on what was once Point Lumley along the Potomac River. It was a 100-foot long building, of which about 87 feet still exists. Workers uncovered this in 2015 during the excavations for the Hotel Indigo along the Alexandria waterfront. It was also the site of the very first commercial brewery in the DC area: Scottish immigrant Andrew Wales leased space in the Town Warehouse from 1770 to 1774. These are remnants from Alexandria's very first brewery. Photo. Garrett Peck.



Figure 4. The Town Warehouse was a large structure, and archaeologists uncovered a great amount of wood, in particular the wooden flooring and pilings, along with roofing items like shingles. When the building was torn down, workers simply threw the remains on top of the floor and covered it with dirt. The high water table kept the wood wet for the past 260 years and thus intact. Photo. Garrett Peck.

tice to Andrew Wailes who is to learn him the trade of a Brewer and to read and write'. That same day, Wales served on a jury in a case involving a debt - his first of many he would serve on in the coming decades.¹³

Andrew and Margaret Wales were members of the Presbyterian congregation (now known as the Old Presbyterian Meeting House, or OPMH, and is still located at 323 S. Fairfax Street). The church was formally established in 1772, two years after Wales arrived in Alexandria. The congregation built its meeting house in 1775. The building we see today was reconstructed after a fire in 1835.

Wales didn't expect to rent in the Town Warehouse for very long. Less than two years after launching the brew-

ery, the couple acquired their first property in Alexandria. Robert Adam sold part of Lots 56, 57 and 58 to Andrew and Margaret Wales on 3 and 4 December 1771,¹⁴ then provided them a mortgage for £331.17.6 on 10 December.¹⁵ Lots 57 and 58 stood between Fairfax and Water streets; across the street was a small sliver of Lot 56 on top of a bank that dropped down to the river.

We know little about Margaret Wales, not even her maiden name, or whether she married Andrew in Scotland or in America. But she may have been a woman of some means. Most property deeds in Alexandria's early history just list men, but in the Waleses's case, both Andrew and Margaret are listed, indicating a joint tenancy. She may have provided



Figure 5. Foundations of the Town Warehouse supported two massive notched beams. The building was constructed in 1755 by John Carlyle when Alexandria was only six years old. Photo. Garrett Peck.

money or collateral that enabled the couple to buy the property that eventually became the Wales Brewery.

Although the Waleses bought their land in December 1771, it would be another two years before they moved the brewery, possibly because of financial problems while renting at the Town Warehouse. The records of the town board of trustees note that Andrew Wales owed £37.17.8 and had fallen behind on his rent in 1771. The Proceedings of the Board of Trustees mentions that the trustees ordered ‘distress’ - where a landlord seized equivalent property or material from the tenant and sold it to make up the difference - ‘be made upon the effects of Andrew Wales in the Town Warehouse on point Lumley for the arrears of rent due from him for the said warehouse’. No date is given, but it is recorded in the 1772 section.¹⁶

The Waleses probably built a house on Lot 57 before moving the brewery there. We find record of Wales leasing their home on Water Street to Joseph Courts, who opened a tavern. The cash flow emergency may have prompted the Waleses to temporarily move.¹⁷

Yet Wales persevered, bringing beer to market and gaining customers. George Washington, who had first purchased beer from Wales in 1768, continued as a customer. In December 1772, Washington noted in his cash accounts that he had paid ‘Mr Andw Wayles’ more than £8 for Strong Beer.¹⁸

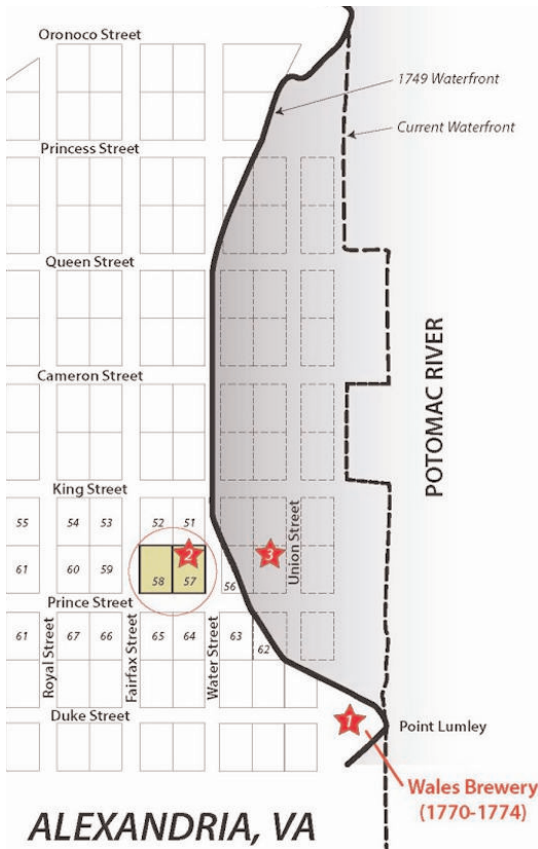
On 2 December 1773 Wales notified the town board of trustees that he would be ending his lease in the Town Warehouse on 1 January. He was ready to relocate the brewery to his own land just two blocks away.¹⁹

The Wales Brewery sites

When the Wales Brewery opened at its second location in 1774, it stood in Lot 57 along Water Street (now Lee Street), close to the waterfront where dockworkers and ship crews could purchase beer, and where ships offloaded barley for Wales to brew. It was a profitable location - in fact, Wales brewed there for 14 years. The site is today the garden behind the Athenaeum.

The Wales Brewery was a complex that eventually ran more than two blocks east from Fairfax Street to the Alexandria waterfront and reflected Wales’s diverse businesses. It had a number of structures, probably all frame (wooden) construction, housing the brewery, a distillery, a retail store, storage facilities for beer and grain, a tavern, and possibly the Wales home. The site was never static: it would change over the years as Wales bought and sold property. After a fire burned down the brewery in 1788, Wales used the opportunity to rebuild the complex in Lot 56, a block to the east. The waterfront was being extended into the Potomac River, so the new brewery location kept Wales close to the docks and ships.

Wales faced a number of challenges in making his new, larger and more ambitious brewery a success. Having moved out of the Town Warehouse and opened the brewery on their own property in 1774, Andrew and Margaret may have realized they had more land than they needed - or that their expenses were too high. They may have even fallen behind in their payments to Robert Adam, who sold and mortgaged the property to them. They decided to subdivide their land and sell off the northern portion. The Waleses sold half of their lots to Robert McCrea, Robert Mease and Matthew Mease on



28 July 1774 for £350 - which was more than they had paid for the entire lots less than four years earlier. They agreed to build an alley between their properties.²⁰ This would become known as Wales Alley.

Wales apparently never made good on the mortgage payment, and Robert Adam declared the property forfeit. Adam ended up selling the subdivision to McCrea and the two Meases on 11 August 1775.²¹

Possibly fearful that they would lose the brewery, Wales rented a large piece of property from John Alexander on 19 December 1774. It stood in Lot 148 at Wilkes and Royal streets and was large enough to house a brewery. However, just two months later Wales sub-let the property to William Hunter.²² The crisis seems to have been averted, as the Waleses managed to hold on to the property, albeit with a smaller footprint.

Andrew and Margaret's initial purchase in 1771 included a sliver of land in Lot 56, which was possibly the best

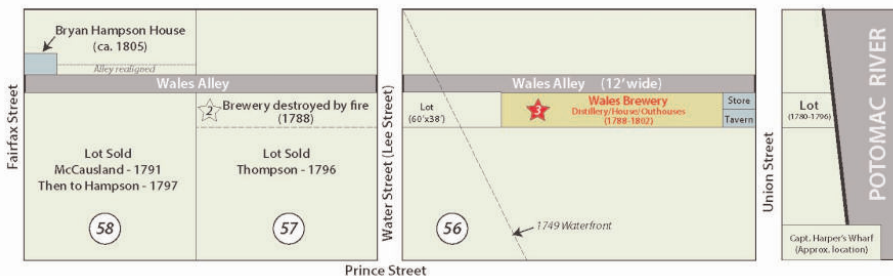
Figure 6. The Wales Brewery's three sites in Old Town Alexandria. Source: Glenn Wallace.

~ 1771-1788 ~



*Wales purchased the future brewery property in December 1771

~ After 1788 ~



investment they ever made. The shoreline cut diagonally through the lot, but starting in 1782 the waterfront was extended more than 400 feet into the Potomac River, creating a large swath of new land through infill. The Waleses' lot extended eastward with the new shoreline, and their property was greatly expanded as a result. As you walk east along Wales Alley and cross Lee Street, you may notice a short but sharp drop in elevation. This marks the original riverbank down to the shoreline: everything east of that is infill. And looking south, you'll see the third location of the Wales Brewery, roughly where the parking spaces stand behind the townhouses.

The best description of the Wales Brewery at its third locale (1788-1802) is from a 1797 newspaper advertisement listing the property for sale. Wales described it as a lot 'extending from Water to Union Streets' (Lot 56) with a dwelling house, the brewery and the distillery - all 'under the same roof' - and with the accompanying out houses. On the east side facing Union Street were two houses: one a tavern, the other a store. On the west side facing Water Street (now Lee Street) was a possibly vacant lot measuring 38 feet along Water Street, and 60 feet along Wales Alley.²³

Another description of the Wales Brewery appeared in the *Alexandria Advertiser* on 29 October 1802 (and nearly identically reprinted in the *National Intelligencer* on 15 November). The description is an advertisement for the sale of property from the deceased John Fitzgerald, who had purchased part of the brewery from Wales:

One half of a Brewery, commonly called Wales's Brewery, with the necessary instruments and utensils for carrying on that business, and the ground appertaining to the Brewery; the whole of the Brewery is now under a demise at 600 dols per annum. A piece of ground immediately joining on the Brewery, fronting on Water Street and a twenty foot alley, extending on Water Street above 40 feet, and upon the alley 150 feet.

This wasn't the only Wales property in Alexandria. Andrew and Margaret jointly bought part of Lots 28 and 29 (Queen Street at Fairfax Street) in 1772, which they owned into the late 1790s.²⁴ Whether they lived there or at the brewery isn't currently known.

In November 1783, Wales rented part of George Gilpin's property on Lot 62, a 40 foot by 44 foot lot on

Prince Street for \$80 (silver) annual rent. This was large enough to be a store or a spacious house. Wales continued renting this into the 1790s, but for what purpose, the record doesn't show.²⁵

Wales's beer

Until the arrival of the Alexandria Water Company in the mid-1800s, people drew water from wells that were readily contaminated by privies (out houses) around every home in town. Significant quantities of animal waste from backyard chickens, horses and pigs created a swill that was the perfect source of cholera and other water borne diseases. Beer was the answer. Fermentation killed pathogens in water, making it safe to drink. Beer was an everyday staple of eighteenth century life.

The Wales Brewery produced two types of popular English ales of the period: strong beer and small beer (Wales did not offer George Washington's favorite beer, porter). Strong beer was more flavorful, and higher in alcoholic content, made from the first boiling of the wort. It was sometimes aged for as long as a year. Small beer was lower in alcohol and cheaper to produce, being made from wort of the second (and more rarely, third) mashing of a good quality malt. It was also comparatively lightly hopped.

Andrew Wales
HAS FOR SALE,
At his BREWERY,
IN ALEXANDRIA,
A Large Quantity of STRONG and SMALL
BEER, of a good Quality, ready to be deli-
vered to Orders from Town and Country, and to
Masters of Vessels, on the shortest Notice—He
begs Leave to acquaint the Public that, having laid
in a large Quantity of essential Materials for the
Brewing Business, they may depend on a constant
Supply, and that he continues to purchase BAR-
LEY and HOPS, as usual.
November 10, 1789.
P. S. GRAINS and YEAST for SALE.

Figure 7. A November 1789 Wales Brewery advertisement in The Virginia Gazette and Alexandria Advertiser indicated the type of beer produced: English-style ales.

Eighteenth century brewing commenced in the fall and continued through the winter. It was too hot to brew in the Virginia summer; instead, Wales would have laid up stocks of beer and sold it year round. This was also why Wales diversified his business with the store and tavern and property rentals, so as to create year-round income.

Early beer recipes are difficult to find, as formulas were proprietary and considered trade secrets. One of the more famous beer recipes is from George Washington, who penned instructions 'To make Small Beer' in 1757:

Take a large Siffer full of Bran Hops to your Taste. Boil these 3 hours. then strain out 30 Gallns into a Cooler put in 3 Gallns Molasses while the Beer is Scalding hot or rather draw the Molasses into the Cooler & Strain the Beer on it while boiling Hot[.] let this stand till it is little more than Blood warm then put in a quart of Yest if the weather is very Cold cover it over with a Blank[et] & let it work in the Cooler 24 hours then put it into the Cask-leave the Bung open till it is almost don[e] woring-Bottle it that day week it was Brewed.²⁶

Washington substituted molasses to provide the sugar that fed fermentation. For starch, Washington used bran, a by-product from milling wheat flour. Mount Vernon's former preservationist, Dennis Pogue, suggests that this bran-and-molasses beer wouldn't have been particularly palatable, and it would be low in alcohol. It was most likely a beverage served to Washington's slaves and indentured servants as a reward for their labor.²⁷

Andrew Wales's beer was doubtless better than Washington's. He was, after all, brewing a commercial product that had to be appealing to paying customers. Even his Small Beer would have been brewed with better ingredients such as barley. Given the difficulties of growing barley in the mid-Atlantic, Wales probably imported much of the necessary grain. His brewery was advantageously situated near the Alexandria waterfront where merchant ships could bring barley right to his doorstep - and leave with a barrel of beer for the crew.

George Washington and the brewer in Alexandria

Andrew Wales had a business relationship with George Washington for three decades, starting with the latter's 1768 purchase of beer that Wales had brewed at the

Marlborough Brewery. Mount Vernon is just south of Alexandria, and it was a town that Washington had not only helped survey, but also visited frequently and conducted business with many local merchants such as Wales.

In November 1785, Bataille Muse, George Washington's rent collector for his western lands, penned a letter to Washington from Berkeley Springs. Muse noted that he would 'Lodge at Mr. Andrew Wales, about the 10th of next month', indicating that he would visit Washington and stay at Wales's tavern. Wales acted as Muse's local agent in Alexandria, holding and forwarding accounts for Muse, who often traveled. Muse even offered to borrow money from Wales for Washington, as he wrote to GW on 3 January 1787:

Should you be in want of money Please To inform me by next Post and I will draw on Mr Andrew Wales For one hundred pounds in your Favour - I wish for Timely notice that He Mr Wales may Provide with Certainty.

Wales would also sell 'distressed' commodities, such as butter, flour, and even horses that Muse had seized from tenants for failing to pay rent, and doubtless collected a cut of the sales.²⁸

As Alexandria's brewer, Andrew Wales had ready access to barley through his trade contacts and served as a form of grain wholesaler for the region. Many of the local plantations, including Mount Vernon, still brewed their own beer, but found it difficult to grow barley in Virginia's damp, humid climate and cold winters. George Washington was anxious to attain some, as he penned in a letter to Thomas Peters on 4 December 1786: 'There is not, I believe a bushel of Barley of any kind in this neighbourhood for sale - A Mr Wales who Brews in Alexandria procures all of this he can'.²⁹ It is likely that Wales imported barley from other regions.

For three years, Washington experimented with growing barley, but this was never successful (his diary entries in 1786, 1787 and 1788 are full of references to the planting and growing of barley). He noted in a 23 March 1794 letter to William Pearce:

I do not, in the first place believe Spring Barley is to be had in that part of the Country, as little of it is grown there; and in the next place, it is not likely it would succeed, as I tried it

two or three years unsuccessfully. If it is to be had at all, it is most likely to come from Wayles the Brewer in Alexandria; and you might, as Oats are scarce, make another experiment, if Seed is to be had. How does the Winter Barley look?³⁰

Heavy rains ruined Washington's spring barley crop in 1788, so at first Washington sought to purchase barley from Philadelphia. Then he changed his mind. On 16 September 1788, Washington wrote Clement Biddle, his business manager in Philadelphia:

If you have not already purchased the Winter Barley I would not wish you to do it, for I think it is very probable that I may be able to get the quantity which I shall want of the Brewer in Alexandria [Andrew Wales] in exchange for Spring Barley, or if I should be disappointed there, that I can obtain it upon better terms & perhaps of a better quality upon James River than at Philadelphia, as you observe that the crops of it have generally failed, and none has yet been seen that is fit for seed.

Two weeks later, on 2 October, Washington again wrote to Biddle,

In my last letter to you I requested that you would not put yourself to any trouble in procuring Winter barley for me as I expected to get a supply from the brewer in Alexandria.³¹

Wales provided the barley for Washington, albeit later than the soon-to-be President Washington wanted. GW penned in his diary on 14 November 1788:

The sowing of ten Bushels of Winter Barley, East side of field No. 6 between the Corn was just finished (for an experiment) - being delayed till this time for want of the Barley, from Mr. Wayles [sic].³²

It was advantageous for Andrew Wales to have such a high profile customer as George Washington, a wealthy planter, Revolutionary War hero, and later president of the United States. From the documentary record, their relationship was transactional: When Washington needed barley, Wales provided it. When Washington's collections manager Muse needed a clearinghouse for accounts and 'distressed' property, Wales offered his store and tavern. As a businessman, Wales got the benefit of being associated with one of the best-known Americans of the eighteenth century.

Andrew Wales: brewer, Tory

The American Revolution divided Alexandria's loyalists. Even though George Washington considered Alexandria his hometown, and other prominent supporters of independence such as George Mason lived nearby, many of the local merchants understood that their trade ties were with England. Not all of Alexandria supported independence; in fact, there was a substantial undercurrent of loyalists, also known as Tories.

One of the strangest incidents in Andrew Wales's life involved a prison escape of nine loyalists and British sailors and soldiers from the Alexandria jail on the evening of 25 April 1777. We're not certain of Wales's involvement, of his innocence or of his guilt. Much of the documentary record from the time is circumstantial or heavily biased - yet it seems likely that Wales was involved.

Much of the incident is recorded in Nicholas Cresswell's journal. Cresswell came to Virginia from England in 1774, hoping to start a farming venture. It was poor timing, given that it was the eve of the American Revolution. The argumentative young man sat between the two camps, loyalists and rebels, and alienated both.

Cresswell helped set the Alexandria prison break in motion. Determined to leave Virginia for England, Cresswell arrived in Alexandria on 20 April 1777, then departed four days later in the company of a young Scot named Collin Keir, who Cresswell said was Andrew Wales's nephew. Sometime after 10pm the following evening, nine loyalists and prisoners of war escaped from the local jail. *Dunlap's Maryland Gazette* on 29 April 1777 offered a \$100 reward for their capture, providing a complete list of the escapees: George Blair, John Cunningham, John Duncan, Bartlett Goodrich, William Nicholls, Captain James Parker, Josiah Rogers, John Rothery, and John Todd (or possibly Dodd). (The same ad was repeated in the competing *Maryland Gazette* two days later.)

The nine fugitives had help from local loyalists who facilitated their escape, armed them with weapons, provided them with horses, and ferried them across the Potomac River to Maryland. Guided by a local Tory, Thomas Davis, they traveled overland to isolated Cedar

Point (just east of where Nanjemoy Creek enters the Potomac River), where they were to meet up with Cresswell and Keir on 26 April, who would be waiting with a pilot boat to take them to the Chesapeake Bay and the Royal Navy. High winds interfered with their plan, and Keir couldn't make it to shore. They missed the rendezvous.³³

The nine escapees and their guide Davis were at a crossroads. The countryside would be alerted, and they had no boat to escape. Eight of the men were determined to press on regardless, but two others turned back. Cresswell learned about this nearly two months later in New York when the escapees arrived safely. He recorded in his diary on 18 June 1777:

He [John Dodd or Todd] informs me that they all got off safe, but Davis, the guide, and a Scotch Sergeant who was so much dispirited, at not finding us at Ceder Point agreeable to our promise that they immediately returned, and delivered themselves to the mercy of the Rebels.³⁴

Abandoned by their guide, the remaining eight men pushed on for Lookout Point at the very end of the Potomac River. There they seized a sloop, then a larger pilot boat that took them across the Chesapeake to the Eastern Shore of Maryland.³⁵ They trekked to the Delaware coast 'by traveling in the night and through the Woods', Cresswell recorded. They seized another boat and sailed out to meet the warship HMS *Roebuck* to complete their escape. It was a harrowing adventure that brought the eight men to freedom.³⁶

Meanwhile, the guide Thomas Davis returned to Alexandria, where he found himself in a great deal of trouble. He was no ordinary conspirator. Davis had formerly served as the deputy adjutant of the 1st Virginia Regiment and had initially supported the American Revolution, but he turned against the cause and conspired to help the nine men escape. After abandoning the prison break, Davis and the 'Scotch Sergeant', Bartlett Goodrich, returned to Alexandria and confessed the names of their co-conspirators. They identified seven townsmen, including Andrew Wales.

Ebenezer Hazard, the surveyor general of the Continental Post Office (precursor to the U.S. Postal Service), was traveling south through Alexandria at the time of the prison escape, and he faulted a much broad-

er conspiracy in his diary. 'Some Tories lately formed a Plan for burning Alexandria and murdering the Inhabitants, & then seizing a Gondalow which lies in the River & going with her to the Enemy; but their Plan was discovered, & they are now in Gaol here', he penned on 22 May 1777. The next day, he wrote further:

The Tories who intended to destroy Alexandria are sent off today, in Irons, to Williamsburg, to be tried. Two of them whose names are Wales & Hepburn, are Men of some Property: - there are seven in all; - no Americans amongst them.³⁷

This was still fairly early in the American Revolution: the United States had declared its independence from Great Britain only ten months earlier, and anyone born in England (even if they were Scottish, such as Andrew Wales and William Hepburn) might be considered suspicious.

From the tone of Hazard's journal, he considered the accused guilty, and many in Alexandria probably did as well. However, Hazard was only an observer and knew nothing about the men or their loyalties; he was only repeating what he had heard during his daylong stay in the Alexandria area, and what he heard was hyperbole and rumor. Would Wales and Hepburn - two upstanding businessmen - wish to destroy their own property and murder inhabitants? It seems unlikely. On the other hand, had they helped loyalists escape from the jail? The answer is quite possibly yes.

On 30 May the *Virginia Gazette* reported the defendants' arrival in Williamsburg:

Wednesday Thomas Davis (late Adjutant Davis) and six other Tories and traitors, mounted in a waggon, under a proper guard, making a very decent appearance, passed down the street on their way to the public gaol, from Alexandria, where they are to remain for trial.

Like Hazard's journal, these men were presumed guilty.

From the safety of New York City, Nicholas Cresswell learned about the charges against Davis and Wales, but the newspaper he read provided false information. He recorded in his journal that the men were tried on 30 May, which was actually the day they arrived in the state capital Williamsburg.

Wales, Chisum, Davis and Murdo was condemned to be hanged on the Friday following. Muir, Kilpatrick and Heppurn to be imprisoned for Five years and all their property to be appropriated to the use of the State of Virginia,

he wrote in his journal on 18 June. Cresswell proudly noted that there was a \$200 bounty on his and Collin Keir's heads for aiding the prison break. Keir joined the British Army, while Cresswell sailed back to England that summer, ending his American adventure in bitterness and disappointment. He didn't stick around to find out what really happened at the conspirators' trial.³⁸

The accused, including Andrew Wales, were held in the Williamsburg jail for more than two months until their case was brought before a grand jury in early August. It could not have been a comfortable time, given the heat and humidity of Williamsburg in summer. Four of the accused - Philip Dow, William Hepburn, George Muir, and Andrew Wales - were acquitted on a technicality: the main witness (and fellow conspirator) Thomas Davis was forbidden from testifying. The defense attorneys successfully moved that Davis had been earlier convicted of a crime, so he couldn't testify either on his own behalf or against the other accused. Without their star witness, the prosecution's case unraveled. Davis was convicted of treason, 'but discharged on a motion in arrest of judgment', the *Virginia Gazette* reported on 8 August 1777. The article didn't mention what became of the three other men accused.

John Parke Custis witnessed the trial and afterwards wrote his step-father, General George Washington, in a letter dated 8 August 1777:

You will no doubt be surprized to hear of the Acquital of Davis and his Accomplices, It has indeed astonish'd every One here, except the Judges, & the Lawyers who defended the Criminals, I was present at the Trial, and was clearly satisfied from the Evidence that Davis was guilty ... It is now determined that releaseing Prisoners of War, from their Place of confinement, is not Treason against the State, this Judgement in my Opinion does not reflect much honour, on the Talents of our Judges ...³⁹

Acquitted by the jury, Wales returned to Alexandria a free man, but he found that he was no longer welcome. He was vilified for his role in helping the prisoners

escape. He moved to another nearby port town, Bladensburg, Maryland, where he became a trader, and there he continued to support the loyalist cause. He remained in Bladensburg for several years, not returning to Alexandria until near the end of the war. It isn't known if Margaret joined him, or if she remained in Alexandria. Amazingly, Wales never had his property seized; however, he had taken a loyalty oath, which may have protected his belongings.

On 21 June 1780, Prince George's County magistrate Josiah Beall wrote to Maryland Govern Thomas Sim Lee a letter that fills in many gaps about our understanding of Andrew Wales's loyalties during the revolution. (Beall spelled the name 'Wailes').

Wailes is one of those fellows who was accused with Assisting [illegible] the Goodricks & some Other prisoners in making their Escape from Alex' some years ago, and though he was Acquited of the charge in Virginia, The People in Alex were so fully convinced of his Guilt in that & Other Villenys, that they drove him from thence; And he on taking the Oath to the State has been suffered to live since that, in Bladensburgh. But from what I can learn of the fellows behavior, *he is as vile a tory as any in America* [emphasis added], he is now become one of the greatest traders in Town, and by his artfull conduct seems to be gaining some influence over the weak unthinking. People, and has of late become a companion & high in Esteem among the Torys of the first rank, having been lately Admitted as I understand to a very high Entertainment kept by them, some say to celebrate the Kings birth day, Others on the News of the surrender of Charles Town [Charleston, South Carolina], which seems to have been the real & true cause of their feastivity.⁴⁰

Beall wrote to Governor Lee again on 3 December 1780, claiming to have quelled a potential riot in Bladensburg that wanted to tar and feather Andrew Wales. Wales had asked Beall for protection, and Beall provided it, choosing to follow his duty in protecting Wales, even though he believed in the man's guilt. The magistrate noted that locals were fond of Wales ('tho a person who I believe is no friend to America'), but with the high inflation of the Revolutionary War era, merchants like Wales were charging high prices, and this in turn spawned the riot. 'This is occasioned it seems by the Exorbitant prices they are selling their goods at, and Especially Salt, which is now selling at £200', Beall wrote.⁴¹

Wales returns to Alexandria

We aren't certain when Wales returned to Alexandria from his Bladensburg exile, but it was probably in 1781. We know this from the impressment of Wales's horse. In 1780, the Virginia legislature authorized commissioners to impress private property in support of the war effort. With the Yorktown campaign underway in summer and fall 1781, commissioners issued vouchers for property they borrowed. They impressed a horse from Andrew Wales for fourteen days for the Marquis de Lafayette's army. In February 1782, Wales presented his voucher to the Fairfax County court and was paid £3.50 for use of and 'for damage done the horse'.⁴²

The victory of the Americans at the Battle of Yorktown in October 1781 effectively ended the War of Independence. Though the peace wasn't signed for another two years, the war was over. With the end of hostilities, commerce and seaborne trade returned to Alexandria, as did Andrew Wales.

Wales somehow made peace with his Tory leanings and remained in America - and his neighbors made peace with him. He got back to brewing beer in Alexandria. In fact, Wales became actively involved in local civic affairs, especially anything related to commerce. He frequently signed petitions, served on numerous juries, was a member of a local church and a volunteer fire company, paid his taxes, and served as executor for several peoples' estates. His store near the Alexandria waterfront was a hub of commercial activity, given that Wales was much more than a brewer: he was a prosperous member of the city's merchant class.

On 27 May 1782, Wales signed a petition asking the state legislature to permit the city to fill in the shallows of Alexandria's harbor.⁴³ The General Assembly approved. Over the next several years, Alexandria moved the waterfront more than 400 hundred feet closer to the deeper water of the shipping channel. About two blocks were filled in as the Potomac shoreline was extended and straightened. New docks were built further into the river. It was a bustling time for the port city as trade resumed with the Caribbean and Europe. It was also a good time to be in the brewing business.⁴⁴

In August 1782, Wales and a number of men from the Alexandria militia petitioned to receive a cut of the

prize-money from a captured British sloop, as they had spotted the ship. A committee ruled on 28 August that they weren't entitled to prize-money.⁴⁵ After Wales's loyalist activities, this may seem questionable, but perhaps joining the militia was a way to redeem himself in his fellow citizens' eyes - and to engage in some profit taking at the expense of a British merchant.

Wales signed many legislative petitions, most (but not all) commercial-related. He signed a November 1786 petition, along with dozens of the town's leading merchants, calling for a lowering of import duties to Virginia, as people were buying more products like distilled spirits, salt and sugar from Maryland where they were cheaper.⁴⁶ The next day, he signed a petition calling for new tobacco inspectors. This was a controversial topic, as that same day another faction launched their own petition to block any new tobacco inspectors. The legislature decided not to act on either petition.⁴⁷

In 1788, Wales signed a petition calling for inspection of bread and flour.⁴⁸ In 1790, he and others called for the improvement and repair of Fairfax County roads that led to Alexandria.⁴⁹ In October 1792, the merchants of the town - including Wales - petitioned to establish the Bank of Alexandria, the first chartered bank in Virginia, to be capitalized at \$150,000. The following year, they asked for the bank's capitalization to be doubled - and again to be increased to \$350,000 in 1795.⁵⁰ The original Bank of Alexandria building still stands on N. Fairfax Street at Cameron Street.

Wales signed his last petition on 7 December 1798. Alexandria sought exemption from paying taxes to erect Fairfax County public buildings. 'These buildings will be of no service to the town [of Alexandria] and Fairfax County contributes nothing for the Alexandria public buildings', the petition complained.⁵¹

Not all of the petitions that Wales signed were commercial. On 20 June 1785, James Madison published the treatise *Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments*, written to ensure the Anglican (Episcopal) Church did not continue as a state church after Virginia Governor Patrick Henry pushed an assessment bill to establish church taxes. Religious dissenters such as Baptists and Presbyterians rallied around Madison to protest the bill. Petitions to the General Assembly circulated the state. Being a Presbyterian, Wales signed

the Fairfax County petition, which is dated 3 November. The public outcry helped sink the bill.⁵²

In October 1786, the members of Alexandria's Presbyterian Church (now the Old Presbyterian Meeting House congregation), including Wales, petitioned the legislature for the right to incorporate.⁵³ Wales signed a November 1787 petition that called for the reform of the poor laws, including the establishment of a plantation outside of Alexandria where the poor could grow crops.⁵⁴

Andrew Wales was much more than a brewer. He rented his store to merchants who didn't need an entire building, or only when they needed temporary space, such as after a ship sailed in full of precious cargo. On 7 September 1785 we find notices in *The Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser* of Philip Poyer selling Barbados rum and spirits and of William Buddicom offering dry goods just arrived from Liverpool aboard the brigantine *Alexandria* - both of whom used Wales' store near 'Captain Harper's Wharf', which was just steps to the south.⁵⁵

Owning more than two contiguous blocks of the city, Wales had numerous structures on his property. He took on renters, such as Elizabeth Hannah, who operated a boarding school for young women out of a house she rented from Wales.⁵⁶

Nor were the buildings that Wales owned ever static: there is evidence that he built new structures and even moved his own home several times. A 13 December 1787 advertisement in *The Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser* noted that William Farrell had opened a 'HOUSE of ENTERTAINMENT' (probably a tavern) on Water Street in what had been Andrew Wales's home opposite the brewery.

Andrew Wales had employed at least one indentured servant and an apprentice, but it isn't known if he employed others. Wales was a slave owner; however, the documentary record doesn't indicate how many individuals he owned, or how he treated them. Nor did slaves appear in his will. One of his slaves was killed in an industrial accident at the brewery. *The Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser* reported on 23 November 1786: 'On Tues. Evening [21 November], a blind Negro Fellow, named WILKES, belonging to Mr. Andrew Wales, Brewer, fell into the Cooper which

had boiling Water in it, and so scalded him that he died the next Morning'.

The local community rallied to prevent the execution of a slave named Will who was convicted and sentenced to death for breaking and entering into a home and stealing money. Dennis Ramsay petitioned Virginia Governor Henry Lee in July 1792. Among the dozens of men who appended their names were Andrew Wales and Reverend James Muir, the minister at the Presbyterian Church. The governor pardoned Will, who was then shipped to the West Indies.⁵⁷

Wales served as one of the executors for Robert Lyle's estate. In 1791, Wales, the other executors, Lyle's widow and children were summoned to the Richmond High Court of Chancery over a dispute with Robinson, Sanderson and Rumney (owners of a dry goods store and warehouse on Prince Street) over debt from the deceased and how the executors had handled the estate.⁵⁸ Charles Lee, a prominent attorney in Alexandria and son of Governor Henry Lee, represented the executors. His notes from the case survive, but they don't indicate an outcome.⁵⁹

Disaster struck the Wales Brewery: on 24 January 1788, a fire consumed the brewery and the adjoining residence. Breweries of the period were often built of wood, and fires were common. The *Norfolk and Portsmouth Journal* reported that, 'Mr. Wales is supposed to have sustained a loss of upwards of 2000[£]'. Prompt action on the part of the townsfolk and fire department kept the fire from spreading.

The fire was reported in a number of newspapers around the country, but there is no record whether the local paper of the time - *The Virginia Journal and Alexandria Advertiser* - recorded it. The period of the fire is missing from the records.

The fire would have destroyed not only the buildings and the brewing equipment, but also the stocks of beer that Wales planned to sell throughout the year. This was a major loss. However, we do find advertisements for the Wales Brewery the following year, indicating that Wales continued his business.

Wales rebuilt the brewery a block east on Union Street in Lot 56. With the extension of the waterfront into the

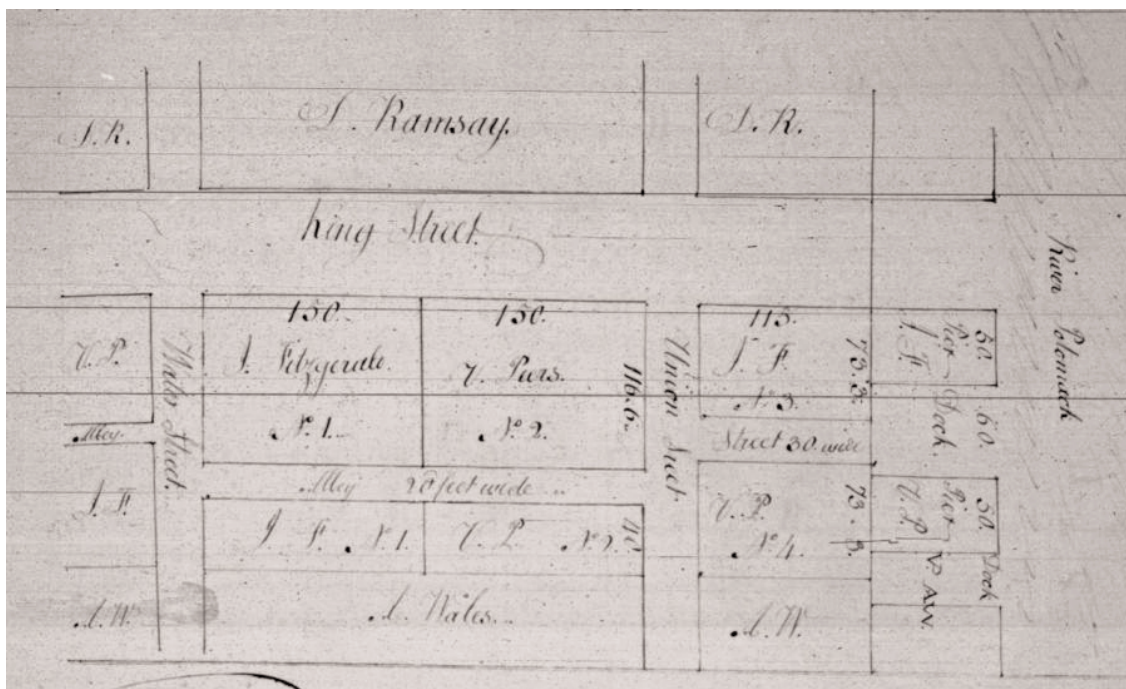


Figure 8. A 10 July 1789 deed for John Fitzgerald includes this hand-sketched map. Andrew Wales's property (marked A. Wales and A.W.) is shown on the bottom row, stretching from the Alexandria waterfront westward beyond Water Street. Source: Fairfax Deed Book Y-1, Special Collections, Kate Barrett Waller Branch, Alexandria Library.

Potomac River, the old brewery site was now two blocks inland, so relocating the brewery placed it closer to the new shoreline. Tax records from the 1790s stated that the brewery was near Union Street, the newly built street that paralleled the waterfront.⁶⁰

Andrew and Margaret Wales continued to resize their property based on their needs. After the brewery fire of 1788, they no longer needed Lot 58 and sold it to Marcus McCausland three years later.⁶¹ In 1794, they sold Lot 57 to Jonah Thompson for £375.⁶² The entire Wales Brewery complex was now situated on Lot 56.

As the Potomac River shoreline was filled in, Lot 56 was extended eastward toward the river. The Wales property extended further and further, but it was possibly more than the couple needed. On 24 August 1796, Andrew and Margaret Wales sold the Potomac River side of Lot 56 to Jesse Simms for £600, with a stipulation: 'Simms not to intentionally stop up the Trunk [the alley] from the Brew house to the River'.⁶³

The end of the Wales era

Competition emerged in the local brewing market as Alexandria's commercial activity picked up. In 1792, James Kerr opened the Potomac Brewery at the foot of Oronoco Street on the County Wharf. It produced strong ale, mild ale, table beer and whiskey - and even offered bottles of beer for home delivery. The brewery and distillery would operate for 15 years.⁶⁴

A short-lived competitor was the Union Brewery, located at the southwest corner of Union and Wolfe streets, which operated from 1794 to 1797. Across the river in the new City of Washington, Cornelius Coningham opened the Washington Brewery in 1796 on the site of what is now the Reflecting Pool. Wales no longer had the commercial brewing market to himself.⁶⁵

Four or five decades of brewing must have taken a toll on Andrew Wales. In 1797, he was 60 years old - and he decided it was time to retire from the business. He put

THE subscriber having a desire to decline business, offers for sale all that valuable property, extending from Water to Union Streets, consisting of

A Brewery and Distillery,

with every apparatus necessary for the business being so conveniently calculated that a considerable business in the Brewery and Distillery line may be done at a small expence. Under the same roof with the Brewery and Distillery is a commodious dwelling house, with necessary out houses. Also, two houses on the west side of Union Street, one of which has for some time been occupied as a tavern, for which business, or a store, it is as good a situation as any in this town. The other is adjoining the tavern, and is well calculated for a store, and the accommodation of a family. A lot on the east side of water street, 38 feet front, running back 60 feet, all, which properly has the advantage of a 12 feet alley. The terms will be made easy, for which apply to

ANDREW WALES.

March 18.

TAMM

Figure 9. Andrew Wales advertised his brewery for sale in the *Columbian Mirror* in March 1797.

the brewery up for sale. Health concerns may have prompted this: his wife Margaret died of consumption on 3 March 1799.

Even as he was winding down his brewing career, Wales was burdened with the duty of serving as the executor for the estate of his friend, Samuel McLean. McLean had significant debts, and in 1796, Wales petitioned the state legislature for permission to sell McLean's lot in town to pay these debts.⁶⁶ Wales would deal with the McLean estate literally until his own death in 1799.⁶⁷

Rev. Dr. James Muir, the minister at Presbyterian Church, kept a record book of all the baptisms, marriages, and funerals that took place at his church. Among the funeral entries for 1799 were both Andrew and Margaret Wales, showing their death dates and causes of death:

3 Mar 1799 Wales, Mrs. Margt., 62 yrs., consumption
23 Nov 1799 Wales, Andrew, 62 yrs., decline

Andrew and Margaret were interred in the Burial Ground around the church, but no grave marker indi-

cates where they were buried. Interestingly, this was three weeks before George Washington's death on 14 December. The first president's public memorial service in Alexandria was likewise held at the Presbyterian Church.⁶⁸

Given his local prominence as a merchant, distiller, and leader of the community, it is surprising that Wales's death was not mentioned in any of the Alexandria newspapers. Perhaps this was a vestige of ill will toward Wales stemming from his role as a Tory during the Revolutionary War, more than twenty years before. The oversight is particularly notable given that Wales's death was marked in other cities (although he was incorrectly described as a 'native of Holland').⁶⁹

Wales had signed his will in 1799, though without appending the day or month. Not having any surviving children, he left his estate - including property with rental income - to his niece, Margaret Low, her husband



Figure 10. The Old Presbyterian Meeting House Burial Ground, where Andrew and Margaret Wales were interred in 1799. Photo. Garrett Peck.

Figure 11. Andrew Wales' signature appears on his 1799 last will and testament. Note that the actual date is not filled in.⁷⁰

Thomas, followed by their children. He appointed John Boyer and Thomas Vowell, Jr as executors.⁷¹

Boyer and Vowell ordered a full inventory of the Wales estate. Along with the remaining land holdings, the brewer and his wife had considerable household items - books, clothing, furniture, even a billiards table. The inventory was valued at £182. This put Andrew and Margaret Wales in the ranks of the town's upper middle class and showed that they were prosperous merchants. They also left behind no debts.⁷²

The Wales Brewery continued to operate, but only for a few more years. John Fitzgerald, a major landowner and merchant in Alexandria who had built the Fitzgerald Warehouse around 1795, acquired a half interest in the brewery. Fitzgerald himself died just two weeks after Wales and was deeply in debt, and that put the Wales Brewery's future in question. William

Lacey and Dr. Cornelius Coningham (the first brewer in the City of Washington and owner of the Washington Brewery) briefly assumed management in 1798. They renamed it the Alexandria Brewery as a counterpoint to the other brewery. In addition to small and strong beers, Coningham added 'table beer' to the repertoire.⁷³

William Billington took over operation of the Alexandria Brewery in 1799 with a five-year lease. Less than two years later, he put the brewery up for sub-lease, but apparently found no takers. Billington moved to the competing Potomac Brewery, which remained in business until 1807.⁷⁴

The Alexandria/Wales Brewery was closed by 1802 - the same year that the executors of John Fitzgerald's estate put the property up for sale.⁷⁵ Fortunately Alexandrians weren't deprived of beer: Isaac Entwisle

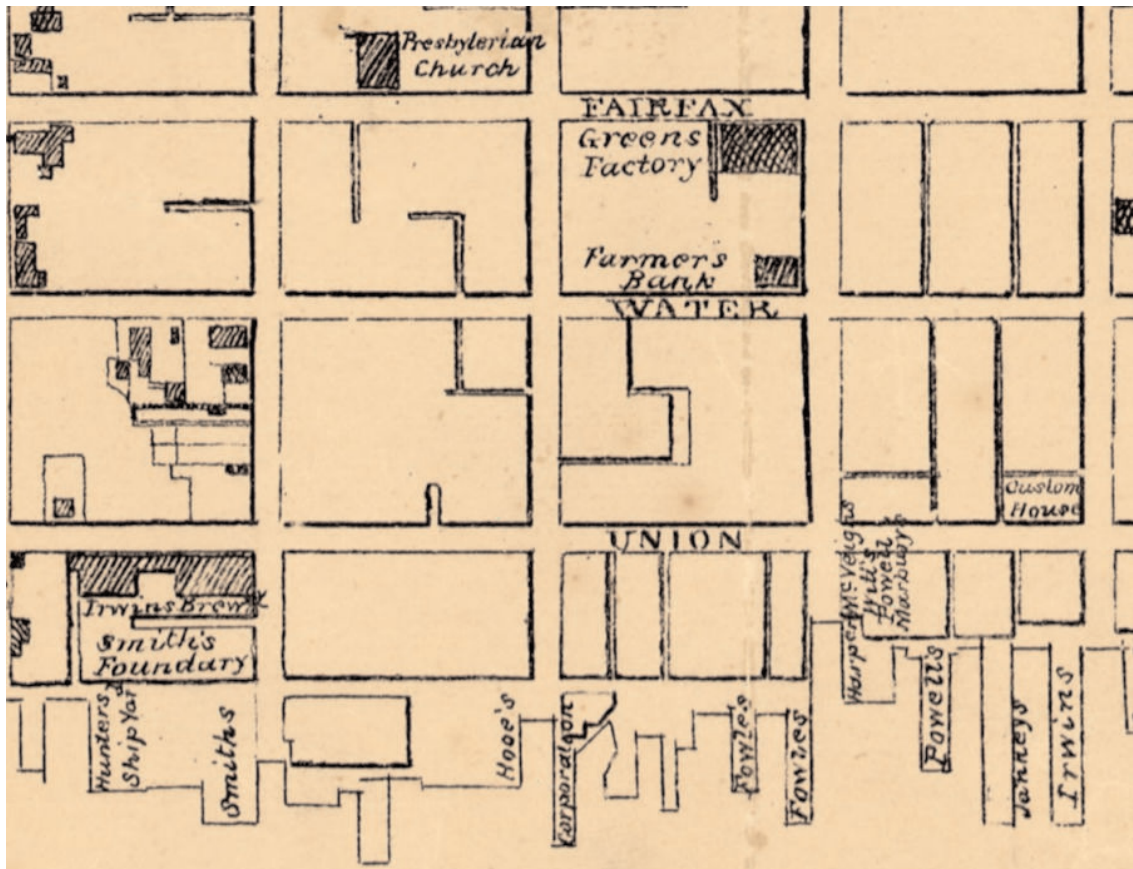


Figure 12. A close up of an 1862 Coast Survey map shows Alexandria landmarks, including Irwin's Brewery (lower left-hand corner). Wales Alley is drawn on the map (upper right), but not labeled. This was a copy of an 1852/1853 map: Irwin's Brewery had burned down in 1854. Source. Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division.

opened a brewery near the waterfront at Union and Wolfe streets in 1805. The Entwisle Brewery witnessed the Royal Navy's occupation of the city in August 1814 during the War of 1812. Later known as Irwin's Brewery, it burned down in 1854. It is the first brewery in Alexandria to appear on a map. The site is one block south of the Robinson Terminal site, which (as of 2015) is slated for redevelopment.

Wales Alley

The Wales Brewery buildings are long gone. Most if not all of the buildings were built of wood, which were torn down and replaced with more permanent brick structures. But there is one surviving feature from Andrew

and Margaret Wales's property: Wales Alley. It was laid out in 1774 as the northern boundary of the Wales lot and is named after the brewer. The alley extends two contiguous blocks, from Fairfax to Union streets, and is today partly paved with cobblestones. It is not known if these are original or if they came later.

The best-known portion of the alley today - the third segment running past the Fitzgerald Warehouse - wasn't originally called Wales Alley, but rather Fitzgerald and later Irwin Alley. Wales never owned it. John Fitzgerald put an easement on the thirty-foot wide property in 1789, several years before he built the warehouse, in order to maintain access to a dock. A 2013 Virginia Supreme Court case validated that the easement was still legal.



Figure 13. Wales Alley today, looking west from Lee Street (formerly Water Street). The second Wales Brewery site (1774-1788) is on the left, and is now the garden behind the Athenaeum. Photo. Garrett Peck.

Even Wales Alley has seen some changes. Early maps of the city show that the original alley was broken into two distinct sections on Lots 57 and 58 - yet when you walk the ground today, the alley forms a straight line. Wales Alley was realigned.

In 1791, the Waleses sold Lot 58 to Marcus McCausland of Baltimore.⁷⁶ McCausland in turn sold it to Bryan Hampson, a successful retailer, for £500 in 1797.⁷⁷ Hampson built a house and store of Flemish bond brick around 1805, several years after the Waleses's death, though the house (120 S. Fairfax Street) is sometimes referred to as the Wales House.⁷⁸

The Bryan Hampson House stands north of today's Wales Alley - yet Wales's property was south of the alley. It may have been Hampson who realigned Wales Alley by shifting the Lot 58 section southward. The Lot 57 section - along which the Wales Brewery stood at

Water/Lee Street - is thus the alley's oldest segment, dating to 1774.

Wales Alley may be the only physical remnant of Andrew Wales's brewery, but he was the first in a long line of brewers who have kept Alexandria beer glasses full.

Note

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