# DOCUMENTARY STUDY AND ARCHEOLOGICAL RESOURCE ASSESSMENT FOR THE JAMES BLAND HOMES, CITY OF ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA





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*Prepared in Consultation with and with Contributions from History Matters, L.LC.*

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## ABSTRACT

Thunderbird Archeology, a division of Wetland Studies and Solutions Inc.(WSSI) of Gainesville, Virginia conducted a Documentary Study on the James Bland Development property; comprising two entire city blocks and three partial city blocks bounded by First, N. Patrick, Madison, N. Alfred, Wythe and N. Columbus Streets in Alexandria, Virginia. A recommendation for an Archeological Evaluation, based on the results of the Documentary Study was also prepared and is included in this report. The study presented herein was prepared with contributions from and in consultation with History Matters, LC of Washington, D.C.

The project area is included within the Parker-Gray Historic District (100-0133) which has been determined to be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places.

The project area is the site of the James Bland Homes, a public housing project built by ARHA in two phases, with a four-block area constructed in 1954 and a final block (known as the James Bland Addition) constructed in 1959. The James Bland Homes project was preceded on the site by a World War II era trailer camp.

Documentary research has indicated that the James Bland Development property was owned by members of the Alexander family from the late 17th century until the late 18th century. During the colonial period, the Alexander's enslaved laborers or tenants may have also resided on or worked the lands within the project area. Various prominent citizens of the city, including Richard Conway, John Gadsby, Orlando Fairfax, and Thomas Veitch owned portions of the study property between the late 18th and mid 19th century. Use of the land by tenants or enslaved laborers remains a possibility during this period, as most of these individuals were documented slave owners. Further, Veitch engaged free African Americans as tenants on his lands to the west of the project area during the second quarter of the 19th century. Several buildings appear near or within the project area on Civil War era maps.

During the Civil War, Union troops occupying the city established various facilities to the south and east of the project area; these included the Washington Street Corral, barracks and other structures. No archival evidence for Civil War era activity within the project area was found, however, it is possible that refugee slaves may have settled in temporary shanty towns in the project area vicinity during this time period.

By the third quarter of 19th century, residential development in the project area was increasing. By 1900, the African American character of this portion of the Hump and Uptown neighborhoods were well established; however the project area appears to have remained a racially integrated, African American majority working class neighborhood until the mid 20th century. Many of the Euro-American residents in the early 20th century appear to be recent European immigrants.

The project area has been assessed with a moderate probability for the presence of prehistoric sites and a moderate to high probability for significant historic period archeological sites. As no clear evidence exists that the property has been significantly disturbed, and as demolition of the existing structures and planned development will impact almost the entirety of the project area to a subsurface depth that would destroy shallow archeological features and disturb any potential archeological deposits that may be present, a Phase I archeological survey of the property is recommended.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to recognize a number of individuals who have provided exceptional assistance and support in research associated with the preparation of this documentary study. First, we must acknowledge Mr. James E. Henson Sr., president of the Departmental Progressive Club of Alexandria, Virginia not only for his participation in the included oral history interview but also for his assistance in identifying and facilitating communications with additional informants, for his overall support for this research, and for his excitement for the study of historic Alexandria. We are also grateful to Mr. Joseph Earl of Hampton, Virginia, Mr. James L. Beatty of Alexandria, Virginia and Mr. Tung C. Cheng of Alexandria, Virginia for providing valuable research information. Our sincere thanks to Mr. Chaba Josa and Scott Kraus of the Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority, without whose help the original plans for James Bland would not have been located. Ms. Jackie Cohen of the City of Alexandria Archives also put forth extraordinary efforts for this task. Finally, we would like to acknowledge the support and assistance of the staff and volunteers of the Alexandria Black History Museum, specifically Mr. Louis Hicks, director; Ms. Audrey Davis, assistant director; and Ms. Lillian Patterson, volunteer.

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Thunderbird Archeology, a division of Wetland Studies and Solutions Inc.(WSSI) of Gainesville, Virginia conducted a Documentary Study on the James Bland Development property; comprising two entire city blocks and three partial city blocks bounded by First, N. Patrick, Madison, N. Alfred, Wythe and N. Columbus Streets in Alexandria, Virginia (Exhibit 1). The work was prepared with contributions from and in consultation with History Matters, LC of Washington, D.C.

The research was conducted in anticipation of the planned development of the property. The goal of the documentary study was to provide a full contextual study of the prehistory and history of the property, focusing on cultural themes associated with the James Bland public housing project and the historic African American neighborhood in which it is located; and to evaluate the potential for locating intact archeological sites on the property. The Archeological Evaluation recommendations included with this report present the analysis of the archeological potential of the James Bland property.

The documentary study and recommendations for the Archeological Evaluation are in compliance with the City of Alexandria Archaeological Protection Code and followed a Scope of Work provided by Alexandria Archaeology.

Kimberly Snyder, M.A. served as Principal Investigator on this project. John Mullen, M.A., Anne McQuillan and Boyd Sipe, M.A. conducted all other research relevant to this study. Boyd Sipe authored this report and Sarah Townsend prepared the exhibits. Evelyn Causey, Ph.D. and Edna Johnston, M.A. of History Matters provided substantial information about Alexandria history and research data on the later history as well.

Locating Alexandria County records pertaining to the properties discussed here for the early part of the 19th century proved to be a significant challenge, requiring review and comparison of Alexandria and District of Columbia records. This process was complicated by the fact that D.C. land tax records—which would seemingly offer valuable details on the structures and improvements on the properties from the late 18th century to 1846—are not available. Further, many documents pertaining to the latter part of the 19th century are incomplete and inconsistent. Efforts to retrieve records relevant to the operations of the James Bland Homes public housing project and other historic public housing projects within the city from ARHA and HUD met with limited success.

All research data resulting from this study are currently on repository at the Thunderbird offices in Gainesville, Virginia.

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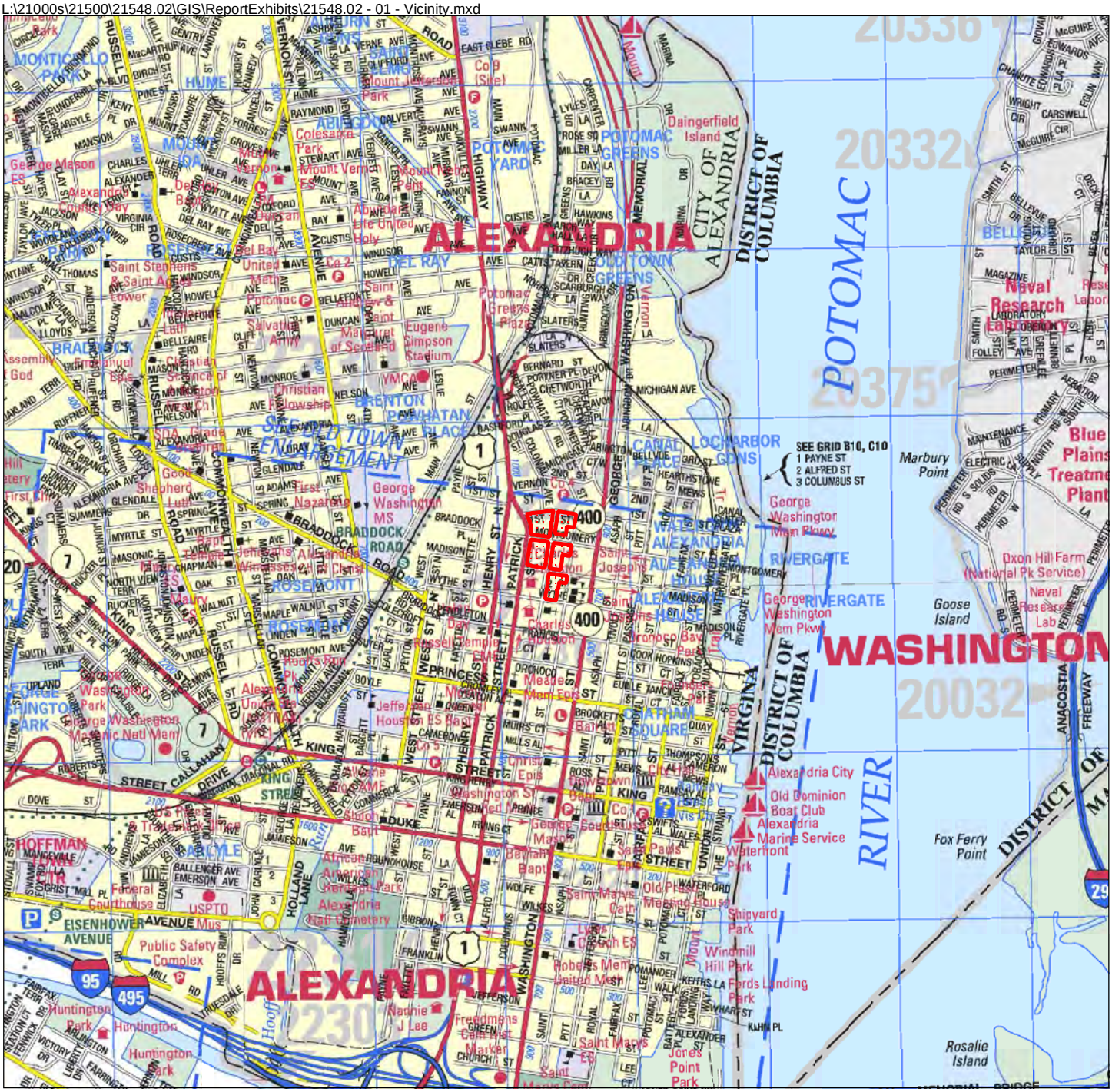


Project Area

**Vicinity Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 2000'**



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W E
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***Thunderbird Archeology***
***by Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 1***

## Environmental Setting

The project area lies within the Coastal Plain, which is underlain by sediments that have been carried from the eroding Appalachian Mountains to the west, and includes layers of Jurassic and Cretaceous clays, sands and gravels. These are overlain by fossiliferous marine deposits, and above these, sands, silts and clays continue to be deposited. The Coastal Plain is the youngest of Virginia's physiographic provinces and elevations range from 0 to 200/250 feet above sea level (a.s.l.). It is characterized by very low relief broken by several low terraces. The province runs west to the Fall Line, a low escarpment at circa 200 feet a.s.l., which formed where the softer sedimentary rocks of the Coastal Plain abut the more resistant rocks of the Piedmont. Where rivers cross this juncture, rapids or falls have developed.

The James Bland Development property is situated on developed land on low terraces overlooking the Potomac River, which lies less than one half mile to the east (Exhibit 2). Elevations within the project area average about 48 feet a.s.l.

The property was landscaped in two phases in association with the construction of the James Bland Homes public housing project in 1954 and 1959. Sidewalks, grassy lawns and shrubbery planted during the project's landscaping surround the 34 public housing buildings on the property (Exhibit 3). The project area surroundings may be generally described as inner city urban with mixed commercial and residential use.

# CHAPTER 2 - NATIVE AMERICAN OCCUPATION

## Paleoenvironmental Background

The basic environmental history of the area has been provided by Carbone (1976; see also Gardner 1985, 1987, and Johnson 1986). The following presents highlights from this history, focusing on those aspects pertinent to the project area.

At the time of the arrival of humans into the region, about 11,000 years ago, the area was beginning to recover rapidly from the effects of the last Wisconsin glacial maximum of circa 18,000 years ago. Vegetation was in transition from northern dominated species and included a mixture of conifers and hardwoods. The primary trend was toward a reduction in the openness so characteristic of the parkland of 14-12,000 years ago. Animals were undergoing a rapid increase in numbers as deer, elk and, probably, moose expanded into the niches and habitats made available as the result of wholesale extinctions of the various kinds of fauna that had occupied the area during the previous millennia. The current cycle of ponding and stream drowning began between 18-16,000 years ago at the beginning of the final retreat of the last Wisconsin glaciation (Gardner 1985); sea level rise has been steady since then.

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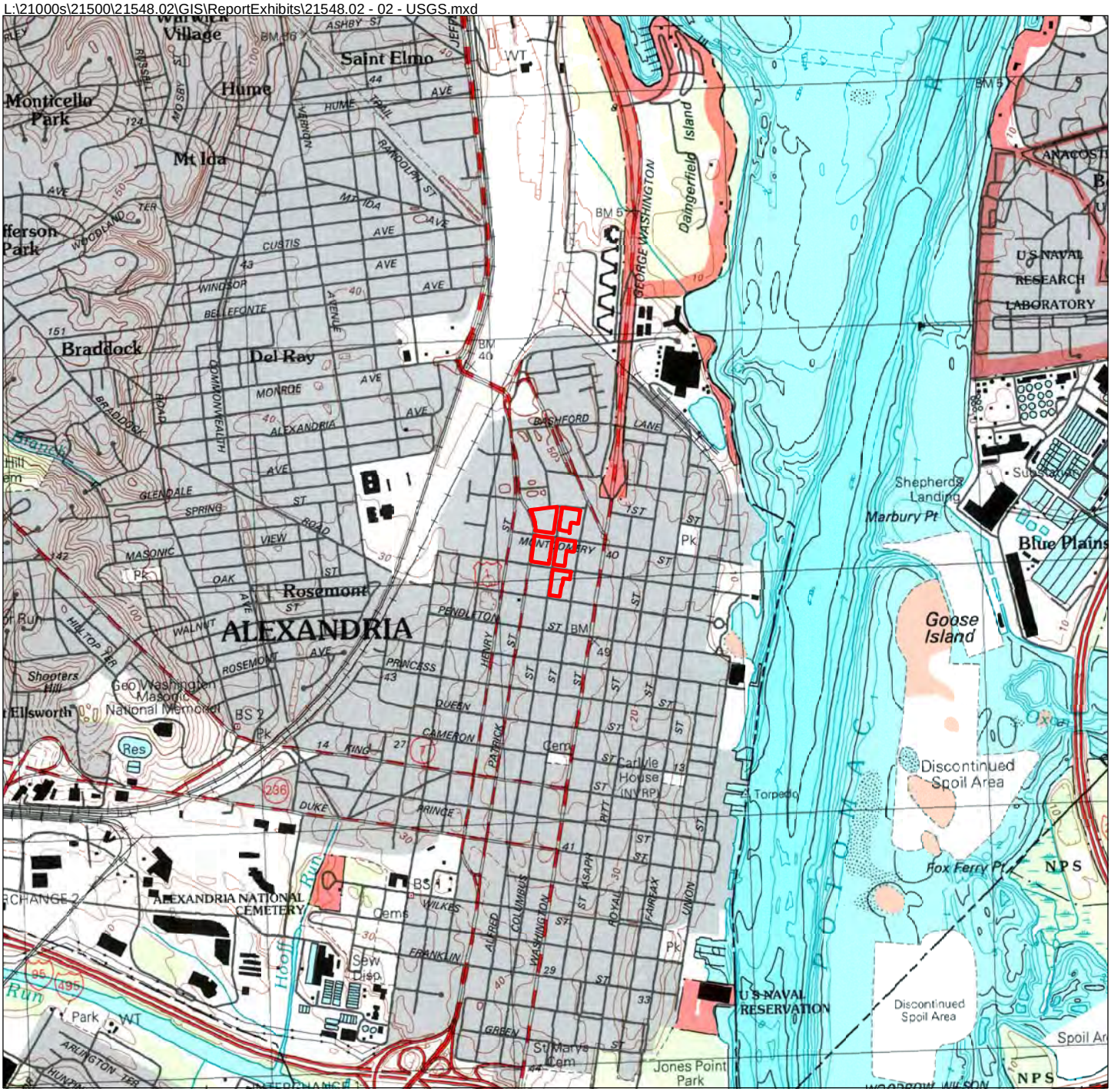


**USGS Quad Map**
**Alexandria, VA-DC-MD 1994**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 2000'**

Project Area

N
W E
S

Latitude: 38°48'51" N
Longitude: 77°02'50" W
Hydrologic Unit Code (HUC): 02070010
Stream Class: II
Name of Watershed: Potomac River

***Thunderbird Archeology***
***by Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 2***

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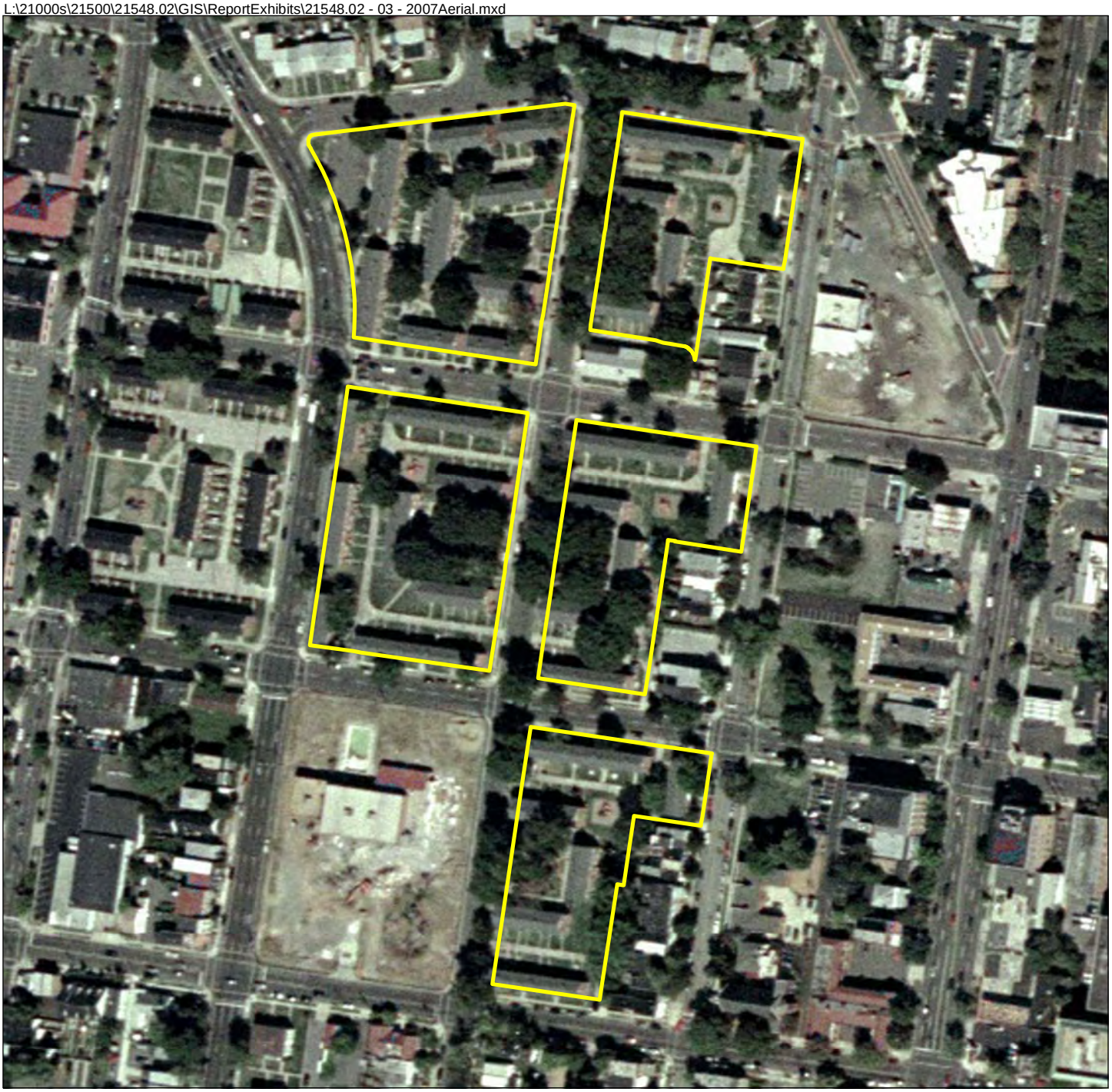

Project Area

**October 2007 Natural Color Imagery**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

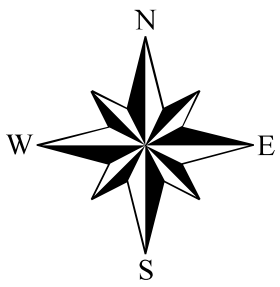


Photo Source: Aerials Express

***Thunderbird Archeology***
***by Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 3***

These trends continued to accelerate over the subsequent millennia of the Holocene. One important highlight was the appearance of marked seasonality circa 7000 B.C. This was accompanied by the spread of deciduous forests dominated by oaks and hickories. The modern forest characteristic of the area, the mixed oak-hickory-pine climax forest, prevailed after 3000-2500 B.C. Continued forest closure led to the reduction and greater territorial dispersal of the larger mammalian forms such as deer. Sea level continued to rise, resulting in the inundation of interior streams. This was quite rapid until circa 3000-2500 B.C., at which time the rise slowed, continuing at a rate estimated to be 10 inches a century (Darmody and Foss 1978). This rate of rise continues to the present. Based on the archeology (c.f. Gardner and Rappleye 1979), it would appear that the mid-Atlantic migratory bird flyway was established circa 6500 B.C.; oysters had migrated to at least the Northern Neck by 1200 B.C. (Potter 1982) and to their maximum upriver limits along the Potomac near Popes Creek, Maryland, by circa 750 B.C. (Gardner and McNett 1971), with anadromous fish arriving in the Inner Coastal Plain in considerable numbers circa 1800 B.C. (Gardner 1982).

During the historic period, at circa A.D. 1700, cultural landscape alteration becomes a new environmental factor (Walker and Gardner 1989). Around this time, Euro-American settlement extended into the Piedmont/Coastal Plain interface. With these settlers came land clearing and deforestation for cultivation, as well as the harvesting of wood for use in a number of different products. The tributaries to the Potomac were broad expanses of open waters from their mouths well up their valleys to, at, or near their "falls", where they leave the Piedmont and enter the Coastal Plain. These streams were conducive to the establishment of ports and harbors, elements necessary to commerce and contact with the outside world and the seats of colonial power. Most of these early ports were eventually abandoned or reduced in importance, for the erosional cycle set up by the land clearing resulted in tons of silt being washed into the streams, ultimately impeding navigation.

The historic vegetation would have consisted of a mixed oak-hickory-pine forest. Associated with this forest were deer and smaller mammals and turkey. The nearby open water environments would have provided habitats for waterfowl year round as well as seasonally for migratory species.

The culture history of the area has been detailed several times by Gardner (cf. Gardner 1987; Johnson 1986; Walker 1981; other works of a more general nature include Stephenson et al. 1963; Potter 1993 and Dent 1995). A chronological chart is presented below in Table 1. The following section provides a brief overview of the general prehistory of the region and provides a context for the archeological components anticipated within the project area.

**Prehistoric Cultural Background**

Table 1 presents a prehistoric chronology applicable to the location and environmental setting of the project area. The cultural sequence is discussed by period in the text that follows.

## TABLE 1: PREHISTORIC CULTURAL CHRONOLOGY

| Episode | Phase (projectile point) | Period Year B.P. |
|---|---|---|
| | | **Paleoindian** |
| **Late Glacial** | Fluted (Clovis) | 11,500 |
| (10,030) | Fluted (Mid-Paleo) | 11,000 |
| | Fluted (Dalton) | 10,500 |
| | | |
| | | **Early Archaic** |
| **Pre-boreal** | Corner notched (Palmer) | 10,000 |
| (10,030-9,300) | Corner notched (Kirk) | 9,500 |
| | | |
| **Boreal** | Side notched (Big Sandy-like) | 9,200-9,000 |
| (9,300-8,490) | Side notched (Kirk) | 9,000 |
| | Stemmed (Kirk) | 9,000 |
| | | |
| (Transitional) | Bifurcate base (Lecroy) | 8,500 |
| | | |
| | | **Middle Archaic** |
| **Atlantic** | Stemmed (Stanly) | 7,500 |
| (8,490-5,060) | Contracting stemmed (Morrow Mountain I) | 7,000 |
| | Contracting stemmed (Morrow Mountain II) | 6,500 |
| | Lanceolate (Guilford) | 6,000 |
| | Corner/side notched (Halifax/Brewerton) | 5,500 |
| | | |
| | | **Late Archaic** |
| **Sub-boreal** | Stemmed (Savannah River) | 5,000-4,500 |
| (5,060-2,760) | Corner notched (Susquehanna) | 5,000-4,500 |
| | Stemmed (Holmes) | 3,500-3,000 |
| | Side notched (Hellgrammite) | 3,500-3,000 |
| | | |
| | (*At this point, the chronological emphasis shifts to ceramics*) | |
| | | |
| | | **Early Woodland** |
| | Soapstone temper (Marcey Creek) | 3,000 |
| | Soapstone temper (Seldon Island) | 3,000 |
| | | |
| **Modern** | Sand temper (Accokeek) | 2,750 |
| (2,760-Present) | | |
| | | **Middle Woodland** |
| | Crushed rock/grit temper (Popes Creek) | 2,500 |
| | Shell temper (Mockley) | 2,100 |
| | | |
| | | **Late Woodland** |
| | Shell temper (Townsend/Rappahannock) | 1,100 |
| | Grit temper (Potomac Creek) | 700 |

*Paleoindian Period (9500-8000 B.C.)*

The Paleoindian period corresponds to the end of the Late Pleistocene and beginning of the Early Holocene. This period was characterized by cooler and drier conditions with significantly less seasonal variation than is evident in the region today. The cooler conditions resulted in decreased evaporation and, in areas where drainage was restricted by topography, could have resulted in the development of wetlands in the Triassic Lowlands (Walker 1981; Johnson 1986:P1-8). Generally speaking, the nature of the vegetation was marked by open forests composed of a mix of coniferous and deciduous elements. The individual character of local floral communities would have depended on drainage, soils, and elevation, among other factors. The structure of the open environment would have been favorable for deer and, to a lesser degree, elk, which would have expanded rapidly into the environmental niches left available by the extinction of the herd animals and megafauna that existed during the Late Pleistocene. Evidence suggests that the last of these creatures (e.g. mastodons) would have been gone from the area around by about 11,000-11,500 years B.P., or just before humans first entered what is now Virginia.

The fluted projectile point is considered the hallmark lithic tool of the Paleoindian period. Based on his work at the Flint Run Complex, Gardner identified three distinct sub-phases within the larger fluted point phase (Gardner 1974). The oldest of the Paleoindian sub-phases is identified by the now classic Clovis point, a large, bifacially flaked tool with a channel or flute removed from both sides of its base. The Clovis sub-phase is followed in time by the Middle Paleo sub-phase, defined by smaller fluted points. The Dalton-Hardaway sub-phase is the final one of the period, and is characterized by the minimally fluted Dalton and Hardaway projectile points. This three-period subdivision is well supported by stratigraphy. Associated with these projectile points are various other tools that usually cannot be taken by themselves as diagnostic Paleoindian indicators. Examples of such stone tools include end or side scrapers, bifaces, blades, and spokeshaves, which are all associated with the hunting and processing of game animals.

Paleoindian archeological assemblages rarely contain stone tools specifically designed for processing plant material such as manos, metates, hammerstones, or grinders. This general absence or rarity of such tool categories does not mean that use of plant resources was unimportant. It may suggest that a far greater emphasis was placed on hunting versus gathering, at least when viewed from the perspective of an assemblage of stone tools. For instance, carbonized plant materials have been found in Paleoindian contexts and plant remains have been recovered from some Paleoindian sites. The remains of acalypha, blackberry, hackberry, hawthorn plum, and grape were recovered from a hearth in the Paleoindian portion of the Shawnee-Minisink Site (Dent 1995). Although hard evidence is lacking for the immediate study area, the subsistence settlement base of Paleoindian groups in the immediate region likely focused on general foraging, drawing a comparison with the Shawnee-Minisink data, and certainly focused on hunting (Gardner 1989 and various).

Settlement patterns for the Paleoindian period have been described as quarry-centered, with larger base camps situated in close proximity to sources of high quality cryptocrystalline lithic raw materials. Smaller exploitative or hunting and/or gathering sites are found at varying distance from the quarry-centered base camp (Gardner 1980). This model, developed from Gardner's work at the Thunderbird site complex in the Shenandoah River Valley, has wide applicability throughout both the Middle Atlantic region and greater Eastern United States. The extreme curation (or conservation) and reworking of the blade element exhibited by many stray point finds recovered throughout the Middle Atlantic region, especially specimens from Coastal Plain localities, are strong arguments supporting the quarry-base camp settlement model. Gardner has argued that once a tool kit has been curated to its usable limit, a return to the quarry-tied base camp would be made in order to replenish raw materials (Gardner 1974).

Sporadic Paleoindian finds are reported in the Potomac Valley, but, overall, these distinctive projectile points are not too common in the local area (cf. Gardner 1985; Brown 1979). Paleoindian fluted points have been found as isolated finds in the region; no intact sites have yet been documented (Johnson 1986).

*Early Archaic Period (8500-6500 B.C.)*

The Early Archaic period coincides with the transition from the end of the Late Pleistocene to the beginnings of the Holocene climatic period. This geologic period encompasses the decline of open grasslands and the rise of closed boreal forests throughout the Middle Atlantic region. It can be argued that the reduction of these open grasslands led to the decline and extinction of Pleistocene megafauna. Sea level throughout the region rose with the retreat of glacial ice, a process that led to an increase in the number of poorly drained and swampy biomes. These water-rich areas became the gathering places of large modern mammals, such as white-tailed deer, elk, and moose. Again, as in the Paleoindian period, humans were drawn to these wet biomes because the concentration of game animals made for excellent hunting.

The switch from fluting to notching is generally considered to mark the end of the Paleoindian period and the beginning of the Archaic period. Examples of Early Archaic point types include Amos Corner Notched, Kirk and Palmer Corner Notched, Warren Side Notched and Kirk Stemmed varieties. Serration can be found on both the Kirk and Palmer notched varieties. Gardner has demonstrated that while corner notched and side notched points show a stylistic change from the earlier fluted varieties, they all occurred within a single cultural tradition (Gardner 1974). The transition from fluting to notching is not a radical change, but the gradual replacement of one attribute at a time. The fluting, which was nearly absent during the Dalton-Hardaway sub-phase, is replaced by corner notching, which is then gradually replaced by side notching in the Archaic sequence. Serration of the blade element may be present on many, but not all, of these forms. The favored material (cryptocrystalline jasper), overall triangular shape of the blade element, and the manufacturing technique remained unchanged throughout the period. The initial reason for the change in hafting and related modifications of the basal

elements of Early Archaic points is probably related to the introduction of the spear-thrower or atlatl. The fluted forms may have been utilized mainly as thrusting tools, while the earlier notched forms may have been mounted onto a smaller lance with a detachable shaft and powered by the atlatl. Because this does not detract from the influence/importance of hunting within the Flint Run Complex, they are all considered members of the same cultural tradition (Gardner 1974). As in the earlier Paleoindian period, stone tools designed for the processing of plant materials are rare.

Towards the close of the Early Archaic period, trends away from a settlement model comparable to the earlier Paleoindian quarry focused pattern are evident beginning at about 7500 B.C. and later. A major shift is one to a reliance on a greater range of lithic raw material for manufacture of stone tools rather than a narrow focus on high quality cryptocrystalline materials. Lithic use was a matter of propinquity; stone available was stone used. Extensive curation of projectile points, however, is still evident up until the bifurcate phases of the subsequent Middle Archaic period. It may be that while a reliance on high quality lithic materials continued, other kinds of raw material were used as needed.

This pattern is not readily documented during the earlier Paleoindian period. Johnson argues that the shift to a wider range of materials occurs in the gradual shift from the Palmer/Kirk Corner Notched phases of the Early Archaic to the later Kirk Side Notched/Stemmed or closing phases of the period (Johnson 1983; 1986:P2-6). Changes in lithic raw material selection are likely related to movement into a wider range of habitats coincident with the expansion of deciduous forest elements. Early Archaic period sites begin to show up in areas previously not occupied to any great extent, if at all. Additionally, the greater number of sites can be taken as a rough indicator of a gradual population increase through time.

*Middle Archaic (6500-3000/2500 B.C.)*

The chronological period known as the Middle Archaic coincides with the appearance of full Holocene environments. Climatic trends in the Holocene at this time are marked by the further growth of deciduous forests, continuing rise sea levels, and warm and moist conditions. This change led to the spread of modern temperate floral assemblages (such as mesic hemlock and oak forests), modern faunal assemblages, and seasonal continental climates. The advent of such climates and related vegetation patterns allowed for the development of seasonally available subsistence resources, which led to base camps no longer being situated near specific lithic sources, but closer to these seasonal resources. This shift also led to an increase in the number of exploited environmental zones. The moist conditions favored the spread of swamps and bogs throughout poorly drained areas like floodplains, bays, or basins. Rising sea level and overall moist conditions helped form these swamps and basins; sea level had risen too rapidly to allow the growth of large, stable concentrations of shellfish. Estuarine resources were scarce and the inhabitants relied on varied animal resources for sustenance. Essentially modern faunal species were spread throughout the various biomes, but their distributions would have been somewhat different than that known for today. The prevalent species included deer, turkey, and smaller mammals. As far as the inhabitants of the Middle Archaic are concerned, there is a noticeable increase in population, which can be seen in the sheer number of sites (as represented by the diagnostic point types) throughout the Middle Atlantic region.

The initial technological shift between the Early and Middle Archaic periods is generally considered to be marked by the introduction of bifurcate base projectile points, such as St. Albans, LeCroy, and Kanawha types (Broyles 1971; Chapman 1975; Gardner 1982). Several other marked changes occurred along with the onset of the bifurcate points. Ground stone tools, such as axes, gouges, grinding stones, and plant processing tools, were introduced along with bifurcate points (Chapman 1975, Walker 1981). These new tools are evidence for the implementation of a new technology designed to exploit vegetable/plant resources. Also, a shift to the use of locally available lithic raw material, which began during the closing phases of the Early Archaic, is clearly manifest by the advent of the bifurcate phases. The bifurcate points do not occur throughout the entire Middle Archaic; they appear to be constrained to the earlier portion of the period and disappeared somewhere between 8000–7000 years B.P. (Chapman 1975, Dent 1995).

The major stemmed varieties of projectile point that follow the earlier bifurcate forms and typify the middle portion of the Middle Archaic period include the Stanly, Morrow Mountain I and Morrow Mountain II varieties. Coe (1964) documented a Stanly-Morrow Mountain sequence at the Doerschuk Site in the North Carolina Piedmont, and similar results were recorded at the Slade Site in Virginia (Dent 1995). Excavations at the Clifton Site located in Charles County, Maryland, also demonstrated that an identical sequence is present in the Middle Atlantic Coastal Plain (Barse 1994). This data seems to indicate that a similar Middle Archaic point chronology exists in the Virginia-Maryland area. Dincauze (1976) has suggested such a chronology, characterizing it as an Archaic "Atlantic Slope" culture area.

The projectile points marking the latter portion of the Middle Archaic period are the lanceolate shaped Guilford type and various side notched varieties (Coe 1964; Dent 1995). Guilford points were stratified above Morrow Mountain and Stanly points at the Doerschuk Site (Coe 1964:54) and Halifax side notched points were found above Guilford types at the Gaston Site (Coe 1964:118–119). This sequence was also duplicated at the Slade Site (Dent 1995). Vernon points, common at the Accokeek Creek Site in Prince George's County, Maryland, are considered to be local variants of Halifax points (McNett and Gardner 1975:9). These points have been found stratified below Savannah River/Holmes points at the Fraser Site along the Potomac River in Virginia (McNett and Gardner 1975:10), essentially duplicating Coe's Halifax-Savannah River sequence (1964). Additionally, a single example of this type was found stratified below levels containing Savannah River points at the above noted Clifton Site (Barse 1994).

With the increasing diversity in natural resources came a subsistence pattern that was predicated on the seasonal harvest of various nut species and other plant resources; those species characteristic of deciduous forest environments. Base camps were located in high biomass habitats or areas where a great variety of food resources could be found (Walker 1981). These base camp locations varied according to the season and were located on floodplains, interior fluvial swamp settings, and in some cases, within interior upland swamp settings. The size and duration of the base camps appear to have depended on the size, abundance, and diversity of the immediately local and nearby resource zones.

As noted above, Early Archaic components show a slight increase in numbers over sites documented for the Paleoindian period, but it is during the Middle Archaic (Morrow Mountain periods and later) that prehistoric human presence becomes relatively widespread in a wide range of environmental settings (Gardner 1985, 1987; Johnson 1986; Weiss-Bromberg 1987). Clearly, Middle Archaic populations expanded into a variety of habitats for exploitation of a relatively wide range of both plant and animal resources. Diagnostic artifacts from upland surveys along and near the Potomac show a significant jump during the terminal Middle Archaic (e.g. Halifax) and beginning Late Archaic (Savannah River). Johnson noted in his overview of Fairfax County archeology a major increase in the number of sites (as measured by diagnostic point types) during the bifurcate phase and the later phases such as Halifax (Johnson 1986:P2-14).

*Late Archaic (2500-1000 B.C.)*

Throughout the Eastern United States, distinctive patterns of Native-American landscape become evident by about 5000 years B.P. (3000 B.C.), marking a significant shift with earlier Middle Archaic components. This reorganization, for lack of a more suitable term, has been termed the Late Archaic period (cf. Griffin 1967). The Late Archaic period is characterized by an increase in population over that documented for the Middle Archaic period (again, an inference based on an increase both in sites and in site size and distribution of diagnostic point types), a foraging pattern linked to dense forests and their seasonally available plant resources (a continuation from earlier patterns), and the development of an adaptation based on the exploitation of riverine and estuarine resources. Climatic events approached those of modern times during the Late Archaic period.

The continued rise in sea level eventually pushed the salinity cline further upstream, creating tidal environments; a corresponding movement of various riverine and estuarine species took place with the development of tidal conditions in the embayed section of the Potomac and its main tributary streams. Freshwater spawning fish had to travel farther upstream to spawn, fostering extensive seasonal fish runs. The development of brackish water estuaries as a result of an increase in sea level in the Hudson, Delaware, and Chesapeake Bay regions led to the spread of various shell species, such as oysters and crabs (Gardner 1976; Gardner 1982). In parts of the Middle Atlantic region, settlement during the Late Archaic period shifted from the interior stream settings favored during earlier periods to the newly embayed stream mouths and similar settings (Gardner 1976). Interior sites became minimally exploited, though not abandoned, sustaining smaller hunting camps and specialized exploitative stations; all exhibited varying emphasis on procurement of locally available cobble or tabular lithic sources, such as chert, quartz, and quartzite, as well as a variety of plant species.

The Late Archaic technological assemblage continued the emphasis on ground stone tools first noted in the Middle Archaic period. Steatite net weights and carved steatite bowls with lug handles first appeared during this period and are common throughout the Eastern United States from Maine to Florida. The most easily recognizable diagnostic projectile point in the Middle Atlantic is the parallel stemmed, broad bladed Savannah River point, which has a number of related cognate types. Defined by Coe based on work in the Carolina Piedmont (Coe 1964), the Savannah River point represents what could be, arguably, a typological horizon throughout the Eastern United States east of the Appalachians, dating from about 4600 to perhaps as late as 3500 B.P. (2600 to 1500 B.C.). Chronological markers are excellent for this period in the

Delaware Valley. The definition of the Broadspear point types and the period is based on Witthoft's classic 1953 paper, wherein he suggested the period name "Transitional" to accommodate this particular riverine adaptation. This paper is perhaps one of the best synthetic statements of the terminal Archaic or Transitional period in the literature for its time.

Intense utilization of the region begins around 1800 B.C. with the advent of the Transitional Period and the Savannah River Broadspear derivatives (noted above) which include the Holmes and other related points. In settlement-subsistence models presented by Gardner, this is linked with the development of large seasonal runs of anadromous fish. These sites tend to be concentrated along the shorelines near accessible fishing areas. The adjacent interior and upland zones become rather extensively utilized as adjuncts to these fishing base camps. The pattern of using seasonal camps continues though the sites are larger, exhibiting greater hearth density and hearth size. Although hunting camps and other more specialized sites may occur in the Triassic Lowlands, the larger base camps are usually found in floodplain settings close to tributary streams or along the low lying floodplains of Potomac estuaries (Walker 1981). Use of the inter-fluvial Piedmont settings diminished during the Late Archaic. Sites from this period are less frequent and more widely scattered in such settings.

*Early Woodland (1000-500 B.C.)*

Chronological frameworks developed for the Eastern United States and the Middle Atlantic area begin the Early Woodland period with the inception of ceramic technology. This period corresponds generally to the Sub-Atlantic episode, when relatively stable and moister conditions prevailed. At this point in time, climatic conditions approached those of the modern era (Walker 1981). In the middle to lower Potomac River Valley, as well as most of the surrounding Middle Atlantic region, the earliest known ceramics begin with a ware known as Marcey Creek. This ware is a flat bottomed vessel tempered with crushed steatite or, in the Eastern Shore region, other kinds of crushed rock temper. It was defined based on excavations at a site along the Potomac River just north of Washington, D.C. by Carl Manson. Based on vessel shape, this distinctive ware is interpreted as a direct evolution or development from the flat bottomed stone bowls of the Late Archaic period. Vessels of this ware frequently exhibits the same lugs on the side walls as seen on Late Archaic steatite bowls.

As a ware group, Marcey Creek is a short lived in terms of its position in the chronological record. The earliest dates for this ware are 1200 B.C. in the Northern Neck (Waselkov 1982) and 950 B.C. at the Monocacy site in the Potomac Piedmont (Gardner and McNett 1971). Shortly after about 800 B.C., conoidal and somewhat barrel shaped vessels with cord marked surfaces enter the record in the Middle Atlantic region and greater Northeast. Whether these evolved from the flat bottomed Marcey Creek vessels or simply replaced them is unknown. Locally, such a ware has been designated Accokeek Cord Marked, first described from the Accokeek Creek Site in Prince George's County, Maryland (Stephenson et al. 1963). Some chronological frameworks for the Middle Atlantic region, particularly in Maryland, suggest a transitional ware, such as Selden Island (cf. Slattery 1946), between Marcey Creek and Accokeek and its cognate wares.

Accokeek ceramics (and the many regional ware variants) postdate Marcey Creek in all local sequences that have been described. Accokeek is the Early Woodland ware group from the southern part of North Carolina found northward into the middle Delaware River area, forming an Early Woodland ceramic horizon. Accokeek ware was tempered with both sand and crushed quartz, although any suitable stone may have been used for the grit source, including steatite. In many cases, temper selected for use by Accokeek potters appears to have been based on propinquity to specific resources. In the Coastal Plain settings of the Maryland and Virginia, Accokeek typically has a "sandier" paste and could be said to have sand as a tempering agent. However, when large enough sherds are analyzed, crushed quartz tempering is invariably found in this ware. Whether or not the paste of the vessel is sandy or more clayey in texture depends on the clay source, either Piedmont or Coastal Plain. Clay sources from Coastal Plain settings usually contain greater amounts of sand.

In chronological terms, Marcey Creek and Accokeek span approximately 500 to 600 years. Marcey Creek likely falls within the first 200 years of the final millennium B.C., or roughly 1000 to 800 B.C. Radiocarbon dates for Accokeek place it between 750 B.C. and approximately 300 to 400 B.C., when it is superseded by net impressed varieties, including Popes Creek and related wares (Gardner and McNett 1971; Mouer et al. 1981). McClearen (1991) reports comparable early dates for Accokeek from the 522 Bridge Site in Warren County, Virginia.

Other material categories associated with the Accokeek (and cognate) ware horizon are not yet well defined. However, the lobate based Piscataway point is definitely associated with Accokeek pottery at a number of sites in the Middle Atlantic region. In Maryland, this point type was also recovered from contexts associated with Accokeek ceramics at the West Shore Site in Anne Arundel County (Barse 1978). In Virginia, several sites in the James River Valley (Mouer et al. 1981) and at the 522 Bridge Site in Warren County along the Shenandoah River (McClearen 1991) have excellent contexts with Piscataway points and Accokeek pottery. These points continue into the early phases of the Middle Woodland period and have been found in contexts containing Popes Creek, Albemarle, and early variants of Mockley ceramics at the Fletchers Boathouse Site (51NW13) along the Potomac River (Barse 2002).

Early Woodland period settlement patterns show a continuation from those described for the Late Archaic. Base camps have been recorded in riverine settings as large settlements, especially at the junction of freshwater-brackish water streams in Coastal Plain localities. Nearby sites that exemplify this Early Woodland settlement pattern are also found in the Potomac Valley, such as at Site 18PR142, excavated by the Department of Anthropology of Catholic University in 1976 (Gardner 1976). Here, a substantial Late Archaic Savannah River occupation and an Early Woodland occupation defined by Accokeek ceramics were found in overlapping contexts. This site was interpreted as a series of seasonal occupations situated to exploit spring-summer annual fish runs, as well as a range of other brackish water resources (Gardner 1976). As with the earlier Late Archaic period, smaller sites, although not well defined, were located in non-riverine settings for exploitation of diverse resources.

*Middle Woodland (500 B.C.-1000 A.D.)*

This period is best interpreted as a gradual development from the Early Woodland and, despite clear continuity, is marked by innovations in the ceramic realm. One notable addition to ceramic technology, and one clearly widespread throughout the Middle Atlantic region, is the inception of vessels exhibiting net impressed surface treatments. A wider range of vessel forms and sizes also can be documented compared to earlier vessel assemblages. The net impressed surfaces and greater variation in vessel size and shape represent a significant change used for defining the Middle Woodland period in the Middle Atlantic region from areas south of the James River through the Chesapeake region and into the lower Susquehanna and Delaware River drainages. Currently, it has been best documented (in terms of stratigraphy) from excavated sites in the Potomac River Valley. It should be noted that while net impressed surfaces appear in the archeological record throughout the region at about 500 B.C. to A.D. 1, cord marking (as represented by Accokeek and its cognates) continued as a surface treatment. Accokeek and related wares gradually develop into what has become known as the Albemarle ware group, commonly found in the Piedmont of Virginia and, perhaps, Pennsylvania and Maryland.

Based on work in the lower Potomac River Valley, net impressed ceramics enter the chronological record around 500 B.C., a date produced by excavations at the lower Potomac River Loyola Retreat Site in Maryland (Gardner and McNett 1971). The latter estimate is supported by the date of 510 B.C. (2460 +/-100 B.P.) from the Piscataway Site in Maryland (18PR7). More recently, AMS dating on carbon taken from a Popes Creek sherd recovered from the Chapel Point Site in Charles County, Maryland returned a slightly younger date of 2235 +/-100 B.P., or 285 +/-100 B.C. (Curry and Kavanagh 1994). Other similar wares include the net impressed varieties of Wolf Neck and Colbourn ceramics from the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Delaware. Comparisons could also be extended to the Prince George Net Impressed ceramics from southern Virginia and the Culpepper ware in the Triassic Lowlands of the Piedmont. These wares or ware groups are circum-Chesapeake Bay in their geographic distribution, pointing to close interrelationships between the societies making these wares. All of these groups were undoubtedly participating in a growing Middle Woodland interaction sphere widespread throughout the James, Potomac, lower Susquehanna, Delaware, and even lower Hudson River Valleys that resulted in a second major ceramic horizon that eventually culminated in the emergence of the later Mockley phase.

Between 100 B.C. and A.D. 100, Popes Creek ceramics developed into the shell tempered Mockley ceramics, a ware that has both net impressed and cord marked surfaces. Why the shift from sand to shell tempering occurred is unknown, although it was widespread in the Middle Atlantic region. In the lower Potomac Valley, Mockley may have been tied to the intensive exploitation of oyster beds, a phenomenon first manifested in the earlier Popes Creek phase of the Middle Woodland period. Mockley ware exhibits clear relationships with the earlier Popes Creek ceramics and its cognate wares in basic attributes such as rim form, vessel shapes, and the range of vessel sizes (Barse 1990).

Many, if not most, radiocarbon dates associated with Mockley ceramics bracket the ware from about A.D. 250 and 300 to approximately A.D. 800, after which it develops into the Late Woodland Townsend Ware. Thurman has termed the developmental trajectory of Mockley to Townsend the Mockley continuum, a time span that saw gradual population growth and increasing village size leading up to the Late Woodland period (Thurman 1985). For the earlier end of this continuum, Potter (1993) has reported dates in the last 200 years of the final millennium B.C. for Mockley ceramics in the lower Potomac Valley in Virginia. The emergence of Mockley ware from Popes Creek was likely a gradual process, not a single historical event. It is also likely that, during this transition, both wares coexisted (as recognized archeologically), perhaps unevenly across the region. Both wares would have been contemporaneous at some point in this transition, as evidenced by their association in the large refuse pits excavated at the Fletchers Boathouse Site in Washington, D.C. (Barse 2002). At some point in the developmental trajectory, however, Mockley ware superseded the heavy, coarse, sand tempered Popes Creek ceramics and dominated the Middle Atlantic region.

With the emergence of Middle Woodland societies, an apparent settlement shift occurred compared to those seen in the intensive hunter-gatherer-fisher groups of the Late Archaic and Early Woodland periods. In brief, it appears that a selection to broader floodplain localities and the development of larger storage facilities at base camp localities dominated settlement patterns at this time.

Artifacts associated with Mockley ceramics frequently include side notched and parallel stemmed points manufactured from rhyolite, argillite, and Pennsylvania jasper. Such points are known as Fox Creek in the Delaware Valley and Selby Bay in the Chesapeake region. Popes Creek and Mockley ware ceramics are not as common in Piedmont settings as they are in Coastal Plain settings where they are clearly prevalent. Albemarle ceramics, bearing mostly cord marked exterior surfaces that show clear continuity with the earlier Accokeek ware, are commonly found in Middle Woodland contexts in the Potomac Piedmont. This ware was found associated with Mockley ceramics at the Fletchers Boathouse site in pit contexts (cf. Barse 2002) along with small quantities of Mockley and Popes Creek ceramics. Radiocarbon dates from several of the large pits at this site fall between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D., suggesting that Popes Creek was in the process of being replaced by the shell tempered Mockley ceramics. Albemarle is considered to be contemporary with both, though more commonly found in the Piedmont; as a ware it continued up to and perhaps into the Late Woodland period. Gardner and Walker (1993:4) suggested that fabric impressed wares become more common towards the end of the Middle Woodland period. This surface treatment is restricted to Albemarle wares though, and does not really occur on Mockley ceramics. Fabric impressing on shell tempered ceramics by default is identified as Townsend ware.

*Late Woodland (1000 A.D. to European Contact)*

The Late Woodland period begins between A.D. 850 and 1000, the result of a culmination in trends concerning subsistence practices, settlement patterns, and ceramic technology. A trend toward sedentism, evident in earlier periods, and a subsistence system emphasizing horticulture eventually led to a settlement pattern of floodplain village communities and dispersed hamlets reliant on an economy of both hunting and the planting of native cultigens.

In the early part of the Late Woodland, the diagnostic ceramics in the Northern Virginia Piedmont region include Potomac Creek, Shepard, and, in the upper Coastal Plain, Townsend ware ceramics, a shell tempered ware that developed from Mockley as noted above. Shepard ceramics are likely an outgrowth of Albemarle, given similar attributes of paste and surface treatment. The surfaces of the above noted wares are almost exclusively cord marked, with the exception of the fabric impressed Townsend series specimens. In most cases, the cord marked surfaces were smoothed prior to firing the vessel, in some cases nearly obliterating the surface treatment. This is a trend that seems to become more popular through the Late Woodland period.

In the Potomac Piedmont, the crushed rock wares are replaced by a shell tempered ware that spread out of the Shenandoah Valley to at least the mouth of the Monocacy at about A.D. 1350-1400. Shell tempered Keyser ceramics, a downstream variant of the Late Woodland Monongahela ware common in the Upper Ohio River Valley, extends nearly to the Fall Line, although they are not found in Coastal Plain settings. Triangular projectile points indicating the use of the bow and arrow are diagnostic of this period as well.

The Late Woodland period is also marked by a marked increase in ceramic decoration. Most of the motifs are triangular in shape and applied by incising with a blunt-tipped stylus. The marked increase of ceramic decoration and the various design motifs on Late Woodland pottery compared to earlier periods likely reflect the need to define ethnic boundaries and possibly smaller kin sets. Neighboring groups that may have been in low level competition for arable riverine floodplains may have used varied embellishments of basic design elements to set themselves apart from one another. Additionally, in a noncompetitive setting, ceramic designs simply may have served to distinguish between individual social groups, as the region now sustained the highest population level of the prehistoric sequence. As such, ceramic design elements functioned as a symbolic means of communication among groups, serving as badges of ethnic identity or, perhaps, smaller intra-group symbols of identity.

As noted above, Late Woodland societies were largely sedentary with an economy relying on the growth of a variety of native cultigens. Late Woodland settlement choice reflects this horticultural focus in the selection of broad floodplain areas for settlement. This pattern was characteristic of the Piedmont as well as the Coastal Plain to the east and the Shenandoah Valley to the west (Gardner 1982; Kavanagh 1983). The uplands and other areas were also utilized, for it was here that wild resources would have been gathered. Smaller, non-ceramic sites are found away from the major rivers (Hantman and Klein 1992; Stevens 1989).

Most of the functional categories of Late Woodland period sites away from major drainages are small base camps, transient, limited purpose camps, and quarries. Site frequency and size vary according to a number of factors, e.g. proximity to major rivers or streams, distribution of readily available surface water, and the presence of lithic raw material (Gardner 1987). Villages, hamlets, or any of the other more permanent categories of sites are rare to absent in the Piedmont inter-riverine uplands.

Perhaps after 1400 A.D., with the effects of the Little Ice Age, an increased emphasis on hunting and gathering and either a decreased emphasis on horticulture or the need for additional arable land required a larger territory per group, and population pressures resulted in a greater occupation of the Outer Piedmont and Fall Line regions (Gardner 1991; Fiedel 1999; Miller and Walker n.d.). The 15th and 16th centuries were a time of population movement and disruption from the Ridge and Valley to the Piedmont and Coastal Plain. There appear to have been shifting socio-economic alliances over competition for resources and places in local exchange networks. Factors leading to competition for resources may have led to the development of more centralized forms of social organization characterized by incipiently ranked societies. Small chiefdoms appeared along major rivers at the Fall Line and in the Inner Coastal Plain at about this time. A Fall Line location was especially advantageous for controlling access to critical seasonal resources as well as being points of topographic constriction that facilitated controlling trade arteries (Potter 1993; Jirikowic 1999; Miller and Walker n.d.).

Toward the end of the Late Woodland, larger political entities, probably chiefdoms and confederacies, form and warfare becomes relatively endemic. Small chiefdoms appeared along major rivers at the Fall Line and in the Inner Coastal Plain at about this time. A Fall Line location was especially advantageous for controlling access to critical seasonal resources as well as being points of topographic constriction that facilitated controlling trade arteries (Potter 1993; Jirikowic 1999; Miller and Walker n.d.).

In the 17th century, when John Smith and others first contacted the aboriginal population, two large political entities were present: the Chicoan along the Northern Neck to the south and centered around Potomac Creek were the Patawomeke. Again, populations were concentrated along the shorelines in villages and hamlets. The aboriginal population began to decline markedly after the arrival of Europeans as a result of the diseases they introduced.

*Prehistoric Sites in the City of Alexandria*

Because the City of Alexandria was settled and became urbanized quite early, relatively few prehistoric sites have been recorded within the City limits. Based on the limited information available on the Data Sharing System (DSS) at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, most of these sites were interpreted as transient camps from which no temporally diagnostic artifacts were recovered. In some cases, a projectile point (normally considered a temporally diagnostic artifact) was noted on the site form in DSS; however, no temporal assignment was contained within the form. It should also be noted that the topographic setting of the sites shown on Table 2 is based solely on the U.S.G.S. topographic map information in DSS and, because of the map scale and configuration, the setting and hydrologic information was often difficult to ascertain.

**TABLE 2**
**Prehistoric Sites in Alexandria Recorded with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources**

| DHR Site Number | Temporal Affiliation | Topographic Setting |
|---|---|---|
| 44AX0006 | possibly Late Archaic | upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run |
| 44AX0009 | prehistoric, unknown | upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run |
| 44AX0010 | prehistoric, unknown | upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run |
| 44AX0011 | prehistoric, unknown | upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run |
| 44AX0013 | prehistoric, unknown | upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run |
| 44AX0014 | prehistoric, unknown | upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run |
| 44AX0015 | prehistoric, unknown | upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run |
| 44AX0016 | prehistoric, unknown | upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run |
| 44AX0017 | possibly Early Archaic | upland overlooking Taylor Run, a tributary of Cameron Run |
| 44AX0020 | prehistoric, unknown | floodplain of Holmes Run |
| 44AX0021 | prehistoric, unknown | upland overlooking Holmes Run |
| 44AX0023 | prehistoric, unknown | upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run |
| 44AX0024 | prehistoric, unknown | floodplain of Holmes Run |
| 44AX0026 | prehistoric, unknown | floodplain of Holmes Run |
| 44AX0031 | prehistoric, unknown | upland overlooking fork of Lucky Run, tributary of Four Mile Run |
| 44AX0032 | prehistoric, unknown | upland overlooking fork of Lucky Run, tributary of Four Mile Run |
| 44AX0036 | prehistoric, unknown | upland overlooking Four Mile Run |
| 44AX0037 | prehistoric, unknown | upland overlooking Holmes Run |
| 44AX0038 | prehistoric, unknown | floodplain of tributary of Holmes Run |
| 44AX0039 | prehistoric, unknown | floodplain of tributary of Holmes Run |
| 44AX0053 | prehistoric, unknown | submerged, floodplain overlooking confluence of Hunting Creek and Potomac River |
| 44AX0066 | Woodland | floodplain of Potomac River |
| 44AX0114 | prehistoric, unknown | submerged, floodplain overlooking Potomac River |
| 44AX0124 | prehistoric, unknown | floodplain of tributary of Holmes Run |
| 44AX0127 | prehistoric, unknown | floodplain overlooking confluence of Taylor Run and Cameron Run |
| 44AX0164 | Late Archaic/Woodland | floodplain of Cameron Run |
| 44AX0166 | prehistoric, unknown | upland overlooking fork of Lucky Run, tributary of Four Mile Run |
| 44AX0174 | probably Archaic | upland overlooking tributary of Holmes Run |
| 44AX0175 | prehistoric, unknown | upland overlooking confluence of Taylor Run and Cameron Run |
| 44AX0176 | prehistoric, unknown | upland overlooking fork of Lucky Run, tributary of Four Mile Run |
| 44AX0177 | Late Archaic | upland overlooking fork of Lucky Run, tributary of Four Mile Run |
| 44AX0194 | Woodland | Daingerfield Island, Potomac River |
| 44AX0204 | Early Woodland | overlooking Potomac River |

As can be seen from the table, most of the recorded sites are located in upland settings; however, this likely is more a reflection of sampling than settlement patterns as little exploration has been done in the floodplains. In addition, historic period sedimentation and/or erosion has likely buried sites within the floodplain settings and many of the surveys, during which the sites were located, were not systematic; some were based solely on surface finds.

However, a small number of sites have yielded temporally diagnostic materials. Recent excavations at the Freedman's Cemetery within the City of Alexandria produced a fragment of a fluted projectile point dating to the Paleoindian time period as well as other prehistoric artifacts. Archaic temporal components appear to be indicated at sites 44AX0013, 44AX0017, 44Ax0174 and 44AX0177. Site 44AX006, located in an upland setting overlooking a tributary of Holmes Run, may have a Late Archaic temporal affiliation. Sites 44AX066 and 44AX204 date from the Woodland time period. In addition, site 44AX0164 contained artifacts from both the Late Archaic and Woodland time periods. This site is located on the floodplain of Cameron Run near its junction with Hoofs Run. Woodland period materials were also found at site 44AX0194; this site is located on Daingerfield Island.

**Historic Native American Occupants**

The resident Native Americans along the Potomac at the time of the first reported European contact were the Piscataway, who were descendants, evidently, of the prehistoric Potomac Creek populations. The Piscataway, also known as the Conoy or by the names of their villages, were organized into various confederacies. In part, these confederacies were hereditary chieftainships (Feest 1978; Potter 1993), but they also had overtones of being situational alliances. Several of the Native American settlements were located along the Potomac southeast of the present-day Pentagon, while others were upstream between Marcey Creek and Chain Bridge and downstream along Jefferson Davis Highway. According to a study by Jones et al. (1997:19-20), an early 17th-century Native American settlement called Pamacocack was located between Quantico and Chopawamsic Creeks. Early Indian settlements include Patawomeke (on Potomac Creek), Tauxenant (on the Occoquan River), an unnamed village on the north bank of Aquia Creek, and Quiyough on the south bank (ibid).

These groups are frequently associated with the Coastal Algonquian linguistic group; some, however, such as the Piscataway, may well have been Iroquoian speakers. The Doegs [sic] or Tauxenants, a branch of the Piscataway Indians, were in the Alexandria region at the time of contact. It is unclear whether these groups spoke an Iroquoian or Coastal Algonquian dialect.

The riverine and estuarine resources associated with the Potomac and the swampy areas behind Daingerfield Island would have been exploited by Native American populations in the project area throughout most of the known prehistoric past.

## CHAPTER 3 - EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT, 1608-1749

The Potomac River was the main transportation artery in colonial northern Virginia, both for Native Americans and for early European explorers, traders, and colonists. The river played a key role in the development of the project area in the 17th and early 18th centuries. The waterway was the focal point for trade – especially the fur trade – between Europeans and Native Americans in the first half of the 17th century. In the second half of the 17th century, the project area's proximity to the Potomac River (see Exhibit 2) enticed European colonists to acquire the land along its shores to establish tobacco plantations. Tobacco was Virginia's staple crop throughout the colonial era, and the soil along the Potomac River and its tributaries was well-suited for growing the crop. The project area's location along the river made it easier to transport tobacco to overseas markets or to inspection warehouses. The establishment of tobacco plantations along the Potomac River also led to the arrival of enslaved Africans and African-Americans in the project area.

### European and Native American Trade along the Potomac River

European and Native American trade within the Potomac region began early; the area was within a broader trade and exchange system dating before intensive settlement of the region. By the early and middle 16th century, the Spanish were investigating the New World, even establishing a mission in the lower Chesapeake Bay for a brief period. The English settled briefly along the Carolina Coast, only to fail. Dutch and Swedes were along the Upper Middle Atlantic Coast, while the French were in the far Northeast. Early English explorations to the American continent began in 1584 when Sir Walter Raleigh obtained a license from Queen Elizabeth of England to search for "remote heathen lands" in the New World. However, all of his efforts to establish a colony failed.

European colonization of the Chesapeake Bay region began in the first decade of the 1600s. In 1606, King James I of England granted to Sir Thomas Gates and others of The Virginia Company of London the right to establish two colonies or plantations in the Chesapeake Bay region of North America in order to search "…for all manner of mines of gold, silver, and copper" (Hening 1823a: 57-75). King James outlined the boundaries of The Virginia Company's colonies:

> that part of America called Virginia, from the point of land, called Cape or Point Comfort, all along the sea coast, to the northward two hundred miles, and from the said point of Cape Comfort, all along the sea coast to the southward two hundred miles, and all that space and circuit of land, lying from the sea coast of the precinct aforesaid, up into the land, throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest; and also all the islands, lying within one hundred miles, along the coast of both seas [1609 re-affirmation of original charter; Hening 1823a:88].

In the spring of 1607, three English ships – the Susan Constant, the Godspeed, and the Discovery, under the command of Captains Christopher Newport, Bartholomew Gosnole, and John Smith – anchored at Cape Henry in the lower Chesapeake Bay. After a hostile reception from native inhabitants, exploring parties were sent out to sail north of Cape Henry. Following explorations in the lower Chesapeake, the colonists selected an island 60 miles up the James River for settlement (Kelso 1995:6, 7) and began building a palisaded fort later called Jamestown.

In 1608, Captain Smith surveyed and mapped the Potomac River, locating the various native villages on both sides of the waterway. Captain Smith's *Map of Virginia* provides the first recorded names of the numerous native villages along both sides of the Potomac. The extensive village network along the river was described as the "trading place of the natives" (Gutheim 1986:22, 23, 28). After 1620, Indian trade with the lower Coastal Plain English became increasingly intense. Either in response to the increased trade, or to earlier intra-Native American hostilities, formerly disparate aboriginal groups formed confederations.

A number of early English entrepreneurs traded for provisions and furs along the Potomac River in the early 1600s. In 1625, Henry Fleet, among the better known of the early Potomac River traders, plied the Potomac River as far north as the Falls, as well as with English colonies in New England, settlements in the West Indies, and across the Atlantic to London (Gutheim 1986: 28, 29, 35, 39). Trade in furs became an important economic activity. European goods such as iron axes, kettles, guns, bottles, beads, trinkets, clothing, and blankets were viewed favorably by the Native populations. The Native Americans wanted the trade goods supplied by the Europeans and the Europeans wanted furs. Much of this trade was likely limited to the forts and other trading posts located at the Fall Lines on major streams.

By 1621, the number of fur trappers had increased to the point that their fur trade activities required regulation. In 1631, the Virginia colonial government prohibited all trade with Indians (Henning 1823b: 173). In the 1640s, the Virginia colonial government reversed its position and permitted limited trade with the Native Americans; however, the government strictly regulated trade and directed it through several forts at the Fall Line on the Pamunkey River, James River and Chickahominy River and only designated Indian messengers bearing badges or wearing special striped shirts were allowed to enter colonial territory (Hening 1823a: 293; Moretti-Langholtz 2005). The fur trade in northern Virginia was plagued by various economic and political difficulties, and it is often noted that superior furs were available from the north and from the North Carolina frontier (see Potter 1993:188-192; Moretti-Langholtz 2005).

As a result of trade with Europeans in the early 17th century, the balance of power among Native American groups in the area shifted. Early accounts note that the Susquehannock, an Iroquoian speaking group, moved down the main stem of the Susquehanna from present-day Binghamton, New York, to the mouth of that river at Havre de Grace, Maryland, in order to control the fur trade. Locally, in the Baltimore-Washington region, the Susquehannocks became the most powerful group, at least in the north.

To the south in the Tidewater vicinity, the Powhatan Confederacy increased from the inherited group of approximately five villages to upwards of 50. Captain John Smith informs us in his

writings that Powhatan had inherited a group of five "tribes" or villages from his father and by the time of Smith's visit, Powhatan's position as ruler or "king" already existed. In the decades following European settlement, the Confederacy dominated the area and formed a coercive kingdom that was much more powerful than the loose alliances of chiefdoms of Piscataways, Dogues and others in Northern Virginia. The Dogues (Tauxenents) were not considered part of "Powhatan's ethnic fringe" and were likely more influence by the Conoy chiefdom (Potter 1993:19).

Although the European fur trade and settlement in the lower Chesapeake changed the political and cultural landscape for Native Americans along the Potomac River, English encroachment further along the shores of the Potomac was ultimately more influential. Two important elements in the disruption of the pre-Contact cultural landscape were the introduction of diseases and the mindset of the English regarding settlement, colonization, and land ownership. The introduction of European diseases that were alien to the indigenous populations led to mass mortality which, in turn, disrupted the Indians' social, religious and political systems. The extent of this disruption was noted by Hodges (1993:28-29) who explains that, circa 1607, the Algonquian population within the Coastal Plain consisted of a minimum of 13,000-22,000 persons. In the early 17th century, John Smith counted approximately 27 groups including the Pamunkey, Chickahominy and Wococomoc with 300, 200-250 and 130 able fighting men, respectively; a century later, Beverley counted only 12 groups with 40, 16 and 3 able fighting men, respectively (ibid.). English concepts of land ownership were alien to the Native Americans and ultimately led to the confiscation of property and the confinement of the native inhabitants to reservations.

In contrast to the Tidewater region in which the Powhatan Confederacy and the colonists engaged in active conflict, the interaction between the colonists and the Native American groups within the Potomac region are generally thought to be more peaceful (Hodges 1993:14). Nevertheless, one result of European settlement in the Potomac region was the death or emigration of the native inhabitants. By 1675, the Piscataway had left the region, only to return and once again leave circa 1700. The Piscataway and other Native American groups effectively disappeared from the historic record by 1700, although some groups did remain in the area and have evolved into a rather large local population (Cissna 1986). Many Piscataway descendants still live on the Maryland side of the Potomac River.

**Establishment of a European Political System**

The first Virginia Assembly, convened by Sir (Governor) George Yeardley at James City in June of 1619, increased the number of corporations or boroughs in the colony from seven to eleven. In 1623, the first laws were enacted by the Virginia Assembly establishing the Church of England in the colony. These regulated the colonial settlements in relationship to Church rule, established land rights, provided some directions on tobacco and corn planting, and included other miscellaneous items such as the provision "…That every dwelling house shall be pallizaded in for defence against the Indians" (Hening 1823a:119-129).

The project area vicinity was incorporated into the English political system in 1617 as part of the Chicacoan (or Kikotan) parish or district. One of four parishes established in the Virginia colony that year, Chicacoan encompassed the land between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers; the

other three parishes – James City, Charles City, and Henrico – were located south of the Rappahannock. By 1630, the colony had expanded and comprised a population of about 5,000 persons; this necessitated the creation of new shires, or counties, to compensate for the existing courts, which had become inadequate (Hiden 1980:3, 6; Greene 1932:136). In 1634, the Virginia House of Burgesses divided that part of Virginia located south of the Rappahannock River into eight shires: James City, Henrico, Charles City, Elizabeth Citty [sic], Warwick River, Warrosquyoake, Charles River, and Accawmack [sic], all to be "…governed as the shires in England" (Hening 1823a:224). Ten years later, in 1645, Northumberland County, located on the north side of the Rappahannock River, was established "…for the reduceing of the inhabitants of Chickcouan [district] and other parts of the neck of land between Rappahanock River and Potomack River", thus enabling European settlement north of the Rappahannock River and Northern Virginia (Hening 1823a:352-353).

From 1645 until 1653, the project area was part of Northumberland County. With further population growth and expanding settlement, Northumberland County was later divided and subdivided into counties. The area around present-day Alexandria became part of Westmoreland County when it was carved out of Northumberland County in 1653. Eleven years later, in 1664, it became part of Stafford County; the project area remained part of Stafford County until 1730, when Prince William County was formed (Hiden 1980:11-15; Sweig 1995:2). In 1742, the vicinity of the project area became part of Fairfax County, which was created from the northern part of Prince William County by an Act of the Virginia Assembly and was named for the 6th Lord Fairfax, grandson of Lord Culpeper (Hening 1819:207-208).

The original Northumberland County overlapped with a large proprietary land grant issued by Prince Charles II, who later became King Charles II. In January 1648/9, Prince Charles II's father, King Charles I, was beheaded during the mid-17th-century Civil Wars in England. Prince Charles II was exiled to France, where seven loyal supporters, including two Culpeper brothers, crowned him King of England. In September 1649, King Charles granted the Northern Neck, or all that land lying between the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers in the Virginia colony, to these loyal followers as a reward for their support; the grant was to expire in 1690. King Charles II was subsequently restored to the English throne in 1660.

In 1677, Thomas, Second Lord Culpeper, one of the seven Northern Neck proprietors, became successor to Governor Berkley in Virginia. By 1681, he had purchased the Northern Neck interests of the other six proprietors. The Northern Neck grant was due to expire in 1690 but, in 1688, it was reaffirmed to Lord Culpeper in perpetuity. Lord Culpeper died in 1689. The following year, four-fifths of the Northern Neck interest passed to his daughter, Katherine Culpeper, who married Thomas, the fifth Lord Fairfax.

The Northern Neck became vested and was affirmed to Thomas, Lord Fairfax, in 1692 (Kilmer and Sweig 1975:5-9). In 1702, Lord Fairfax appointed an agent, Robert Carter of Lancaster County, Virginia, to rent the Northern Neck lands for nominal quit rents, usually two shillings sterling per acre (Hening 1820:514-523; Kilmer and Sweig 1975:1-2, 7, 9). The extent and boundaries of the Northern Neck were not established until two separate surveys were conducted beginning in 1736. A final agreement was reached between 1745 and 1747 (Kilmer and Sweig: 13-14).

**Howson's Patent**

Prior to 1692, most lands in the Virginia Colony were granted by the Governor of the colony and were issued as Virginia Land Grants. In 1618, a provision of 100 acres of land had been made for "Ancient Planters", or those adventurers and planters who had established themselves as permanent settlers prior to 1618. Thereafter, the governor of the colony issued grants under the headright system by which people who paid their own way to the Virginia Colony could claim 50 acres of land for a tenure of 20 years. Fifty additional acres of land per "head" could also be obtained by paying the cost of passage for transporting settlers into the colony. After patenting and surveying a tract of land, a patentee was required to settle the land within three years and to pay an annual rent of one shilling for every 50 acres of land patented (Nugent 1983: xxiv).

**Early Plantations, Slaves and Tobacco**

In 1611, John Rolfe began experimenting with the planting of "sweet scented" tobacco at his Bermuda Hundred plantation, located at the confluence of the James and Appomattox Rivers. Rolfe's experiments with tobacco altered the economic future of the Virginia colony by establishing tobacco as the primary crop of the colony (O'Dell 1983:1; Lutz 1954:27). Landed Virginia estates, bound to the tobacco economy, became independent, self-sufficient plantations, and few substantial towns were established in colonial Virginia.

In the early 18th century, and likely in the late 17th century as well, plantations in the project area vicinity likely grew tobacco, which dominated the agricultural economy of Virginia during these periods. During this period, tobacco was used as a stable medium of exchange; promissory notes, used as money, were issued for the quantity and quality of tobacco received (Bradshaw 1955:80, 81). In 1669, for example, John Alexander I purchased Howson's patent not with currency but with six hogsheads of tobacco. Other examples include Elizabeth Holmes Nixon's 1688 sale of land to Burr Harrison for 2500 pounds of tobacco, and Robert Alexander I's 1687 sale of 150 acres to John Pimmitt for 8000 pounds of tobacco. To "prevent frauds in his Majesties Customs" in the staple tobacco trade, the Virginia Assembly appointed Inspectors for public tobacco warehouses to be located at waterfront ports in the various counties. Under one inspection, two tobacco warehouses were appointed in Prince William County – one at Quantico on Robert Brent's land and another at Great Hunting Creek on Broadwater's land" (Hening 1820:268).

Other public tobacco warehouses were likely situated on Potomac Creek, Aquia, Quantico, Pohick and Hunting Creeks, and at the Falls of the Potomac (Harrison 1987). The exact location of most of these buildings remains unknown. Ultimately, the tobacco warehouse on Great Hunting Creek was established not on Broadwater's land but on land belonging to John Alexander and Hugh West.

The growth of the labor intensive tobacco horticulture necessitated large numbers of field workers and a reliable source for such labor (DHR 2003:45). Indentured servants from England made up much of the early work force in Virginia's tobacco fields, as economic distress fueled emigration from England during this period. With improving economic conditions in England, however, and cheap land available in Virginia, fewer English indentured servants from were available; and the number of enslaved Africans in the colony increased. The importation of Africans ultimately resulted in the institution of permanent slavery and, by the end of the 17th century, slavery as a race-based hereditary status had become entrenched in the economic and cultural fabric of the colony.

With improving tobacco prices, plantation size increased and the local population increased rapidly as newly arrived slaves were dispersed along small, scattered quarters (Walsh 2001:149). Virginia planters on the Potomac evaded the higher duties that Virginia assessed on slaves by purchasing them in Maryland (ibid: 147). Throughout the 18th century, three-quarters of the Africans whose point of origin were known and who were brought to the upper Chesapeake region (Virginia Potomac and Maryland) and to the Lower James originated from the upper part of the West African coast (ibid:145).

As detailed in the property history included later in this report, members of the Alexander family owned the land in the project area in the late 1600s and early 1700s. Documentary evidence indicates that the Alexander family owned slaves and that indentured servants also lived and worked on portions of the Alexander family lands along the Potomac River by the turn of the 18th century. It is likely that some of the family's enslaved Africans and African-Americans worked and lived on these lands under the supervision of an overseer. The land along the Potomac River was well-situated for growing and selling tobacco, as the soil along waterways such as the Potomac River and its tributaries is very suitable for tobacco cultivation. Proximity to the river also facilitated the sale and transportation of the crop, which was usually shipped overseas. Only scattered pieces of written evidence indicate that the tenants, indentured servants, and slaves of the Alexander family were growing tobacco in the vicinity of the project area. For instance, in 1731, Robert Alexander II's tenants paid their rent in tobacco, and Robert Alexander II provided for the construction of tobacco houses – buildings used to store and cure tobacco (Lounsbury 1994) – on the lands he bequeathed to his two daughters in 1735.

## CHAPTER 4: GROWTH AND SUBDIVISION, 1749-ca. 1800

### Establishment of Alexandria

The town of Alexandria began as a tobacco trading post on land belonging to John Alexander and Hugh West on the upper side of Great Hunting Creek. Located on what is now Oronoco Street and known as Hugh West's Hunting Creek Warehouse, this area included a tobacco inspection station as well as tobacco warehouses (Smith and Miller 1989:14). The warehouses were built by three Scottish *factors*, middlemen between the farmers and the merchants, for the purpose of holding tobacco prior to shipment to England. As central points in the tobacco trade, they were where the ships docked and deals were struck (Harrison 1987: 405). Because of the presence of the tobacco warehouses and inspection station, in the 1730s and 1740s, the area was already a focal point for commerce, making it a good location for a town.

In anticipation of the development of Alexandria as a town site, George Washington surveyed the lands north of Hunting Creek in 1748; this map shows the warehouses (Exhibit 4). The act for erecting the town at "Hunting Creek Warehouse" on 60 acres of land owned by Phillip Alexander, Jr., John Alexander and Hugh West was passed on May 11, 1749. According to the act establishing the town, it would both benefit trade and navigation and be to the advantage of the "frontier inhabitants."

The three owners of the land that became Alexandria – Phillip Alexander, Jr., John Alexander, and Hugh West – all acquired their property from members of the Alexander family. The younger Phillip Alexander inherited his portion of the land that would become Alexandria from his father (also Phillip Alexander), who was the brother of Robert Alexander I. The land that would later become part of the town was at the northern edge of the 500 acres that Philip Alexander, Sr. reserved for himself when he deeded most of the land in the area to his brother Robert in 1693/4. Phillip Alexander, Jr. initially opposed the establishment of a town on his estate but was evidently placated by naming the town for his family (Pippenger 1990: 322). John Alexander and Hugh West jointly owned their portions of the site of Alexandria, which was part of a 220-acre tract that they acquired from John Alexander's father, Robert Alexander II (Alexandria Archeology 1999b).

The 60 acres of land were directed to be laid out by the surveyor to the first branch above the warehouses and extend down the meanders of the Potomac to Middle Point (Jones Point). The town lay just south of the study area.

The lots of the town were directed to be laid out along streets not exceeding half an acre of ground in each lot setting apart portions of land for a market place and public landing, to be sold by public sale or auction, the proceeds of which were to be paid to Philip Alexander, John Alexander and Hugh West. The streets were laid in a grid pattern which was subdivided into blocks with four half-acre lots to a block (Cressey et al. 1982:150). Purchasers of each lot were required to erect one house of brick, stone, or wood, "well framed," with a brick or stone chimney, in the dimensions of 20 feet square, "or proportionably thereto" if the purchaser had two contiguous lots (Winfree 1971:443-446).

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**George Washington's Plan of Alexandria, Circa 1749**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not to Scale**

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Map Source: "A Plan of Alexandria, Now Belhaven".
George Washington, 1749. Library of Congress Geography
and Map Division Washington, D.C. Original Scale: Unknown.

**Incorporation and Expansion**

In 1754, the Fairfax County courthouse was moved to Alexandria from its location near the current town of Vienna. At about this time, Alexandria contained the courthouse, a jail, six taverns or ordinaries, a kiln, and small houses as well as the more substantial ones of wealthier landowners (Crowl 2002:43). The town grew quickly and, in 1762, it was reported to the Virginia Assembly that the bounds of the town of Alexandria established at the Hunting Creek Warehouse had:

> already built upon except such of them as are situated in a low wet marsh which will not admit of such improvements, and that diverse traders and others are desirous of settling there if a sufficient quantity of the lands of Baldwin Dade, Sibel West, John Alexander the elder and John Alexander the younger, which lie contiguous to the said town, were laid off into lots & streets, and added to, and made a part thereof.... (Hening 1820:604-607).

The plan for enlarging the town of Alexandria was passed by an act of the Virginia Assembly approved at the November session of 1762 (ibid).

By 1770, the town of Alexandria was the largest town on the Potomac River. By this time, it had developed into an important center for maritime trade and participated in the flour trade with Europe and the Caribbean. By 1775, there were "20 major mercantile firms in Alexandria, 12 of which were involved in the transshipment of wheat" (Smith and Miller 1989:14). Although Alexandria flour was not considered as fine as that from Philadelphia, New York and Baltimore, flour milling served as a chief industry during the early 1780s and again in the 1790s (ibid). The international market for flour transformed local milling into a larger and more profitable enterprise. During the Colonial period, the water powered grist or custom mills had primarily served a landowner and a “small circle of neighbors,” while later "merchant mills" ground a greater quantity of flour to be marketed "by the sackful or shipload" (Netherton et al. 1992:1).

In 1779, the town of Alexandria was incorporated, which allowed it to have its own local government, as opposed to being governed by the laws of the county. Nevertheless, the Fairfax County Courthouse remained in Alexandria (Smith and Miller 1989:51). In 1791, Alexandria was ceded to the federal government to become part of the newly established District of Columbia. Although Alexandria officially became part of the District of Columbia on February 27, 1801, it continued to govern itself (ibid 1989:51). The Fairfax County Courthouse, however, remained in Alexandria until 1799 when a new site for the courthouse was selected in its current location, now within the City of Fairfax.

The town of Alexandria expanded again in the 1770s and 1780s. In 1774, John Alexander laid out and sold 18 new lots and gave the town land for Wilkes and St. Asaph Streets (Crowl 2002:124). The Alexander family further allowed for the extension of the town between 1785 and 1786 when they sold the adjoining tracts (ibid.). The new streets within the expanded area were named for Revolutionary War heroes including Greene, Lafayette, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Washington and Wythe. A second extension of the boundaries of Alexandria was approved on May 6, 1782, authorizing the mayor, recorder, aldermen and common council to lay

a wharfage tax and to extend Water and Union Streets, providing that the proprietors of the ground on which Union Street was extended would have the "… liberty of making use of any earth which it may be necessary to remove in regulating the said street" (Hening 1823a:44-45).

The 1798 Plan of the Town of Alexandria by George Gilpin shows that, by that time, the town extended north to Montgomery Street (Exhibit 5). In 1803, the western boundary of Alexandria was West Street, the southern boundary was Hunting Creek, on the east it was the wharves on the Potomac River east of Union Street. Montgomery Street marked the northern boundary.

*River and Roads*

As Alexandria grew during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, several roads developed in the project area vicinity. The Georgetown Road incorporated portions of present-day Route 1 and North Glebe Road as it extended north from Alexandria to Four Mile Run. At Four Mile Run, the Georgetown Road headed northeast to present-day Rosslyn, Virginia, where a ferry crossed the Potomac River to Georgetown in what is now Washington, D.C., while another road followed Glebe Road north to the Falls of the Potomac River.

With the conclusion of the French and Indian War in 1763, both Alexandria and Georgetown prospered as rival ports in the Atlantic trade and the trade with western Virginia. In the late 18$^{th}$ and early 19$^{th}$ centuries, shipping between Alexandria and Georgetown was faster by boat, so most of the goods transported along the road were likely those produced on farms and plantations between and beyond the two towns. People also traveled along the Georgetown Road to Alexandria in order to purchase goods and to enjoy entertainment like dances, traveling acts, and socializing at taverns. As Alexandria grew, the town was able to support skilled artisans such as potters, cabinetmakers and silversmiths who made their products for local customers. The Georgetown Road served those who traveled by land north or south through the colonies as well.

The Georgetown Road was first depicted on a 1782 map of Alexandria showing the camp sites of Rochambeau's army (Stephenson 1981:30). In 1781, General George Washington and General Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau traveled along a 600-mile route from Rhode Island to Yorktown, Virginia, where they engaged the British army in the battle that ended the American Revolutionary War. After defeating British General Charles Cornwallis and his troops to win the war, the French army returned to Boston, Massachusetts along the same path in the summer of 1782.

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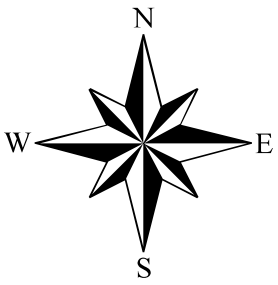
**George Gilpin's Plan of Alexandria, Circa 1798**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not to Scale**




Map Source: "Plan of the Town of Alexandria in the District of Columbia". 1798 George Gilpin. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. Original Scale: 1 inch = 800 feet

On its return in 1782, the French army, led by Comte de Rochambeau, marched north along the Georgetown Road and camped north of Alexandria. The exact location of the French encampment is unclear (Stephenson 1981; Rose 1976; Alexandria Archaeology Museum 1999c). A portion of the French army had camped somewhere near Alexandria as the army made its way to Yorktown to fight with the Americans against the British. As historian C.B. Rose observes, on the return voyage, the army may have returned to its earlier campsite (Rose 1976). Researchers have attempted to locate the camp based on sketch maps, but it was probably located in the vicinity of the project area (XENOPHON Group 2001).

In 1785, the Virginia Assembly authorized the trustees of roads to erect turnpike gates with the resultant tolls being used for maintenance of the roads (Netherton et al. 1992:146). The toll rates varied depending upon the type of vehicle. The road from Alexandria to Georgetown was one of the roads where turnpike gates were set up in 1785. Toll receipts from the early 1790s at "Turnpike Gate No. Two" – which may be the Georgetown Road – recorded over twice as many wagons traveling the road as carriages, riding chairs, or carts (ibid).

The Georgetown Road was one of several roads into Alexandria that developed as the town grew during the 18th century. In 1803, the three major roads leading into Alexandria were: the "Road from Leesburg" [Leesburg Turnpike], which entered at Wythe Street; the "Road From Leesburg and Western Country" [Little River Turnpike]; and the "Road from Richmond" [Back Road/Telegraph Road], which intersected with the "Road from Leesburg and Western County" on the north side of Cameron Mills, west of Duke Street (Fairfax County, Virginia Deeds E2:269).

**Subdivision of the Early Plantations**

Many local planters, in the second half of the eighteenth century, began growing wheat and corn rather than tobacco. Tobacco depleted the soil, and profits from the grains eventually exceeded those for tobacco. Alexandria merchants shipped corn and wheat as grain and in the form of flour to Europe and to the West Indies, and sold imported manufactured goods and foodstuffs. By the early nineteenth century, Alexandria exported eight times as much produce as Georgetown (Netherton et al. 1992:184).

The late 18th- and early 19th-century history of the area represents a period of transition from an agricultural area dominated by large plantations to a region characterized by smaller farms that supported the growing town of Alexandria. This subdivision reflects their location on the periphery of late 18th-century Alexandria and within a major transportation corridor leading north from the town. As a result of the increased number of good roads leading into Alexandria and its expansion as a commercial center, these lands were good investment properties (Crowl 2002:123). During this period, the growth of Alexandria created a market for small parcels of land where farmers could grow foodstuffs for sale in town, and where wealthy townspeople could keep gardens, orchards, and small farms. Some of the land in the vicinity of the project area was acquired by wealthy Quaker merchants living in Philadelphia, while other portions were acquired by town residents.

The late 18th century property history represents a period of transition, as the heirs of the earlier owners subdivided their lands and disposed of large tracts. Much of this land appears to have been acquired by absentee landowners, either wealthy Quaker merchants living in Philadelphia or who had migrated from Philadelphia to Alexandria. In either case, these persons appeared to be generally interested in the lands as investment properties.

As the economy transitioned from one based on tobacco to other products, the population in Alexandria and the county increased as people moved in from outlying western areas and into the town of Alexandria to work as merchants, hotel proprietors, and cooks in local restaurants. The population was growing very quickly in this prosperous era; between 1790 and 1798, Alexandria's population grew by about 2000 individuals or 41%. Some of these migrants were members of the Society of Friends, continuing a trend of Quaker migration from Pennsylvania and New Jersey begun in the 1780s. Many Quakers became prominent businessmen and civic leaders. As early as 1796, Quakers had founded an early abolition organization in Alexandria known as the "Society for the Relief and Protection of Persons Illegally Held in Bondage" (Alexandria Archeology Museum 1999d).

During the 1790s, the project area was within the District of Columbia. At this time, due in part to turmoil in Europe associated with the French Revolution and the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars, Alexandria prospered as a major port for the exportation of American wheat. In 1791, the total value of the town's exports was $381,000, and four years later it had grown to $948,000 (Alexandria Archeology Museum 1999d). By 1795, the City of Alexandria had closed its tobacco warehouses.

The vicinity of the project area was sparsely settled at this time and, sometime prior to 1791, a powder house was built in the southwest corner of what later became the Parker-Gray Historic District (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-333). This provides evidence of the sparse population in this portion of the city as powder houses were normally only built in the less dense sections of the city in order to prevent civilian casualties in case of an explosion (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-356). The powder house was extant until 1818.

## CHAPTER 5: ANTE BELLUM ALEXANDRIA, ca. 1800-1860

### Overview

The City of Alexandria suffered a prolonged economic decline; beginning about 1799 and lasting through about 1842. Contributing agricultural factors were depletion of soils and the division of plantations into smaller, supporting tracts of farmlands among planters' sons. Newly available lands in the west claimed by the United States after its victory over the British in the Revolutionary War, the Ordinance of 1787 establishing the Northwest Territory, and the circa 1800 Virginia Military Bounty, establishing lands set aside for settlement by Virginians and Kentuckians, all factored into the change in settlement patterns. All of these spurred a migration of third and fourth generations of Fairfax County (and Alexandria) residents during the post-Revolutionary War period. Other influences included international conflicts following the Revolutionary War and the effects of French privateer ships on Alexandria shipping, along with embargoes, and the War of 1812 (Smith and Miller 1989:56).

A parade ground was established during the War of 1812 in a block of what later became the Parker-Gray Historic District (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-333). It continued to be used until the Civil War.

As the town's economy transitioned from one based on tobacco to one based upon other products, the population in Alexandria increased as people moved in from outlying western areas and into the town of Alexandria to work as merchants, hotel proprietors, and cooks in local restaurants. Over the last decade of the 18th century**,** the population almost doubled, increasing from 2,746 in 1790 to 4,971 by 1800. However, the vicinity of the project area, including what is now the Parker-Gray Historic District remained sparsely settled from the latter part of the 18th century into the 1860s, containing only a street grid and a few large residences (Necciai and Drumond 2007:7-2). Some parcels may have contained gardens and at least one was wooded (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-333).

Alexandria was described in 1835 as "… Very handsomely situated. The streets are laid out on the plan of Philadelphia, crossing each other at right angles, and are generally well paved" (Martin 1836:475-491). In addition to being one of the principal markets for the Potomac fishermen employing 150 shad and herring fisheries, the extensive port trade to the Southern States, the West Indies, and Europe included flour, tobacco, sumach [sic], and lumber. In addition to churches, schools, government buildings, and various social organizations the town had bakeries, two ship yards, a brewery, several tanneries, a foundry, and cotton and segar [sic – sugar] factories, and a museum over the market house.

**Economic Transition**

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the economy of Alexandria was dependent upon its function as a port city (Cressey et al. 1982:150). As a center of export for the farms of Northern Virginia in the 1790s, the town prospered. During the 1790s, due in part to turmoil in Europe associated with the French Revolution and the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars; Alexandria became a major port for the exportation of American wheat. In 1791, the total value of the town's exports was $381,000, and four years later it had grown to $948,000 (MacKay III 1995:55). By 1795, the city of Alexandria had closed its tobacco warehouses, as wheat supplanted tobacco as the main crop coming into the town. From 1800 to 1820, Alexandria was fourth behind Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York in wheat exports.

**African Americans and Slavery**

Until the end of the 18th century, almost all African Americans living within the boundaries of Alexandria were enslaved and, in the early 19th century, the location of Alexandria between what is commonly considered the Southern and the Northern states, and its lack of harsh, racially biased legislation at the time it became part of Washington, D.C. led to an influx of newly freed slaves (Cressey et al 1982:46). At the same time, Alexandria became a major center of the slave trade.

By 1790, 525 enslaved African Americans lived within Alexandria; these comprised more than one-fifth of the population of the city (Bertsch 2006:1). The following table from Walker et al (1992:6) shows the growth of the African American population in the decades that followed:

| | 1800 | 1810 | 1820 | 1830 | 1840 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total** | 4,971 | 7,227 | 8,345 | 8,241 | 8,459 |
| **White** | 3,727 | 4,903 | 5,742 | 5,609 | 5,758 |
| **Free** | 369 | 836 | 1,168 | 1,371 | 1,627 |
| **Slave** | 875 | 1,488 | 1,435 | 1,261 | 1,064 |

Early in the town's history, most of the enslaved African Americans resided within the homes of their owners (Cressey et al 1992:149). With the shift from a tobacco economy to a wheat economy occurring around the time that Alexandria was ceded to the District of Columbia, some enslaved laborers who were no longer needed on plantations, were manumitted and migrated to the city (Bloomburg 1988:62). In 1793, the city instituted mandatory registration of free African Americans, and in November 1799, a curfew was imposed on free African Americans (ibid: 57). An 1809 ordinance required "free persons of color" who lived in Alexandria prior to 1809 to obtain a voucher from one white person to attest to their good character (ibid).

Education was a core institution among the various early 19th century African American communities in Alexandria. The Washington Free School was one of the first schools established in Alexandria, founded by a community of freed African Americans after the War of 1812. Alfred Perry, whose mother had purchased herself and her son out of slavery, was among the teachers (Ryan 1978:1). By 1830, around the time of the Nat Turner Rebellion, the Virginia Legislature had passed an act forbidding the teaching of reading and writing to African-Americans, both free and enslaved, in an attempt to insulate them from abolitionist literature. However, many persisted and obtained their education through other venues, including a night school in Alexandria established by Alfred Perry (Bloomburg 1998:81).

**Alexandria Canal**

On May 26, 1830, Congress granted a charter to the Alexandria Canal Company (Morgan 1966:3). The citizens of Alexandria had high hopes that the canal would restore economic prosperity to the town. The economy of Alexandria suffered during the period between 1820 and 1840 as a result of the disruptions in trade leading up to and during the War of 1812, by the decline of the tobacco trade, and by the town's inability to challenge Baltimore for the grain trade (Hurst 1991: xiii). This economic downturn resulted in a decline in commerce in the town, an increase in the number of renters and working-class residents, and an erosion of the middle class's financial position (Cressey et. al. 1982:152).

Construction of the Alexandria Canal officially began on July 4, 1831 (Miller 1987:129). The specifications for the canal called for it to be 40 feet wide at the surface and 28 feet wide at the bottom. In order to facilitate traffic along the waterway, a towpath for horses would be constructed along its entire length (Morgan 1966:4). The seven-mile long canal cost $137,500

per mile, a price far greater than the $60,000 per mile cost of building the C&O Canal. As a result, the Alexandria Common Council was forced to seek additional funds in the form of real estate taxes and further stock subscriptions (Cressey 1984: 3).

After weathering higher than expected construction costs and delays that were due in part to the nationwide financial Panic of 1837, the Canal officially opened on December 2, 1843 (Morgan 1966: 8). In the 1840s, boats along the Alexandria Canal primarily transported agricultural products including corn, flour, wheat, and whiskey from western farms into Alexandria. Westbound vessels carried two main types of items. The first included manufactured goods such as bricks, crockery, glassware, lumber, iron, plaster, ploughs, tiles, and wagons. The second set of goods consisted of food supplies including herring, shad and salt (Cressey1984:3; Miller 1987:389). After 1850, when the C&O Canal reached Cumberland, Maryland, boats traveling down the canal to Alexandria increasingly carried coal, much of which was then loaded onto seagoing vessels for export to ports along the East Coast and in Europe (Hahn and Kempt 1992). The amount of coal received in Alexandria during 1859 was reported to be 177,619 tons, while only a small amount of merchandise and agricultural products entered the town (Morgan 1966:13-14). This figure fueled Alexandrians' hopes that the city would become "the greatest coal market in the United States" (Miller 1987:186).

Although the canal helped to increase commerce into Alexandria, the town still could not challenge Baltimore, which remained one step ahead of Alexandria in transportation improvements. At the end of 1831, the same year that construction on the Alexandria Canal began, the Baltimore and Ohio (B&O) Railroad reached Frederick, Maryland (Randall 1998:131).

**Railroads**

In the late 1840s, several major railroad construction projects were being planned for Alexandria. The first, originally incorporated as the Alexandria and Harpers Ferry Railroad, was designed to link Alexandria with the West via Harpers Ferry, West Virginia; it was chartered in 1847 and reorganized as the Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire in 1853 (Bianculli 2001:24). By the beginning of the Civil War, this line was only constructed as far as Leesburg. The same railroad was reorganized another three times: in 1870 as the Washington and Ohio Railroad; in 1884 as the Washington, Ohio and Western Railroad; and in 1911 as the Washington and Old Dominion Railway. It was finally abandoned in 1968 (ibid).

The second major railroad project planned to connect Alexandria with Gordonsville in the south by way of the old Piedmont Stage Route through Orange and Culpeper Counties, Virginia. The Orange and Alexandria Railroad was incorporated by an Act of the Virginia Assembly on March 27, 1848. An Act to confirm the Town of Alexandria's grant of a right-of-way to the Orange and Alexandria (O&A) Railroad Company through the Town of Alexandria "and the privilege of steam" was passed by the Virginia General Assembly on March 22, 1850 (Commonwealth of Virginia 1850: 74-75), and construction of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad began in Alexandria in early 1850. The line was completed as far as Manassas Junction in Prince William County by October of 1851 (Geddes 1967: 28-30). The president of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad in 1850, and a prominent Alexandria businessman, George H. Smoot, was involved in the formation of the Alexandria Gas Light Company, incorporated on March 22, 1850. The Gas

Light Company was authorized to open the streets, lanes, alleys and public squares in the City of Alexandria for the purpose of distributing gas by gas mains, or gas pipes (Commonwealth of Virginia 1850: 148-149).

The third railroad project was to open a line to the Shenandoah Valley through Manassas Gap. The Manassas Gap Railroad Company was incorporated by an Act of the Virginia Assembly on March 9, 1850 (Commonwealth of Virginia 1850: 73-74). The Manassas Gap Railroad line was constructed from the Manassas Junction on the Orange and Alexandria line to Strasburg by 1854. Initially, the Manassas Gap Railroad leased the Orange and Alexandria railroad track rights into Alexandria, but in 1855 it began constructing its own line, which was never completed (Geddes 1967: 28-30).

The fourth project, the Alexandria and Washington Railroad Company (A&W) was chartered in 1854 to extend a rail line from Alexandria to Washington. The railroad was authorized to construct its tracks from a roundhouse and car shed located at the block bounded by Saint Asaph, Pitt and Princess Streets, thence north on Saint Asaph to the Alexandria and Washington Turnpike, thence north to the south end of the old Long Bridge, now the 14th Street bridge(Baer 2005c).

With the arrival of the railroads in the 1850s, Alexandria experienced an industrial and commercial boom, and its population swelled from 8,734 in 1850 to 12,652 in 1860. Statistics from the 1850 census reveal there were 6,390 whites; 1,301 free blacks and 1,061 slaves. In 1858, with the approval of a new charter, Alexandria officially became a city (Alexandria Archeology Museum 1999e). In 1860, there were reportedly 1,301 free Black people in the city and 1,060 slaves, together accounting for half of the total population. This represents a 40 percent increase to the African American population in the city from 1810 when free Black people constituted approximately 10 percent of the population (Wallace 2003:37).

**Farms and Manufacturing**

Much of the land on the northern outskirts of the city likely remained agricultural throughout the antebellum period, many residents of the city kept market or household gardens on farms in the area. Alexandria was a thriving commercial center in the early 19th century, but possessed little manufacturing capacity.

One of Alexandria's more successful late 18th century manufactories was Charles Alexander's huge *ropewalk*, a facility for the production of cordage for sailing ships, fish nets, etc., located on a 1200 foot long lot stretching west across Columbus, Alfred, Patrick, Henry and Fayette Streets. As the town expanded to the north, the facility blocked access and many residents opposed its continuation by 1794. In 1799, the town's council finally approved condemnation proceedings and the industry was relocated to the outskirts of town (Dennée 2004:3). Alexandria had three ropewalks by 1810, producing a total of 400 tons of cordage. By 1830, a variety of industrial facilities had been established, including one ropewalk, located west of West Street from Oronoco to Queen Streets, an ice house at 218 North Columbus Street, Jacob Hoffman's sugar refinery at 220 North Washington Street, a tannery, and several furniture factories. A steam engine factory was set up in 1830 on Union Street, and several coal yards were created to power the steam engines. In 1847, the Mount Vernon Cotton Manufacturing

Company opened, and later a gas works, plaster mill, bakery, foundry, and more tanneries were in operation (Bloomburg 1998:64).

## CHAPTER 6: THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION, 1861-1929

On the night of December 26, 1860, Major Robert Anderson moved his troops from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. Subsequently, on April 15, 1861, President Lincoln sent a reinforcement fleet of war vessels from New York to Fort Sumter to suppress the rebellion in the southern states. Two days later, on April 17, 1861, the Commonwealth of Virginia adopted the Virginia Ordinance of Secession and formed a provisional Confederate government (Gallagher 1989:29; Boatner 1991:729; Church and Reese 1965:134).

### The Civil War in Alexandria

On May 5, 1861, Lieutenant Col. A.S. Taylor commanding the Virginia Volunteers in Alexandria evacuated his Confederate troops to Springfield Station after obtaining a secret copy of an order "that the Government at Washington would occupy Alexandria on the 6th or 7th...." and "because of the inefficient condition of a large portion of the troops and my exposed and indefensible position." Among the two major inefficient conditions in Alexandria claimed by Lt. Col. Taylor were the lack of arms and equipment and "in the second place, the men were becoming almost useless from home influences. All but Captain Simpson's company [company of rifles] belonged to Alexandria (and were necessarily scattered over the city), and it would have been impossible to have assembled the command at any particular point in time…" Under Taylor's command "were two companies of raw Irish recruits, numbering about one hundred and twenty privates...armed with the altered flint-lock muskets of 1818, and without cartridges or caps;...Captain Powell's company of cavalry, numbering about thirty, and twenty-two horses, [had] no arms or equipments of any kind except a few of Colt's revolvers..." (Scott 1880:23-27).

Confederate Commanding Brigadier-General Philip St. Geo. Cocke learned from Richmond on 6 May 6, 1861 "…after several attempts... to send a dispatch through the telegraph operator at Alexandria... the operator finally advised me that not one single man connected with the military had been left to speak to me through the wires..." Lt. Col. Taylor was ordered by General Cocke to return his troops immediately to Alexandria and hold them there "until absolutely driven out by force of arms" (ibid.).

On May 23, 1861, Virginia formally seceded from the Union by a vote of 97,000 to 32,000 (Bowman 1985:51, 55). In a public referendum, Alexandrians voted 958 for and only 106 against secession (Smith and Miller 1989:83). The morning after Virginia voted to secede; Federal troops entered Alexandria as Confederate troops exited the city to the west. "This was done without opposition, capturing in the town a few rebel cavalry. Some 700 rebel infantry in the town had received notice of the approach of the troops, and were ready to take the [railroad] cars. They escaped on the Orange and Alexandria Railway, burning the bridges behind them.

Our [Union] troops pursued a short distance, also burning such bridges as they had spared..." (Scott 1880: 37-41). Alexandria would remain an occupied city throughout the duration of the War. Private homes and businesses were taken over by the occupying army, and the city was used as a staging point for the various military campaigns in Virginia.

The Alexandria Canal was closed for the duration of the war, as the Union Army severed the canal's connection to the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal when it converted the Aqueduct Bridge over the Potomac River into a bridge for vehicles and troops. Throughout the war, Union troops were active in the city and in areas to the north of Alexandria. Robert Hodgkin, who became keeper of the Alexandria Poorhouse in 1861, recorded several instances of Union troops coming through the area and some Union soldiers may have set up encampments nearby (Miller 1992c; Ward 1980).

The passage of the Railways and Telegraph Act of January 31, 1862, granted the federal government authority to control all Northern and captured Southern railroads. Control of the railroads was considered key to victory in the war. The City of Alexandria was the terminus of three strategic lines: the Orange & Alexandria (O&ARR), the Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire (AL&HRR), and the Alexandria and Washington Railroad (A&WRR). The O&ARR offices and rail yards were developed into the operation headquarters of the United States Military Railroads (USMRR). The various lines within the city were finally interconnected under the USMRR, and the rail connection with the North was made complete when tracks were laid across Long Bridge to the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. In February of 1862, a track was laid down Henry Street connecting the Orange & Alexandria and the Alexandria & Washington lines (Baer 2004a).

In May of 1862, Herman Haupt was commissioned by Secretary of War Stanton to act as the director of rail operations for the military. Haupt was extremely efficient in the operations of moving troops and supplies over the rails and improvising new methods of repairing damaged track. He organized the military railroads into the Construction Corps, which he supervised, and placed his assistant John H. Devereux in charge of the Transportation Corps. By the end of August, Haupt

> ...forwarded scores of cars filled with everything from bread and meat, to ammunition and forage. He also arranged for the transport of surgeons to the field...and for the recovery of the wounded (Barber 1988: 34).

Barber also notes that, by the end of the war,

> ...quartermasters received, issued and transferred more than 640,000 pounds of wood, 81,000,000 pounds of corn, 412,000,000 pounds each of oats and hay, and 530,000,000 pounds of coal..... By July 1865, all military railroad property--including machine shops, engine houses and the late president's personal car, which was built and housed in Alexandria--totaled more than two million dollars. This figure equaled half the value of all U.S. Military Railroad property in the state (ibid: 103).

The USMRR laid new track that brought the A&W into Alexandria along Henry Street, creating a railroad junction just north of Poorhouse Lane (Griffin 1984). In 1861 and 1862, Federal engineers drained the Aqueduct Bridge and converted it to a bridge moving troops and material across the Potomac into Virginia (Morgan 1966).

Prior to the Civil War, few detailed maps of the eastern United States existed. Federal military authorities recognized the strategic and tactical importance of maps of the United States, and the dearth of detailed and accurate maps available. The Army's Corps of Topographical Engineers and Corps of Engineers, the Treasury Department's Coast Survey, and the Navy's Hydrographic Office, were quickly mobilized to prepare new maps for the war effort. As a result, several detailed maps of the vicinity of Alexandria were made in the 1860s.

The 1861 Boschke Map shows the project area on the city street grid, to the west of the Old Georgetown Road (Exhibit 6). Few buildings within the city limits are shown on this map and none appear within the project area. A cluster of at least four dwellings appear along the western side of the Old Georgetown Road, just north of the project area.

McDowell's 1862 map also shows the project area to the west of the Old Georgetown Road in what appears to be sparsely settled area along the northern edge of town (Exhibit 7). At least two dwellings are shown near or within the northwestern portion of the project area. These may represent a part of the same cluster of buildings shown on the earlier map.

The 1863 Potomac River Map shows one building near or within the northwestern block (Exhibit 8). This building may represent the manor house on the Henry Daingerfield estate which included the block bounded by N. Patrick, Wythe, N. Alfred and Madison Streets. Daingerfield's house may have been situated on Wythe Street, just west of the project area.

The 1863 Union Army Commissary map shows that the 800 Block of Wythe Street, located just south of the project area, was the site of the "Barracks, Kitchens &c." for the Washington Street Corral. This complex included a small Wagon Boss Quarters structure, located near the northwest corner of N. Columbus and Wythe Streets, within the city block that contains a portion of the study property, but outside the project area boundaries. A 179.5 foot building, labeled "Mess rooms, kitchen and bunk rooms," spanned Wythe Street and extended south along the northwest street face of the 600 Block of N. Columbus Street. A kitchen and "sink" [privy] were located in the middle of Wythe Street. The corral (not shown on Exhibit 9) was located west of Columbus Street and north of Wythe Street. No structures or features were shown within the project area.

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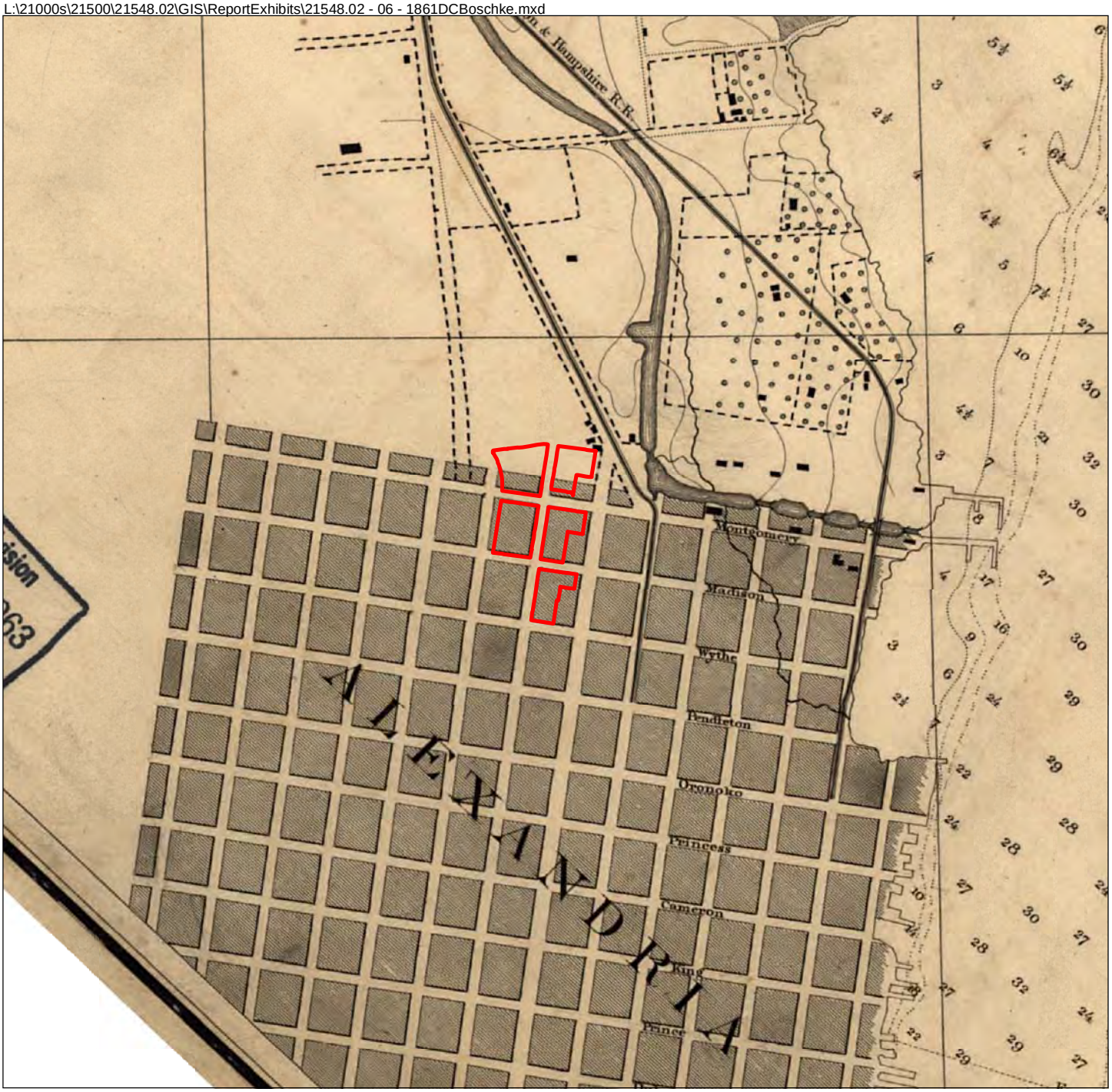


Approximate Location of Project Area

**1861 A. Boschke Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 1000'**

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Map Source: "Topographical map of the District of Columbia. Surveyed in the years 1856 '57 '58 & '59 by A. Boschke". 1861. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. Original Scale: 1:15,840

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***Exhibit 6***

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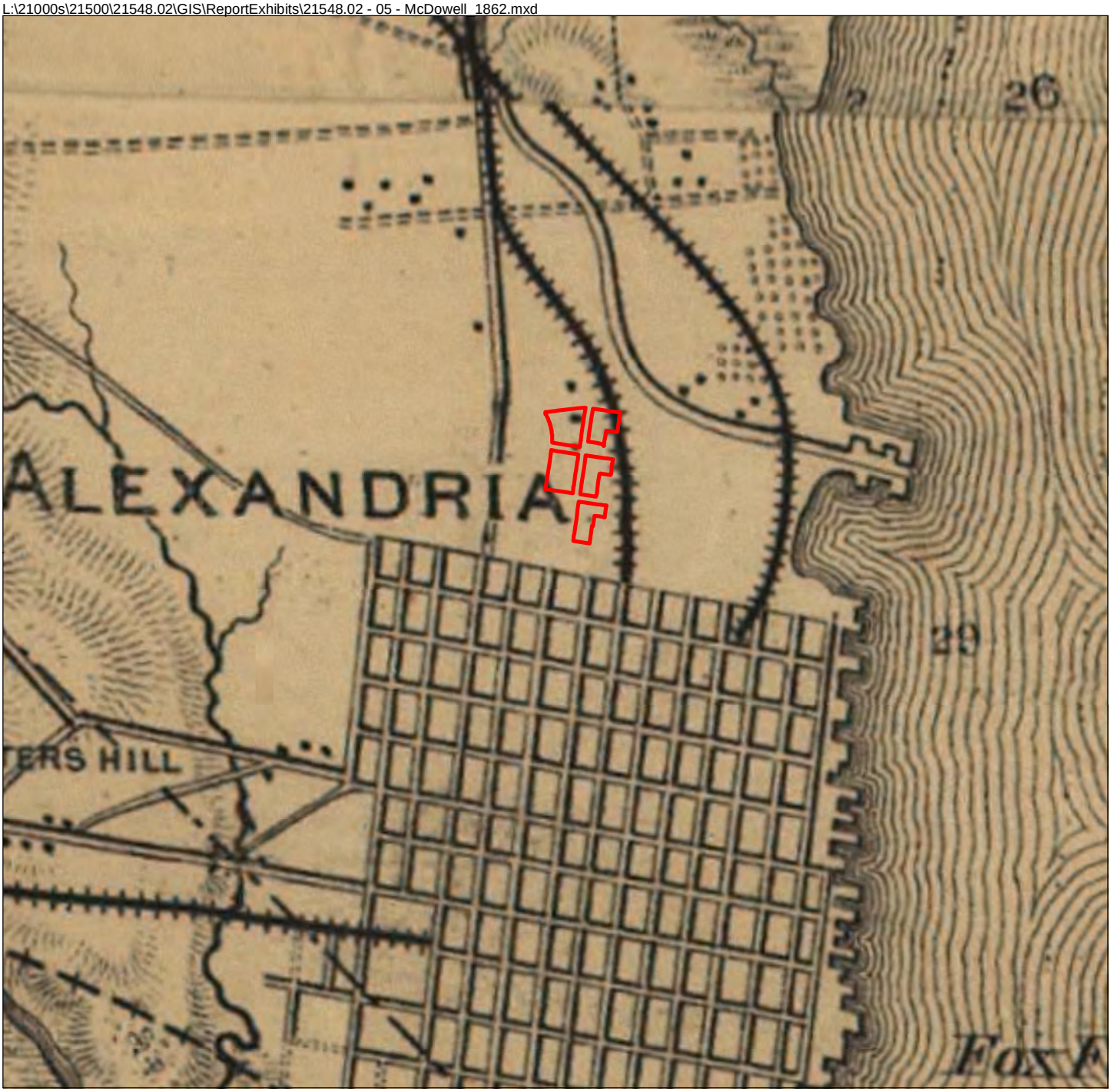


**1862 McDowell Map**
**Northeast Virginia and Vicinity of Washington D.C.**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = ¼ mile**

Approximate Location of Project Area

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Map Source: Map of N. Eastern Virginia and Vicinity of Washington. Compiled by General Irvin Mc Dowell, January 1862. United States. Corps of Topographical Engineers". Original Scale: 1" = 1 mile.

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***Exhibit 7***

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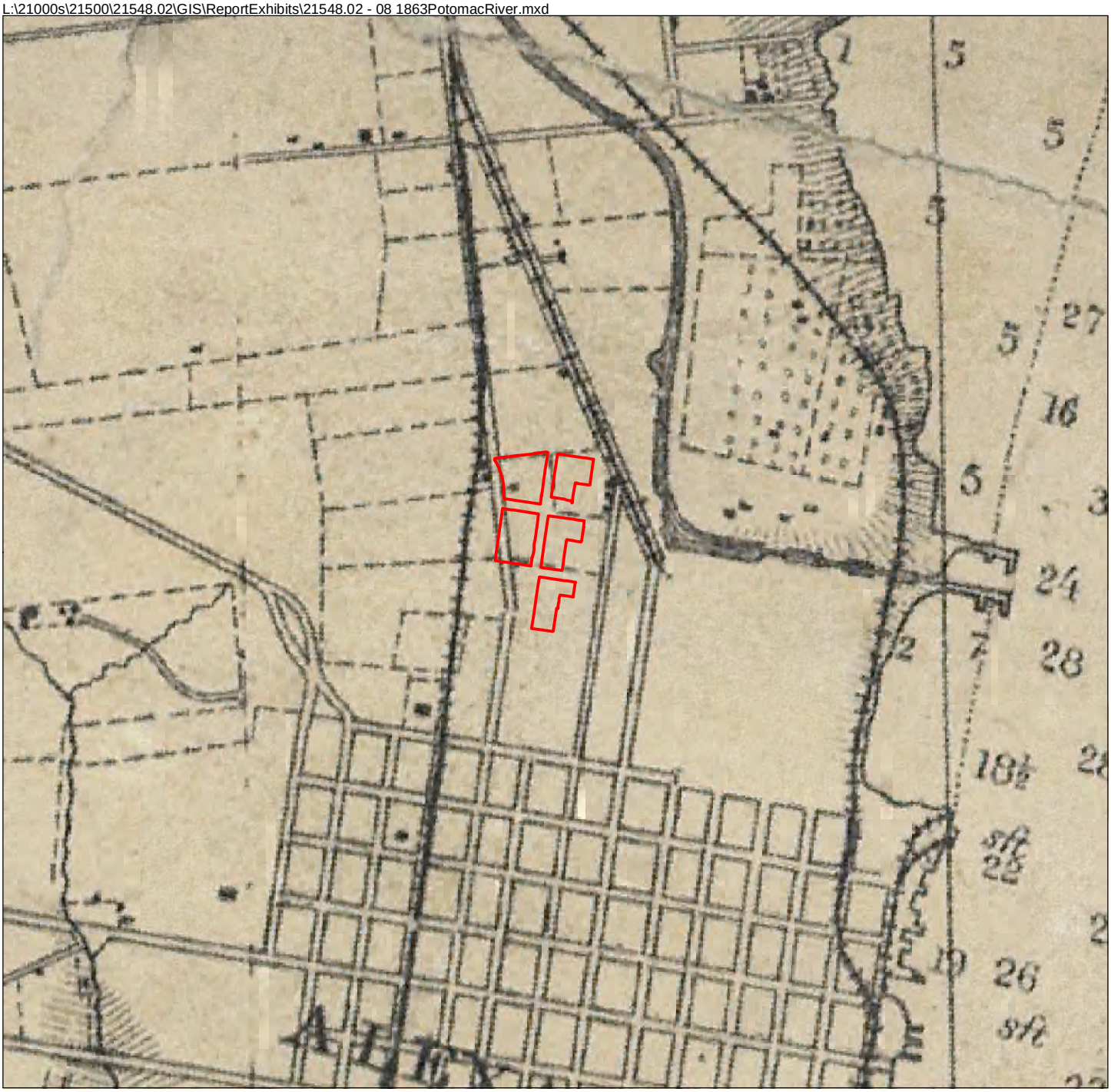


Approximate Location of Project Area

**1863 Potomac River Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 1000'**

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Map Source: 'Potomac River (in four sheets): Sheet no. 4, from Indian Head to Georgetown. From a trigonometrical survey under the direction of A. D. Bache, Superintendent of the survey of the coast of the United States. 1864. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C.

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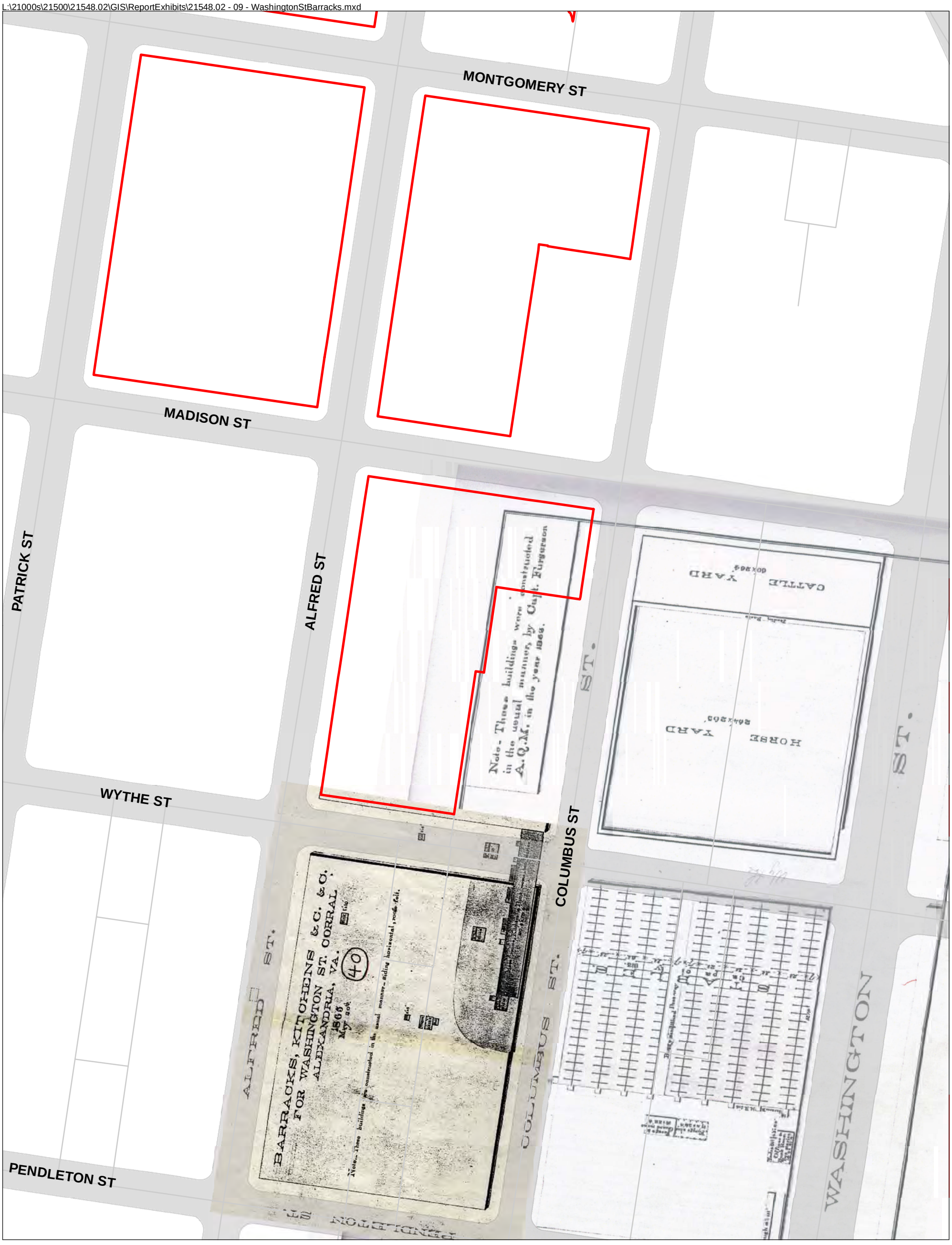


**Barracks, Kitchens, Adjoining Buildings & C.O. for Washington St. Corral**
**Alexandria, Virginia**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 100'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

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Map Source: Barracks, Kitchens & C.&O. for Washington St. Corral. Alexandria, Virginia. May 20, 1865

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***Exhibit 9***

The project area vicinity, as shown on the 1865 Barnard Map (Exhibit 10), differs in no significant way from the depiction on the earlier Boschke map upon which it was based (see Exhibit 6). The undated drawing of the 71st New York Regiment in Alexandria depicts the Civil War Union soldiers resting on a vacant lot of land northwest of Mt. Vernon Cotton Factory, which was located on Washington and Pendleton Streets (Exhibit 11). The scene depicted in the drawing appears to be set on the blocks just south of the study area; the view is from the northwest toward N. Washington Street. The cotton mill on Pendleton and Washington is in the background. The dwelling shown in the background, obscured by a few [catalpa] trees, was the Dundas House, the late 18th/early 19th century mansion house on the estate of John Dundas, a former mayor of the city of Alexandria. The Dundas mansion was razed prior to the beginning of the 20th century. The lot where the soldiers are resting was known as t*he Catalpa Lot.* It had apparently been used by the military for decades prior to the Civil War. In 1821, an announcement in the Alexandria Gazette called for the "light infantry to attend drill on the usual muster ground north of Mrs. Dundas' house" (Miller 1995:252). Also, the Alexandria Guards paraded on this ground "north of Dundas House in summer uniform" (Miller 1995:254).

Generally, most of the Civil War era maps show that despite the changes in the landscape that came with the turnpike, canal, and railroads, the project area vicinity appears to have remained sparsely settled to this time. However, by this time, railroad tracks had been laid through the core of what is now the Parker-Gray Historic District which surrounds the project area (Necciai and Drumond 2007:7-3). The Union Army also used the vacant areas in the vicinity of the project area; encampments, hospitals, stables and several large food production facilities were constructed in the Parker-Gray neighborhood (ibid.). The facilities included a large bakery from which bread and other foodstuffs were transported to troops in the field. This bakery, operated by the military, was believed to be the largest in the world at that time and occupied an entire city block (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-333).

No major Civil War battles were fought in the City of Alexandria, although its railroads, waterways and roadways figured in major troop movements into and out of the Washington, D.C., area. A few intermittent Confederate raids were made into the western end of Alexandria, mostly along the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. One skirmish was reported on the Little River Turnpike (Duke Street) in June of 1863.

General Robert E. Lee's surrender of the Confederate Army on April 9, 1865, was followed by Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston's surrender to Union General Major-General William T. Sherman on April 26, ending the Confederate resistance east of the Mississippi River. To celebrate the news of General Lee's surrender on the 4th or 5th of April 1865, "there was a simultaneous burst of cannon from all the forts around and in Wa[shington] and they bellowed, and roared...all day long...the next day soldiers were sent round to every house in the towns and all about the towns, and ordered the people to throw open their houses at night and illuminate...Many did it through fear...others refused, and their houses were stoned...their windows broken by the soldiers" (Frobel 1992:216). By the end of April and early May, the area around Washington filled with soldiers; Colonel Gregg of the 179th New York Regiment reported of the 21st that the area from Baileys Crossroads to Washington that the "whole country...around as he could see in every direction is one vast encampment." Rose Hill, to the north of Bush Hill, was "...literally covered with Sherman's army" (ibid: 219, 226, 229, 230).

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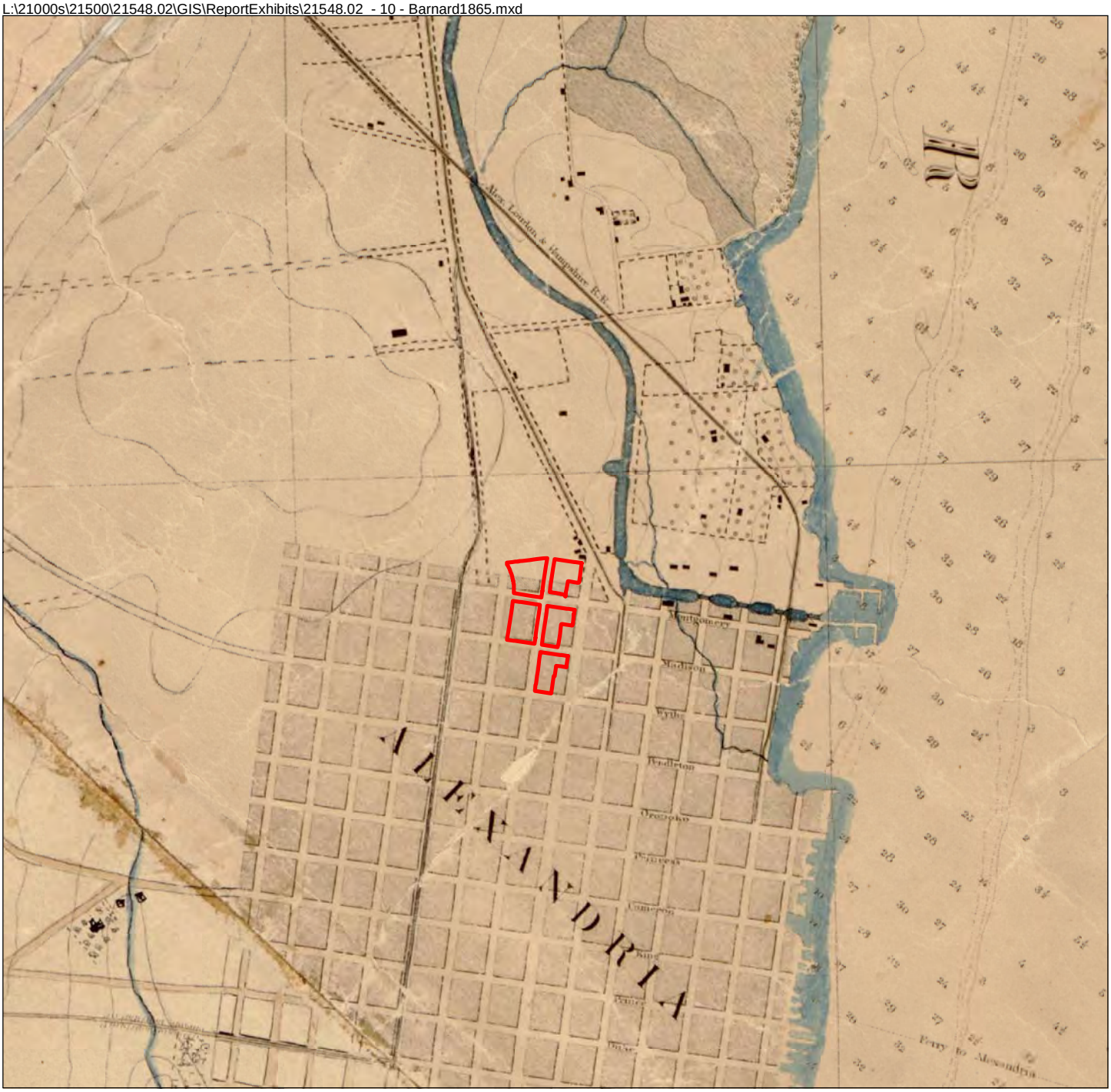

**1865 Barnard Map**
**District of Columbia and Surrounding Area**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = ¼ mile**

Approximate Location of Project Area

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Map Source: "Map of the environs of Washington : compiled from Boschkes' map of the District of Columbia and from surveys of the U.S. Coast Survey. 1865. LC Civil War maps (2nd ed.), 676. Stephenson. Cartography of northern Virginia, pl. 56-58. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. Original Scale: 4 in. to 1 mile.

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**Undated Lithograph Showing 71st New York Regiment**
**in the Vicinity of the Project Area**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not to Scale**

Map Source: City of Alexandria
Library, Special Collections.

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***Exhibit 11***

In the summer of 1865, the Union Army withdrew from Alexandria, and Confederate sympathizers who had fled south at the start of the war began returning to the town. Upon the recommendation of the chief engineer dated May 6, 1865, the fieldworks constructed for the defense of Washington, with the exception of the redoubt at Fort Worth, were dismantled (United States War Dept., et al. 1895:1130).

**Reconstruction**

Until after 1870, the development of the Parker Gray neighborhood surrounding the project site was not unified or coherent; the area had yet to develop the cohesive character that is seen in later times (Necciai and Drumond 2007:7-2). Approximately 80-90% of the platted land north of Princess Street contained no permanent buildings until at least a decade after the Civil War although some individual blocks contained a large residence or a few smaller ones (ibid.). The area was characterized by a "patchwork of different kinds of buildings and structures with open land at the center and smaller residential enclaves at the fringes" (Necciai and Drumond 2007:7-4). In addition to the dearth of residential development, few institutional buildings were present prior to 1880.

In the years immediately following the end of the Civil War, the citizens of Alexandria struggled to revive the Alexandria Canal, in hopes of regaining the commerce that the town lost during the war by re-connecting Alexandria to the Chesapeake & Ohio (C&O) Canal. The canal was still not in working order by February of 1866. At that time, the Virginia General Assembly forced the City of Alexandria and the state Board of Public Works to sell their stock in the canal in order to repair it and put it in back in service (Morgan 1966).

On May 11, 1866, the Alexandria City Council leased the Alexandria Canal to Henry H. Wells, William. W. Dungan, and Philip Quigley for "99 years at $1,000 per year on the condition that they repair the canal and keep it in navigable condition" (Hahn & Kemp 1992: 33). The local newspaper advertised in that year that with the re-opening of the Alexandria Canal, every aspect of commerce and trade was in place to make Alexandria the main shipping port for Washington (Miller 1987:245). In 1873, the city touted its prime location as a north-south transportation corridor, highlighting the canal, five rail lines and easy access to the Potomac River (ibid).

Considerable capital was expended in maintaining the Alexandria Canal after 1865; numerous costly repairs were made to the locks and the Aqueduct Bridge over the Potomac. In the decades after the Civil War, canals throughout the country closed as railroads assumed most of the overland shipping traffic. The Alexandria Canal was no exception, as it was increasingly unable to compete with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad (B&O) for the western coal trade. The B&O, which followed much the same route as the C&O Canal, was more reliable than the canal system, which suffered from unreliable water flow, floods, poor maintenance, and labor strikes (Cressey 1984:3; Morgan 1966:11-13).

In 1870, the Pennsylvania Railroad [PRR] assumed the construction of a previously authorized but never built railroad, the Alexandria & Fredericksburg Railway (A&F) and, on April 28, 1871, the City of Alexandria authorized the A&F to build a single track up Fayette Street (Baer 2005a). In 1872, the Pennsylvania Railroad acquired the Alexandria and Washington Railroad, and the St. Asaph Street entrance to the city was abandoned in favor of the two acquired lines running down Fayette and Henry streets (Cox 1996).

The 1877 Hopkins map of the City of Alexandria shows the project area on the city street grid, just southwest of the Alexandria Canal and the line of the Alexandria & Washington Railroad; at least twelve buildings are shown within the project area (Exhibit 12). Nine buildings, probably tenements, are shown along the west side of N. Columbus Street, south of First Street; four buildings are shown on the opposite side of the same block, along the east side of N. Alfred Street, and two buildings are shown on the southernmost block, located on the east side of N. Columbus Street, south of Madison Street. The 1886 Shipman map also shows little detail of the project area vicinity (Exhibit 13).

By the late 1880s, residential development was occurring just south of the project area, A.J. Wedderburn erected 17 houses on North Alfred between Pendleton and Wythe (WP 1888:4). Several blocks of the Parker-Gray Historic District in the vicinity of the project site were owned by locally well-known citizens by 1877 (Necciai and Drumond 2007:7-3). The owners of some of the larger tracts include Henry Daingerfield, Samuel Miller, Thomas W. Swann, John W. Green, George and John Seaton, William C. Yeaton, William Gray, Mrs. Jacobs and the Smith family. George Seaton was a master builder and one of the wealthiest African Americans in the city. It is thought that some of the owners may have purchased the properties as speculators and the larger lots were subdivided and smaller houses built on the Yeaton, Jacobs and Green properties (Necciai and Drumond 2007:7-3). To some degree, this is borne out by the city directories which list some of these individuals as owners of properties which were then leased to renters. The substantial estates also included Bell Air/Colross which functioned as the home of a city councilman and later as the home of the city mayor (ibid.). However, by 1880, many of the District's larger homes were no longer residences; Colross became a storage facility for a planing mill.

In 1894, two planned residential developments – Del Ray and St. Elmo – were established on the west side of the Alexandria Turnpike. Del Ray was located between East Bellefonte Avenue and Mount Ida Avenue; St. Elmo lay between the Bluemont Branch of the Southern Railway [the former AL&H Railroad] and Glebe Road. The developments' proximity to two railroads made it possible for residents to commute daily to jobs in Alexandria or Washington D.C. St. Asaph Junction Station and the Washington and Ohio Station on the A&W Railroad served respectively Del Ray and St. Elmo. Beginning in 1896, the Washington, Alexandria and Mount Vernon Railway (WA&MV), an electric railway that ran along present-day Commonwealth Avenue,

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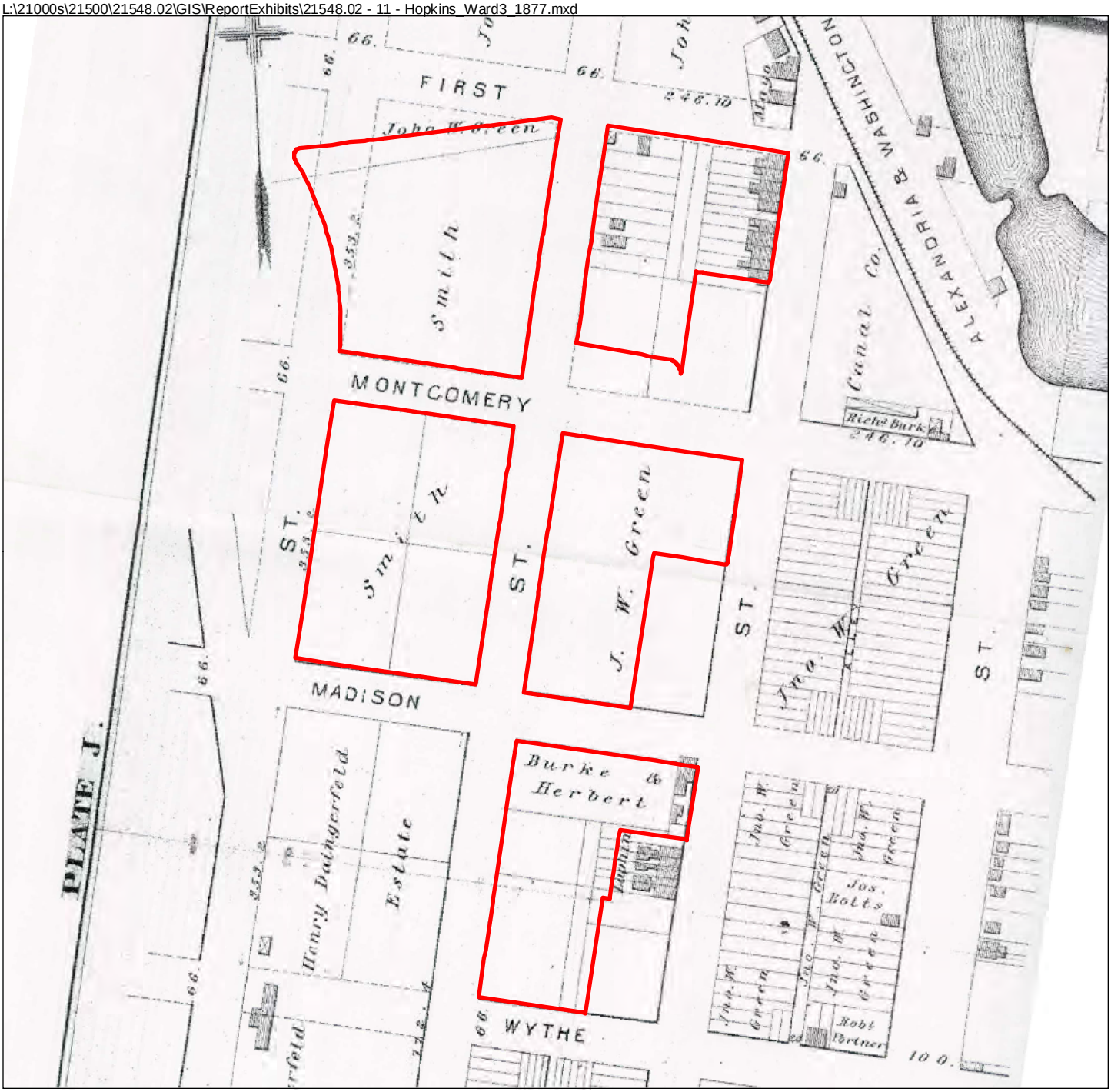


**1877 Hopkins Map**
**Alexandria, Virginia**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

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Map Source: Alexandria, Virginia - Ward 3.
J.M. Hopkins. 1877

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***A Division of Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 12***

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**1886 Shipman Map**
**Fairfax County, VA**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = ½ mile**

Approximate Location of Project Area

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Map Source: Map of Fairfax County, Virginia. Drawn for O.E. Hine by A.J. Shipman, 1886. Original Scale: 1¼ miles to 1 inch.

provided commuter rail service. Del Ray and St. Elmo grew slowly between 1894 and 1905. By 1905, the developers had sold more than half the lots in Del Ray, but only 37 houses had been constructed. The national economy was still recovering from a financial panic in 1893, and the Alexandria area remained in an economic slump through the 1890s. In addition, unlike Alexandria, Del Ray and St. Elmo lacked public utilities such as water and sewer service (Escherich 1992).

The 1894 Hopkins map of Alexandria, Virginia shows the project area on the street grid and within the Corporation Line of Alexandria (Exhibit 14). The canal is no longer present but he railroad lines remain in the configuration shown on the earlier Shipman map, to the east and west of the project area.

By the last part of the 19th century, a number of the city's largest employers were located on the periphery of the Parker-Gray District (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-334). These included Portner's Brewery which, by 1880, covered an entire city block. Three glass factories were built in Alexandria between 1890 and World War I; these operated until about 1918 (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-335). By 1912, Smoot Lumber relocated to the fringe of Parker-Gray after a disastrous fire at their plant near the waterfront (ibid.). At the end of the War, the torpedo manufacturing plant had begun operation and a Ford Motor plant soon followed. All of these industries stimulated the city's economy, provided a reliable source of income for many city residents and, at least in part, spurred the development of the Parker-Gray District and the rise in residential growth in the area.

By 1900, the larger Parker-Gray neighborhood surrounding the project area, was surrounded by large employers; this increased residential development in the area including, as previously stated, rental housing (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-333). A number of African American families constructed modest homes in the vicinity by this time.

On September 15, 1905, Washington Southern Railway opened a new line between St. Asaph Junction and Roberts Road in Alexandria, and the old connection with Southern Railway on Henry Street was abandoned. The line on Fayette Street was also abandoned for through traffic around this time (Baer 2005b). Southern Railway's Potomac train yards, constructed in 1905, became the center of Alexandria's railroad activity (Cox 1996). In 1906, Washington Southern Railway sold the Henry Street Branch to Southern Railway for materials (Baer 2005b).

By the early 20th century, the Washington, D.C. area had become a major transfer point between northern and southern rail networks. Produce and livestock from the southern states was shipped by rail to urban markets in the North and manufactured goods were shipped south from northern factories.

The 1915 Fairfax County Soils Map shows buildings within the project area along the east side of N. Alfred Street, in the southeast quadrant of the intersection of N. Columbus Street and Madison Street, and along the east side of N. Patrick Street to the south of First Street.(Exhibit 15). This suggests that the buildings shown on the 1877 Hopkins map (see Exhibit 13) may have remained extant between 1877 and 1915 and that new development within the project area was also occurring during this time. Very detailed Sanborn Insurance maps, showing portions of the project area as early as 1912, are presented later in this report.

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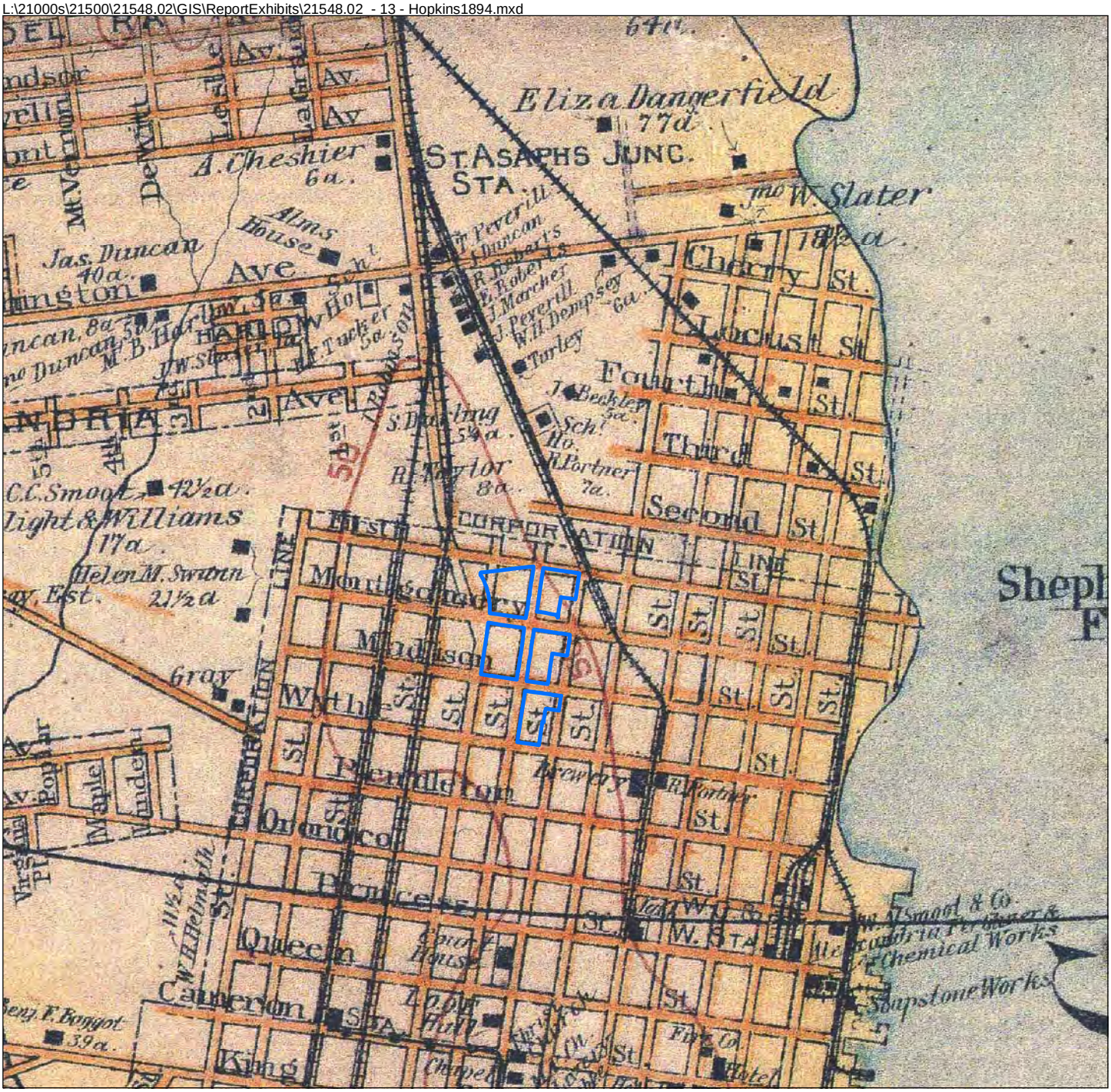


**1894 Hopkins Map**
**Alexandria, Virginia**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 1000'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

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Map Source: 1894. Hopkins Map. National Archives. Reproduction obtained from History Matters, LLC. 1502 21st Street, NW 2nd Floor. Washington, DC 20036. Original Map Scale: Unknown.

***Thunderbird Archeology***
***A Division of Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 14***

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Approximate Location of Project Area

**1915 Fairfax County Soils Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 1000'**

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Map Source: "Soils Map of Fairfax County. 1915.
Field Operations Bureau of Soils, US Dept. of Agriculture.
Basemap in part from U.S.Geological Survey Sheets.
Library of Congress Geography and Map Division
Washington D.C. Original Scale: 1:62,500.

By the turn of the 20th century, many small businesses coexisted with residential neighborhoods in the project area vicinity. The railroad had attracted industry to the area as well. The Mutual Ice Company Potomac Yard Plant was built to the northwest of the project area in 1912. The Belle Pre Bottle Company and the Alexandria Glass Company were located nearby on Madison and Montgomery Streets, and warehouses stood along the railroad and North Fayette Street to the west.

**Black Codes and the Era of Jim Crow**

Although the end of the Civil War marked the end of slavery with the passage of the 13th amendment in 1865, minimal plans had been made for the future of the former slaves (CRF 1999). The U.S. Freedman's Bureau had been established shortly before the end of the war; the Bureau furnished food and medical aid to the former slaves and set up schools to provide educational opportunities. By 1870, more than 4,000 schools had been established in the south (ibid). The Bureau also attempted to insure that the former slaves received fair wages, established courts to settle disputes, and intervene in other instances when the freedmans' rights were threatened.

Many in the southern states resented the military rule established after the war and the power of the Freedman's Bureau. In response to this, during the summer and fall of 1865, most of the former Confederate states held constitutional conventions (CRF 1999). President Andrew Johnson's reconstruction plan prohibited African Americans from participating in the both the election of delegates to these conventions and in the formulation of the new state governments. The newly formed state governments passed a number of laws authorizing essential public projects including the creation of a public education system; however, African American children were prohibited from attending these schools (ibid.).

In 1866, the 14th amendment was passed, guaranteeing due process and protection under the law to all American citizens and offering citizenship to African Americans. Three years later, the 15th amendment was ratified; this amendment offered African American men, the right to vote. The legislatures of most southern states also began to pass and implement laws restricting the freedom of the former enslaved people, as well as freedman. These laws made it illegal for African Americans to vote, serve on juries, travel at will, marry whomever they chose or work at any occupation which they chose (CRF 1999). In Virginia, an 1870 statute prohibited white and black children from being taught in the same school (Wallenstein 2004: 83). An 1873 Virginia miscegenation statute carried penalties of at least one year in jail and a minimum fine of $100 for any white person whom married a black. The statute was strengthened in 1878, increasing the penalty to penitentiary confinement for between two and five years and adding a clause stating that "White and colored persons going out of the state to marry, shall be punished as if married in the state"(Jim Crow History n.d.).

Throughout the Reconstruction period, however, the south was dependent economically upon the African American worker and rumors of land confiscation for the benefit of the former slaves, as well as a desire to re-establish the situation prior to the Civil War, led to the passage and implementation of the "black codes." The black codes were special laws that applied only to blacks or, as stated in the South Carolina code for example, "persons of color". This term applied to anyone who possessed more than 1/8th African American blood (CRF 1999).

Mississippi passed the first black codes, followed shortly by South Carolina. The black codes generally defined the rights of freedman, recognized black marriages, prohibited miscegenation, established separate court systems for black and white individuals, prohibited blacks from owning firearms, restricted the sale of farm products by blacks and restricted the types of employment that blacks could seek (ibid). The court system established for blacks had substantially harsher penalties for the same offense and allowed whipping for minor infractions.

Economically, the black codes used vagrancy laws in an attempt to force freedman to sign labor contracts (CRF 1999). They also provided another source of labor for white employers – orphans and children of destitute parents. The courts allowed for forced apprenticeships until the age of 21 of males and 18 for females. Although the apprentice could be physically punished and recaptured if he escaped, the master was required to provide food and clothing to the apprentice as well as teach them a trade and send them to school. Although the black codes never went into effect because they were declared invalid by the military governors and the Freedman's Bureau, they sparked considerable protest in the north, even the establishment of a special congressional committee to investigate the Reconstruction practices in the south.

The situation in Virginia was somewhat unusual compared to the other former Confederate states. Virginia was the only state of the former Confederacy that avoided military governance after the war by agreeing to a new constitution in 1869 that granted suffrage to black men (Smith 2002:20). After a brief period of promise during which 600 African American state legislators and 16 members of Congress were elected in the South (many of these in Virginia) and attempts were made to extend educational opportunities and civil and political rights to all citizens, by the end of the 19$^{th}$ century and the turn of the 20$^{th}$ century, the situation had changed. A new race-based system of political, economic and social relationships known as racial segregation appeared (History Matters 2004). This race based system was ushered in by what became known as the Jim Crow laws. The Jim Crow laws began to appear after changes in the political power structure appeared and the court systems challenged earlier civil rights legislation and instituted decisions that allowed segregation of people of color qualified as "separate but equal."

The pivotal case was the 1896 *Plessy vs Ferguson* trial in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that racially separate facilities, if equal, did not violate the U.S. Constitution – that segregation was not discrimination. Examples of Jim Crow laws include the segregation of schools, public places, public transportation, restrooms and restaurants. The U.S. military was also segregated. This "separate but equal" doctrine would stand until school segregation was outlawed by the Supreme Court in 1954 with *Brown vs the Board of Education* and, later, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

In addition, and more germane for the topic of this study, under Jim Crow, states and municipalities were allowed to enact residential segregation laws and private residential developments developed covenants in order to restrict the landowners and occupants of a particular neighborhood to whites only. The city of Baltimore, Maryland enacted the first municipal ordinance mandating race based residential segregation in early 1911; although the

state Supreme Court ruled it and several similar subsequent laws unconstitutional. The cities of Richmond and Norfolk, Virginia enacted its own residential segregation ordinance on April 19, 1911 and April 19, 1911, respectively. Municipal laws based on the Baltimore or Richmond ordinances were enacted in Atlanta, Georgia; Greenville, South Carolina; and Winston-Salem, North Carolina by 1913.

Within Virginia, a 1912 statute allowed cities and towns to create "segregation districts" that would prevent African Americans from moving to communities designated as for "whites only." This act noted that:

> the preservation of the public morals, public health and public order, in the cities and towns of this commonwealth is endangered by the residence of white and colored people in close proximity to one another.. (Jim Crown History n.d.).

City councils that adopted the act were ordered to prepare a map showing the boundaries of the segregation districts and provide an accounting of the number of white and African Americans living within the districts. Within one year of the passage of the ordinances adopting the provisions of this act, it became illegal for a black then residing within a district defined as a white district, to move into and occupy a building within the white district (ibid). It was also unlawful for whites to move into districts designated as "colored." Violation of the statute was classed as a misdemeanor and the fine was between $5.00 and $50.00 for the first week with an additional $2.00 added for every succeeding day of residence.

By January 1914, only one city in Virginia had adopted the 1912 statute; the city of Roanoke, on March 15, 1913 divided its territory into four "colored" districts and one white district (Stephenson 1914:12). Although it is possible that some other localities may have adopted this law at a later date, it does not appear as if formal segregation districts were created by the City of Alexandria. The project area and the larger neighborhood in which is located were generally integrated at this time and research has not located any evidence of this integration violating a "segregation district." As previously stated, alternative forms of residential segregation legislation were in use in some Virginia cities during this period including Richmond, Ashland, Norfolk, and Portsmouth (ibid).

The first important Supreme Court decision involving race-based residential segregation came in *Buchanan v. Warley* (245 U.S. 60 1917), decided on November 5, 1917. In this case, the constitutionality of a Louisville, Kentucky ordinance that prohibited blacks and whites from living in houses on blocks where the majority of houses were occupied by persons of the other race. In a unanimous decision, the Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional. Race based housing discrimination persisted; however, without formal legislative mandate in most cities during this period and even after housing discrimination was finally made unlawful in the nation. This was typically accomplished through restrictive covenants in the charters of residential associations or in land deeds. One such restrictive covenant within Alexandria can be seen in the Town of Potomac/Del Ray subdivision (Thunderbird Archeology and History Matters, LLC 2008: 201). A 1924 yearbook published by the town government stated:

> The Town of Potomac is probably the most progressive, aggressive and bustling community within the state of Virginia. It is perhaps the only municipality in the United States in which ownership of real estate is limited to persons of the Caucasian race, and it is also the only municipality so far as known, that does not number among its residents persons of African Descent (Connections 2008).

The curious identification of race based residential segregation policy and planning with progressive or reformist ideals appears to be linked with early 20th century attempts to manipulate urban space to the end of solving particular urban problems (Nightingale 2006: 672-673). By 1910, groups of well-organized professionals and officials had grown deeply interested in ways that urban space might be altered to end urban vice, corruption, crime, political unrest, and disease. Racial issues were typically viewed by these groups in problematic terms of racial conflict, mixing, and degeneration; and urban problems were typically interpreted within a racial context (ibid). In any even, informal, private, and covert attempts to perpetuate race based housing discrimination, stemming from cultural and economic motives, influenced the selection of locales in which public housing units were built.

In 1948, the Supreme Court outlawed housing discrimination in *Shelly vs Kraemer* (334 U.S. 1, 14 1948). The case centered on a 1945 home purchase in St. Louis, Missouri by the African American Shelley family. At the time of purchase, the Shelley family was unaware that a restrictive covenant barring "people of the Negro or Mongolian Race" from owning the property had been in place since 1911. Neighbors sued to restrain the Shelleys from taking possession of the property and the Supreme Court of Missouri held that the covenant was enforceable against the purchasers because the covenant was a purely private agreement and was enforceable against subsequent owners (ibid). The United States Supreme Court held that the enforcement of a racially-based restrictive covenant in a state court would violate the Equal Protection Clause of the 14$^{th}$ Amendment (ibid).

## CHAPTER 7: THE LATER 20TH CENTURY

The 1929 United States Geologic Survey (USGS) Washington, DC Vicinity quadrangle map shows that much of the project area had been developed, at least along the city streets, excepting the southwestern block (Exhibit 16). The 1932 USGS Washington, DC Vicinity quadrangle map differs little from the earlier USGS map (Exhibit 17).

By the middle of the 20th century, the project area was becoming increasingly residential; although these residential structures are not shown on the 1945 United States Geologic Survey (USGS) Washington DC Vicinity quadrangle map (Exhibit 18). Several churches are shown in the project area vicinity, including one within the project area to the north of Montgomery Street on the east side of N. Alfred Street. The Parker-Gray High School is identified to the south and east of the project area at its original location.

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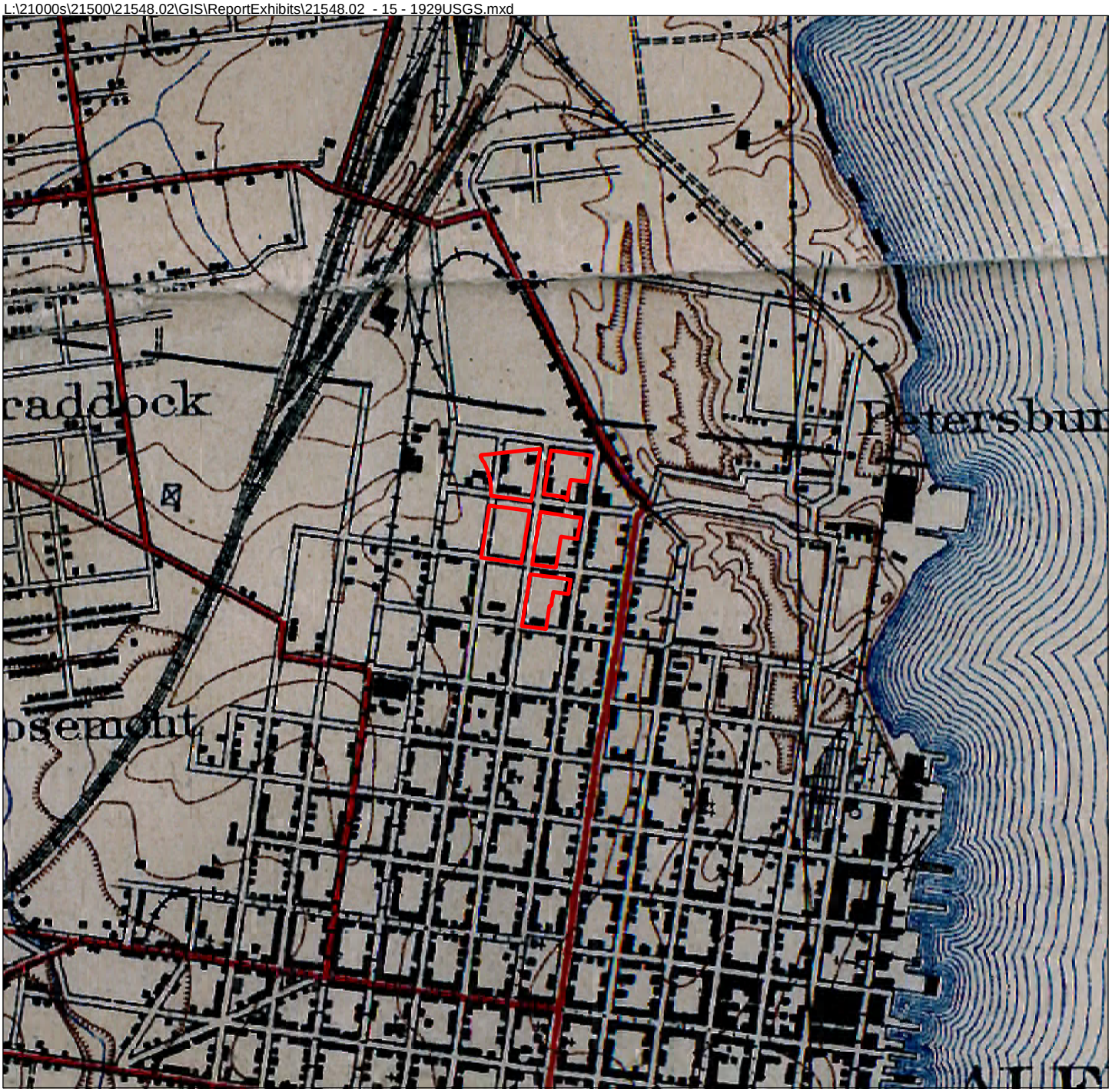


**USGS Quad Map**
**DC and Vicinity, VA-DC-MD 1929**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 1000'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

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***Thunderbird Archeology***
***by Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 16***

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**USGS Quad Map**
**DC and Vicinity, VA-DC-MD 1932**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 1000'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

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***Thunderbird Archeology***
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***Exhibit 17***

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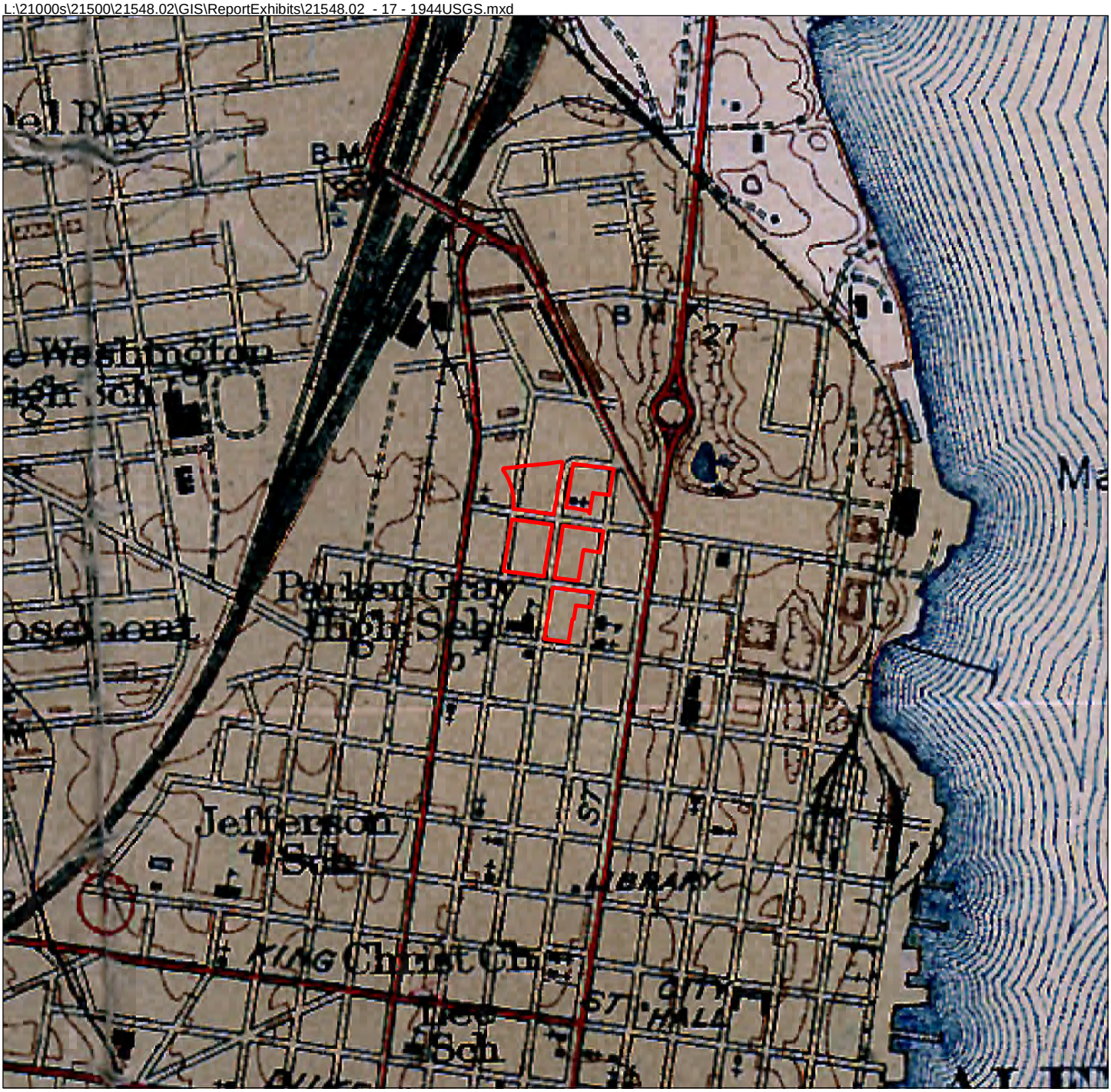


**USGS Quad Map**
**DC and Vicinity, VA-DC-MD 1944**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 1000'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

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***Thunderbird Archeology***
***by Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 18***

Although the spurt in residential growth had begun earlier, the mid 20th century growth was exponentially larger (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-335). The first half of the 20th century had seen additional industrial growth in the city, including a number of dairy processing and distribution plants. A couple of these facilities were located within Parker-Gray. The dairy industry also increased the demand for bottles, giving impetus to the glass industries in the city. Other agriculturally-related industries in the first quarter of the 20th century included a vinegar plant, equine-related businesses and at least one meat packing plant. What was formerly, the Armour and Company Wholesale Meats is located within Parker-Gray (ibid.).

In 1950, the Parker-Gray High School was relocated to 1207 Madison Street, retaining its name, as indicated on the 1956 United States Geologic Survey (USGS) Washington, DC Vicinity quadrangle map (Exhibit 19). The old Parker-Gray building appears as the Houston School. The 1965 USGS Washington, DC Vicinity quadrangle map (Exhibit 20) differs little from the 1956 USGS map.

The latter half of the 20th century and early 21st century in the vicinity of the project area was characterized by a period of stasis followed by gradual gentrification and changing demographics of the neighborhood's households, resulting in new residential infill in the area. Concurrently, and perhaps in association with the neighborhood's transformation, appreciation for the neighborhood's cultural resources efforts to preserve these resources have emerged.

On the basis of analysis in changes to the built environment over time within the Parker-Gray Historic District, the Uptown neighborhood in the vicinity of the study area, continued to transform throughout the second half of the 20th century; however a period of stagnation from the 1960s into the 1980s was observed (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-355). The various types of commercial properties along North Patrick and North Henry streets evolved with changing times; however, the quantity and qualities of residential properties remained largely unchanged (ibid). In the 1980s, changing tastes and socio-cultural expectations and the opening of the Braddock west Metro station, resulted in the beginnings of an influx of new residents to the Uptown neighborhood and a gradual trend toward gentrification.

Awareness of the cultural historic qualities of the Uptown neighborhood also appears to have grown in the 1980s. In 1983, through the advocacy of the Parker-Gray Alumni and the Alexandria Society for the Preservation of Black Heritage, the Alexandria Black History Museum opened in the historic Robert Robinson Library, just west of the study area. In 1987, the Alexandria City Council incorporated the museum into the Office of Historic Alexandria and funded an addition to the building that was completed in 1989 (Office of Historic Alexandria n.d. C). Efforts to list the Parker-Gray Historic District on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) in 1984 were opposed by long time African American residents, likely in reaction to the changing character of the neighborhood, and in a compromise the area was recognized as a local historic district (ibid). Preservation efforts culminated in the acceptance by the Commonwealth of Virginia of the Uptown/Parker-Gray Historic District for listing on the Virginia Landmarks Register in June 2008 and on January 12, 2010 the National Park Service approved the Uptown/Parker-Gray Historic District for listing on the NRHP.

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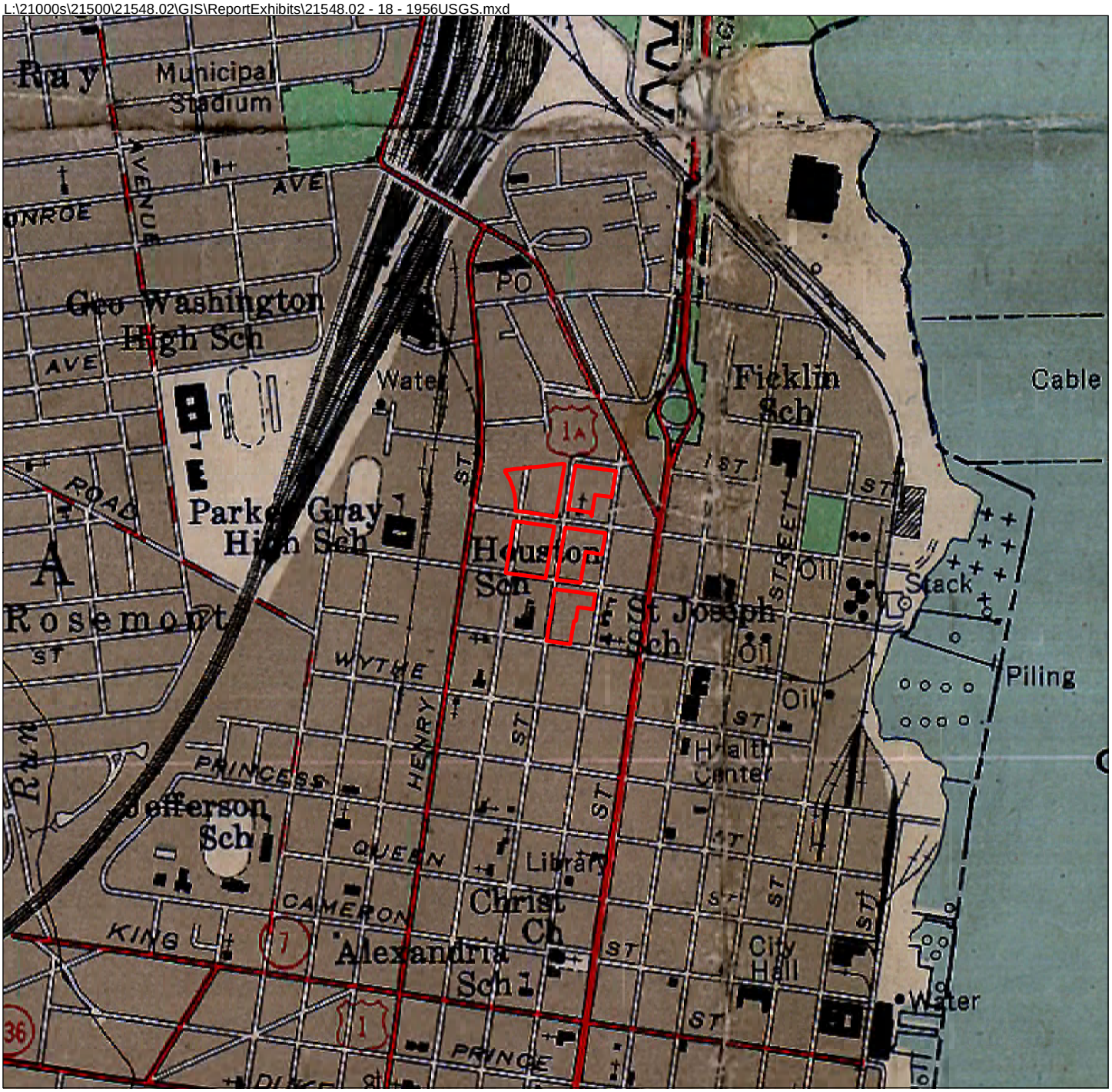


**USGS Quad Map**
**DC and Vicinity, VA-DC-MD 1956**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 1000'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

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***Thunderbird Archeology***
***by Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 19***

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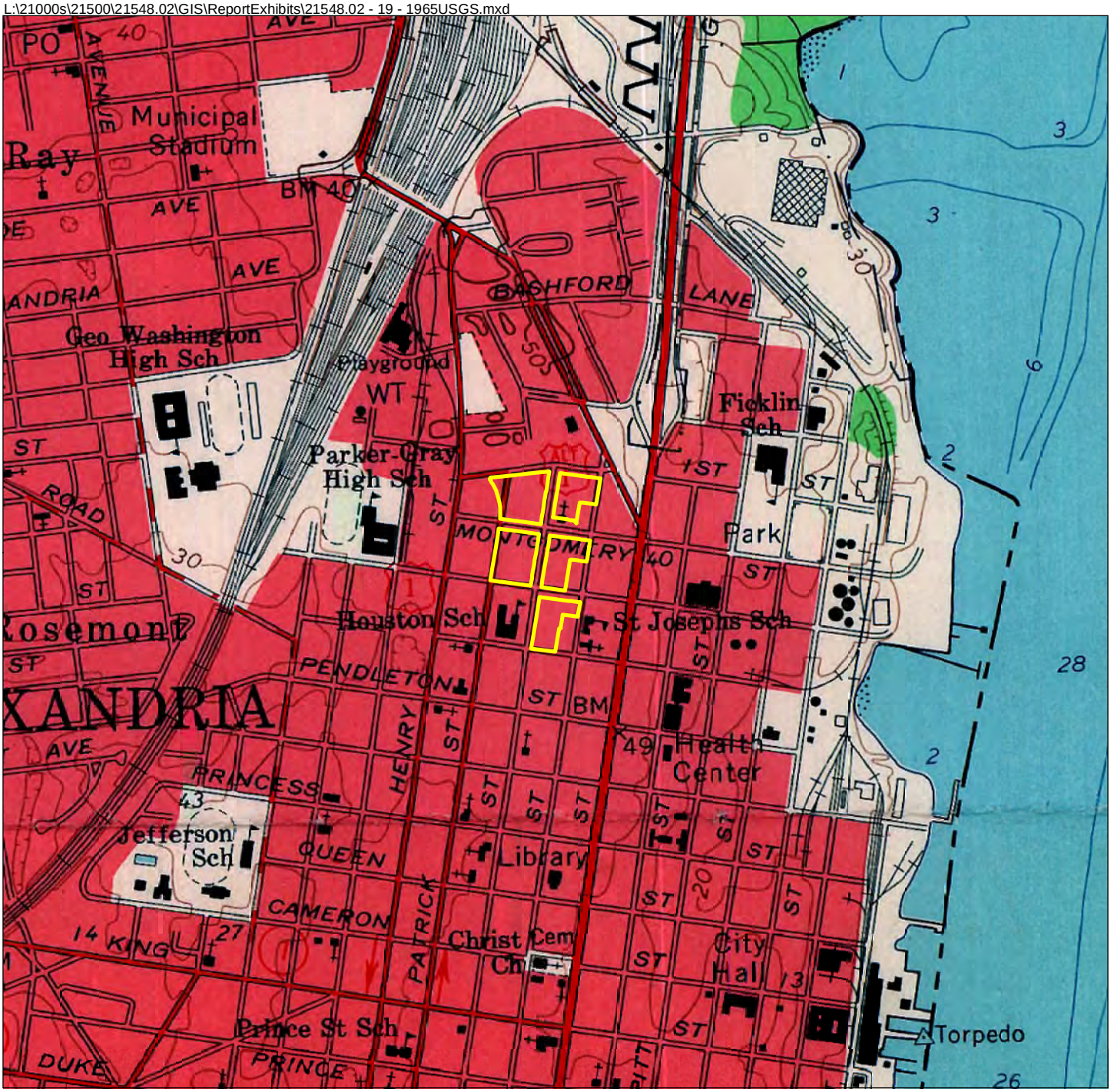


**USGS Quad Map**
**Alexandria, VA-DC-MD 1965**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 1000'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

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***Thunderbird Archeology***
***by Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 20***

Throughout the 1990s and into the 21st century, the changing demographics of the households in the neighborhood was visible in the restoration of many local historic homes and the construction of new residential units; the planned redevelopment of the James Bland Homes project with mixed market rate and publically subsidized homes clearly represents a continuation of the trend that began in the 1980s.

## CHAPTER 8: AFRICAN AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOODS

### Overview

By 1790, a substantial number of free blacks settled Alexandria. Most were formerly enslaved persons whom had been manumitted and migrated to Alexandria seeking employment on the city's docks or in its factories, in skilled occupations, ranging from trunk maker to house joiner, ship carpenter, potter, baker and soap maker. Others opened businesses of their own as tavern keepers, bakers, draymen or laundresses.

As the African American population grew, various regulations were imposed; in 1793 the city required mandatory registration of free African Americans and, in November 1799, a curfew was imposed upon them (Bloomburg 1998: 57). Following the incorporation of Alexandria into the District of Columbia in 1801, less restrictive laws against black assembly and education further encouraged African American settlement in the city. The free black population of Alexandria increased from 52 in 1790 to 836, a third of the total African-American population of the city, by 1810 (AAHV n.d.). The number of enslaved African Americans within the city also grew in the early 19th century, plantations increased their profits by "hiring out" slaves to business owners and manufacturers in Alexandria, then a rapidly growing port town with an expanding manufacturing base. By 1820, blacks accounted for more than a third of the city's total population and, in 1840, over 64 percent of the city's African American population had free status (Bloomburg 1998: 51).

In 1807, Congress voted to ban the importation of slaves into the United States, effective January 1, 1808. The ban discouraged manumissions by raising the value of slaves; the illicit importation of slaves persisted until the beginning of the Civil War and the domestic slave trade prospered. Many slave owners in northern Virginia seized the opportunity to sell surplus slaves into the southern slave market. Franklin & Armfield, one of the largest slave trading firms in America, opened an office in Alexandria in the 1830s. Still, the free African American population of Alexandria continued to increase.

Contained within both Virginia and the District of Columbia during the first half of the 19th century, free African Americans emigrated to Alexandria to escape the oppression characteristic of most of the state (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-341). A small community of free African Americans grew around the intersection of Cameron and Patrick Streets; this area grew and became known as Uptown (ibid.). It is thought that the name "Uptown" derives from the position of the neighborhood uphill from the Potomac waterfront.

Attempts to regulate the growth of the African American community continued in the early 19th century. An ordinance was passed in 1809 that allowed "free persons of color" to settle within the corporate limits of the city until August 9, 1809, after which time any such person had to obtain a voucher from one white person to attest to his or her good character (Bloomburg 1998: 57). Following the 1831 Nat Turner Rebellion, the District of Columbia [in which Alexandria was located at this time] strengthened "black codes"; instituting harsh legal restrictions on African Americans. Free blacks were subject to curfew and required to carry identity papers in public and ordered to obtain special permission for meetings in their own houses. In 1836, the District systematically denied business licenses to blacks (Arnebeck 1989).

By the middle of the 19th century, a dichotomy existed within the City; known as a major slave trading center, it also contained a large free African American population (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-342). No longer needed for tobacco farming with the switch to mixed grain horticulture, slave owners began hiring out slaves to work in the urban centers. This allowed some to obtain extra income and, ultimately, it became possible for some to buy their and their family's freedom (ibid.).

Alexandria was retroceded to Virginia in 1846; subjecting Alexandria's free African American residents to the even more strictly enforced racial laws of Virginia. One such law forbade more than five black persons meeting without the presence of a white man (Wallace 2003:37). A school established in 1812 closed in 1847 as Virginia law did not allow the education of African Americans (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-342).

By 1810, growth in the larger neighborhood containing the project area was minimal. Only three or four clusters of houses had been constructed by the mid 19th century; a cluster located at the intersection of Cameron and Patrick Streets was occupied by a group of free African Americans. The area inhabited by the free African Americans was known as Grantsville; a nearby neighborhood known as Newtown lay west of North Henry Street (Necciai and Drummond 2007). Eventually, these neighborhoods, as well as others, coalesced into what is known today as Parker-Gray.

The Union army's occupation of Alexandria during the Civil War impacted Alexandria's African American population, both freed and enslaved. Although exact numbers are unknown, as many as 20,000 African American refugees may have come to Alexandria during the war. The majority of the African American refugees that migrated to Alexandria probably fled from nearby plantations in northern Virginia, but former slaves from other parts of Virginia, Maryland and even remote parts of the Confederacy also made their way to the city. For the refugees, passage through Confederate Virginia, was typically on foot and often very dangerous. Emma Bynum, a former slave who learned to write in a freedmen's school, described her flight from slavery:

> I traveled 65 miles and we had 52 in our number, be fore, we crost, the river,…we tought, we wld, be taken eny moment, the babys, cried, and we could whear, the sound of them, on the warter, we lay all night in the woods, and the next day, we traveled on and we, reached, Suffolk that night, and we, lost twenty, one, of the Number (Swint et al. 1966:251).

Initially, U.S. officials were required to send "fugitive slaves" back to their owners but, by mid-1861, the government began to refer to freedom-seekers as "contraband of war." This status as property provided a legal basis through which Union officers could refuse to return refugees to their Confederate owners. Contrabands became known as "freedmen" during the later years of the war and into reconstruction.

Arriving in Alexandria with few resources, the escaped slaves sought work, food, clothing, shelter, medical treatment, and education. Many such refugees found employment with the army as stevedores, carpenters, blacksmiths, painters, wood cutters, teamsters, nurses and hospital attendants, gravediggers, laundresses, cooks, and personal servants. General Herman Haupt, commander of the U.S. Military Railroad in Alexandria, wrote about freedmen working in the Construction Corps:

> …if there ever should be recognition of their great services, the faithful contrabands will be justly entitled to their share; no other class of men would have exhibited so much patience and endurance under days and nights of continued and sleepless labor.

The influx of refugees led to tension with Alexandria's fee African American population. When the government instituted a $5 per week reduction in the wages of free black workers to be applied to the support of contrabands, the free black stevedores felt the cut was unfair and appealed to Secretary of War Stanton:

> We...the free people of Alexandria that have been in your employment every since it was established...humbley appeal...for the addition of those five dollars that has been curtailed from our wages... we free born men...has always had our selves and families to look out for do not see why we...should pay a tax for them...while the Contrabands has all the attention from every private source…the government...provides house...and fuell for there wives and children and for the men themselves when out of employ... We think it hard that we should contribute to them who has all the attention…we could just...get along when you gave us $25, but... as high as… it is very hard to get along at alls…your obedient servants…free laborers working as stevedores in Alexandria, August 1863 [sic]

On March 13, 1862, Congress passed the Confiscation Act, which prohibited officers or military personnel from using force to return fugitives. In a city occupied by the Union army, this meant that the government no longer enforced the laws that required that fugitive slaves be captured and returned to their owners.

At the beginning of the War, African Americans could not lawfully join the military. By 1862, the number of qualified recruits declined and, in response, African American men were allowed to join the ranks. By 1865, over 250 African American men who had been killed in action were interred in a corner of the Alexandria National Cemetery (Miller 1998:1).

Many freedmen crowded into abandoned buildings, army barracks or temporary shanties without heat. Some were able to purchase building lots. More than a dozen shantytowns developed into refugee communities, with names such as *Contraband Valley*, *Pump Town, Grantville, Sumnerville, Newtown, and Petersbur*g. Later, post-war black neighborhoods grew from these core areas, and at least one, *the Berg*, retained its wartime identity. Food and clothing were in short supply and disease and sickness, including small pox, respiratory problems, and influenza, was rampant. Many, particularly children, died.

Throughout the 1860s, African-American neighborhoods developed in several locations within the city. At the end of the war, the African American population of Alexandria County had increased to more than 8700, or about half the total population.

The Freedman's Bureau assisted the African American community in Alexandria to open new schools; two of these, the Seaton School and the Hallowell School, opened in 1867. The Seaton School (later known as the Snowden School for Boys) was named after the noted African American carpenter George Seaton (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-344). The Hallowell School for Girls had been earlier known as the Alfred Street School and the Lee School; the Hallowell names derived from Benjamin Hallowell, a Quaker who taught school in the city (ibid.). In 1870, these schools became part of the city's public school system.

By the end of the 19th century, the city's African American communities expanded from the small antebellum neighborhoods and the neighborhoods that had arisen from the freedmen's shantytowns into new and larger neighborhoods (Office of Historic Alexandria n.d.). In 1900, the African American community within the larger Parker-Gray neighborhood, known as Uptown, made up at least a quarter of the residents (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-340).

By the turn of the 20th century, residential neighborhoods were expanding in the project area vicinity. During this period, housing in the vicinity of the project area appears to have been somewhat integrated as new residents were attracted by employment opportunities, for both blacks and whites, associated with the railroad and industrial development. Just west of the project area, the Belle Pre Bottle Company and the Alexandria Glass Company were located on Madison and Montgomery Streets, and warehouses stood along the railroad and North Fayette Street (ibid). The large employment centers in the project area vicinity made the area attractive for use as rental housing (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-333). A number of individual houses were built in the area at this time. A number of immigrants were resident, continuing a tradition that had been in place since the mid 19$^{th}$ century when approximately 60% of the residents along North Columbus and Alfred Streets, near their junction with Oronoco and Wythe Streets, were Irish immigrants (ibid). By the 1930s, the same area contained a mixture of African Americans and recent Italian immigrants.

Segregated schools developed near and within the Parker-Gray/Uptown neighborhood in the 19th and early 20th centuries (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-341). Some of these schools include the Hallowell School for Girls, Parker-Gray Elementary School and the Parker-Gray High School. The designation "Parker Gray" honors Sarah Gray, a principal of the Hallowell School and John Parker, a principal at Snowdon School (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-344). The Parker-Gray Historic District name is derived from some of these schools.

The Parker-Gray Elementary School was built in 1920 when Alexandria combined two schools built in 1868 into a new elementary school (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-344). The new school was overcrowded and the African American community provided the funds for both furnishings and books. Although built to serve the lower grades, some high school classes were offered at the facility (ibid.).

As the Parker-Gray Elementary School did not offer a full high school program, it was difficult for African American students to obtain a higher education (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-344). Some obtained diplomas from District of Columbia Schools. In 1950, Alexandria recognized that high school education was important for African American children as well and the Parker-Gray High School was constructed. After segregation ended, the high school was utilized for middle school classes for a short period; both the elementary and the high schools were demolished in 1970 (ibid.).

After the construction of the Parker-Gray Elementary School and the Parker-Gray High School, smaller African American neighborhoods began to form within Uptown; these include the Hump (which contains the project area) and Colored Rosemont (Necciai and Drumond 2007:8-340). Ultimately, these neighborhoods coalesced into Uptown which became an increasingly African American focal point from the turn of the 20th century into the 1960s. It was the single largest predominantly African American residential section of the city during segregation and contained many African American owned businesses and institutions (ibid.). Other businesses within the neighborhood, although owned by whites, served primarily an African American clientele.

**The Neighborhoods**

Alexandria's historic African American neighborhoods are discussed in the following text. Exhibit 21 depicts a view of the areas covered by these neighborhoods. As the neighborhood locations, in most cases, have never been precisely defined and have changed over time, the boundaries depicted and discussed below should be considered general and approximate. The project area lies within the neighborhood known as the Hump which and is contained within the Parker-Gray Historic District (DHR 100-0133), and listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

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**A.** The Berg
**B.** "Colored" Rosemont
**C.** The Bottoms orThe Dip
**D.** Cross Canal
**E.** Fishtown
**F.** The Fort &
Oakland Baptist Church & Cemetery
**G.** Hayti
**H.** The Hill
**I.** The Hump
**J.** Uptown
**K.** Macedonia

Approximate Location of Project Area

**African American Neighborhoods**
**Alexandria, Virginia**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not to Scale**

W
S
N
E

Map Source: "Exploring Alexandria's African American Heritage". Mary Gallagher. N.D.

***Thunderbird Archeology***
***A Division of Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 21***

*The Bottoms*

Alexandria's earliest African American neighborhood, the Bottoms, was established in a low-lying area of the Old Town street grid, west of Washington Street, south of Prince Street, east of Henry Street and north of Franklin Street. Over time, the neighborhood, also known as "the Dip," grew to a total area of about 20 blocks (AAHV n.d.).

This area was settled in 1798 by two free black families. By the early 19th century, members of this community, which had grown to comprise about eight families, had built a number of small frame houses on lots along South Alfred Street. Much of the land in the Bottoms was purchased from Quaker landowners by the residents (AAHV n.d.). In the 19th century, the backyards of dwellings in the Bottoms included areas associated with subsistence and food production (i.e. animals, gardens, orchards); few dwellings had associated wells. Free black property owners in the Bottoms often operated businesses, such as laundries, tailor's and grocer's shops, from their homes (ibid).

The Colored Baptist Society, Alexandria's first black religious congregation formed in the Bottoms in 1803; in 1818, the members built the Alfred Street Baptist Church at 313 South Alfred Street (AAHV n.d.). The importance of the church as a cultural center within the Bottoms neighborhood has endured and it now occupies a brick building that replaced the original frame church in 1855. Its influence has also reached outside the Bottoms; African Americans living along Cameron and Patrick Streets in the Uptown area have attended Alfred Street Baptist Church (ibid). Another noteworthy cultural institution that has persisted in the Bottoms since the 19th century is the Odd Fellows Hall, located at 411 South Columbus Street. The hall has accommodated African-American ceremonies, social gatherings and business meetings since its construction in 1870 (ibid).

In the second half of the 20th century public housing projects were built in the Bottoms, and recently some of the older housing stock has been renovated.

*Hayti*

Another African American neighborhood, developed in the early 1800s, is located several blocks east of Washington Street, in the 400 block of South Royal Street. This neighborhood, known as *Hayti*, centered around 400 South Royal Street, Prince Street marked the northern border; South Pitt Street was the western border; South Fairfax Street was the eastern border, and the southern border was between Wilkes and Gibbon Streets. The community was likely named for the island of Haiti, where the enslaved population managed a successful uprising and overthrew the slave owners during the same period that the Alexandria neighborhood appeared. As the Wilkes Street Tunnel, built for the Orange and Alexandria Railroad in 1856, is present in Hayti, the neighborhood has also been called *Tunnel Town* (AAHV n.d.).

The Hayti neighborhood began as a cluster of free black homes in the 1790s and remained predominantly residential with only a few grocery shops (AAHV n.d.). Several frame and brick townhouses built during the early years of the community still stand on the 400 block of South Royal and the 300 block of South Fairfax Streets. As with the Bottoms, the Society of Friends

figured in the development of Hayti. Free African Americans rented inexpensive houses in Hayti from a Quaker landlord and relatively affluent free black families purchased fine brick homes on South Royal Street. Many residents attended nearby First Methodist Episcopal Church, now Trinity United Methodist, before founding a black congregation on the outskirts of Hayti in 1830 (ibid).

Hayti families established businesses, churches, and civic organizations. Prominent antebellum residents included landowner Moses Hepburn and his aunt, Hannah Jackson, who bought his freedom; and builder George Seaton, Alexandria's first black state legislator. They, with other Hayti residents, spearheaded the creation of the Odd Fellows Joint Stock Company, a benevolent association, and several churches, including Davis Chapel, now Roberts Memorial United Methodist Church (ibid).

*Fishtown*

Following the decline in the city's manufacturing sector in the 1830s, fishing became one of Alexandria's major commercial activities, along with slave trading, (AAHV n.d.). A seasonal community known as *Fishtown* developed in the 1850s along the Potomac near Oronoco Street, in the area now occupied by Founders Park. African American workers, who cleaned the locally caught shad and herring, populated Fishtown during the fishing season each spring. During this period, about 150 fisheries operated along the Potomac near Alexandria. Fishing and other riverine and seaport industries such as the ropewalk and ship building employed large numbers of African American laborers. African-Americans also worked as dock hands, bricklayers, carpenters, glaziers, and builders in the wharf district (ibid).

Fishtown's built environment - tenements, salting houses, places to pack and sell fish, and eating houses - consisted of crude temporary structures built with "hired" wood; planks which were rented and returned after the season. As the rented wood could not be cut, windows the size of a plank, 15 foot long and one foot wide, were used in the ephemeral structures (AAHV n.d.).

Although some workers lived in Fishtown tenements, at least on a seasonal basis, the community was primarily commercial and industrial rather than residential. Many of Fishtown's African American workers may have lived in *the Berg*, a black neighborhood just west of Fishtown, settled during and after the Civil War (ibid.).

*The Berg*

Originally one of the Civil War era shantytowns, *the Berg* was founded as Petersburg by African Americans refugees whom had moved to Alexandria from Petersburg, Virginia. It was the second African American neighborhood to develop north of King Street and was located just west of Fishtown and the tracks of the Alexandria & Washington Railroad. As is common with other African American neighborhoods in the city, the boundaries of the Berg changed over time and its boundary descriptions vary. Its extents have been described as roughly covering an area of about 15 city blocks; bounded by North St. Asaph Street on the west, Madison Street on the north, Princess Street on the south, and North Fairfax Street on the east (AAHV n.d.).

The Berg continued to be an African-American neighborhood throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries.

*Cross Canal*

The *Cross Canal* neighborhood, centered on the 800 block of North Fairfax Street between Madison and First Streets, was named for its location just across the Alexandria Canal at the northeast end of the city. The area remained rural during the Civil War when African-Americans may have first moved to the area in search of affordable housing, or housing near their jobs on the wharves. In the early 20th century, some residents worked at the Old Dominion Glass Factory, and likely other factories in the vicinity (AAHV n.d.).

*The Hill*

*The Hill, or "Vinegar Hill"* as it was sometimes called, developed during and after the Civil War. The community arose between the two pre-war neighborhoods, the Bottoms and Hayti, and extended African-American settlement south along the waterfront. The origins of the name Vinegar Hill are uncertain; however, African-American neighborhoods of the same name can be found in Washington, D.C., and in Charlottesville, Virginia (AAHV n.d.).

The neighborhood covers about 14 blocks bounded by Wolfe Street, South Washington Street, South Union Street, and a line between Green Street and Lee Court. The center of the neighborhood was at the intersection of South Royal Street and Gibbon Street (ibid.).

Gibbon Street today is reminiscent of how the neighborhood looked in the early 19th century. In 1983, longtime resident Henry Johnson told a researcher the Hill "is the one place in town that I can ride my bike and not be lonesome—it just feels like how it used to feel." Numerous 19th century homes remain along the 400 and 500 blocks. The Departmental Progressive Club, at 411 Gibbon Street, and the Roberts United Memorial Church, at 600-A South Washington Street, are important historic institutions in the African-American neighborhood (AAHV n.d.).

*The Hump*

In the late 19th century, a neighborhood of black and white working-class people lived in an area known as the Hump that had formed north of the Uptown neighborhood. The Hump once spanned three blocks along Montgomery Street, centering on the 800 block; the intersection of Montgomery and North Patrick streets marked its western border, its southern boundary ran along Madison Street, the eastern boundary was along North Washington Street, and the northern edge was between Second and First streets. When the neighborhood was first settled, the Alexandria Canal that abutted it was closed down; the railroad tracks along its eastern border were eventually abandoned and this somewhat undesirable area may have offered inexpensive housing for the blacks and whites who settled there, many of whom worked at the nearby brewery and glassworks.

Oral history provides first- person accounts of early 20th century life in the Hump. One resident, Henry Johnson, recalled life as a child there: "It was so cold that you could go to bed and see the moon shining (through the walls). The snow'd come through them cracks on your feet . . . Ice'd

freeze on the washstand. . . It'd freeze in your bedroom . . . We had to go to a pump to get water to wash with. The pump was right in the street on just 'bout every corner—great big old wooden pump."

In 1943, the government condemned two acres of the Hump in order to build the James Bland Homes Public Housing Project, built in 1954 and the subject of this study.

*Black Rosemont*

*Black Rosemont*, also known as *Colored Rosemont,* was an African-American neighborhood centered on the 600 and 700 blocks of West and Payne Street in the northwest corner of Alexandria. One of the last African American neighborhoods to develop in the city, Black Rosemont formed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The name of the neighborhood was likely associated with the white streetcar suburb of Rosemont located across the tracks.

Housing in Black Rosemont consisted primarily of individually owned free standing dwellings, one or two stories high and constructed in a cottage or bungalow style. Several black-owned businesses, including grocery stores, were also established in the neighborhood; during the period of segregation and the Jim Crow laws, blacks shopped exclusively at stores owned by African-American entrepreneurs.

In 1950, the Parker-Gray High School, a segregated school for black students, was built in Black Rosemont at 1207 Madison Street. After 1965, the building served as the Parker-Gray Middle School until its closure in 1979. In the early 1980s, the building was demolished, but a plaque marks its location. Since the construction of Parker-Gray High School, Black Rosemont has been considered by many a part of the Uptown/Parker-Gray neighborhood; however it was not included within the Parker-Grey National Historic District.

*Uptown (Parker-Gray Historic District)*

*The Uptown* neighborhood began as a small cluster of African American homes in the antebellum period. Uptown was the first neighborhood settled north of King Street and, along with the Berg (the second black neighborhood to form north of King Street), expanded significantly during and after the Civil War as newly emancipated African-Americans migrated to Alexandria (Office of Historic Alexandria n.d.; Bloomburg 1998: 73).

Originally much smaller than the city's older black communities, the Bottoms and Hayti, Uptown grew into the largest concentration of African-Americans in the city, eventually occupying 24 city blocks. The center of the neighborhood was at the intersection of North Henry and Oronoco Streets; North West Street forms its western border, Montgomery Street its northern border, North Columbus Street its eastern border, and Cameron Street its southern border. The Uptown neighborhood is now included in the Parker-Gray Historic District (DHR 100-0133).

Three or four small enclaves of African American owned homes had developed in the area by the mid-19th century. One of these, located near the intersection of Cameron and Patrick Streets, was home to a group of free African American families by 1810. Although the various enclaves

in this area developed separate neighborhood identities at times, they eventually grew together into one larger neighborhood (National Register of Historic Places Parker-Gray PIF). Although started in the antebellum period, the Uptown neighborhood expanded significantly during and after the Civil War. Over time, the Uptown area became increasingly intertwined with and attracted some persons and institutions from Alexandria's older African American communities. By the early twentieth century, the Uptown/Parker-Gray Historic District became home to African American institutions that served African Americans from across the city, including private clubs and segregated schools and libraries (ibid).

By 1904, the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks in the World, a local African-American fraternal lodge, constructed a building in the Uptown neighborhood just south of the Hump. By 1932, the lodge was expanded to become one of the largest social halls for African-Americans in Alexandria. African-American commercial establishments in the Uptown area served the increasing black population.

As the Uptown neighborhood grew, the demand for education for local African American children resulted in the creation of the Snowden and Hallowell schools, the city's first black public schools. John Parker was the first principal of the Snowden School for boys, and Sarah Gray was the first principal of Hallowell School for girls, and they are the namesakes of the Parker-Gray Historic District. Both schools were in operation by 1915, though the Snowden School for Boys burned down in 1915 (ibid). In 1920, the schools were consolidated into the Parker-Gray School, located on Wythe Street (Office of Historic Alexandria n.d. a). Always poorly funded and overcrowded, Parker-Gray was subsidized by its community, which donated chairs and other equipment. Eventually the school expanded to include high school students, became accredited and, in the 1940s, began sending graduates on to college (ibid).

By the second quarter of the 20th century, the Uptown neighborhood, although characterized by a degree of racial integration, contained the city's largest concentration of African American residents. During this period, cultural attitudes toward race and official policies concerning racial segregation led to greater separation between Alexandria's white and black neighborhoods. Within Uptown, new separate institutions were built for white and African American citizens by the city government, various philanthropists, and the African American community itself. These included the "whites only" Alexandria Boys Club, built at 401 North Payne Street in 1936 as a philanthropic project by Dr. Robert South Barrett, Jr. and the Robert Robinson Library built at 638 North Alfred Street in 1940. Two recreation center buildings were built in the neighborhood to serve as USO clubs during World War II were built, one at 1005 Pendleton Street and another (still in existence as part of Jefferson-Houston School) at 1605 Cameron Street (ibid).

The construction of the Robinson Library was precipitated by a sit-in strike in 1939. Although originally a subscription service, the library operated as a public facility beginning in 1937 but the rules restricted access to "all persons of the white race living in the City of Alexandria and to

all persons of the white race who are taxpayers in Alexandria" (ibid.). White individuals who did not reside or pay taxes within the city were required to pay a fee of $1.50 per year. Although a separate facility for African American residents was explored prior to the opening of Queen Street, no such facility came to fruition.

On March 17, 1939, Samuel Wilbert Tucker, an attorney, and George Wilson, a retired Army Sergeant, requested a library card application at the Queen Street Library, facility that was segregated at this time (Office of Historic Alexandria n.d.). Tucker and Wilson were informed that they could not have library cards and a civil suit was filed by Tucker. Although the court refused the petition because Tucker was not a citizen of Alexandria and the case was not filed by Wilson, who was a citizen, a January 1940 brief noted that there were no legal grounds for refusing a "bona fide citizen" use of the library (ibid.).

In the interim between the library's refusal to issue cards and the court brief, five African American men staged a sit-in at the library. The men were arrested for disorderly conduct and the incident received national attention. This attention forced the Alexandria Library Board and the City Council to consider the matter and they discussed three alternatives: the construction of a separate library for African Americans, the construction of an annex to Queen Street with a separate entrance, and the development of an arrangement with the Parker-Gray Colored School's library to allow usage by non-school African American citizens. A decision was made to construct a separate facility (Office of Historic Alexandria n.d).

In 1940, a year after the black citizens protested their exclusion from the Alexandria Free Library; the city built the Robinson Library for African-Americans on the corner of North Alfred and Wythe Streets. The Robinson Library currently houses the Alexandria Black History Museum. The Museum was established in 1983 by the Alumni Association of the Parker-Gray School and the Alexandria Society for the Preservation of Black Heritage (Office of Historic Alexandria n.d.). At this time, it was called the Alexandria Black History Resource Center and was staffed by volunteers from these organizations. In 1987, it became part of the Office of Historic Alexandria. A city-funded addition to the building was constructed in 1989 and, in 1995, two additional sites were added to the Museum. These were the African American Heritage Park and the Watson Reading Room (ibid). The original building for the Watson Reading Room was an early school and church for the African American community.

In 1950, the Parker-Gray High School was relocated to 1207 Madison Street. The old school building on Wythe Street was then renamed Charles Houston Elementary School. Parker-Gray was the only school for African-American high school students in the city until 1965. The Parker-Gray school closed its doors in 1979.

## CHAPTER 9: PROPERTY OWNERSHIP AND NEIGHBORHOOD HISTORY

### Land Grants and Patents

In 1669, the project area became part of a 6,000 acre land grant given by Sir William Berkeley, then governor of the Virginia Colony, to Robert Howson (Howsing) of Stafford County in return for Howson's transportation of 120 persons and ten "Negroes" into the Virginia Colony. The Virginia Colony did not consider the "Negroes" as part of this headright (Mitchell 1988:21). Little is known about Robert Howson (or Howsing). According to historian Fairfax Harrison, he was a Welsh sea captain who also held land patents in present-day Westmoreland County (Harrison 1987:60).

Robert Howson's 1669 patent overlapped a 700-acre patent to Margaret Brent that was issued on 6 September 1654 (Pippenger 1990:34) and later became the subject of much dispute by subsequent landowners, as several versions of the patent exist (Pippenger 1990:36). The original land patent described the Howson tract as located "Opposite my Lord's Island to the north point of a creek named by the English the Indian Cabin Creek" (Virginia Land Patents 6: 262).

### Alexander Family, 1660-1735

John Alexander, a Stafford County planter, purchased the Howson patent in 1669. In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the Alexander family owned substantial lands in the vicinity of the project area. They later became one of Alexandria's most prominent families.

The Roman numerals following the names of the various John and Robert Alexanders are intended as clarification for the reader; these appellations were not used by the historical personages themselves. The dates in parentheses in each sub-heading refer to the period when the person owned the project area.

*John Alexander I (1669-1677)*

On November 13, 1669, a little over a month after he obtained the patent for 6,000 acres of land along the Potomac River, Robert Howson sold it to John Alexander I (d. 1677) in exchange for six hogsheads (approximately 6,000 pounds) of tobacco (Prince William County Land Causes 1789-1793: 220). According to Wesley Pippenger, an authority on the Alexander family, John Alexander I immigrated to Virginia from England prior to 1653 (1990: 8-9). He became a prosperous planter in present-day King George County, which was at that time part of Stafford County. Alexander was also a surveyor, and served as justice of the peace, sheriff and captain of the militia in Stafford County (Pippenger 1990: xiii, 25). John Alexander I and his wife Elizabeth had three sons: John (who predeceased his father and died without heirs), Robert (hereafter referred to as Robert Alexander I) and Phillip. They probably had two daughters as well: Elizabeth and Sarah (Mitchell 1988:60).

In 1677, John Alexander I died. His unsigned will, dated 25 October 1677, left 500 acres and the "house and plantation where I now live" in Stafford County to his son Robert. With the exception of several tracts of land that John Alexander I bequeathed to specific individuals, the remainder of his estate was to be equally divided between his two surviving sons, Robert Alexander I and Philip (Pippenger 1990:28-29, citing Prince William County Land Causes 1789-1793, page 221). The will states that Robert should not dispose of the land before he comes of age yet names him executor, which seems an unlikely position for a minor (1990:28). Pippenger feels that the will transcription is in error and that the name of the minor child in the will was actually Phillip, who was the younger son by a number of years.

Following John Alexander I's death, most of the land within the Howson patent was divided between Robert Alexander I and Philip Alexander. However, John Alexander I made a specific bequest to Elizabeth Holmes, who inherited the "200 acres where John Coggins lives."

According to Mitchell (1988), this tract is located south of the project area on the north shore of Great Hunting Creek. The relationship between Elizabeth Holmes and the Alexander family is unknown.

The 200-acre tract devised to Elizabeth Holmes was the subject of a legal action (Burr Harrison *vs.* Robert Alexander) filed in 1758 in Stafford County; the suit apparently revolved around surveys of the property done by Thomas Bland (Pippenger 1990:94-95, citing Stafford County Deed Book P:178-180). The petition, which noted that Elizabeth Holmes had married Richard Nixon on October 12, 1688, ordered that the land of Elizabeth Holmes Nixon be given to Burr Harrison. Pippenger further notes that a record dated October 12, 1688 stated that Richard Nickson [sic Nixon] of Stafford County and his wife Elizabeth, who were seized of a 200-acre tract where John Coggin formerly lived, conveyed the tract to Burr Harrison, who paid 2,500 pounds of tobacco for the property (Pippenger 1990:95, cited Stafford County Deed Book D:103-104). Burr Harrison later bequeathed the land to his son, Thomas. Thomas Harrison's son, also Burr, conveyed the land to John West, Jr. in 1762 (Mitchell 1988).

*Robert Alexander I (1677?-1703)*

In the years immediately following their father's death, Robert Alexander I and Philip Alexander appear to have owned approximately equal shares of the Howson's patent land. However, by 1694, Robert Alexander I, the oldest son of John Alexander I, owned the land that later became Potomac Yards as well as most of the surrounding land (Mitchell 1988:61). In 1687, Robert Alexander I sold 150 acres to John Pimmit for 8000 pounds of tobacco; this tract lay on the north side of Four Mile Run. In 1707, Pimmit's son, George, conveyed the property to William Harper (Mitchell 1988, cited Stafford Will Book Z: 403; Stetson 1935: 12n). In 1732, the Harper family in turn sold it to Thomas Pearson, whose sister Constantina married Nathaniel Chapman. Chapman still owned the property in 1741 (Mitchell 1988; Stetson 1935: 13n).

In 1690, Robert Alexander I deeded 1950 acres (less 500 acres which he reserved for himself) of his share of the 6000-acre patent to his brother Phillip (Pippenger 1990:93, cited Stafford County Deed Book D, pp. 193a-194a). On February 19, 1693/94, Philip Alexander assigned his share of the estate, excepting 500 acres reserved for his own use, back to his brother Robert Alexander

(Prince William County, Virginia Land Causes 1789-1793:217). The 500 acres that Philip Alexander reserved for himself was bordered by Hooffs Run on the west, Great Hunting Creek to the South, the Potomac River on the East and land owned by Hugh West on the north.

Pippenger's study of the Alexander family indicates that Robert Alexander I married twice. He married Priscilla Aston in 1673, and in 1701, he married Frances (Fitzhugh?), who predeceased her husband. Priscilla and Robert Alexander had two sons, Robert Alexander II and Charles; the marriage between Frances and Robert left no issue. He died in Stafford County in 1703 or 1704.

According to Robert Alexander I's will dated December 22, 1703, his "Land & Planta. lying up the [Potomac] River & on the upper side of Great Hunting Creek in this County" was to be divided equally between his two sons, Robert Alexander II and Charles Alexander. Robert Alexander II also inherited two tracts: his father's "now Dwelling Planta., with houses, orchards and 300 acres of Land belonging to the same" as well as "the other half or moiety of my afs [aforesaid] back Land being 350 acres joining upon my brother Philip Alexander" (Pippenger 1990:104). Robert Alexander I's son Charles received "...350 acres of Land it being the moiety or half of my back Quarter land the uppermost half thereof commonly called John Dry's Planta," also located in Stafford County (ibid).

Excepting specific bequests, Robert Alexander I's household furniture, goods, merchandise, plate, tobacco, corn, money, monies in England, book debts, his stock of cattle, hogs and horses and the remainder of his personal estate were divided between Robert II and Charles (ibid). In addition, Robert II received the following enslaved African Americans: "Mullatto Grace", Cate, Dego, Nanny, Caesar, "Mulatto Moll", Sarah, "Papa Jack" and "Negro Robin in Number 9" as well as their issue (Pippenger 1990:104). Charles received the following slaves: "Mulatto Tom", Jack, Solomon, Nanny, Francis, Diana, Priscilla in number 7..."

The specific bequests in Robert Alexander I's will provide additional information about his familial ties, labor arrangements, and social circles. His niece; daughter of his brother Philip, Elizabeth Alexander received a slave named Suky and her issue; his nieces Jane and Sarah received 1000 pounds of tobacco each to buy a side saddle; his godson John Fitzhugh received a young mare; his goddaughter Elizabeth Duncomb received two cows and two calves. His "Taylor [tailor] John Allen" received his freedom as well as his best suit, a hat, shoes, and two good shirts; his "Taylor John Hyatt" received "1/2 a year of his time" and his second best suit. The two tailors were likely indentured servants, a labor arrangement that was common in the early and mid-17th-century in Virginia but was largely supplanted by slave labor. Robert Alexander I's friends Colonel Hooe, Philip Alexander (his nephew, Philip Alexander, Jr. or another more distant relative?) and William Fitzhugh received a Ring of 2 Sd [shillings] apiece. Grace, one of the slaves he bequeathed to his son Robert II, received a cow (Pippenger 1990:104).

*Robert Alexander II (1703-1735)*

Major Robert Alexander II (1688-1735) married Anne Fowke sometime before 1709 (ibid: 107). They had six children, five of whom survived until adulthood: Parthenia (1709-1742), Anne (1710-1735), John III (1711-1734), Gerard (1712-1761), Sarah (1720-1739) and Francis (b 1737, died as an infant) (Pippenger 1990: 113). In addition to owning most of Howson's patent in Prince William County, Robert Alexander II had substantial landholdings in Stafford County where he had his primary residence. A 1723 quit rent roll for Overwharton Parish [Stafford County] shows that Robert II paid £4.13.6 rent for 4,675 acres (Pippenger 1990: 108). Robert was a justice of the peace in Overwharton Parish, a justice of Stafford County in 1726 and a Major in the militia.

Robert Alexander II died on October 5, 1735 in Stafford County and left a will dated April 28, 1735. The will left Robert II's wife, Anne, his lands in Stafford County for life; four slaves – Solomon, Nate, Grace and Dinah (but Solomon and Grace could not be removed from the dwelling where they lived); and one-third of his personal estate (to be divided between his sons Gerard and John III after their mother's death). John Alexander III received all the lands in Stafford County after his mother's death. His daughter Ann Hooe received 200 acres of land called Summer's Quarters; the will does not specify where this property is located (Pippenger 1990: 111).

Robert Alexander II's lands in the vicinity of present-day Alexandria were divided among four of his children: John Alexander III, Gerard Alexander, Parthenia Massey (later Dade), and Sarah Alexander (later Dade). John III received the land on the south bank of Four Mile Run, while Gerard inherited the land on the north side of Four Mile Run. His two daughters, Parthenia Massey and Sarah Alexander, each received 400 acres of land located south of their brother John's land. The distribution of the estate was apparently complicated as Gerrard and John III required an act of law to settle the division of slaves and land (Pippenger 1990: 110).

**Alexander Family Quarters and Tenant Farms**

Between 1669 and 1735, portions of the Alexanders' properties along the Potomac River, Great Hunting Creek, and Four Mile Run were worked by slaves or indentured servants of the Alexander family. However, John Alexander I and his descendents likely leased most of the land south of Four Mile Run to tenant farmers (Walker and Harper 1989; Pippenger 1990; Stetson 1935; Alexandria Archaeology Museum 1999a).

Only one tenant of the John Alexander I era is identified in the documents: Mr. Coggins, who in 1677 lived on the 200-acre tract on the north side of Great Hunting Creek that John Alexander I bequeathed to Elizabeth Holmes. In order to secure the patent, John Alexander I had to settle the land within three years of purchasing it. The Coggins farm may have fulfilled that requirement,

or John Alexander I may have established a quarter on the property as well. In 17th- and 18th-century terminology, a quarter was a portion of a larger tract of land where slaves lived and worked under the supervision of an overseer; alternatively, particularly in the 17th century, quarters could be occupied by indentured servants. Typically, the landowner did not live on a quarter.

Robert Alexander I's will mentioned a "Planta" that was located on this tract of land in 1703 but provided no information about what type of residence or farm it was, who worked there, or where it was located. It is possible that the "Planta" referred to the tenant farms on the property. In 1696, Robert Alexander I leased Pearson's Island to Thomas Pearson (Pippenger 1990:132-133). In 1698, he leased a 200-acre tract to John Harper Sr., William Harper and Elizabeth Harper (Mitchell 1988; Pippenger 1990:94). John Harper was to pay the quit rents and "two fat hens yearly" if demanded (Mitchell, citing Stafford Will Book Z: 200). This tract was noted to join a tract formerly sold to John Pimmitt (Pippinger 1990:94), thus suggesting that it was located at the southern end of Robert Alexander I's property, near Great Hunting Creek. In addition, "Holmes's Island" may have been named after John Holmes, who may have been a tenant there (ibid: 93).

In 1703, Robert Alexander II inherited nine enslaved African Americans – Grace, Cate, Dego, Nanny, Caesar, Moll, Sarah, "Papa Jack", and "Negro Robin" – from his father, but whether any of these nine were dispatched to the lands in the vicinity of the project area is unknown (Pippenger 1990:104). It is also possible that some of the tenants who leased land from the Alexanders owned or rented slaves to work on their farms, but no written documentation of slave occupation of the lands in the vicinity of the project area has been located. By 1705, Robert Alexander I's brother, Philip Alexander, had established a quarter on land along the Potomac River. Philip Alexander's quarter was likely located on the banks of the Potomac, just north of Great Hunting Creek. Phillip Alexander died in 1705 at the age of 41. An inventory of his quarter in an appraisal of his estate in the Stafford County Wills (Z: 269-272) provides an example of who lived at a quarter in this area around the turn of the 18th century and what kinds of goods they kept there:

> shock bed & bolster & blankets & a rugg
> 1 shock bed & bolster & rugg & blankets
> 2 iron potts & hooks
> 2 padlocks, 12 old Tin Canns, one old Frying Pan
> one Bucket Pail, 1 old cask, a smoothing iron
> 3 iron wedges, 5 old spoons, one old Frow
>
> 2 grubbing hoes, one Cross Cut saw & a File
> 3 broad hoes, 1 ax, one man servant, 1 year & half to serve
> Servt. Boy 6 years to serve, 1 sevt. Boy 5 yrs & 1/2 to serve
> one Woman sevrt. 3 years & half to serve

The servants were indentured, but we do not know their names, where they came from, or what happened to them after they completed their indenture. A "frow" is a woodworking tool used for making staves and shingles. A "shock bed & bolster" refers to a mattress and pillow made of sheaves.

In 1731, the tenants on Robert Alexander II's lands paid rents of 524 pounds of tobacco for 100 acres and 1048 pounds for 200 acres. At that time, documented tenants below Four Mile Run included Judith Ballenger, Sarah Young, Sarah Amos and James Going, who "raised horses" and "spent much of [his] money at the races" (Mitchell 1988: 61). Above Four Mile Run lived Edward Chubb, Richard Middleton, William Boylstone, John Straughan, Adam Straughan, Edward Earpe and Richard Wheeler (ibid: 61-62).

**Alexander Family Ownership After 1735**

Again, in the following text, the Roman numerals following the names of the various John and Robert Alexanders are intended as clarification for the reader; these appellations were not used by the historical personages themselves. The dates in parentheses in each sub-heading refer to the period when the person owned the project area.

Upon Robert Alexander II's death in 1735, his estate was divided among his children, three of whom established or maintained farms or plantations in the area. At this time, his sons Gerard Alexander and John Alexander III were living on their father's property along the Potomac River, which then lay within Prince William County. John Alexander III and his wife Susannah likely moved to his father's house in Stafford County shortly after Robert Alexander II died, but maintained a quarter on the Prince William County land. In the late 1730s and 1740s, Gerard Alexander established a plantation named Abingdon on land to the north of the project area. By 1740, Robert Alexander II's daughter, Parthenia Massey Dade, and her husband, Townshend Dade, had also established a residence in the area. Gerard Alexander and Parthenia and Townshend Dade also lived on land in the vicinity of the project area. Their sister, Sarah Alexander Dade, died within a few years of her father and did not establish a residence on the land she inherited. The project area likely lay within this land. The 1741 Howsing's Patent Survey Plat, showing the division of the patent, was prepared at this time (Exhibit 22)

These property owners were all slave owners, and some of the slaves they acquired from Robert Alexander II are mentioned in his will or other documents. As recipients of the majority of their father's personal estate, including his slaves, John Alexander III and Gerard Alexander likely inherited most of their father's slaves.

*Parthenia and Townshend Dade*

Although no portion of the study area appears to have been located within the estate of Parthenia and Townsend Dade, a brief overview of their land ownership in the area follows in order to present a more complete history of the division of the Alexander's lands.

In 1731/32, just before Dade Massey was to marry Parthenia Alexander, Robert Alexander II executed a bond with the man who was about to become his son-in-law:

> I Robert Alexander, Jr. of Stafford County, my Heirs or Assigns are holden & firmly bound to pay unto Dade Massey, Junr. of the same County, to him his Heirs of Assigns the sum of £800…to be paid on demand after the date of these presents.
>
> The Condition of the above Obligation is such that if in case the above said Robert Alexander, Jr. do make over according to Law when demanded to Parthenia Alexander, daughter of said Robert Alexander, one certain tract or parcel of Land lying in Prince William County containing four hundred acres & on Potomack River…..also three, this Country born, negroes, called by the names of negro will & negro Clarey, & Dick & 8 Ewes, 9 head of Cattle, one feather bed & furniture, also 12 heads of Hogs which said Land & Negroes & Stock is to be made over to the aforesaid Parthenia Alexander,…then the above Obligation to be void, and of none effect, or else to stand & remain in full force power & vertue [Pippenger 1990:109].

According to Pippenger, Dade Massey died on April 16, 1735 (1990: 114). His death may have led Parthenia's father to write a new will, since Robert Alexander II's last will was written only twelve days later, on April 28. According to her fathers' will, Parthenia Massey inherited the same 400-acre tract of land in Prince William County that was mentioned in the 1731/32 bond between Robert Alexander II and Dade Massey.

She also inherited two white indentured servants who still had seven years in their indenture, 40 barrels of corn, four sows with pig, 800 cts of meat and "on her aforesaid Likes to be built at the cost of my executors hereafter named a fifty foot tobacco house twenty foot wide and twenty foot Quarter 13 wide" (Pippenger 1990:111-112).

In 1736, Parthenia Alexander Massey married Townshend Dade (1707-1781) (ibid: 114). In 1739, Parthenia and Townshend Dade moved to the 400-acre tract that she inherited from her father and established a plantation along the Potomac River, northeast of the project area (Pippenger 1990; Stetson 1935; Miller 1989).

*Sarah Alexander (1735-ca. 1740)*

Sarah Alexander, who was under the age of sixteen at the time of her father's death, inherited 400 acres of land adjoining her sister Parthenia's land. Like her sister, Sarah also received from her father two "nice Negroe women and two nice Negroe men they not to exceed 20 years," a horse worth £10, saddle of £6, four cows and calves, "four Sows with pig," and the same "household Stuff" that Parthenia Massey received. He also left Sarah 40 barrels of corn, 800 wt of meat, the construction of "a 50 Foot Tobacco house 20 foot wide and a 20 Foot Quarter 13 foot wide," "necessary tools for her plantation use," and the clothing of the slaves she inherited for two years. She was not to receive her inheritance, however, until she reached the age of sixteen, and her father's executors were required to house, feed, and clothe her until she reached the age of eighteen (Pippenger 1990:112).

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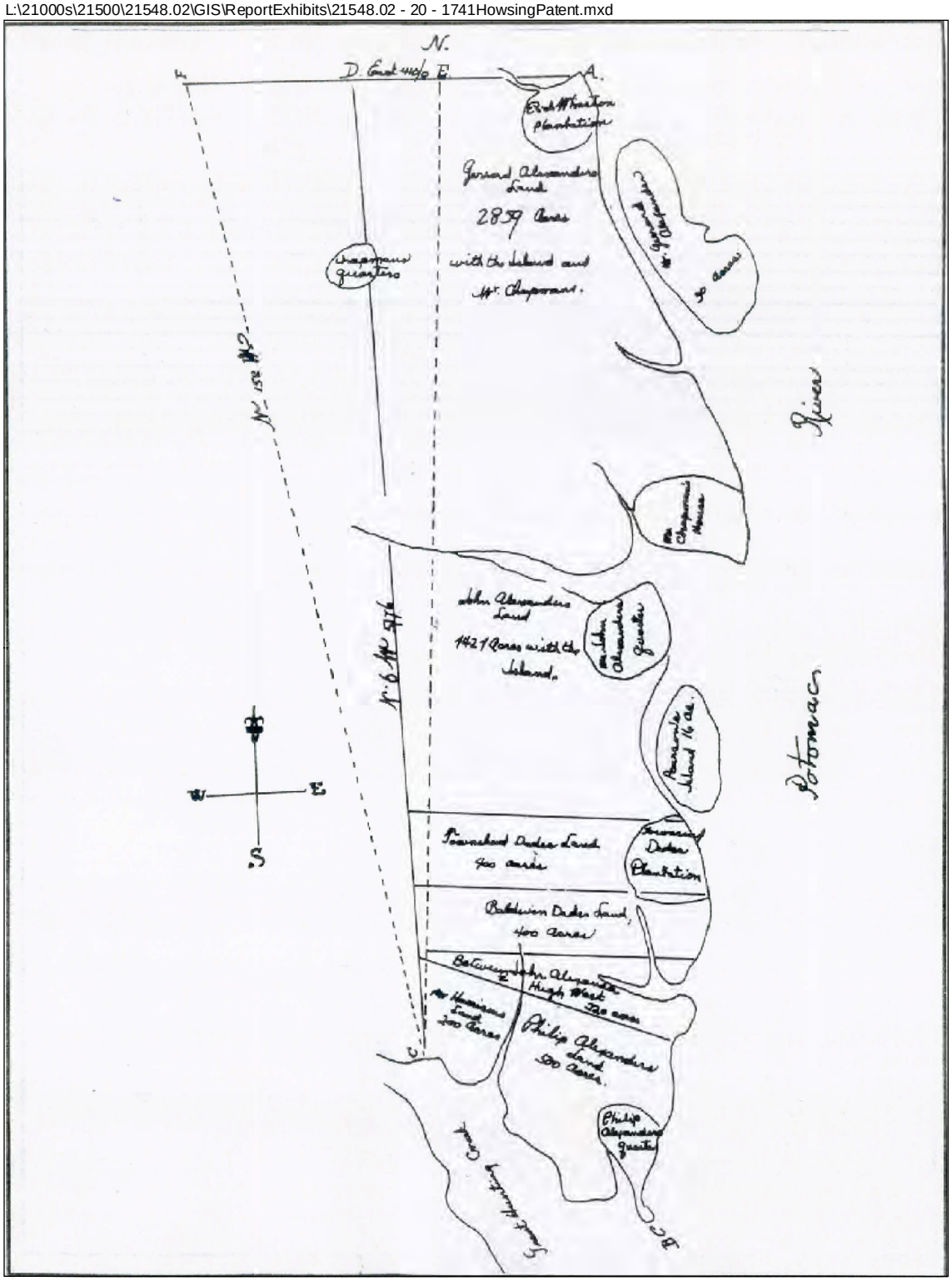
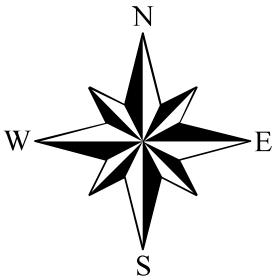



**1741 Howsing's Patent Survey Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not to Scale**




Map Source: Fairfax County Old Record of Surveys
1741:11. Original Scale: Unknown

In 1736, Sarah Alexander married Baldwin Dade. The following year, she had a child, Francis Dade, who likely predeceased his mother. There is no evidence to indicate that Sarah and Baldwin Dade established a residence on the land that she inherited from her father. It is possible; however, that Sarah and Baldwin Dade did use her inheritance of a tobacco house and quarters on the property to establish a quarter on the property. Projection of the project area location onto Beth Mitchell's Reconstructed 1760 map indicates that the project area was likely within the 400 acre tract owned by Sarah Alexander and Baldwin Dade (Exhibit 23).

Sarah Alexander Dade probably died in the early 1740s; although Pippenger states that she died on October 30, 1739, an 1814 Supreme Court case involving the Alexander family land states that she and her husband were parties to a court case in 1740 (Alexander v. Pendleton 12 U.S. 464 [1814]). The 1814 court case also states that Sarah Dade had no surviving children at the time of her death, and thus, according to the terms of her father's will, her land reverted to her brother, John Alexander III and to her nephew Robert Alexander III as heir to her deceased brother, Gerard Alexander (ibid).

*John Alexander III (ca. 1740-1764)*

John Alexander III, a son of Robert Alexander II, and his wife, Susannah Pearson Alexander, lived on Pearson's Island (present-day Daingerfield Island) after his father's death in 1735, when he inherited the island and 1421 acres on the south bank of Four Mile Run, as well as substantial property in Stafford County. Around 1735, John and Susannah Alexander probably moved from Pearson's Island to Stafford County. In 1741, they had a quarter in the northeast corner of the 1421-acre tract along Four Mile Run (Stetson 1935). It is possible that John and Susannah Alexander lived on this site – which later became Preston plantation – prior to moving to Stafford County.

In 1741, John Alexander III initiated a partition against Gerard Alexander, Philip Alexander (II), Parthenia and Townsend Dade, and Sarah and Baldwin Dade; the partition involved 5500 acres (Pippenger 1990:132-133). John Alexander III was named a trustee of Alexandria but died in 1763 before he could serve (ibid.).

*Robert Alexander III (ca. 1740-1790)*

Few details are available concerning Robert Alexander III, the son of Gerard Alexander. Following the death of Sarah Alexander Dade in the early 1740s, Robert inherited, along with his uncle, John Alexander III, a moiety in the 400 acres of land that had previously belonged to Baldwin and Sarah Alexander Dade. These lands, including portions of the study area, were conveyed to William Lyles and subsequently to Richard Conway before Robert's death in 1793 as detailed later in this report.

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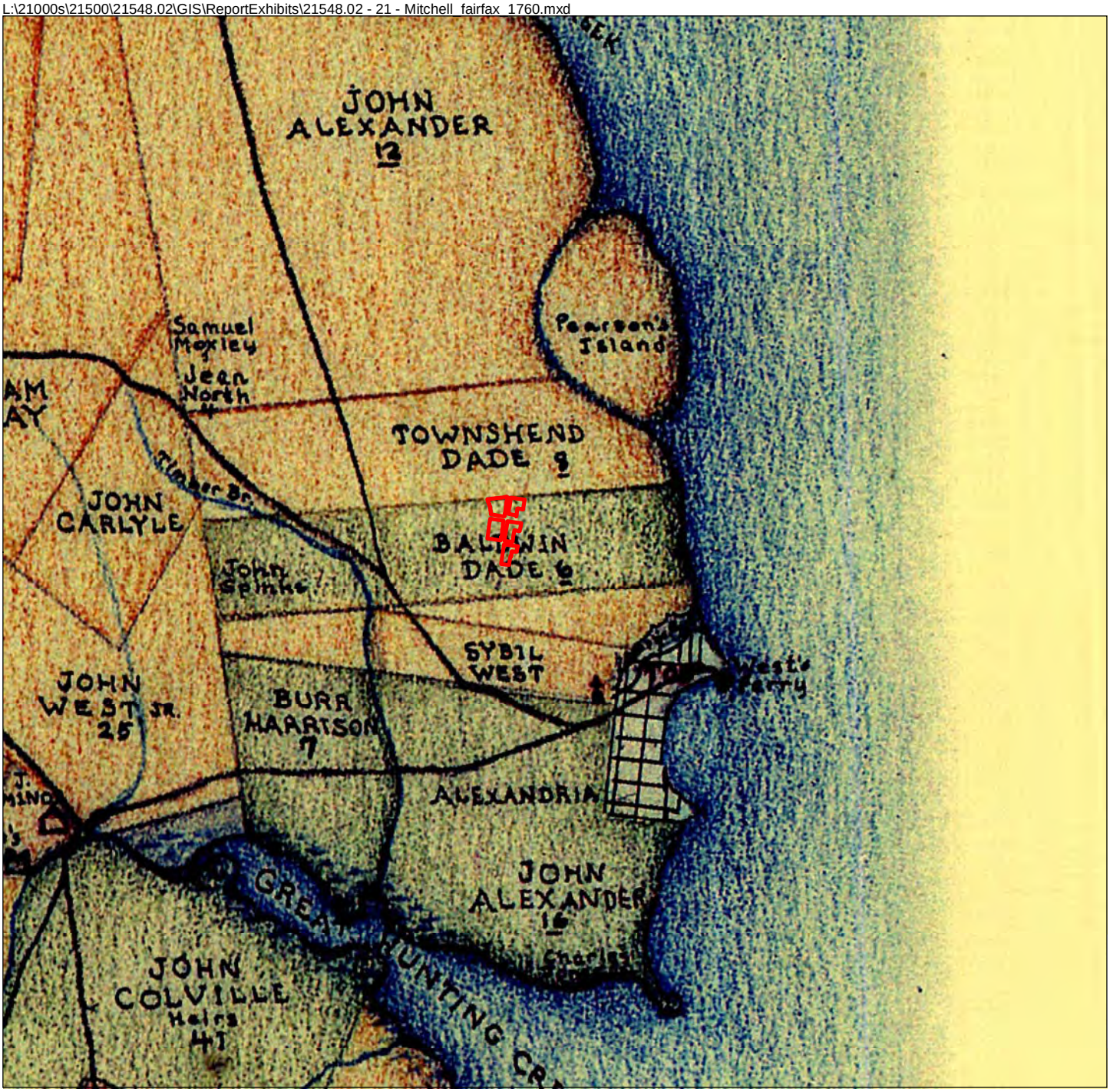


**Reconstructed 1760 Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = ½ mile**

Approximate Location of Project Area

N
W E
S

Map Source: "An interpretive historical map of Fairfax County, Virginia in 1760 showing landowners, tenants, slave owners, churches, roads, ordinances, ferries, mills, and tobacco inspection warehouse". By Beth Mitchell, 1987. Original Scale: 1" = 1 mile.

***Thunderbird Archeology***
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***Exhibit 23***

*Charles and Frances Alexander of Preston (1764-1800)*

Family lore credits John and Susannah Alexander with the construction of Preston in the 1730s. However, several pieces of evidence indicate that John and Susannah Alexander lived at the Alexander family home plantation Stafford County.

Their son Charles was born in 1737 in Stafford County, indicating that at that time, the family was not living at the site of Preston, which lay in what was then Prince William County. John Alexander died in 1763 in Stafford County; deeds and other legal documents (including his will) also refer to him as a resident of Stafford, not Prince William (Pippenger 1990). Preston plantation was located near Four Mile Run (Miller 1992a).

Charles Alexander inherited the property upon which Preston was established and the undivided 200 acre moiety in the lands formerly owned by Sarah Alexander Dade, from his father, John Alexander III, in 1764 (Adams 1996:1). It is possible that Charles Alexander I built Preston plantation in the late 1750s or early 1760s in roughly the same location as a previously extant quarter.

Circa 1769, Charles Alexander married Frances Brown of Port Tobacco, Maryland. By the early 1770s, he was a prominent landowner in Fairfax County. He was active in local politics and was part of the faction that opposed British colonial policies. In July 1774, he signed the Fairfax County Resolves; later that year, he was appointed to the Fairfax County Committee of Safety. He fought in the Revolutionary War on the side of the colonies. After the colonies won their independence, Charles Alexander remained active in local government, serving as president of the Fairfax Board of Overseers of the Poor in 1797; in 1794, he was offered the position of county sheriff but refused it. He was also a practicing lawyer (Pippenger 1990: 140-141).

In 1791, Preston plantation was the focus of the well-publicized trial of Moses, one of the slaves at Preston, murdered the plantation's overseer, Hezekiah Williams. This trial sheds light on the lives of slaves on the plantation. Charles Alexander had permitted Moses to travel to Maryland two days a week to visit his wife. Late in 1790 or in the early days of 1791, Moses returned late from one of his trips to Maryland, and Williams was concerned that Moses would not return from his next trip. To punish Moses and to prevent him from returning to Maryland, Williams handcuffed and shackled Moses during the day as he worked; at night, he was restrained and confined in Williams' house. At the end of the fifth day of confinement, Moses asked to ride in a cart as the leg restraints made walking difficult; Williams viewed this request as insubordination or resistance and beat Moses with a piece of wood (Bertsch 2006:6). During the trial, one of Alexander's sons noted that Williams refused to give Moses water and, although Williams offered food, Moses could not eat it with his arms restrained. Given this treatment, Moses felt the overseer would kill him. Moses escaped while Williams slept, stole the overseer's gun, and left Williams' home where he was confined. When Williams awoke, he pursued Moses with several dogs. When Williams confronted Moses during his escape, Moses warned the overseer that he would shoot him if Williams approached. Williams did not heed the warning and was shot and killed. Moses remained at Preston and surrendered to his owner, Charles Alexander, noting that his actions were in self-defense (Bertsch 2006:4-6).

The trial took place in January 1791. Moses was ultimately acquitted, although the jury could not reach a unanimous verdict. During the trial, several factors emerged in support of the argument that Moses feared for his life and that he acted in self-defense. Not long before Williams was killed, he flogged Moses' brother Bob, who died eight days after the whipping. Moses and many of the other slaves believed that the flogging, which was administered by Williams, killed Bob by aggravating a pre-existing intestinal condition. The overseer's history of severe punishment also supported Moses' contention that killed Williams out of genuine fear for his life (Bertsch 2006:4-5). Local residents speculated that Charles Alexander had been overly lenient with his slaves and had hired Williams, who had a reputation for strict punishments, to impose control over Alexander's enslaved workforce (Bertsch 2006:5). Local residents also noted that Moses had a reputation for obedience and trustworthiness. One commentator on the trial described him as honest, faithful and "uncommonly submissive to those in authority over him." In addition, he was literate and had served as an overseer prior to being sold to Alexander. The fact that he was permitted to travel to Maryland for two days a week to visit his wife and that he had continued to return also indicates that Moses had gained at least some measure of his owner's trust (Bertsch 2006:5). Public opinion of the acquittal was divided, but the editors of the local paper noted that it was hoped that the trial would impress upon the slave owners the necessity of humane treatment (Bertsch 2006:6-7).

The subdivision of Preston plantation began during the lifetime of Charles Alexander and continued after his death in 1806, but it nevertheless remained a sizable plantation. Charles Alexander I and his wife Frances Brown Alexander sold portions of their land as early as the 1770s (Pippenger 1990). With the death of Charles Alexander, Preston plantation was effectively transferred to his wife, Frances Alexander, as there was some question about the validity of his will. In 1806, Frances Alexander offered the house, kitchen, carriage house, stables, garden, orchard and approximately 100 acres for lease (Miller 1992a). However, it seems that the lease was never issued or perhaps only the acreage was leased as Miller notes that Frances Alexander lived at the house until her death in 1823 (ibid.). Both Frances Alexander's 1806 lease offer and an 1811 partition of Charles Alexander's estate describe Preston as encompassing approximately 100 acres on the east side of the Georgetown Road (later the Washington and Alexandria Turnpike). However, until his death, Charles Alexander owned several hundred acres of land on the west side of the road that was historically part of Preston; this land was likely considered part of the plantation until the estate was partitioned among his heirs. Moreover, even at 100 acres, Preston in 1806 was substantially larger than many of the farms at the northern edge of the city.

*Charles Alexander Jr. (ca. 1800-1817)*

Charles [Edward] Alexander Jr., son of Charles Alexander and Frances Brown Alexander was born circa 1774 and lived at Mt. Ida, now St. Mary's Academy on Russell Rd. in Alexandria. Few details of his early life are known; however he was a member of the first graduating class at St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland in 1793 and may have later attended Princeton College and studied law (Pippenger 1990: 196). Charles Edward Alexander married Mary Bowles Armistead of Fredericksburg, Virginia on March 10, 1800 at Shuter's Hill in Alexandria. He appointed Justice of the Peace in Alexandria County three times; in 1801, 1807 and 1812.

Portions of the property within the study area were conveyed to Charles Alexander Jr. by deed from his father and mother, Charles and Frances Alexander. This deed, dated March 18, 1800, although recorded in a lost Fairfax County deed book, *Liber C2*, was discovered in loose papers in the 1856 chancery suit of Richard B. Alexander *v.* William B. Alexander. The deed conveyed, from parents to eldest son, a 944 acre tract along the Potomac River to the north of Alexandria and a 40 acre parcel within the 1796 extension of the northern limits of the town. The latter parcel, which contained two blocks within the study area, was described as:

> ...One certain parcel of Land lying contiguous to Alexandria, containing exclusive of Streets, forty Acres, and no more, the said parcel of Land to consist of Squares of two Acres each to be comprehended between Oronoko, Allfred & Montgumery Streets and the River Potomack...the said Squares not to be taken to the West of Allfred Street nor to the North of Montgumery Street nor South of Oronoko Street (Pippenger 2000: 183-184).

The will of Charles Alexander Jr. is dated September 28, 1812 and was proved October 22, 1814, shortly after his death at his townhouse in Alexandria. Much of his land, including those containing portions of the project area were sold by his executors in the early 19th century, as will be detailed later in this report.

**Conveyances to Lyles and Conway**

A suit first brought in 1807 between Walter S. Alexander, son and residuary devisee of Robert Alexander, deceased, against the executors and devisees of Richard Conway, deceased, was finally decided in the U.S. Supreme Court in 1812 (11 U.S. 218-221). The proceedings indicate that Robert Alexander III, although a wealthy landowner, was plagued with financial problems and was in debtor's prison in 1788 when he sold a portion of the lands obtained upon the death of Sarah Alexander Dade to Colonel William Lyles.

*Colonel William Lyles (1790) and Richard Conway (1790-1812)*

Lyles was a Revolutionary War veteran and wealthy landowner, originally of the state of Maryland, who moved to Alexandria in the late 18th century. He was a stockholder in the Farmers Bank of Alexandria and an intimate friend of George Washington. By1782, Lyles was renting and living at a house at 207 Prince Street.

According to the decision, Robert Alexander III, had conveyed by a deed of indenture dated March 20, 1788, between Robert Alexander of the first part, William Lyles of the second part, and certain trustees of the third part, twenty acres, being part of Alexander's undivided moiety in the lands obtained following the death of his aunt, in consideration of £800 paid to him by Lyles (11 U.S. 218-221). Additionally, the deed conveyed to the trustees 140 acres, the residue of the moiety, excepting one part conveyed to Baldwin Dade on January 1, 1788, should Alexander fail to pay £700 to Lyles by July 1, 1790 (ibid). The obligation was not met; the land was conveyed to Lyles:

> ...On 19 July, 1790, the trustees, by deed of that date, reciting the deed of 29 March, 1788, and that Lyles had represented that R. Alexander had not paid the

> money, and had required them to execute the trust, conveyed the residue of the undivided moiety in fee to Lyles, in consideration of the covenants, agreements, and trusts in the former deed contained on their part to be performed, and in consideration of £700 mentioned in the said former deed to have been paid by Lyles to Alexander (ibid).

The 1812 decision notes that the lands in question, specifically the 20 acre tract directly conveyed to Lyles, was located in propinquity to Lyles home, the location of which is not known.

> Alexander was generally reputed not punctual in paying his debts, and rather too found of law, and at the time of the contract for the land was confined in jail for a large debt, and sent several times to Lyles, and urged him buy the land. Lyles then resided on land adjoining the 20 acres; and his house was very near the line. He wanted the addition of about 20 acres, and was not anxious to have any more. Alexander was more willing to sell his whole residue of the moiety of 400 acres than to sell a part, his object being to raise a considerable sum to pay the debt for which he was in prison (11 U.S. 218-221).

Lyles conveyed the property to Richard Conway by a deed dated August 23, 1790 (Fairfax Co. Deed S1:496). It appears in this deed that Lyles conveyed the entire 160 acres to Conway, including the 20 acre tract that he had purchased outright in 1788. According to the 1812 brief, Lyles departed the town just prior to the conveyance in 1790, "...[Lyles] sold it as soon as he could after he left Alexandria, to get back his money. He received from Conway £900 at the date of the conveyance, or a few days after" (11 U.S. 218-221).

Robert Alexander III was dead within three years:

> ...On 17 January, 1793, Robert Alexander made his will, and after devising specifically a number of tracts of land and moieties of tracts by name and description, to his son Robert, devised all the rest and residue of his estate, real and personal, to his son Walter, the complainant. Robert Alexander, the testator, died in February, 1793. The land in question was not specifically devised by his will... (11 U.S. 218-221).

Captain Richard Conway was one of several wealthy landholders who owned various tracts of land on the outskirts of Alexandria in the late 18th century. Conway was both an army captain during the Revolution and the captain of a merchant vessel, *the Friendship.* In 1783, Conway was elected Mayor of Alexandria and, at that time, was also a stockholder in local banks, the Marine Insurance Company, and the Alexandria Theatre. Although Conway owned Spring Park, a large estate outside of town, his chief residence was Beverly, situated off Oronoco and Union Streets in Alexandria. In addition to the main dwelling house on this property, there were ancillary buildings including a smokehouse, lumber house, stone cellar, and a brick stable on that

property. Captain Richard Conway lived at Beverly with his wife, Mary, who was the daughter of Major John West and Margaret Pearson. Although additional details of Conway's household have not been located, he was a slaveholder as evidenced by his advertisement of a $10 reward offered for a runaway slave (Miller 1991:78).

It was noted in the 1812 decision that no part of the land conveyed from Lyles to Conway was cultivated at the time of the conveyance, that the value of the land may not have been great despite its proximity to town and that Conway made substantial improvements to the land following the conveyance from Lyles:

> ...Conway began to make expensive and permanent improvements on the land in the summer of 1791...
>
> ...It appeared in evidence that the land had lately been sold for more than $20,000, but that it was very poor, much broken by gullies and exhausted, when Conway began his improvements. There was also evidence tending to show, that it was then worth more than he gave for it. The sales made by Mr. Dick and Mr. Hartshorne of lots for building, although of land more remote from the Town of Alexandria than that sold to Lyles, may be more valuable as building lots, and may consequently sell at a much higher price than this ground would have commanded. The relative value of property in the neighborhood of a town depends on so many other circumstances than mere distance, and is so different at different times that these sales cannot be taken as a sure guide.
>
> That twenty acres, part of the tract, were sold absolutely for £5 per acre; that Lyles sold to Conway at a very small advance; that he had previously offered the property to others unsuccessfully; that it was valued by several persons at a price not much above what he gave; that Robert Alexander, although rich in other property, made no effort to relieve this, are facts which render the real value, at the time of sale, too doubtful to make the inadequacy of price a circumstance of sufficient weight to convert this deed into a mortgage (11 U.S. 218-221).

After the death of Richard Conway around 1804, his executors sold several parcels of land to interested parties. A survey plat (Exhibit 24) was prepared by John Gilpin to facilitate the sales:

> At the request of the executors of Capt R. Conway (deceased) I laid off a tract of land being a part of Robert Howsing's patent…this land is part of 400 acres devised by Robert Alexander (deceased) to his daughter Sarah Alexander (deceased)…which land was surveyed by Wm Payne…in March 1791.

> The bounds are as follows (to wit) Beginning on Potomac River at a stone shown me by Capt Conway and others as his beginning and designated in the annexed plat by black A running thence S. 85º W 179 poles to a stone on the east side of the George Town road thence same course 12 poles said road to another stone, thence same course continued 72 poles to a stone thence S. 5º E 63 poles to a stone thence N35 E with a ? of stone in this line 254 poles to a stone at black D on the river stone thence up the river with the meanders to the beginning. Containing 99 acres 139/100 road included...

**Project Area Ownership and Land Use in the 19th Century**

For ease of discussion the study area has been divided into five areas or blocks; although an entire city block is actually not encompassed by every area (Exhibit 25). These are shown below:

Block 1 (Alexandria City Map 054.04-07-01; Account No. 11723500) is bounded by Madison, N. Columbus, Wythe, and N. Alfred Streets;

Block 2 (Alexandria City Map 2054.04-01-01; Account No. 11715100) is bounded by Madison, N. Columbus, Montgomery, and N. Alfred Streets;

Block 3 (Alexandria City Map 054.02-09-01; Account No. 11740500) is bounded by First, N. Columbus, Montgomery, and N. Alfred Streets (Alexandria City Map 054.02-09-01; Account No. 11740500)

Block 4 (Alexandria City Map 054.02-10-01; Account No. 11740000) is bounded by First, Montgomery and N. Alfred Streets and includes an additional adjacent area along N. Patrick Street (Alexandria City Map 054.02-10-02);

Block 5 (Alexandria City Map 054.02-11-01; Account No. 11740000) is bounded by Montgomery and N. Alfred Streets, N. Patrick Street and Madison.

*Blocks 1 and 2*

The property history for this portion of the project area in the 19th century follows from the death of Charles Alexander Jr. in 1814 and the subsequent division of his land and conveyances by his executors after that year.

As previously described, that portion of the 200 acre parcel given to John Alexander III upon the death of Sarah Alexander around 1740, was passed down in the family to Charles Alexander and then by deed to Charles Alexander Jr. Although most of these lands were located to the south and east of the project area, the entirety of Block 1 and the southern portion of Block 2 make up about 3 11/16 acres of the tract.

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**Plat Map Circa 1790**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 300'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

N
W E
S

Map Source: Alexandria, Virginia Deed Book Y:39. Showing a portion of Captain Richard Conway's estate, including a lot designated as "C", which is 28 acre and 56/160 poles conveyed to John Gadsby.

***Thunderbird Archeology***
***A Division of Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 24***

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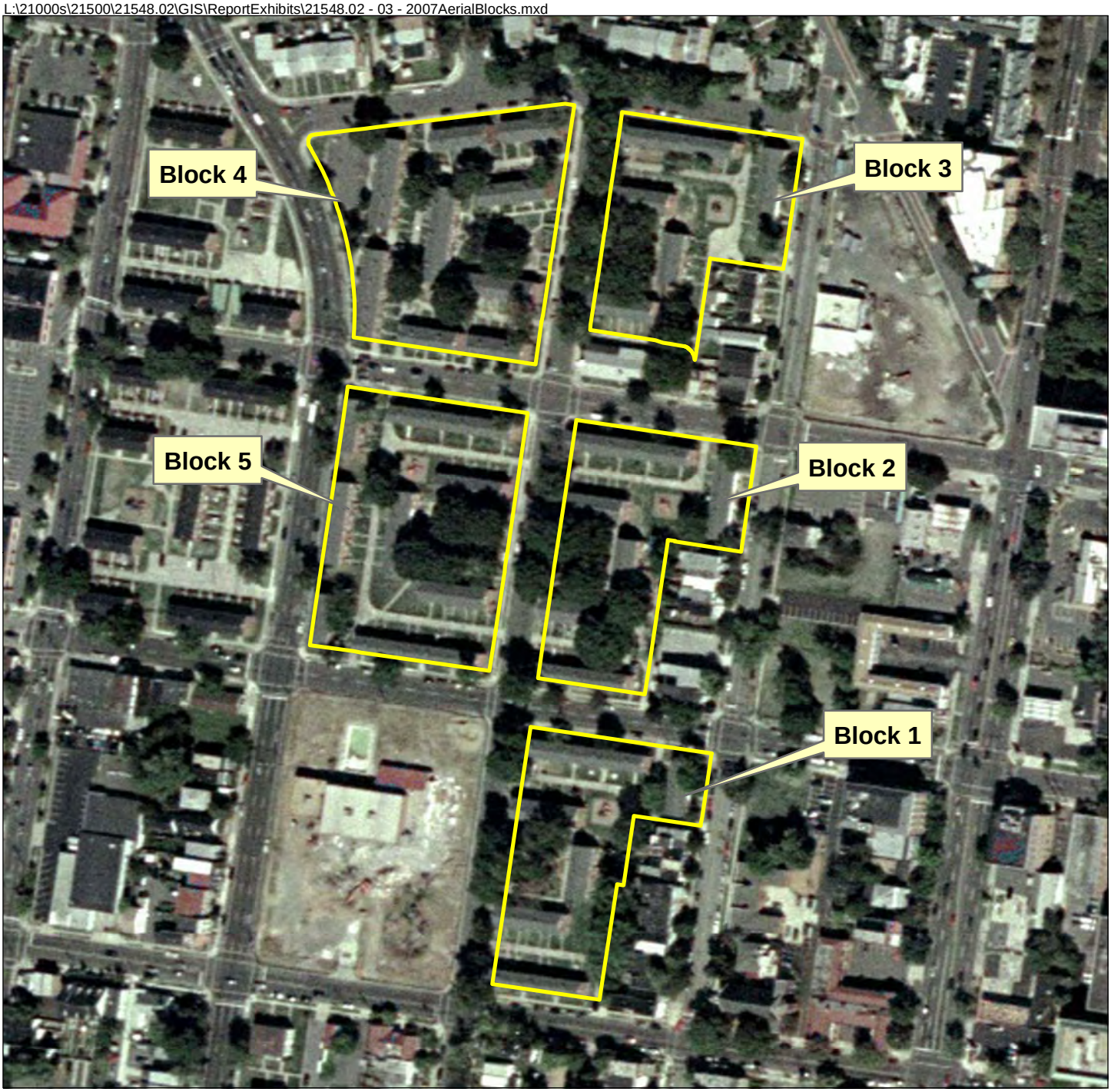


Project Area

**Blocks 1 - 5 Key Map**
**October 2007 Natural Color Imagery**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

N
W
E
S

Photo Source: Aerials Express

***Thunderbird Archeology***
***by Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 25***

Two conveyances made by the executors of the estate of Charles Alexander Jr. were recorded in the deed books of Alexandria County on January 24, 1817. One conveyance was one acre, the southern half of Block 1, to Joseph Mandeville and Samuel B. Larmon (Alexandria Deed Book E-2:12). The second conveyance, recorded that same day was one acre, the northern half of Block 1, to Edward Lloyd (Alexandria Deed Book E-2:12).

Genealogical sources mention an Edward Lloyd, son of Captain Richard Bennet Lloyd of Wye House in Maryland, who settled in Alexandria during this time (Kerr 1880:30). Edward Lloyd may have resided in Alexandria during the early 1800s but does not appear in the census records prior to 1820. Lloyd is enumerated in the 1820 Census as a resident of Alexandria, D.C. and a free white male between the ages of 26 and 45 living with one free white female under the age of ten, one free white female between the ages of 16 and 26, and one free white female between the ages of 26 and 45. Lloyd is listed with 19 slaves, including one male under 14, six males between 14 and 25, four males between 26 and 45, one male over 45 years old, three females under 14, three females between 14 and 25, and one female over 45 years old. Six members of the household are described as being engaged in commerce and one in manufacturing.

Lloyd was also engaged in the slave labor market as is shown by an advertisement placed in the Alexandria Gazette on September 4, 1815:

> Fifty Dollars Reward. Ran away from the subscriber, on Monday the 28th of August last, a Negro man, named Strother, about 33 years of age, dark complexion, had on when he went away a blue country cotton coat, much worn, an old hat and brown linen trousers. He had been the property of John Graham of Ravensworth, Fairfax County, from whom I purchased him, and as he has a wife there it is presumed he is somewhere in the neighborhood. He was lately hired to Mr. Staunton, bricklayer in Alexandria and Mr. Jas. Erwin near this place. –I will give ten dollars for apprehending said runaway if taken within 20 miles of Alexandria and secured so that I get him or the above reward if taken 60 miles from this place, and reasonable charges if brought home. Edward Lloyd. Sept. 4 (AG 1815).

It is not certain how long Lloyd held the property he purchased from the executors of the estate of Charles Alexander Jr. or what use he made of the property.

Alexandria County property tax records indicate that, by 1828, Joseph Mandeville no longer held interest in the southern half of Block 1, as Samuel B. Larmon was assessed the tax for that property. However, no specific deeds or other conveyances between Mandeville and Larmon that record such a transaction have been found. Joseph Mandeville's estate was later sold by executors around 1850, following his death (Miller 1987:357).

Larmon appears to have retained the property until 1852 when it was conveyed to William Veitch. By a deed dated September 27, 1852, William Veitch acquired one "half square or acre of ground" from Commissioners Charles E. Stuart and Francis L. Smith from a chancery court decision. The land came to be sold following a chancery case dated November 1850: Larmon's guardian (complainant) vs. John W. Larmon (Alexandria Deed Book O3:322). It is unclear what Veitch did with the property while it was in his possession or whether there were any buildings or improvements made to the property.

Born circa 1775, William Veitch was a member of Trinity Methodist Church and in the 1830s was responsible for the supervision of the construction of Roberts Chapel. Roberts Chapel, now known as Roberts Memorial United Methodist Church, was created for those African Americans who attended Trinity Methodist Church and desired to have their own place of worship with African American ministers. Between the years of 1846 and 1849, William Veitch served as the mayor of Alexandria. Veitch was 74 and his wife Mary 46 in 1850. According the 1850 federal census, he owned $12,000 worth of real estate. Veitch also purchased other tracts within the project area and his possible use of the land is discussed in greater detail below.

By 1875, according to tax records, John Laphen had acquired seven houses and lots at the southwestern corner of the intersection of Columbus and Madison streets (Alexandria Property Tax 1875). The same year, Burke and Herbert were taxed for one "Lot, SE corner of Alfred & Madison" (ibid). The 1878 Hopkins Map of Alexandria depicts this situation (see Exhibit 11).

*Blocks 2 and 3*

The property history for this portion of the project area in the 19th century follows from Richard Conway's acquisition of what had been Robert Alexander's 160 acre property from William Lyles in the late 19th century.

One tract, laid down in the Gilpen plat as No 20 = 1 7/8 acre and No 21 = 5/16 acre (see Exhibit 24), represents the northern portion of Block 2 and most of Block 3. This tract was conveyed by a deed dated October 1, 1812 to Joseph Smith from Richard Conway's Executors (Alexandria Deed Book X: 108). The former tract was described in metes and bounds; "...from the corner of Columbus and First...thence westerly with said [First] street one hundred and ninety feet to John Mandeville's line, thence with his line fifty-six feet to Alfred street."

It remains uncertain how Joseph Smith disposed of the tract he purchased from Conway's executors. A possible conveyance from Smith to the Mechanics Bank of Alexandria circa July 1821 could not be verified due to several missing deed book pages. The Mechanics Bank clearly held title to the land by 1823 when, by a deed dated March 30, the same parcels were conveyed to William Wright Cohagen from the Mechanics Bank of Alexandria, (Alexandria Deed Book N2:14). Subsequently, William Cohagen died intestate and the land went to his father, John Cohagan.

John Cohagan and his wife Elizabeth Cohagan conveyed the same parcels to William Veitch on October 1, 1835 (Alexandria Deed Book V2:579). As previously mentioned, William Veitch purchased one “half square or acre of ground” in Block 1 years later in 1852 (Alexandria Deed Book O3:444). It is unclear what Veitch did with the property while it was in his possession or whether there were any buildings or improvements made to the property.

Veitch is known to have let lands in the project area vicinity to African American tenants as early as 1832. Veitch had a tenant named John Blisk or Blish, identified in tax records as a resident at “Henry & Fayette” Streets. Tax records suggest he was leasing one half lot with a house on it, which were together assessed at $700. It is possible that this person was residing on the property subject to this study, though no other records confirm this. William Veitch’s tenant was living near another tenant named Philip Dogan, who was also renting one-half lot and a house on an adjoining block, owned and leased by Charles Scott and assessed at $750.

By 1834, another tenant, George Soloman, was renting from William Veitch; Soloman also appears to have rented a house on one-half lot at "Henry to Fayette," assessed at $750. The land tax records for that year included some personal property tax items as well, and George Soloman apparently owned a horse and cart and drays. In 1836, George Soloman was still listed in the land tax records as a tenant of William Veitch who paid taxes on "1 square and House Henry to Fayette" that was assessed at $700 for that year. In this year, the assessor noted a "c" next to George Soloman’s name, probably indicating he was of African decent. Another tenant on this same tax sheet also had a "c" by his name, suggesting that the neighborhood was being established and occupied by free African-Americans. In Alexandria County, Virginia: Free Negro Registers 1747-1841, George Soloman appears in 1831 and again in 1847 (Provine 1990:48, 174). The description for 1831 is as follows:

> George Soloman is about 48 years old, 5 feet 7 ¾ inches talk, of a dark complexion, with a small scar on the right side of his upper lip. He was emancipated by Chr[istopher] Frye, as appears by deed recorded in Liber J, No. 2, folio 447 (ibid).

There is no other information available on these people at this time, however, the presence of these tenants suggest this neighborhood in the vicinity of the project area was being settled and becoming somewhat residential.

William and Mary Veitch conveyed the parcels and lots to physician Orlando Fairfax on June 4, 1853. The land description read:

> a square or two acres of land…bounded on the north by Montgomery Street, on the east by Columbus Street, on the south by Madison Street, and on the west by Alfred Street.
>
> Also, “that acre or half square [Lot 20]...bounded to wit: on the south by Montgomery Street, on the east by Columbus Street, on the west by Alfred Street and on the north by a line drawn through the center of the square and running parallel to Montgomery Street” (Alexandria Deed Book O3:443).

With the outbreak of the Civil War, Orlando Fairfax left Alexandria and joined the Confederates at the City of Richmond, and did not return until the war was over. Fairfax died prior to 1887 and, on June 4, 1887, his widow Mary sold the land to Michael B. Harlow and James R. Caton, who had formed the partnership of Harlow and Caton. James R. Caton was a local attorney and Michael B. Harlow served as the city treasure of Alexandria for 14 years (Miller 1991:304). The land was described as:

> First, all that lot of ground bounded by Montgomery Street on the north, Columbus Street on the east, Madison Street on the south, and Alfred Street on the west, containing two acres of land and Second, all that half square of ground bounded on the south by Montgomery Street, on the east by Columbus Street, on the west by Alfred Street and on the north by a line drawn through the center of the square and running parallel to Montgomery Street (Alexandria Deed Book XX: 47).

A year later, Harlow and Caton conveyed several parcels of land, including the two lots to the Alexandria Real Estate Investment Title & Trust Company (Alex RE & TT), who subdivided the city blocks and sold the lots (Alexandria Deed Book B 25:360). Alex RE & TT was organized in 1887 with officers Park Agnew, president; James R. Caton, vice president; and Michael B. Harlow, secretary and treasurer (WP 1891; 7).

The previously described chain of title appears representative of the various properties on the block; most being purchased by Alex RE & TT in the late 19th century, subdivided and sold to investors, landlords and a few individual homeowners in the early 20th century. Additional details of 20th century property ownership are discussed later in this chapter and documented in the Chain of Title included as Appendix II.

*Blocks 4 and 5*

A tract, representing Block 4, was conveyed by a deed dated July 1, 1812. William Herbert acquired this portion of Conway's estate, the tract described as Lot 23 on Gilpin's plat (see Exhibit 24). Herbert, Nicholas Fitzhugh and Edward Lee acted as Richard Conway's executors (Alexandria Deed Book W: 92). Herbert probably acquired the land as an investment, and although no specific deed of conveyance was located, tax records indicate that the one acre parcel conveyed from Conway's executors to William Herbert in 1812 had been purchased by Hugh Smith before 1820.

Hugh Smith was a well known business man in Alexandria at the turn of the 19th century. He was the owner of a bottling cellar and an investor in local banks, the Alexandria Turnpike Company, and the Alexandria Academy. Smith also invested in the Wilkes Street Pottery, which produced salt glazed earthenware that Smith sold in his glass and china shop:

> In 1825 he [Smith] acquired the establishment, and stoneware marked H. Smith & Co. was manufactured there at least until 1831, when Benedict C. Milburn took over operations under Smith's ownership. Later wares are stamped H.C. Smith after Hugh Charles took over management of the Pottery. Under Hugh Smith & Co. the Pottery produced highly decorated stoneware with blue undulating vines and single flowers... (Office of Historic Alexandria n.d.)

The northern portion of Block 5, a tract of 11/16 acre was conveyed by a deed dated November 6, 1813 from William Herbert, Nicholas Fitzhugh and Edward Lee, as Richard Conway's executors, to John Gadsby of Baltimore, Maryland (Alexandria Deed Book X: 276). The tract was described as Lot 22 on Gilpin's plat (see Exhibit 24).

In 1808, several years prior to his purchase of the land within the study area, John Gadsby had left Alexandria for Baltimore. Gadsby appears in the 1810 census and is enumerated as living in Baltimore, with 22 free white males ranging in ages from under 10 years old to some over 45 years old, as well as with three free white females, one being Gadsby's second wife, Margaret who died sometime around 1812. According to the 1810 census, there were also 45 slaves living with Gadsby, who were undoubtedly servants in the hotels and taverns he managed. There are also several Alexandria Gazette articles that suggest slaves were bought and sold at his establishments, although his specific involvement in the slave trade is unknown at this time. In later censuses, Gadsby is enumerated with a considerably large number of slaves, and in his will he bequeathed almost 20 slaves to his heirs, including his third wife, Providence, who lived with him in Baltimore, Maryland (Miller 1991b: 151-154).

Gadsby arrived in Alexandria from England circa 1790 with his first wife, Miss Smelt, and their two daughters, Anna Sophia and Margaret Sarah. Soon after their move across the Atlantic, Gadsby and his wife had a son named John who, according to genealogical records, was born in Virginia. Before moving to Baltimore, he had resided in Alexandria for over 15 years and prospered as the reputable proprietor of Gadsby's Tavern, located on Royal and Cameron Streets. Notables including George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams patronized Gadsby's Tavern. Gadsby leased the tavern from 1796 until 1808 from John Wise, a local businessman. At the turn of the 19$^{th}$ century, taverns like Gadsby's were popular with local townsfolk as a place to meet, to conduct business and entertain themselves, as well as being a place for travelers to stop for the night. As it was customary at the time, it is entirely possible Gadsby and his family lived at the tavern or inn (Miller 1991:151-154).

It remains uncertain what use Gadsby had for the land he purchased from Richard Conway's estate. He also purchased a 28 acre parcel located to the west of the project area from Conway's executors, by deed dated December 6, 1813 (Alexandria Deed Book X: 240). As such, Gadsby's purchases were likely speculative; he subdivided and sold the latter property to others within one month. No specific deed or conveyance for the property within the study area from Gadsby to other persons or parties was located; however, based on Alexandria County tax records, the property was acquired by Hugh Smith before 1820, consolidating his ownership of Blocks 4 and 5.

In 1820, Smith paid taxes for 5.25 acres described as being situated on "Georgetown road, Hoffman's division and Conway." The land was assessed at $750 that year. Also in that year, Smith was enumerated in the population census in Alexandria as living with seven free white males and females and four slaves. Smith owned and leased other lands in the project area vicinity, including a block located just east of the project area (bounded by Madison, Columbus, Washington and Wythe), which he purchased from Charles Alexander Jr. and his wife Mary in 1807 (Alexandria County Deed Book V: 265). It is unknown how Hugh Smith may have used the property within the study area. Historical records do not suggest that he owned any shops or factories in this portion of the city (Miller 1991 and consulted deed books). There is also no evidence Smith resided on this property, and available tax records suggest there were probably few if any buildings on this property in the 19th century. As such, the property history for this portion of the project area also remains unclear. According to the Alexandria City Property tax records and the 1878 Hopkins Map of Alexandria (see Exhibit 12), at least the northern portion of this city block within the project area was owned by the estate of Hugh C. Smith until at least 1878. Unfortunately, the will of Hugh C. Smith (Alexandria Will Book 7:134) was found only on very poor quality microfilm and was illegible. These blocks appear to have remained largely undeveloped into the early 20th century. Additional details of 20th century property ownership are discussed later in this chapter and documented in the Chain of Title included as Appendix II.

*Residents of the Project Area after 1880*

Table 3 below shows the occupants of the James Bland neighborhood according to Chataigne's 1881-1882 Alexandria City Directory; it is likely that all of the individuals listed below resided within the project area.

**Table 3**
**Neighborhood Occupants in Chataigne's 1881-1882 Alexandria City Directory**

| NAME | OCCUPATION/NOTES | LOCATION DESCRIPTION |
|---|---|---|
| Arrington, Mrs. Susan | wid. William | h. 1st near Columbus |
| * Ball, Joseph | laborer | h. corner of Columbus and 1st |
| Foley, Patrick | laborer | h. corner of 1st and Columbus |
| * Fortune, Charles | laborer | h.1st near Columbus |
| * Grooms, Daniel | laborer | h. Alfred near 1st |
| Holbrook, Michael | laborer | h. w.s. Columbus 1 n. Montgomery |

* African American

As can be seen from this, 50% of the occupants were African American and, with the exception of Mrs. Arrington, all were laborers. Limited information concerning these individuals was found in city tax records. In 1881, Charles Fortune was taxed $0.50 for a tithe; he does not appear on the 1883 tax list. Daniel Groomes was taxed $4.75 for property worth $250.00 in 1881 for a house on Alfred Street between Montgomery and First and $0.50 for a tithe. In 1883, Groomes was taxed $0.50 for a tithe and $5.00 for two houses worth $250.00 on Alfred Street between Montgomery and First. Patrick Foley also appears as a home owner in 1883, when he was taxed $60.00 for a house worth $300.00 at 268 Columbus Street between First and Line. In 1881, Michael Holbrook was taxed $3.80 for a house worth $200.00 on Columbus Street between Montgomery and First and $50.00 for a tithe. He is also listed in the 1883 tax list when

he is taxed $4.00 for a house worth $200.00 at 252 Columbus Street between Montgomery and First; he was also taxed $0.50 for a tithe. Mrs. Arrington and Joseph Ball do not appear on either tax list.

**Early to Mid 20th Century Property Ownership and Occupancy in the Project Area**

From the end of the 19th century into the early 20th century, the project area was subdivided into over one hundred individual ownership lots. A full inventory of property owners in the project area at the time of its condemnation and acquisition by ARHA may be found as part of the Chain of Title included in this report as Appendix II. The later 20th century property history, documenting the condemnation of the properties within the project area and the subsequent development of the James Bland Homes project continues in the following chapters.

Table 4 shows the neighborhood occupants at the turn of the 20th century, based on Richmond's Directory of Alexandria, Virginia 1899-1900. At this time, approximately 52% of the neighborhood occupants were African American. In contrast, about 70% of the occupants of the project area were listed as African American within the directory. Notable among the neighborhood occupants is John F. Parker, a school principal and the namesake of the Parker-Gray historic district, and Rev. Robert Robinson. Most of the individuals were engaged as laborers although some tradesmen and other occupations appear. A comparison of occupation by race, however, indicates that most of the African American occupants, with the exception of John Parker and Rev. Robinson, appear to be laborers. The tradesmen or skilled workers or individuals engaged in commerce do not appear as African American in the directory.

**Table 4**
**Neighborhood Occupants in Richmond's 1899-1900 Directory of Alexandria, Virginia**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| NAME | OCCUPATION/NOTES | ADDRESS |
|---|---|---|
| Alexander, Bridget T. | grocer | h. 900 N. Columbus |
| * Ashby, Agnes | wid. Alexander | h. 919 N. Alfred |
| * Ashby, Robert | laborer | h. 919 N. Alfred |
| * Baker, Simon | laborer | h. 917 N. Alfred |
| Bayliss, Hiram W. | carpenter | h. 919 Montgomery |
| Bayliss, Israel | laborer | h. 734 N. Columbus |
| * Beall, James | driver | h. 813 Madison |
| * Beall, Oscar | farmer | h. 813 Madison |
| Barnhard, John | laborer | h. 730 N. Columbus |
| * Boland, Bertha | domestic | h. 919 Montgomery |
| Bullock, William E. | - | h. 737 N. Columbus |
| Burba, Martin | laborer | h. 720 N. Columbus |
| * Butler, Harrison | laborer | h. 812 Madison |
| * Carter, Henry | janitor | h. 907 N. Alfred |

*African American

**Table 4 continued**
**Neighborhood Occupants in Richmond's 1899-1900 Directory of Alexandria, Virginia**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| NAME | OCCUPATION/NOTES | ADDRESS |
|---|---|---|
| * Carter, Susan | wid. Louis | h. 907 N. Alfred |
| Clark, Edward | milk | h. 702 N. Patrick |
| * Evans, Joseph | laborer | h. 932 N. Columbus |
| * Evans, Lawson | laborer | h. 932 N. Columbus |
| Foley, Patrick | laborer | h. 938 N. Columbus |
| Grauman, John | cooper | h. 700 N. Columbus |
| Hall, Peter F. | bartender | h. 911 N. Patrick |
| * Hall, Millie | domestic | h. 923 N. Alfred |
| Himmelman, Frederick | cooper | h. 716 N. Columbus |
| * Johnson, Henry | laborer | h. 911 N. Alfred |
| Johnson, Robert N. | laborer | h. 919 Montgomery |
| * Jones, James E. | laborer | h. 936 N. Columbus |
| * Jones, John H. | laborer | h. 936 N. Columbus |
| * Jones, Eliza | wid. Henry | h. 936 N. Columbus |
| * Jones, Matilda | wid. William | h. 915 N. Alfred |
| Julius, Martin | grocer | h. 820 Madison |
| Kaus, Frederick | driver | h. 623 N. Columbus |
| * King, George | laborer | h. 732 N. Columbus |
| Koenig, George | brewer | h. 732 N. Columbus |
| * Lott, Albert A. | porter | h. 818 N. Columbus |
| Lyons, William A. | pump maker | h. 714 N. Columbus |
| Marshall, Thomas | laborer | h. 628 N. Patrick |
| Mullen, Thomas | laborer | h. 722 N. Columbus |
| Murphy, John | laborer | h. 929 N. Alfred |
| *Parker, George | laborer | h. 1018 Wythe |
| *Parker, John F. | principal | h. 810 N. Columbus |
| * Pinkard, Burleigh | laborer | h. 926 N. Alfred |
| * Pinkard, Robert | laborer | h. 937 N. Alfred |
| Reece, John L. | carpenter | h. 938 N. Columbus |
| * Robinson, Robert B. | rev. | h. 801 Madison |
| * Rowe, Edward | laborer | h. 802 Montgomery |
| * Rowe, Moses | laborer | h. 806 Montgomery |
| Schwab, Annie M. | wid. Adam | h. 728 N. Columbus |
| Skillman, William F. | laborer | h. 704 N. Columbus |
| Smith, Stephen | grocer | h. 700 N. Columbus; h 607 do |

* African American

**Table 4 continued**
**Neighborhood Occupants in Richmond's 1899-1900 Directory of Alexandria, Virginia**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| NAME | OCCUPATION/NOTES | ADDRESS |
|---|---|---|
| Smith, Edward | motorman | h. 734 N. Columbus |
| Taylor, George | driver | h. 917 Montgomery |
| * Taylor, Sarah | dressmaker | h. 822 N. Columbus |
| Tesh, Edmund | clerk | h. 726 N. Columbus |
| * Water, Thomas | fireman | h. 816 Madison |
| Whitten, George | machinist | h. 702 N. Columbus |
| * Wright, Philip | laborer | h. 931 N. Alfred |

* African American

African American voter rolls from 1902 included only three individuals living near or within the project area: the previously named John F. Parker, listed as a schoolteacher born in 1845 and dwelling at 810 N. Columbus Street; John R Holland, born in 1852, a fireman living at 935 N Alfred Street; and W.A. Price, born in 1863 and living at 811 Montgomery Street. John F. Parker was enumerated on the 1880 federal census, described as a mulatto schoolteacher aged 35; living in Alexandria with his wife Julia Parker, age 36 and son John Parker, age 9. It is not certain that he was living near the project area in the 19th century. The Parkers are enumerated on the 1900 census, likely living, by this time at 810 N. Columbus Street.

Tax records were examined for select years in an effort to identify the occupants of the James Bland project area and to determine whether the residents also owned the property on which they resided. Where possible, an attempt was made to obtain a tax record near the year of the directory. However, some of the microfilmed tax records were illegible; in these cases, an attempt was made to obtain a year close to the date of the directory.

**Table 5**
**Neighborhood Occupants Listed in the 1909 Tax Records**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| PROPERTY OWNER | ADDRESS/LOCATION | VALUE (TOTAL) | TAX | NAME OF OCCUPANT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Reece, John | 2 Lots: First bet. Alfred and Columbus | $150 | $2.85 | |
| Green John W. | Part of Square: 1st from Alfred to Patrick | | | |
| *Robinson, R.B. (for wife) | 801-803 Madison (2 H & L) | $900 | $17.70 | |
| (Klepstein, George T.) | 805-807 Madison (2 H & L) | $600 | $11.90 | |
| White, Ada V. | 809-813 Madison (2 H & L) | $900 | $17.70 | |
| Mouse, Mary | 815 Madison | $300 | $5.70 | |
| Schmith, Bernard, et.al. | NE corner of Madison and Alfred | $300 | $5.70 | |
| Schmith, Jason C. | 815 Madison | | | |
| Schmith, Bernard | 817 Madison | $300 | $5.70 | |

* African American

**Table 5 continued**
**Neighborhood Occupants Listed in the 1909 Tax Records**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| PROPERTY OWNER | ADDRESS/LOCATION | VALUE (TOTAL) | TAX | NAME OF OCCUPANT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Simmes, William H. | 802-804 Montgomery (2 H & L) | $600 | $11.40 | |
| | 802 Montgomery | | $4.75 | Cannon, Wm |
| | 802 Montgomery | | | Kensley, Garfield |
| | 804 Montgomery | | | Alexander, John P |
| *Kellum, Lucy | 806 Montgomery | $250 | | Rowe, Edward |
| | 806 Montgomery | | | |
| Alex. RETT & T Co. | 806 ½ Montgomery | $200 | $3.80 | |
| Klipstein, George T. | 808-822 Montgomery (8 H & L) | $2,000 | $38.00 | |
| | 808 Montgomery | | | |
| | 808 Montgomery | Montgomery | | *Harris, Ernest |
| | 808 Montgomery | Montgomery | | *Kimball, Kerkoman (sp.) |
| | 810 Montgomery | Montgomery | | *Williams, Amos |
| | 812 Montgomery | Montgomery | | |
| | 818 Montgomery | Montgomery | | |
| Klipstein, George T. | 818 Montgomery | | | *Toliver, William |
| | 820 Montgomery | | | *Mitchell, John |
| | 822 Montgomery | | | *Gations, Frank |
| Simmes, William H. | 3 H & L: SW corner of Montgomery and Columbus | $1,000 | $19.00 | |
| | 834 Montgomery | | | Pool, Charles E. |
| | 836 Montgomery | | | Laughlin, Darius |
| | 838 Montgomery | | | Robinson, William |
| Klipstein, George T. | 915-917 Montgomery | $700 | $13.30 | |
| | 915 Montgomery | | | Morgave, Richard |
| | 917 Montgomery | | | *Sloan, Clarence |
| Klipstein, George T. | 919-921 Montgomery | $700 | $13.30 | |
| | 919 Montgomery | | | Marshall, John G. |
| | 919 Montgomery | | | Roberts, Harry |
| | 921 Montgomery | | | Tripp, Jas. W. |
| Klipstein, George T. | Lot: Alfred bet. Madison and Montgomery | $300 | $5.70 | |
| Norton, J. K. M. and Carlin, C.C. | Square: Alfred, Patrick, Madison, and Montgomery | illegible | illegible | |
| Norton, J. K. M. & S.C. Barley | Alfred bet. Montgomery and First - 9 Lots (2-10) | $540 | $10.26 | |
| Norton, J. K. M. & S.C. Barley | Alfred bet. Montgomery and 1st - Lot 19 (Court) | $40 | $0.76 | |

* African American

**Table 5 continued**
**Neighborhood Occupants Listed in the 1909 Tax Records**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| PROPERTY OWNER | ADDRESS/LOCATION | VALUE (TOTAL) | TAX | NAME OF OCCUPANT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Walters, Hugh & Edward Gorman | Alfred bet. Montgomery and First - 4 Lots (15-18) | $240 | $4.56 | |
| Worthington, George | Alfred bet. Montgomery and First - 4 Lots (11-14) | $240 | $4.56 | |
| *Pinkhard, Robert | SE corner Alfred and First | $200 | $3.80 | |
| Schmith, Bernard, et.al. | NE corner of Alfred and Madison | $300 | $5.70 | |
| Fair, Albert J | Lot: NW corner of Alfred and Montgomery | $60 | $1.14 | |
| Harlow, M.B. | 907-909 N. Alfred | illegible | illegible | |
| | 907 N. Alfred | | | Robinson, Mem (sp?) |
| | 907 N. Alfred | | | Robinson, Oscar |
| | 907 N. Alfred | | | Robinson, Thomas |
| | 909 N. Alfred | | | *Holt, Harry |
| *Johnston, Henry | 911 N. Alfred | illegible | illegible | |
| Colored Church | 913 N. Alfred | | | |
| *Jones, Matilda | 915 N. Alfred | $100 | | |
| *Baker, Simon | 917 N. Alfred | $225 | $4.27 | |
| Blendheim, Edith | 919-921 N. Alfred – House and 2 Lots | $300 | $5.70 | |
| | 919 N. Alfred | | | Holmes, Arthur |
| Blendheim, Edith | 923 N. Alfred | $200 | $3.80 | |
| Milburn, J.C. | 925-927 N. Alfred | $150 | $2.85 | |
| *Murphy, Travis | 929 N. Alfred | $300 | $5.70 | |
| *Holland, John R. | 931 N. Alfred | $150 | $2.85 | *Holland, Jason |
| *Holland, John R. | 935 N. Alfred | $350 | $6.65 | *Holland, Howard |
| Simmes, Elizabeth | NW corner of Columbus and MadisonMadison | $250 | $4.75 | |
| Reece, John Adm. | SW Corner of Columbus and First | $300 | $5.70 | Peter, David |
| Walker, Clarence | NW corner of Columbus and Wythe | $1,000 | $19.00 | |
| Burton, Thomas M. | 702 N. Columbus | $425 | $8.08 | Whitton, Geo. |
| Burton, Thomas M. | 704 N. Columbus | $425 | $8.08 | Cockrell, R.J. |
| Burton, Thomas M. | 706 N. Columbus | $425 | $8.08 | Muller, Theo. |
| Burton, Thomas M. | 708 N. Columbus | $425 | $8.08 | Crupper, Winter |
| Burton, Thomas M. | 710 N. Columbus | $425 | $8.08 | Deaves, Timothy |
| Burton, Thomas M. | 712 N. Columbus | $425 | $8.08 | Winegart, Joseph |
| Matthews, Jonathon | 714 N. Columbus | $425 | $8.08 | Corbin, Edward M. |
| Matthews, Jonathon | 716 N. Columbus | $425 | $8.08 | Harrison, Howard |
| Burton, Thomas M. | 718 N. Columbus | $425 | $8.08 | Finnegan, Charles |
| Ellis, Sulie B. | 720 N. Columbus | $425 | $8.08 | Diedrick, Otto |
| | 720 N. Columbus | | | Dilger, Charles |
| | 720 N. Columbus | | | Bolton, Jason |
| Tesh, Florence | 722 N. Columbus | $300 | $5.70 | |

* African American

**Table 5 continued**
**Neighborhood Occupants Listed in the 1909 Tax Records**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| PROPERTY OWNER | ADDRESS/LOCATION | VALUE (TOTAL) | TAX | NAME OF OCCUPANT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| May, Opie J. | 724 N. Columbus | $300 | $5.70 | |
| Brent, Mary | 726 N. Columbus | $300 | $5.70 | Maddox, Robert S. |
| Ragin, Daniel | 728 N. Columbus | $300 | $5.70 | Young, John L. |
| Dugan, Ann | 730 N. Columbus | $300 | $5.70 | Bernhart, John |
| Laphen, J. P. | 732 N. Columbus | $300 | $5.70 | Laphen, J. P. |
| Harlow, M.B. | Columbus bet. Madison and Montgomery -6 Lots (13-18) | $850 | $16.15 | |
| Simmes, William H. | 802-804 N. Columbus | $800 | $15.20 | |
| *Parker, Julia | 806-814N. Columbus | $1,800 | $34.20 | |
| | 810 N. Columbus | | | *Parker, John |
| | 814 N. Columbus | | | King, John |
| Adam, Eliza | 816 N. Columbus | $800 | $15.20 | Magee, Daniel |
| Cornell, John E | 818 N. Columbus | $800 | $15.20 | Cornell, Am E. |
| | 818 N. Columbus | | | Cornell, Philip R. |
| | 818 N. Columbus | | | Ryan, Jospeh |
| Schneider, Elizabeth | 820 N. Columbus | $800 | $15.20 | Harrison, Jacob |
| | 820 N. Columbus | | | Harrison, John |
| | 820 N. Columbus | | | Price, Michael |
| Alex. Brick CO. | 822 N. Columbus | $800 | $15.20 | Sorrell, John H. |
| Warnock, Thomas | 904 N. Columbus | | | |
| Bolton, Anson | 906 N. Columbus | | | |
| Alex. RETT & T | 908-912 N. Columbus | $400 | $7.60 | |
| Holbrooke, John W. | 914-914 ½ N. Columbus | $200 | $3.80 | |
| Holbrooke, John W. | 916 N. Columbus | $500 | $9.50 | |
| Hill, Frank M. | 920 N. Columbus | $250 | $4.75 | *Johnson, Warner |
| Hill, Frank M. | 922 N. Columbus | $250 | $4.75 | Fulty (sp.), Bringham & Lewis |
| Hartley, Ann | 924-926 N. Columbus | $500 | $9.50 | |
| | 9924 N. Columbus | | | *Butler, Richard |
| | 926 N. Columbus | | | *Spencer, James |
| Casey, Jas. | 928 N. Columbus | $100 | $1.90 | |
| Churchill, Albert Estate | 930 N. Columbus | $300 | $5.70 | *Williams, Jno. |
| Muir, Mary A. | 932-934 N. Columbus | $400 | $7.60 | |
| | 932 N. Columbus | | | *Wright, Philip |
| | 932 N. Columbus | | | *Wright, Philip Jr. |
| | 934 N. Columbus | | | *Lee, Jarvis |
| Hartley, Ann | 936 N. Columbus | $250 | $4.75 | *Jones, John |
| Elliott, Ross T. | Patrick bet. Montgomery and First -2 lots (34-35) | $120 | $2.28 | |
| Elliott, Ross T. | Patrick bet. Montgomery and First - 2 lots (32-33) | $120 | $2.28 | |

* African American

**Table 5 continued**
**Neighborhood Occupants Listed in the 1909 Tax Records**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| PROPERTY OWNER | ADDRESS/LOCATION | VALUE (TOTAL) | TAX | NAME OF OCCUPANT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Elliott, Ross T. | Patrick bet. Montgomery and First - 3 Lots | $180 | $3.42 | |
| Fields, W.C. | Patrick bet. Montgomery and First - Lot (31) | $60 | $1.14 | |
| Elliott, Ross T. | Patrick bet. Montgomery and First - 6 Lots (22-27) | $360 | $6.85 | |
| Robinson, R.B. | Patrick bet. Montgomery and First - 2 Lots (20-21) | $120 | | |

* African American

This table indicates that many of the property owners possessed multiple properties. It is also apparent that many of the dwellings within the project area were occupied by tenants.

Table 6 presents the neighborhood occupants in 1915. At this time, African Americans comprised approximately 44% of the wider neighborhood. The occupations, although varied in nature, generally consist of laborers and skilled tradesmen, with some individuals engaged in commerce. An engineer, a machinist, and clerk reflect the more specialized occupations. Within the project area, approximately 64% of the residents were African American. Without exception, the African American residents of the project area were engaged in unskilled occupations.

**Table 6**
**Neighborhood Occupants in Richmond's 1915 Directory of Alexandria, Virginia**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| NAME | OCCUPATION/NOTES | ADDRESS |
|---|---|---|
| Arrington, Thomas | junk dealer | h. 710 N. Patrick |
| Arrington, Thomas E. | grocer | 712 N. Henry, h. 709 N. Patrick |
| * Ashby, Agnes | domestic | h. 919 N. Alfred |
| Baier, John | laborer | h. 734 N. Columbus |
| Baier, Lillian A. Miss | - | h. 734 N. Columbus |
| Baier, Margaret Miss | - | h. 734 N. Columbus |
| * Baker, Mattie | domestic | h. 917 N. Alfred |
| * Bell, James H. | laborer | h. 812 Montgomery |
| * Bell, John E. | laborer | h. 810 Montgomery |
| Benson, George R. | clerk; L. Schuman & Son | h. 737 N. Columbus |
| Benson, Mary M. Miss | - | h. 737 N. Columbus |
| Bernhard, Herbert C. | clerk | h. 730 N. Columbus |
| Bernhard, John. | engineer | h. 730 N. Columbus |
| * Black, Lloyd | laborer | h. 917 N. Patrick |
| * Boisseau, Norman | waiter | h. 814 N. Columbus |

* African American

**Table 6 continued**
**Neighborhood Occupants in Richmond's 1915 Directory of Alexandria, Virginia**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| NAME | OCCUPATION/NOTES | ADDRESS |
|---|---|---|
| * Boisseau, Raymond | porter | h. 814 N. Columbus |
| Bolton, James A. | bottler | h. 906 N. Columbus |
| * Bradford, Rozier | laborer | h. 923 N. Patrick |
| Bright, Clarence | laborer | h. 804 Montgomery |
| * Broaddus, Richard | laborer | h. 814 Montgomery |
| Burke, Mary Miss | - | h. 708 N. Patrick |
| * Butler, Courtney | laborer | h. 921 N. Patrick |
| * Butler, Nellie | domestic | h. 812 Madison |
| * Butler, Richard | laborer | h. 924 N. Columbus |
| * Butler, Nellie | laundress | h. 921 N. Patrick |
| Caporaletti, Alfredo | car repair | h. 822 N. Columbus |
| Caporaletti, Attilo | car repair | h. 822 N. Columbus |
| Caporaletti, Dominick | car repair | h. 822 N. Columbus |
| Caporaletti, Ercole | car repair | h. 822 N. Columbus |
| Caporaletti, James | car repair | h. 822 N. Columbus |
| Caporaletti, Joseph | car repair | h. 822 N. Columbus |
| Caporaletti, Tony | car repair | h. 822 N. Columbus |
| Carr, Lydia M. | wid. Joseph | h. 813 Madison |
| * Carter, Henry | laborer | h. 909 N. Columbus |
| * Churchill, James | laborer | h. 818 Montgomery |
| * Churchill, Richard | laborer | h. 816 Montgomery |
| Clinkscale, Samuel J. | packer | h. 704 N. Columbus |
| * Crawley, Emeline | cook | h. 926 N. Columbus |
| Crupper, Winter T. | laborer | h. 720 N. Columbus |
| * Day, William | laborer | h. 814 N. Columbus |
| Diedrich, Otto | laborer | h. 702 N. Columbus |
| Dodd, Joseph W. | laborer | h. 832 N. Columbus |
| Elmore, Henry | laborer | h. 802 Montgomery |
| Elmore, Samuel D. | laborer | h. 802 Montgomery |
| Felton, Ernest L. | car repair | h. 728 N. Columbus |
| * Felton, Martha A. | domestic | h. 813 Montgomery |
| Finegan, Charles C. | driver | h. 718 N. Columbus |
| Fones, John W. | laborer | h. 809 Madison |
| * Gaskins, Lewis | laborer | h. 811 Montgomery |
| * Goings, James | laborer | h. 812 Montgomery |
| Griffith, Ernest | laborer | h. 726 N. Columbus |
| * Harris, John H. | laborer | h. 917 Montgomery |
| Harrison, George R. | clerk | h. 737 N. Columbus |

* African American

**Table 6 continued**
**Neighborhood Occupants in Richmond's 1915 Directory of Alexandria, Virginia**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| NAME | OCCUPATION/NOTES | ADDRESS |
|---|---|---|
| Harrison, Jacob | baker (The Corby Bakery) | h. 820 N. Columbus |
| Harrison, Joseph. | laborer | h. 737 N. Columbus |
| Hepburn, Ella | wid. Charles | h. 820 Madison |
| Holbrook, John W. | laborer | h. 916 N. Columbus |
| Holbrook, John W. | farmer | h. 916 N. Columbus |
| Holbrook, Mary J. Miss | laborer | h. 916 N. Columbus |
| * Holland, Howard | fireman | h. 931 N. Alfred |
| * Holland, John | fireman | h. 935 N. Alfred |
| Houdek, Joseph | laborer | h. 818 N. Columbus |
| * Johnson, Fanny | dressmaker | h. 928 N. Alfred |
| Johnson, Frederick | carpenter | h. 906 N. Columbus |
| * Johnson, Henry | laborer | h. 920 N. Columbus |
| * Johnson, Henry | porter | h. 911 N. Columbus |
| * Johnson, Ida M. | domestic | h. 919 N. Patrick |
| * Johnson, Murray | laborer | h. 919 N. Patrick |
| * Johnson, Samuel | laborer | h. 920 N. Columbus |
| * Johnson, Wallace | laborer | h. 920 N. Columbus |
| * Johnson, Wariner | laborer | h. 920 N. Columbus |
| * Johnson, Eliza | domestic | h. 936 N. Columbus |
| * Johnson, Elsie | domestic | h. 915 Montgomery |
| * Jones, John H. | porter | h. 936 N. Columbus |
| * Jones, Sophie | laundress | h. 915 N. Alfred |
| Kalivada, Andrew | painter | h. 818 N. Columbus |
| Kidd, Bradley M. | laborer | h. 931 N. Patrick |
| Kidd, John L. | laborer | h. 931 N. Patrick |
| Kidd, Joseph E. | laborer | h. 931 N. Patrick |
| Kidd, Joseph M. | laborer | h. 931 N. Patrick |
| Kidd, Robert E. | laborer | h. 931 N. Patrick |
| * Kimball, Ernest | laborer | h. 808 Montgomery |
| * Kimball, George | laborer | h. 808 Montgomery |
| Klock, Durwood W. | car repair | h. 834 N. Columbus |
| Klock, Edward | candy maker | h. 702 N. Patrick |
| Klock, Frank | laborer | h. 702 N. Patrick |
| Koci, Frank | carpenter | h. 818 N. Columbus |
| * Lee, James | laborer | h. 919 Montgomery |

* African American

**Table 6 continued**
**Neighborhood Occupants in Richmond's 1915 Directory of Alexandria, Virginia**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| NAME | OCCUPATION/NOTES | ADDRESS |
|---|---|---|
| * Lee, Jarvis | laborer | h. 919 Montgomery |
| * Lewis, James A. | laborer | h. 928 N. Alfred |
| * Liberty Baptist Church | _ | 913 N. Alfred |
| * Madella, Lewis | laborer | h. 820 Montgomery |
| Marshall, Anna | wid. John | h. 925 N. Patrick |
| May, Opie J. | laborer | h. 724 N. Columbus |
| Miller, Smith | laborer | h. 915 Montgomery |
| *Monse, Mary | wid. Joseph | h. 708 N. Patrick |
| * Moore, John | laborer | h. 917 Montgomery |
| * Moore, Smith | laborer | h. 915 Montgomery |
| Morrissey, Thomas G. | laborer | h. 813 Madison |
| Mullin, Annie Miss | - | h. 706 N. Columbus |
| Mullin, Charles | apprentice | h. 706 N. Columbus |
| Mullin, Lydia Miss | - | h. 706 N. Columbus |
| Murphy, Richard | grocer | h. 933 Montgomery |
| * Murphy, Travis | laborer | h. 929 N. Alfred |
| * Murray, James | engineer | h. 712 N. Patrick |
| * Murray, Madge | - | h. 712 N. Patrick |
| * Noble, Irene | domestic | h. 922 N. Columbus |
| * Noble, James | laborer | h. 922 N. Columbus |
| O'Neil, Benjamin | laborer | h. 927 N. Patrick |
| O'Neil, James M. | brakeman | h. 811 Madison |
| Petitt, Michael | laborer | h. 938 N. Columbus |
| Petitt, William | clerk | h. 938 N. Columbus |
| * Pinkney, Burrell | laborer | h. 937 N. Alfred |
| * Pollard, Nathan | laborer | h. 912 N. Patrick |
| * Pollard, Nimrod | laborer | h. 912 N. Patrick |
| * Price, Mattie P. | domestic | h. 813 Montgomery |
| * Price, W. Albert | laborer | h. 813 Montgomery |
| * Proctor, Ann | domestic | h. 822 Montgomery |
| * Proctor, Matthew | laborer | h. 822 Montgomery |
| * Proctor, Viola | domestic | h. 919 Montgomery |
| Pulzone, Felice | car repair | h. 816 N. Columbus |
| Putzoni, Felix | laborer | h. 816 N. Columbus |
| Quayle, James H. Jr. | painter | h. 809 Madison |
| Reece, Catherine Miss | - | h. 820 N. Columbus |

* African American

**Table 6 continued**
**Neighborhood Occupants in Richmond's 1915 Directory of Alexandria, Virginia**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| NAME | OCCUPATION/NOTES | ADDRESS |
|---|---|---|
| Reece, Michael | baker | h. 820 N. Columbus |
| Reece, Thomas H. | brakeman | h. 804 N. Columbus |
| Reeder, Charles | plasterer | h. 710 N. Columbus |
| Roberts, Harry | laborer | h. 925 N. Patrick |
| Robey, John A. | laborer | h. 807 Madison |
| * Robinson, Frank | laborer | h. 907 N. Columbus |
| * Robinson, Robert | laborer | h. 801 Madison |
| * Robinson, William H. | laborer | h. 836 N. Columbus |
| Romani, Alonso | car repair | h. 822 N. Columbus |
| * Rowe, Edward | laborer | h. 806 Montgomery |
| Scmith, Bernard | brewer | h. 708 N. Patrick |
| Scmith, James C. | brewer | h. 708 N. Patrick |
| Simms, Effie E. Miss | - | h. 804 N. Columbus |
| Simms, Ruth L. Miss | - | h. 804 N. Columbus |
| Simms, William H. | grocer | h. 804 N. Columbus |
| *Smallwood, Sarah | domestic | h. 803 Madison |
| *Smith, Ethel | domestic | h. 712 N. Patrick |
| Sorrell, John G. | bottler | h. 716 N. Columbus |
| Sorrell, John H. | bottler | h. 716 N. Columbus |
| Sorrell, Mary T. | - | h. 716 N. Columbus |
| Souskett, Joseph | laborer | h. 818 N. Columbus |
| *Strange, Virginia | - | h. 801 Madison |
| Tyler, Robert | laborer | h. 927 Montgomery |
| *Virdear, Martha | domestic | h. 812 Madison |
| *Waters, James | laborer | h. 816 Madison |
| Weingart, Anna Miss | - | h. 716 N. Columbus |
| Weingart, Ernest | clerk | h. 716 N. Columbus |
| Weingart, Frederick | laborer | h. 716 N. Columbus |
| Welch, Alexander | laborer | h. 708 N. Columbus |
| Welch, James A. | laborer | h. 708 N. Columbus |
| Whitton, Alice H. Miss | - | h. 700 N. Columbus |
| Whitton, George | grocer | h. 700 N. Columbus |
| * Williams, John | laborer | h. 930 N. Columbus |
| * Williams, Lewis | laborer | h. 936 N. Columbus |
| *Wright, Ida | domestic | h. 932 N. Columbus |
| * Wright, Mattie | domestic | h. 932 N. Columbus |
| * Wright, Roxie | domestic | h. 932 N. Columbus |

* African American

**Table 7**
**Neighborhood Occupants Listed in the 1920 Tax Records**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| PROPERTY OWNER | ADDRESS | | VALUE (TOTAL) | 1920 TAX | NAME OF OCCUPANT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Reece, John | First bet. Alfred and Columbus - 2 Lots | | $150 | $3.00 | |
| Taylor, Robert Est., | First from Alfred to Patrick | | $200 | $4.00 | |
| *Robinson, R.B. (for wife) | 801-803 | Madison - 2 H & L | $1,600 | $32.00 | |
| *Robinson, Robert B. | 801 | Madison | | | *Robinson, Robert B. |
| | 801 | Madison | | | *Peters, Gladstone |
| Laphen, J. Peter | 804-806 | Madison - 2 Lots | $150 | $3.00 | |
| Henry (sp.)m Annie B & Charles W. | 805 | Madison | | | Henry (sp.)m Annie B & Charles W. |
| Stevenson, Oscar et. ux. | 807 | Madison | $350 | $7.00 | Bascomb, John M. |
| *Lee, George | 808-810 | Madison | $700 | $14.00 | Lee, Eliza A |
| White, Ada V. | 809-813 | Madison - 3 H & L | $1,050 | $21.00 | |
| | 809 | Madison | | | ? |
| | 811 | Madison | | | ? |
| *Hopkins, J. Byron | 812 | Madison | $600 | $12.00 | |
| | 813 | Madison | | | Martin, Edward (& wife) |
| | 813 | Madison | | | Milburn, Timothy Jr. |
| *Smith, Geo. D. | 814 | Madison | $600 | $12.00 | |
| Estes, Marshall | 815 | Madison | $400 | $8.00 | Bell, Chris |
| | 817 | Madison | | | Murphy, Richard |
| Simmes, William H. | 802-804 | Montgomery - 2 H & L | $900 | $18.00 | |
| | 802 | Montgomery | | | Cannon, Wm |
| | 802 | Montgomery | | | Kensley, Garfield |
| | 804 | Montgomery | | | Alexander, John P |
| *Kellum, Lucy | 806 | Montgomery - Lot | $100 | $2.00 | |
| *Rowe, Edward D. | 806 1/2 | Montgomery | $250 | $5.00 | |
| | 806 1/2 | Montgomery | | | *Kimball, Kersman (sp.) |
| | 806 1/2 | Montgomery | | | *Lucas, George |
| | 806 1/2 | Montgomery | | | *Harris, Ernest |
| Groves, Lilian et.al. | 808-822 | Montgomery - 8 H & L | $3,400 | $68.00 | |
| | 808 | Montgomery | | | *Robinson, Sallie (?) |
| | 810 | Montgomery | | | *Jackson, Andrew |

* African American

**Table 7**
**Neighborhood Occupants Listed in the 1920 Tax Records**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| PROPERTY OWNER | ADDRESS | VALUE (TOTAL) | 1920 TAX | NAME OF OCCUPANT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Price, Addison Estate | Montgomery (near #811) | $125 | $2.50 | |
| Price, William A. | 811-813 Montgomery | $1,100.00 | $22.00 | |
| | 811 Montgomery | | | *Brodin (sp.), Richard |
| | 814 Montgomery | | | *Jackson, Lucile |
| | 816 Montgomery | | | *Churchwell, Richard |
| | 816 Montgomery | | | *Grier, Christ & Ola |
| | 816 Montgomery | | | *Grier (sp.), Milfred |
| | 820 Montgomery | | | *Brown, Issac |
| Klepstein, George T. | 919-921 Montgomery | $200 | $4.00 | |
| Klepstein, George T. | 919-921 Montgomery | $700 | $13.30 | |
| Klepstein, George T | 915-917 Montgomery – 2 lots | $200 | | |
| Klepstein, George T | Alfred bet. Madison and Montgomery -lot | $600 | $12.00 | |
| Norton, JKM & Barley, L.C. | Alfred bet. Montgomery and First - 1 Lot (19) | $40 | $0.80 | |
| Walters, Hugh & Gorman, Edward | Alfred bet. Montgomery and First - 4 Lots (15-18) | $240 | $4.80 | |
| Norton, JKM & Barley, S.C. | Alfred bet. Montgomery and First - 9 Lots (2-10) | $540 | $10.80 | |
| *Robinson, Thomas | 907 N. Alfred | $275 | $5.00 | *Robinson, Walter |
| *Holt, Harry M | 909 N. Alfred | $275 | $5.00 | |
| *Johnson, Henry C. | 911 N. Alfred | $295 | $5.50 | |
| Colored Church | 913 N. Alfred | | | |
| Baker, Simon Estate | 917 N. Alfred | $225 | $4.50 | Baker, Emma & Mattis |
| *Harkins, Grant | 923 N. Alfred | $300 | $6.00 | |
| *Johnson, Fannie S. & Charles | 928 N. Alfred | $550 | $11.00 | |
| *Murphy, Travis & Rosa | 929 N. Alfred | $400 | $8.00 | |

* African American

**Table 7 continued**
**Neighborhood Occupants Listed in the 1920 Tax Records**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| PROPERTY OWNER | ADDRESS | VALUE (TOTAL) | 1920 TAX | NAME OF OCCUPANT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Holland, George A | 931 N. Alfred | $250 | $5.00 | *Holland, James & Julia |
| *Holland, George A | 935 N. Alfred | $500 | $10.00 | *Holland, James |
| *Carrington, George & Maria | 919-921 N. Alfred | $350 | $7.00 | |
| *Jones, Matilda | N. Alfred | $150 | $3.00 | *Simms, Marcellus& Madeline |
| Alex R.E.T.T. & T. Co. | 903-905 N. Alfred - 2 lots | $150 | $3.00 | |
| Milburn, Llera E. | 925-927 N. Alfred - 2 lots | $200 | $4.00 | |
| Harlow, M.B. | Columbus bet. Madison and Montgomery - 5 lots | $750 | $15.00 | |
| Whitton, J.B. | Columbus bet. Madison and Montgomery - lot | $150 | $3.00 | |
| Simmes, Elizabeth | NW corner of Columbus and Madison -Lot | $400 | $8.00 | |
| Murphy, Joseph L. | 700 N. Columbus | | | Murphy, Otto |
| Williamson, Robt. L. et. ux. | 702 N. Columbus | $700 | $14.00 | Robinson, Robert & Ruby |
| | 702 N. Columbus | | | Donnheller (sp.), Arabella |
| Sorell, Theresa | 704 N. Columbus | | | Sorell, Annie |
| Harryman, Mary Ellen | 706 N. Columbus | $700 | $14.00 | Reeves, Edward C. and Mrs. Etta |
| Harryman, Mary Ellen | 708 N. Columbus | $900 | $14.00 | Lawler, Frank J & May |
| Harryman, Mary Ellen | 710 N. Columbus | $900 | $14.00 | Boerseg, Lewis J. & Ada |
| Harryman, Mary Ellen | 712 N. Columbus | $700 | $14.00 | |
| McQuinn, George W. et. ux. | 714 N. Columbus | $700 | $14.00 | McQuinn, Anna & George |
| Gibbory, Jesse L. et. ux. | 716 N. Columbus | $700 | $14.00 | Anderson, Geo. L & Rebbaca A. |
| * Harryman, Mary Ellen | 718 N. Columbus | $700 | $14.00 | Finnegan, Charles & Annie M. |
| Crupper, Eva J. | 720 N. Columbus | $700 | $14.00 | Crupper, Winter P. |
| | 720 N. Columbus | | | Crupper, Samuel J |
| | 720 N. Columbus | | | Wright, Shirley B. |
| . | 722 N. Columbus | $650 | $13.00 | |
| Patterson, Edward M | 724 N. Columbus | $650 | $13.00 | Patterson, Mrs. Ada A. |
| | 724 N. Columbus | | | Trumpower, W. M. |
| Hepburn, Ellen | 726 N. Columbus | $650 | $13.00 | Butler, James |

* African American

**Table 7 continued**
**Neighborhood Occupants Listed in the 1920 Tax Records**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| PROPERTY OWNER | ADDRESS | VALUE (TOTAL) | 1920 TAX | NAME OF OCCUPANT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ragin, Danel | 728 N. Columbus | $650 | $13.00 | Trumpower, Gerald E. |
| | 728 N. Columbus | | | Trumpower, Christian |
| | 728 N. Columbus | | | Trumpower (sp.), Walter |
| | 728 N. Columbus | | | (sp.), Irene |
| Monroe, Bertha | 730 N. Columbus | $650 | $13.00 | Monroe, Edward |
| | 730 N. Columbus | | | Gorham, Jas. W. |
| Laphen, Jas. P. | 732 N. Columbus | $700 | $14.00 | Berhard, John & Alice R. |
| Laphen, Jas. P. | 734 N. Columbus | | | Baier, Frederick & Elizabeth |
| Simmes, William H. | 802-804 N. Columbus - 2 H & L | $1,900 | $34.00 | |
| *Parker, Julia | 806/814 N. Columbus - 2 H & L | $3,200 | $64.00 | |
| | 810 N. Columbus | | | *Parker, Charles |
| | 814 N. Columbus | | | *Bosseaux (sp.), Norman & Annie |
| | 814 N. Columbus | | | *Bosseaux, Raymond |
| | 814 N. Columbus | | | *Day, William & Nellie |
| Davis, & G.B. Slye (sp.) | 816 N. Columbus | $900 | $18.00 | Pulzone (sp.), Felix & Mary |
| | 816 N. Columbus | | | Caporlette, Antony |
| Tyler, Constance N. | 818 N. Columbus | $900 | $18.00 | Brearra, Lewis |
| | 818 N. Columbus | | | Brearra, Thomas |
| | 818 N. Columbus | | | Brearra, James |
| | 818 N. Columbus | | | Bufalo, Vita (sp.) |
| Schneider, Justus | 820 N. Columbus | $900 | $18.00 | Harrison, Jacob & Elizabeth |
| Cummings, Cornelius | 822 N. Columbus | $900 | $18.00 | Caporlette, Nicholas |
| | 822 N. Columbus | | | Deblanco, Antonio |
| | 822 N. Columbus | | | Caporlette, (sp.) |
| | 822 N. Columbus | | | Caporlette, (sp.) |
| | 822 N. Columbus | | | Caporlette, Hast. |
| | 832 N. Columbus | | | Reese, Thomas H. (& wife) |
| | 834 N. Columbus | | | Martin, Joseph (& wife) |
| | 836 N. Columbus | | | Todd, Lester |

* African American

**Table 7 continued**
**Neighborhood Occupants Listed in the 1920 Tax Records**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| PROPERTY OWNER | ADDRESS | VALUE (TOTAL) | 1920 TAX | NAME OF OCCUPANT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alexander, John Estate | 904-906 N. Columbus | $900 | $18.00 | |
| | 904 N. Columbus | | | Alexander, John P & Mary |
| | 904 N. Columbus | | | Alexander, Margaret |
| | 904 N. Columbus | | | Bolton, Anderson & May |
| Holbrooke, Jno. W. | 906 ½-912 N. Columbus – 4 lots | $400 | $8.00 | |
| Holbrooke, Jno. W. | 914-914 ½ - 4 lots | $200 | $4.00 | |
| Holbrooke, Jno. W. & Mary | 916 N. Columbus | $800 | $16.00 | |
| Hill, Frank M. | 920 N. Columbus | $300 | $6.00 | |
| | 920 N. Columbus | | | *Johnson, Warner |
| | 920 N. Columbus | | | *Johnson, Wallace |
| | 920 N. Columbus | | | *Johnson, Henry |
| Hill, Frank M. | 922 N. Columbus | $300 | $6.00 | *Dunn, Charles |
| Harltey, Ann estate (name crossed out) | 924-926 N. Columbus | $550 | $11.00 | |
| Cosby, James | 928 N. Columbus - lot | $100 | $2.00 | |
| *Williams, Louisa & John | 930 N. Columbus | $350 | $7.00 | |
| *Muir, Mary A | 932-934 N. Columbus – 2 H & L | $500 | $10.00 | |
| | 932 N. Columbus | | | *Wright, Jno. P. |
| | 934 N. Columbus | $250 | | *Gilliam, George |
| | 934 N. Columbus | | | *Noble, Samuel |
| Harltey, Ann estate | 936 N. Columbus | | $5.00 | |
| | 936 N. Columbus | | | *Jones, Jno. H. |
| | 936 N. Columbus | | | *Williams, Lewis |
| | 938 N. Columbus | | | *Johnson, Wm. O. |
| | 938 N. Columbus | | | *Johnson, Catherine A. |
| | 901 N. Patrick | | | *Carter, George H. & Matilda |
| *Lucas, Berry F. | 903 N. Patrick | $100 | $2.00 | Jackson, Thomas |
| | 917 N. Patrick | | | |
| | 917 N. Patrick | | | *Jackson, Simon |
| | 919 N. Patrick | | | *illegible |
| | 921 N. Patrick | | | *Jones, Custis& Nellie |
| | 923 N. Patrick | | | *Young, Ambrose |
| | 923 N. Patrick | | | *Scott, Lillis & Willis |
| | 925 N. Patrick | | | *Holmes, Henry |

* African American

**Table 7 continued**
**Neighborhood Occupants Listed in the 1920 Tax Records**
**Shading Denotes Probable Project Area Residents**

| PROPERTY OWNER | ADDRESS | VALUE (TOTAL) | 1920 TAX | NAME OF OCCUPANT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Lucas, Berry F. | 927 N. Patrick | | | *Coleman, Vory |
| | 927 N. Patrick | | | *Johnson, William |
| | 929 N. Patrick | | | *Fairs, Harrison |
| | 931 N. Patrick | | | *Holmes, Jesse |
| Murphy, Annie J. | NE corner Alfred and Madison - H & L | $450 | $9.00 | |
| Fair, Jane | NE corner Alfred and Montgomery - lot | $100 | $2.00 | |
| Klepstein, Geo. T. | NE corner of Alfred and Montgomery - lot | $125 | $2.00 | |
| *Lucas, Berry F. | NE corner of Montgomery and Patrick | $250 | $5.00 | |
| Simmes, Elizabeth | NW corner of Columbus and Madison - lot | $400 | $8.00 | |
| Alexander, John Estate | NW corner of Columbus and Montgomery | $800 | $16.00 | |
| Field, W.C. | Patrick bet. Montgomery and First - 1 Lot (31) | $60 | $1.20 | |
| *Rector, Amanda F. | Patrick bet. Montgomery and First - 1 Lot (35) | $60 | $1.20 | |
| Harlow, M.B. | Patrick bet. Montgomery and First - 2 Lots (20-21) | $125 | $2.50 | |
| Elliott, Ross J. | Patrick bet. Montgomery and First - 2 Lots (22-23) | $120 | $2.40 | |
| Mutual Realty Corporation | Patrick bet. Montgomery and First - 2 Lots (24-25) | $120 | $2.40 | |
| Mutual Realty Corporation | Patrick bet. Montgomery and First - 3 Lots (32-34) | $180 | $3.60 | |
| Mutual Ice Company | Patrick bet. Montgomery and First - 8 House & 5 Lots (26-30) | $2,600 | $52.00 | |
| *Pinkhard, Burrell | SE corner of Alfred and First - 937 N. Alfred? | $400 | $6.00 | Proctor, George (sp). |
| Reece, John Adm | SW corner of Columbus and First | $400 | $8.00 | |
| Simmes, John. H. | SW corner of Columbus and Madison - 3 H & L | $1,400 | $28.00 | |

* African American

In 1920, again, many of the owners possess multiple properties within the neighborhood and many of the occupants of the dwellings are tenants. This is particularly true of the African American inhabitants of the area.

Registered African American voters living in the five blocks that include the study area in 1920 included: Eliza A. Lee, a 39 year old housewife dwelling at 810 Madison Street; James W. Day, a porter born in 1870 and living at 814 N. Columbus Street; George T. Lee, a 55 year old painter dwelling at 810 Madison Street; Sadie V. Mayne, a 56 year old housewife living at 810 N. Columbus Street; Virginia S Peters, a 23 year old housewife at 801 Madison Street; Emma V. Price, 56 year old housewife living at 813 Montgomery Street; Mattie P. Price, a housewife, born in 1889 also living at 813 Montgomery Street; and Robert B. Robinson, born in 1848, a "helper at post office" living at 801 Madison Street.

Rolls from the 1930s include: Henry C. Brooke, born in 1883, a decorator dwelling at 813 Montgomery Street; Ruth Lyles, born in 1889, an "operator" living at 823 N. Columbus Street; George H. Carter , a storekeeper living at 901 N Patrick; in 1935; George T. Lee Jr., a 22 year old laborer living at 810 Madison Street; in 1936: Mattie Brooks, born in 1894, a housewife at 813 Montgomery Street; and Marian Jackson, a 33 year old domestic living at 810 N. Columbus Street; in 1939: William H. Lee, a 24 year old laborer living at 810 Madison; and Charlie E. Miller, a 25 year old pipe inspector at 815 Madison Street.

Voter rolls from the 1940s include: Robert E. Owens, born in 1902, a laborer and a resident at 900 N. Columbus between at least 1934 and 1946; in 1941: Milton Robert Lee, a 21 year old car worker living at 810 Madison Street; Frances M. Lee, a 20 year old housewife also at 810 Madison; and James A. Carroll James Jr., born in 1922, a skilled helper living at 901 N. Patrick. In the late 1940s the rolls included: Margaret Carter, born in 1913, a housewife at 902 N. Columbus Street; George E. Lewis and Waltie L. Owens at 900 N. Columbus; Mary E. Pinkard, born in 1905 and living at 937 N. Alfred Street; Benie Pritchett, born in 1898, a laborer dwelling at 824 Madison; and Edward William Webster, born in 1925, a laborer living at 829 N. Patrick Street.

*Neighborhood Composition*

The following presents an assessment of the neighborhood composition by street face from the turn of the 20th century into the first quarter. It includes both the project area and the immediately adjacent street faces or addresses only. It should be noted that maps showing specific street addresses for many of the occupants were not available and details about the occupants were either not legible or missing from the directory or tax documents. Because of this, the assessment should be considered very preliminary.

Based on the information contained within Richmond's 1899-1900 Directory of Alexandria, Virginia, although the larger neighborhood was integrated, there is some racial separation by street face. The 700-734 block of N. Columbus[a] appears to be almost entirely occupied by whites. An interesting exception to this is 732 N. Columbus which is listed as having both African American and white occupants. George King, an African American laborer, and George Koenig, a white brewer are indicated at this address. The 800-836 block of N. Columbus, the 810-818 and 801-817 blocks of Madison and the 802-824 block of Montgomery appear to have been occupied by African Americans, although little information is available for these blocks. In

[a] Note that all of the Sanborn maps identify N. Columbus Street as N. Columbia

contrast, the block bordered by 1st Street, Montgomery Street, N. Columbus Street and N. Alfred Street, although predominantly African Americans, contained African Americans and whites on the same street face.

By 1915, the 700-734 block of N. Columbus remains occupied by whites and the 810-818 block of Madison is still occupied by African Americans. However, some changes are noted in the remaining blocks, with greater integration within the street faces. The 801-817 block of Madison contains almost exclusively white occupants, although Robert Robinson, an African American laborer, occupies 801 Madison. This is the same dwelling where the Rev. Robert Robinson resided in 1899-1900 so it is unclear if the "laborer" designation is in error or if the two are the same individual. The 804-836 block of N. Columbus has also seen an influx of white residents, although two dwellings are listed with African American occupants. Although still integrated, the 907-937 N. Alfred street face, of the block bordered by 1st Street, Montgomery Street, N. Columbus Street and N. Alfred Street, appears to be exclusively African American.

By 1921, the composition is still similar to that seen in 1915 although a single white occupant is listed in the 907-937 N. Alfred street face and more whites are living along the 802-824 Montgomery street face.

*The Project Area in the Early 20th Century*

Residential development in the area was rapid after 1902 until circa 1921, when much of the area had been completely developed. From the property research that has been completed, it is clear that, by 1900, the African American character of this portion of the Hump and Uptown neighborhoods were well established. The neighborhood within the project area appears to have remained racially integrated from the mid 19th century into the early 20th century; however, not to the degree found in other portions of the Uptown neighborhood. The working class character of the neighborhood within the project area, as illustrated by the occupations noted in city directories and voter rolls, is clear. The neighborhood including the project area and its immediate surroundings appears to have been organized primarily along lines of class and secondarily by race.

The census record also shows ethnic diversity in this working class neighborhood. African American neighbors included Albert and Sarah Lott, Robert Robinson, a minister and his wife Josephine and the widow Lucy Kellum. Whites in the neighborhood included John R. and Ireme Simms and family, Irish immigrants such as the Hollands and Holbrooks and German immigrant George Kenit, a brewer. Portner’s brewery appeared to be a major employer for local residents in the late 19th century; other occupations listed were brick burner, railroad brakeman, servant, and laborer. According to the census forms, many of the African American residents of the neighborhood owned their homes, although many were mortgaged; most of the Euro American residents rented.

Sanborn 1912 Map Discussion

The Sanborn 1912 Map shows at least 68 dwellings, a church and several ancillary buildings including sheds and a stable within the project area (Exhibit 26). Dwellings line N. Columbus Street [incorrectly identified as Columbia Street on the map], Montgomery Street; and N. Alfred Street to the north of Montgomery. Many dwellings in Blocks 2 and 3 are identified as "Negro Dwellings."

Five dwellings are shown in Block 1, along the Madison street-face. As mapped, the largest, located at 810 Madison Street, measured about 40 feet by 20 feet and was a two-story building covered with a composition roof. An addition, possibly a two-story porch, is shown on the eastern elevation of the structure. Two small ancillary buildings are shown to the south of the dwelling. Two adjacent dwellings at 812 and 814 Madison Street are both shown as two-story buildings, measuring about 40 feet by 20 feet. A small one-story building is present to the rear of each at the south end of the lots. The two-story dwelling, shown at 816 Madison Street, is set back from the street in comparison to the buildings to the east. Including a one-story addition on the rear, it measured about 40 feet by 20 feet. A second small addition on the rear was covered by a metal or tile roof and a small one-story building at the south end of the lot is shown with a wood roof. The two-story dwelling shown at 818 Madison Street appears smaller than the previously described dwellings, measuring only about 20 feet by 20 feet. A small one-story building at the south end of the lot is shown with a metal or tile roof.

Two dwellings are shown in Block 1, along the N. Columbus street-face, at 732 and 734 N. Columbus Street. Both dwellings appear to have been two-story structures with wood or wood shingled roofs and at least one addition. The addition to the dwelling at 732 N. Columbus Street consisted of a two-story ell; the dwelling at 734 N. Columbus included a one-story addition on its western elevation and a one-story addition on its rear. Additionally, five one-story buildings are shown within the project area; located in the rear of five dwellings, at 722-730 N. Columbus Street, not included within the project area. Finally, a series of one-story structures with metal roofing identified as sheds are shown in the southwestern portion of Block 1. No street address is given for the buildings and the map provides no additional details relevant to these sheds.

Eight two-story dwellings with composition roofs are shown in Block 2, along the Madison street-face. Seven of these dwellings, located at 805, 807, 809, 811, 813, 815, and 817 Madison Street, appear to have been attached row houses, each measuring about 40 feet by 20 feet. These were identified as "Negro Dwellings." A small one-story building is present to the rear of each at the north end of the lots. The two westernmost dwellings (815 and 817 Madison Street) differed from the others in that each included a front porch and a small rear addition. An unnamed alley is shown dividing the row houses from a lot containing a larger free standing dwelling and several ancillary buildings at 801 Madison Street. The dwelling is shown as a two-story building with composition roof measuring about 50 feet by 30 feet, including a front porch and a porch or

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**Sanborn 1912 Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

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Map Source: The Sanborn® Map Company

***Thunderbird Archeology***
***A Division of Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 26***

addition on its western elevation. A one-story building of unidentified type is shown to the west of the dwelling along the alley, fronting on Madison Street. At the rear (north) end of the lot and another outbuilding is shown along the alley and a two-story stable is shown north of the dwelling. Although not indicated as a dwelling on the map, the stable is identified with a separate street address, 801 ½ Madison Street, possibly indicating that its upstairs was used as a domicile.

The Sanborn 1912 Map also shows three attached dwellings on the N. Columbus street face and 12 dwellings on the Montgomery street-face in Block 2 within the project area. The dwellings that fronted on N. Columbus Street are shown in the northeastern quadrant of the block as small two-story buildings with composition roofs. Each measures about 20 feet by 15 feet. A small building is present at the rear (west) end of each house lot. Outside the boundaries of the James Bland Development property, six additional two-story dwellings and a two-story grocery store are shown on the N. Columbus street face in Block 2.

Within the project area on Block 3, two dwellings share the Montgomery street face; at 811 and 813 Montgomery. Both appear to have been two-story houses with possible ancillary buildings in the rear. Eleven dwellings and the Liberty Baptist Church are shown fronting on N. Alfred in Block 3. Many, including the dwellings at 907, 909, 917, 929, and 931 N. Alfred were noted as having two stories, covered by composition roofs and appended with small rear additions. The Liberty Baptist Church, an African American church at 913 N. Alfred Street, is mapped as a one-story building with a wooden or wood shingle roof, measuring about 40 feet by 20 feet, including a metal roofed rear outshot. The mapmaker noted heat, stove, and lights for the building. The two dwellings flanking the church on the N. Alfred street-face, 911 and 915 N. Alfred, appear to have been 1 ½ story buildings. These, along with the two-story dwellings at 907, 909, 917, 919, 923, and 931 N. Alfred, lack the back lot buildings that were ubiquitous in Blocks 1 and 2. Such back lot buildings appear to have been present in the rear of dwellings at 929 and 937 N. Alfred Street. The two-story house at 935 N. Alfred Street was shown with two attached buildings in the rear and a third off its southeastern corner. It also featured a one-story front porch, one of only two porches apparent on buildings on the block. One alley dwelling is shown on the block, a small two-story house with a rear addition and wood roof at 923 ½ N. Alfred. It is unclear if the house was accessed by two narrow alleys running north from Montgomery Street, through the vacant lot to its west, or from the lot to the north where two one story frame buildings and a two-story shed stood along First Street. Thirteen two-story dwellings are shown fronting on N. Columbus Street in Block 3. The dwellings at 920-926 and 932-938 N. Columbus appear to have been row houses with wood or wood shingle roofs; most with rear outshots and no back lot buildings. The dwellings at 900, 904, 906, and 916 N. Columbus are notably different, each having one or more back lot buildings in the rear and various additions.

No details are shown for Blocks 4 and 5. Just outside the study area, on Montgomery Street between Henry and Patrick Streets stood the J.B Robinson Industrial School and, at the northeast corner of Columbus and Montgomery Streets, stood the W.A. Smoot & Co lumber yard.

Early 20th Century Oral History View of Neighborhood – Buster Williams Interview

An oral history interview conducted with Buster Williams, a resident of the project area in the early 20th century, presents a view of the neighborhood during these times (Williams 1999). The interview is archived with Alexandria Archaeology. Williams was born in Alexandria and lived at 930 N. Columbus [Block 3] as a child. Williams described his family background:

> My father was John, Mother was Louise, Louise Williams, John and Louise Williams...My grandmother wasn't originally from here. She came here from Manassas, Virginia. My grandfather worked for Portner Brewery. Portner was originally a brewing company in Manassas, Virginia and they moved the plant here in Alexandria and brought them with him. My grandfather and grandmother were slaves. They came out of slavery with Portner, Portner Brewery, which was on N. Washington St.

Williams apparently moved with his family several times to different houses within this area of the city; although the specific chronology of these moves is somewhat unclear:

> I've lived on Washington St., 700 block N. Washington, my grandmother's home. And my father's home was 930 N. Columbus St. in Alexandria, Virginia. And Madison St. We moved about because conditions grew better. We took advantage of the better conditions and moved in better housing (Williams 1999).

Other details offered by Williams further illuminate the character of the neighborhood in the first quarter of the 20th century:

> We're talking about 1915, 1916, 1920....we played marbles, spin tops. We played baseball because there was plenty of open spaces. We could build a baseball diamond any place. We played marbles in the street. Played spin tops in the street. And could play baseball. There wasn't [sic] houses; there was open lots for blocks and blocks. No houses whatever. And at that time, Alexandria was only about a mile long. Alexandria start at Second St. and end at Hunting Creek. And there was [sic] about 6000 people in Alexandria.
>
> I went to Parker-Gray School. Parker-Gray at that time was an elementary school. We didn't have a high school here for blacks. I went to Parker-Gray. I went to Catholic school, St. Joseph's first. I went to St. Joseph's and I attended school and church at St. Joe's. Later on I became a Catholic. I joined the church (Williams 1999).

Accounts of several house fires within the project area in the early 20th century were found; a fire, allegedly set by tramps, nearly destroyed three small frame houses on Alfred Street between Montgomery and First Streets; two unoccupied homes owned by Scott Acres and a home owned by Willard Lee on December 22, 1900; seven two-story frame dwellings on Madison Street between Alfred and Columbus burned in 1917 (WP 1900; WP 1917).

Sanborn 1921 Map Discussion

The Sanborn 1921 Map (Exhibit 27) is generally very similar to the 1912 Sanborn map (see Exhibit 26). In Block 1, Block 2, and Block 3, all of the buildings present on the earlier map appear to remain in place. Within Block 1, the only significant change involves the arrangement of buildings on the lot in the southwestern corner of the block. The one-story sheds present in 1912 appear to have been replaced with two one-story stables with attached one-story buildings of unspecified purpose. No building on the lot is identified as a dwelling.

Within Block 2, several changes are apparent in the organization of the property at 801 Madison Street. The one-story building, shown on Madison Street to the west of the dwelling on the earlier Sanborn map, is identified as 803 Madison Street on the 1921 map, indicating its likely use as a dwelling, at least by this time. A one-story rear addition with a wood or wood shingled roof is also shown on the building on the 1921 map. The outbuilding shown along the alley toward the rear of the lot is shown much smaller in comparison with the earlier map and the two-story stable in the northeastern corner of the lot is no longer identified with the address 801 ½ Madison Street as on the earlier map. Also within Block 2, the buildings at 815 and 817 Madison Street vary on the 1921 map from their depiction on the 1912 map. The dwelling at 815 Madison appears to have had the rear addition shown on the earlier map fully incorporated into the structure. The rear addition on the building next door, at 817 Madison Street, has been expanded, and the building is identified as a grocery rather than a dwelling. On the N. Columbus street-face within Block 2 and the project area, the only change from the 1912 map appears to be the construction of a small one-story building at the rear of an unnumbered lot to the south of 832
N. Columbus Street. No dwelling is present on the lot and the function of the building, which appears similar to back lot buildings present behind the dwellings to the north, is unknown. On the Montgomery street-face in Block 2, the only differences from the earlier map are found at 806 and 806 ½ Montgomery Street, where a porch present on the east side of the dwelling at 806 Montgomery Street on the earlier map is no longer shown and a small building at the rear of the lot at 806 ½ Montgomery Street is present only on the later map.

Within the project area on Block 3, changes include a one-story addition on the dwelling at 813 Montgomery Street, and the apparent construction of two small buildings toward the rear of that lot. According to map notes, one of these buildings may have served as an auto shop. On the N. Columbus street-face within Block 3, several dwellings shown on the earlier map, those at 920 and 932-936 N. Columbus Street are shown with new rear additions. At the latter properties these one-story additions are appended to the rear of one-story rooms or additions shown on the earlier map. Although relatively few of the buildings on the N. Columbus street-face within Block 3 are shown with the back lot buildings common in Blocks 1 and 2, one such building appears to have been built to the rear of the dwelling at 922 N. Columbus Street between 1912 and 1921. Lot lines on the 1921 map have changed so that two one-story buildings and a two-story stable present along First Street appear to be associated with the dwelling at 938 N. Columbus Street. The alley dwelling shown to the south of these structures was numbered 923 ½ N. Alfred on the earlier map. Although it is still shown on the 1921 map, it is no longer numbered. Map notes may indicate that the ground floor of the building was used as a private

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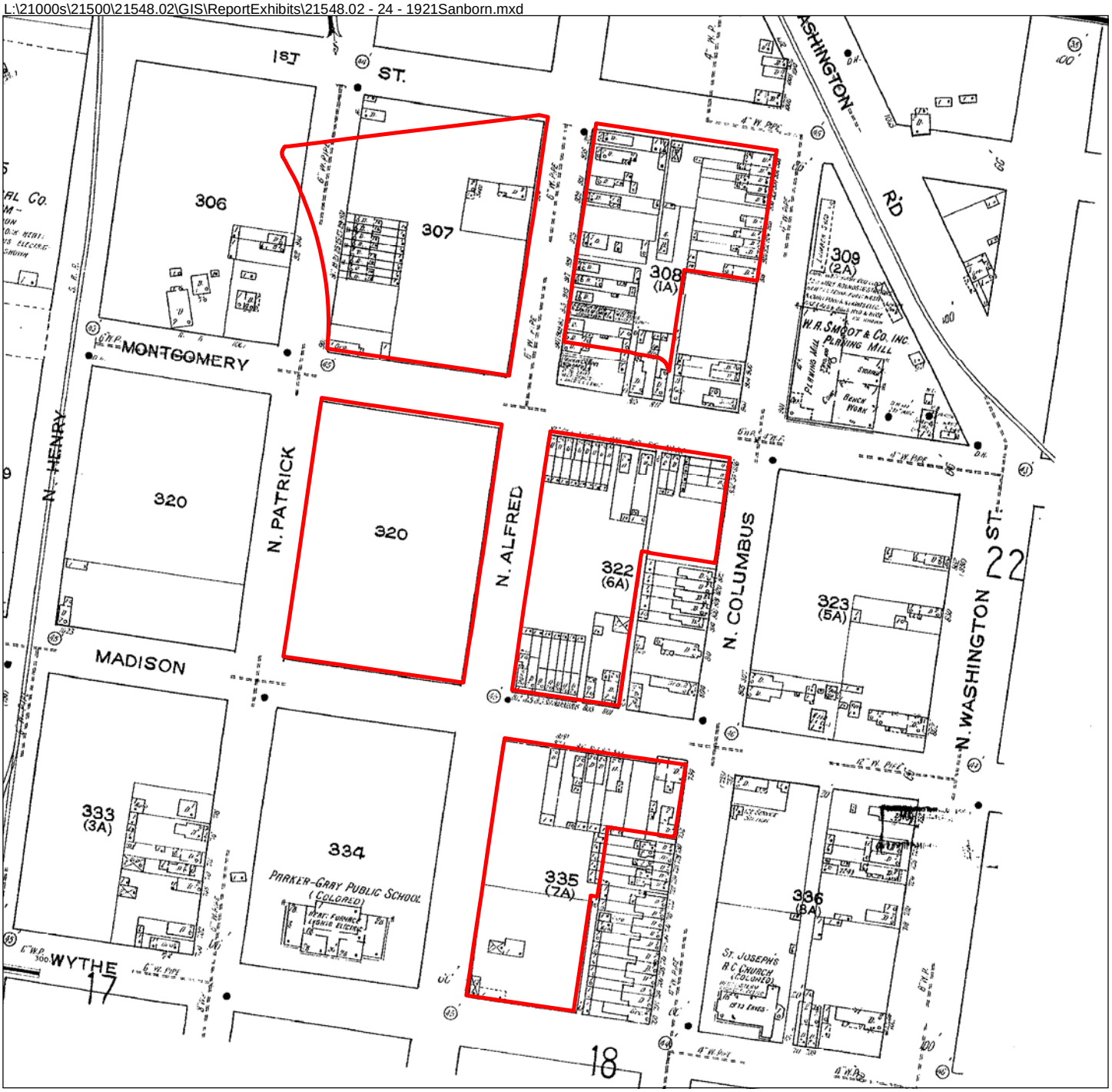


**Sanborn 1921 Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

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Map Source: The Sanborn® Map Company

***Thunderbird Archeology***
***A Division of Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 27***

auto garage. The buildings fronting on N. Alfred in Block 3 also appear very similar to their depiction on the earlier map. A second addition appears to have been added to the dwelling at 909 N. Alfred Street; and small one-story back lot buildings appear to have been built to the rear of dwellings at 907, 909, 911, 915, 917, 919, 925, and 931 N. Alfred Street. Differing from the 1912 map, lot lines are shown on the 1921 map for the various dwellings located near the former Liberty Baptist Church at 913 N. Alfred Street, identified as the Church of God and Saints of Christ, a "Colored church." Beyond the boundaries of the project area, Shaw Chapel at 901 N. Alfred Street is also identified as a "Colored church." Unlike the earlier Sanborn map; however, the dwellings in Blocks 2 and 3 are not noted as "Negro Dwellings" as they were on the earlier map.

The coverage of the 1921 map has expanded to include the western blocks, Blocks 4 and 5. Block 5 appears to be vacant; however ten two-story dwellings, numerous back lot buildings and a grocery are shown in Block 4. Eight two-story frame row houses, each set back from the street and featuring composition roofs and one story rear out shots with metal roofs, are located at 917-931 N. Patrick. To the north, at the corner of N. Patrick and First, a small one-story frame dwelling and an associated one-story outbuilding appear to have been present; no street number is noted for this property. One two-story dwelling fronts on N, Alfred Street; a two-story shed with an attached one-story structure is shown to its rear. A one-story grocery store with a small rear addition and a one story building in the rear is shown at 901 N. Patrick Street.

Other non-residential buildings, in the vicinity of but outside the study area, include a store at 900 N. Columbus; a grocery at 804 N. Columbus; another grocery at 700 N. Columbus; Parker-Gray Public School [colored], to the west of the project area; St. Josephs Roman Catholic Church [colored], east of project area at the corner of Wythe and North Columbus; and an ice service station in northern portion of that block. The W.A. Smoot & Co. Planing Mill also appears outside the study area, northeast of the intersection of Montgomery and North Columbus.

Sanborn 1931 Map Discussion

The Sanborn 1931 Map (Exhibit 28), unlike the earlier maps, includes the original hatching or shading that identifies the buildings as being of frame or masonry construction. Within the project area, the majority of buildings are indicated as being of frame construction with the exception of masonry buildings at 930, 932, 934, 936, and 938 N. Columbus Street, 935 and 937 N. Alfred Street, masonry back lot structures in the rear of a dwelling located outside the project area at 722 N. Columbus Street and a masonry auto garage in the same block described below. It is noteworthy that the masonry buildings in Block 3 appear to be the earliest buildings constructed in the project area, built at some time prior to 1877.

Although, again, changes from the earlier maps are relatively minor. Within Block 1, four one-story frame dwellings appear to have been constructed at 803, 805, 807, and 809 Madison Street at some time between 1921 and 1931. These dwellings appear very similar, each measuring about 20 feet wide along the street-face by 40 feet long. A one-story frame building is present in the rear of the two easternmost dwellings and the stable shown on this lot on earlier maps

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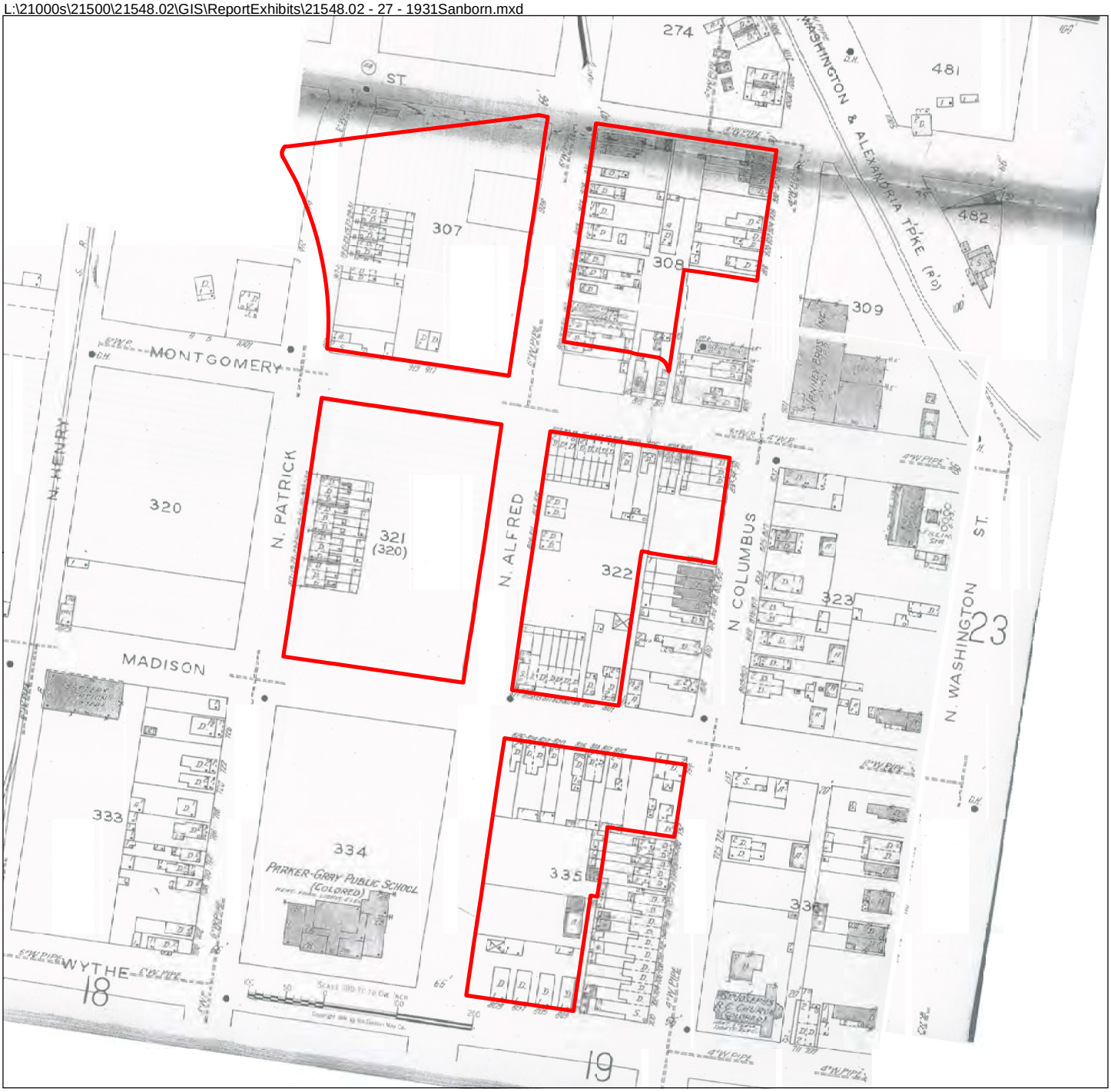


**Sanborn 1931 Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

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Map Source: The Sanborn® Map Company

remains in place to the north of the western buildings. On the lot immediately to the north, shown as vacant on earlier maps, a one-story masonry auto garage is shown set back from the street along the alley. Along the Madison street-face in Block 1, three two-story frame dwellings appear to have been constructed at 822, 824, and 826 Madison Street by 1931. A frame back lot building is shown in the rear of the dwellings at 822 and 824 Madison.

Within Block 2 and the project area, changes from the 1921 map are limited to the appearance of two frame duplexes, each containing two dwellings along N. Alfred Street. Within the project area on Block 3, the only differences between the 1921 and 1931 maps consisted of the omission of the stable shown along First Street on the 1921 map from the later map and a change in the appearance of the footprint of the dwelling at 926 N. Columbus Street, perhaps indicating destruction of an earlier building and its replacement with a larger dwelling. Within Block 4, a small one-story duplex, including two dwellings, is shown at 917 and 919 Montgomery Street and the dwelling and associated buildings on the block along N. Alfred Street are no longer shown. Within Block 4, 12 row houses with rear additions and back lot structures are shown on the 1931 map. These dwellings, very similar in size and plan to the row houses in Block 4 were likely built between 1921 and 1931 and represent the first indication of development within the block.

Second Quarter 20th Century Oral History View of Neighborhood – Buster Williams Interview

Buster Williams remained a resident of the project area into the second quarter of the 20th century. Williams described his employment with the Virginia Public Service Company, the war years, and his residence within the project area at 801 Madison St [*Block 2*]:

> I went to work for the electric company. At that time it was the Virginia Public Service Company. I went to work for them in 1927, delivering refrigerators, radios, and ranges, electric ranges. I worked for them for ten years, from 1927 to 1938. ...I didn't get electricity until '31.
>
> I went to work on the [map?] service. To stay out the army, I transferred to the powder factory at Indian Head, Maryland. We made powder for cannons. They made powder for some other guns. Missiles. Everybody worked at the powder factory was exempt. And that's the reason I went there. I didn't want to go in the army.
>
> [In 1928] I moved on Madison St. I rented a house from Charles Blunt. 801 Madison St. Later on I bought the house for $4400 with a down payment of 10%, which was 400 and some dollars. I bought that house until, we stayed there, until the Housing Authority came along and took over.
>
> That was '44. 1944. And we had enough money out of that place to make a payment, down payment on this house, which at that time sold for $14, 995...To build projects. The projects are there today. Built project for the low income families (Williams 1999).

The man from whom Mr. Williams rented and later purchased his house, Charles R. Blunt is enumerated on the 1930 U.S. census as a 26 year old real estate salesman living in Alexandria, Virginia. Blunt, a white, owned several houses in the African American neighborhood which he rented or sold in the late 1920s and 1930s.

1939 Real Property Map Discussion

The 1939 Real Property Survey Map illustrates the surveys results, identifying property use within the blocks through hatching and shading. Although this map does not show individual structures, it does depict the courts and alleys within the blocks (Exhibit 29). The majority of properties within the project area are indicated as being used for single family dwellings; exceptions are found at 920 and 922 N. Columbus Street dwellings in Block 4 on Montgomery Street that are all classified as two-four family dwellings and the store at 901 N. Patrick Street classified as a business and dwelling.

Sanborn 1941 Map Discussion

The Sanborn 1941 Map shows various changes within the neighborhood and project area (Exhibit 30). Within Block 1, small rear additions appear to have been appended to the four one-story frame dwellings at 803, 805, 807, and 809 Madison Street. Additionally, one-story back lot buildings have appeared in the rear of the eastern buildings, replacing the stable previously at that location. The garage to the north of these lots is identified with a street number, 803 ½ Madison Street, and notes indicate that it was of hollow concrete or cement block construction. The masonry back lot structure in the rear of 722 N. Columbus Street is also identified as a concrete or block private auto garage on the 1941 map. Two one-story cinder block or brick faced dwellings appear on the previously vacant lots at 717 and 719 N. Patrick Street on the 1941 map; each with a small block structure in the rear. The only other changes noted within Block 1 include the construction of a small one-story building to the rear of the dwelling at 826 Madison Street and a private auto garage to the rear of the dwelling at 810 Madison Street.

Within Block 2, a small building shown on earlier maps in the rear of the dwelling at 803 Madison Street is no longer present on the 1941 map. A small one-story building is shown in the rear of the dwellings at 813 and 815 N. Alfred Street and a one-story auto garage has been constructed on the lot to the north of 822 N. Columbus Street.

Although the stock of dwellings within the project area in Block 3 appears to have remained unchanged from earlier maps; the presence and arrangement of additions to these dwellings and of back lot buildings behind these dwellings are very different from depictions in earlier maps. A one-story building in the rear of a dwelling at 907 N. Patrick Street; this building is functionally unidentified on earlier maps but is marked as a stable on the 1941 map. Other changes include the appearance of a large rear addition to the dwelling at 917 N. Alfred Street, the removal of back lot buildings from the property at 923 N. Alfred Street, the construction of a one-story garage in the rear of 925 N. Patrick Street, the construction of a one-story garage and another one-story building of unknown function in the rear of 927 N. Alfred Street, and the construction of one-story buildings of unknown function in the rear of dwellings at 932 and 934 N. Columbus Street.

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**May 1939 Real Property Survey Map**
**Alexandria, Virginia**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

N
W E
S

Map Source: Real Property Survey, Land Use Maps. Alexandria, Virginia. WPA number 665-31-3-276. May 1939.

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**Sanborn 1941 Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

N
W E
S

Map Source: The Sanborn® Map Company

The 1941 Sanborn map shows Block 4 as a vacant lot; this appears to be an omission or error as a March 1949 aerial photograph (Exhibit 31) appears to show the same buildings depicted on earlier maps. Within Block 5, the only significant change appears to be the construction of a one-story dwelling at 917 Madison Street and an associated one story building in its rear. Several photographs taken during the 1940s document the streetscapes within the project area during this period; one and two-story frame tenements, most in poor condition, appear to have been common building types in the neighborhood. A photograph of the north side of the 800 block of Madison Street shows, from the viewer's right to left, what appears to be a one-story garage, the two-story dwelling at 801 Madison Street, the one-story dwelling at 803 Madison Street and two-story dwellings at 805-817 Madison Street (Plate 1). The dwelling at 801 Madison Street, according to information obtained from city directories, was the home of Revered Robert Robinson, a notable African American minister, in the early 20th century.

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**March 1949 Black and White Imagery**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

N
W E
S

Photo Source: USGS

***Thunderbird Archeology***
***by Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 31***

PLATE 1
North Side of the 800 Block of Madison Street, View to Northwest; 1940s
(Kate Waller Barrett Branch Library Photo Collections)

A photograph of the east side of the 800 block of N. Alfred Street shows the duplexes at 809-815 N. Alfred in the foreground and the rear of dwellings at 822 and 820 Montgomery Street in the background (Plate 2). In this photograph, the back lot structure in the rear of 822 Montgomery Street appears to be an open lean-to shed. A photograph of the east façade of the dwelling at 917 Madison Street and the rear facades and back yards of dwellings in the 800 block of N. Patrick Street is included as Plate 3. The back lot structures in the rear of the N. Patrick Street dwellings appear to be a variety of open and enclosed sheds, some attached to sheds in adjoining lots. Rear entrances and windows are visible on the catslide roofed appendages to the dwellings. A photograph of the east side of the 900 block of N. Patrick Street shows Cason's Delicatessen at 901 N. Patrick Street, a dwelling to the north and the western facades of the dwellings at 917-931 N. Patrick Street (Plate 4). Finally, a photograph of the corner of Columbus and Wythe appears to show the partial streetscape of a city block just south of the project area (Plate 5). The buildings shown appear to be generally older, of superior construction, and in better repair than those found within the project area.

PLATE 2
East Side of the 800 Block of N. Alfred Street, View to Northeast; 1940s
(Kate Waller Barrett Branch Library Photo Collections)

PLATE 3
Dwellings in the 900 Block of Madison Street and the 800 Block of N. Patrick Street, View to Northwest; 1940s (Kate Waller Barrett Branch Library Photo Collections)

PLATE 4
800 Block of N. Patrick Street, View to Northeast; 1940s
(Kate Waller Barrett Branch Library Photo Collections)

PLATE 5
Corner of Columbus and Wythe, View to South; 1940s
(Kate Waller Barrett Branch Library Photo Collections)

*Building Permits, Block 1*

By a deed dated June 6, 1890 John W. Burke; M.J.T. Burke, his wife; Arthur Herbert; and Alice G. Herbert, his wife conveyed an interest in the property to Samuel Brent and J.K.M. Norton (Alexandria Deed Book 23:557). The same land was conveyed by John W. Burke; Samuel Brent; Rebecca S. Brent, his wife; Arthur Herbert; and Alice G. Herbert, his wife to Lindsey Jackson less than one year later by a deed dated March 27, 1891. This parcel appears to have remained in the Jackson family between 1891 and 1919, when the same lands were conveyed from William T.J. Jackson and wife, both of Washington, D.C. and George D. and Florence Smith, husband and wife, of Alexandria, Virginia (Alexandria Deed Book 68:598). The land was finally sold by Algie H. Banks, as "sole heir" of Florence Smith, deceased to ARHA by a deed dated January 25, 1952 for the sum of $3820 (Alexandria Deed Book 332:585).

Early building permits for structures in Block 1 are shown on Table 8.

**TABLE 8: Block 1 Building Permits 1899-1927**

| Property Address | Owner | Permit Date |
|---|---|---|
| Columbus, N., 732-734 | Laphen, J.P. | 4/25/1927 |
| Columbus, N., 734 | Laphin, J.P. | 3/24/1899 |
| Columbus, N., 734 | Laphen, J.P. | 10/31/1927 |

The previously described chain of title appears representative of the various properties on the block; most being purchased by Burke, Herbert, Norton, and/or Brent in the late 19th century, subdivided and sold to investors, landlords and a few individual homeowners in the early 20th century. Additional details of 20th century property ownership are discussed later in this chapter and documented in the Chain of Title included as Appendix II.

Based on the previously discussed historic maps of the project area, the first buildings at 732 and 734 N. Columbus Street were probably constructed prior to 1896. The building permits issued to J.P. Laphem [John Laphen] likely were issued for repairs, alterations or the construction of replacement housing as Laphen had acquired several houses and lots at these locations by 1875 according to Alexandria property tax records.

*Building Permits, Blocks 2 and 3*

As previously described, in the late 19th century, Alexandria Real Estate Investment Title & Trust Company (Alex RE & TT) subdivided these city blocks and sold the lots to numerous investors, landlords and homeowners. A representative property history for several lots on these blocks follows. Daniel Birtwell conveyed the lots between Madison and Montgomery streets fronting North Alfred Street, and Lot #11 on the adjacent block to George F. Klipstein in 28 June 1894 (Alexandria Deed Book 32:288). Klipstein sold three lots or parcels, including one lot with three eight frame dwellings, to Thomas Groves on 22 April 1912 (Alexandria Deed Book 62:31).

In a chancery cause, Charles Henry Smith, Special Commissioner of Sale, sold the seven properties that had belonged to Theresa A. Groves, including the lot with eight frame dwellings, identified as 808-822 Montgomery Street (Alexandria Deed Book 70:266-7).

Early building permits for structures in Block 2 are shown on Table 9.

**TABLE 9: Block 2 Building Permits 1908-1920**

| Property Address | Owner | Permit Date |
|---|---|---|
| Montgomery betw Alfred & Columbus | Klipstein, G.T. | 4/14/1908 |
| Montgomery & Alfred, S.E. cor. | Klipstein, G.T. | 4/3/1908 |
| Montgomery, S., 806 | Kellam, Lucy | 5/22/1920 |

The permits noted for G.T. Klipstein were likely issued to George F. Klipstein, who owned these parcels between 1894 and 1912. It is likely that these permits were for new construction and represent development of the property into residential lots for resale by Klipstein. Lucy Kellum, based on federal census data, appears to have been an African American resident and property owner on the block. She is described as a widow in the 1900 census, likely living in the neighborhood at that time.

Early building permits for structures in Block 3 are shown on Table 10.

**TABLE 10: Block 3 Building Permits 1907-1927**

| Property Address | Owner | Permit Date |
|---|---|---|
| Alfred, N., 907 | Robson, Thoms. | 3/27/1926 |
| Alfred, N., 909 | Holt, Harry | 5/17/1915 |
| Alfred, N., 913 | Liberty Baptist Church, Trustees | 8/14/1907 |
| Alfred, N., 919 | Carrington, Geo. | 10/24/1922 |
| Alfred, N., 919 | Carrington, Geo. | 6/17/1926 |
| Alfred, N., 923 | Hawkins, Grant | 8/3/1918 |
| Alfred, N., 923 | Harkins, Grant | 6/1927? |
| Alfred, N., 929 | Murphy, Travis | 9/21/1916 |
| Alfred, N., 929 | Murphy, Travis | 7/17/1924 |
| Alfred, N., 931 | Holland, Geo. | 10/30/1922 |
| Alfred, N., 935 | Holland, George | 11/1/1920 |
| Alfred, N., 935 | Holland | 11/29/1927 |
| Columbus, N., 920-922 | Taylor, Eugene | 7/1927? |
| Columbus, N., 924 | Homes, E.M. | 4/9/1926 |
| Columbus, N., 924 | Holmes, E.R. | 8/16/1923 |
| Columbus, N., 930 | Williams, Lewis | 5/12/1924 |
| Columbus, N., 932-934 | Muir, Mr. | 10/13/1916 |
| Columbus, N., 936 | Arrington, T.E. | 9/10/1926 |

Much of Block 3 was built out by the early 20th century. The dwellings at 920-936 North Columbus were likely built before 1896.

*Building Permits, Blocks 4 and 5*

These blocks appear to have remained largely undeveloped into the early 20th century. No early building permits were located for Block 4. Early building permits for structures in Block 5 are shown on Table 11.

**TABLE 11: Block 5 Building Permits 1913-1928**

| Property Address | Owner | Permit Date |
|---|---|---|
| Patrick, N., 823 | Welford, R. Nelson | 6/24/1927 |
| Patrick, N., 901 | Lucas, B.F. | 2/20/1928 |

*Other Activities in the James Bland Neighborhood*

Church of God and Saints of Christ

Additional research conducted in association with the Church of God and Saints of Christ, located within the project area from at least 1921-1931, produced little information relevant to the congregation within Alexandria; however the history of the organization is interesting. The Church of God and Saints of Christ represents an early example of several late 19th and early 20th century African American religious movements whose members are sometimes referred to as "Black Hebrews" or "Black Jews." To many of these groups, claiming a Jewish identity was a way to reject one of the most influential social institutions of their white oppressors, Christianity (similar to the later Faradian Islam movement). These movements generally do not practice mainstream Judaism, but rather a religion incorporating elements of Judaism, Christianity and sometimes other religious traditions. Persecution by civil authorities of members of these movements and similar African American Islamist movements in the early 20th century appears to have been common.

The Church of God and Saints of Christ was founded by William Saunders Crowdy, an African American man born to enslaved laborers on the Chisly Hill Plants Farm plantation in St. Mary's County, Maryland on August 11, 1847. He served in the United States Army during the Civil War from 1863 to 1865. Crowdy, always deeply religious, was working as a railroad hotel cook in Guthrie, Oklahoma, when on September 13, 1892, he experienced an epiphany that would lead to the eventual foundation of the Church of God and Saints of Christ.

As Crowdy became a travelling evangelist in the late 19th century, the church expanded and began to meet with opposition from some private citizens and from civil authorities. Crowdy was arrested 22 times and gained the attention of major newspapers, wherein he was sometimes referred to as "the Black Elijah." By 1899, Church of God and Saints of Christ Tabernacles were established in several cities in Kansas, Missouri, New York and in Chicago, Illinois. In May, 1899, Crowdy moved to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and established the organization’s headquarters there. By 1901, more that 1300 members had joined the Philadelphia congregation. Crowdy continued to face opposition; he was accused of anarchy and preaching false doctrine

and the February 16, 1902 issue of the Philadelphia Daily Press (no longer published), argued that "this so-called Negro prophet [Crowdy] must be stopped." In 1903, Crowdy moved the church's headquarters to 40 acres of land that he purchased at Belleville, Virginia. Crowdy died in 1808 and the church subsequently divided into several sects.

No information concerning the historic congregation of the Church of God and Saints of Christ in Alexandria was found despite attempts to contact the present day congregation of the same name in the city and the national headquarters of two of the factions that remain in operation.

Silas Green from New Orleans

The vacant lots within the study area were used, at least in the 1940s and possibly earlier, by the African American owned and operated traveling tent variety show *Silas Green from New Orleans* which toured the south between circa 1904 and 1957. James E. Henson, a long time resident of the city remembered (see Appendix IV for full interview):

> ...coming through there from Duke Street walking up town, in this case the Hump. I remember walking up there, there used to be a Silas Green show and that was a very entertaining show under a tent. They would come to town with a tent and they would have entertainment. We never paid, we just kind of looked under the tent and watched (Sipe 2009).
>
> They were seasonal. Come to town for good weather, summer. Set up a tent, put on a show and move out. [The shows took place]...in Bland, but it wasn't called Bland. The projects weren't there, at least those weren't...the ones that I moved in weren't. The houses took up where they used to put up the tents (ibid).

The show became one of the longest-lasting tent shows in American show-business history and at times featured well known performers including Bessie Smith, the legendary blues singer. It was enormously popular among both black and white audiences, and offered a segregated seating arrangement with a section reserved for whites only. According to an article printed in *Time Magazine* in 1940, the Silas Green show was:

> ...as familiar throughout the South as a statue of Robert E. Lee, Silas Green from New Orleans claims that this is its 51st year on the road; old-timers can remember it for at least 38. Part revue, part *musicomedy*, part minstrel show, it tells, season after season, of the adventures of two Negroes, short, coal-black Silas Green and tall, tannish Lilas Bean. For years the show never bothered to change its plot.

Salem Tutt Whitney wrote the original show and gave it to African American showman Ephriam Williams. Ephriam Williams, born in the mid 19th century, spent his youth as a shoeshine boy and hotel porter in Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Hoh and Rough 2004). By 1885, he had organized his first circus, the Ferguson & Williams Monster Show of Appleton, Wisconsin. He would eventually own several circuses and, by 1910, he had become sole owner and manager of Prof. Eph Williams' Famous Troubadours, touring as Silas Green from New Orleans (ibid). In 1913, Williams boasted that the Silas Green Show was "carrying fifty-two people and ten head of stock

in two seventy foot railroad cars...spread more canvas than any other colored show [and each show would] seat 1500 people" (Abbott and Seroff 2007: 317).

Charles Collier, the show's publicist, purchased a half interest in the show in the 1922 and, upon Williams' death in the 1930s; his heirs sold the remaining portion to Collier (Hoh and Rough 2004). In a letter dated March 19, 1928 from Charles Collier to the manager of the Douglass Theatre, Collier described the troupe at that time as fifty-four people with a sixteen-piece band and sixteen girls:

> According to our verbal agreement, I will play your house, Douglas Theatre on Saturday, Mar. 31, 1928, therefore, you can began to advertise for that date, prices; 50¢ for balcany [sic]. 75¢ for down stairs. We are carrying 54 people with a 16 peace [sic] band and 16 girls of the chocolate colored varity [sic].
>
> Our agent will call on you one day this week in order to bill the town, please furnish him with an assistance to help and show him the best part of town to bill. Also, have some location slips ready, reading; "Douglas Theatre"
>
> With proper billing, I feel, we should pack your house on that night (Collier 1928).

The show remained very popular and continued to tour with a railroad car in the 1940s:

> In a Pullman, six trucks and two buses, they transport fifty people including musicians, porter, cook and canvas boys...Mr. and Mrs. Jones and the married couples live in the Pullman while the show plays an area. The car is run on a railroads siding and there the company community life of cooking eating and washing goes on there... (Abbott and Seroff 2007: 353).

According to Eleanor Jones Baker, who travelled with the show as a youth, "all of the women, all of the chorus girls" also lived in the railroad car and meals were served there. The band members stayed in the towns (Abbott and Seroff 2007: 354). By the 1950s, the travelling show had replaced the Pullman car with additional trucks and house trailers (ibid: 355). In Alexandria, the show was certainly no longer being held within the project area after 1953 and it apparently ceased touring in the late 1950s. Throughout its history the Silas Green Show advertised by widely distributing posters throughout the towns where it performed, several examples are included (Plates 6-8).


PLATE 6
Photograph with Silas Green Show Poster; November 1935; Location Unknown.
*Walker Evans, photographer, Farm Security Administration-Office of War Information Collection housed in the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress*


PLATE 7
Silas Green Band Half-Sheet; Hatch Show Print


PLATE 8
Silas Green, It's A Natural; Hatch Show Print
*Image copyright 2006 Country Music Hall of Fame, Reduced Quality reproduction in this report for educational purposes under "fair use" provision, Section 107 of the Copyright Act (title 17, U. S. Code).*

## CHAPTER 10 – PUBLIC HOUSING IN CONTEXT

The history of public housing in the United States provides a context in which to analyze the architectural design and styles of the built environment at the James Bland project site, as well as the situation of the historic and modern residents of the project. A neglected area in the writing of urban history is the physical environment. It is very likely that the built environment reflects and shapes human behavior (Gardner 1981: 64). Most literature on low end housing has concentrated on tenements and urban reform in late 19th century (ibid: 66). In recent years, interest has shifted to the evolution of public housing policy and design.

### Public Housing in Early America

In rural or agrarian socio-economic milieus, such as much of the United States prior to the 20th century, families typically built houses for their own use. Industrialization in the 19th century radically altered the social relations of building, working and living. Increasingly over time, dwellings were built by hired labor and sold at market prices; those who could not afford such housing collected in slums.

> In the early stages of our history, settlers built their own homes, good or bad, with their own hands and some help from their neighbors. Much of our farm and rural housing is still in this stage. When we came to town building and industrialization, private business enterprise took over the job. It has had no competition until recently, and the result is a larger acreage of worse looking slums than can be found in any other allegedly civilized country. Private enterprise rise can offer no alibi. That is simply what happened as a result of laissez faire and the free working of supply and demand (Wood 1940: 83).

Prior to the American Revolution (1775-1781), responsibility for caring for Virginia's poor rested with Anglican parishes. However, after the British were defeated, the Anglican Church was disestablished, and the responsibility shifted to the local governments (U.S. Department of the Interior 1937; Ward 1980; Watkinson 2000; Roach 2002). Public housing, with its current connotations, is a product of the early 20th century, in the 18th century the term "public house" referred to an *ordinary*, an inn or tavern.

*The Alms House*

Circa 1800, the town of Alexandria erected a poor house and work house at the northwest corner of present-day Monroe Avenue and Route 1. Inmates and the keeper of the poor house likely lived in the main building, which was a large, two-and-a-half-story, seven-bay, Federal-style brick structure (U.S. Department of the Interior 1937; Ward 1980; Watkinson 2000; Roach 2002). The building displayed Flemish bond brickwork and featured a hipped roof with pediment, dormers, and four interior chimneys. The symmetrical façade was arranged around a two-story, projecting center pavilion. The center pavilion contained an arched entrance that incorporated a fan light and sidelights; a Palladian window occupied the second story of the projecting pavilion. The interior displayed a rectangular, longitudinal-hall plan with central entrance.

The ledger of Robert Hodgkin, who became keeper of the Alexandria Poor House in 1861, provides valuable information about the operation of the Poor House between 1861 and 1863 (Miller 1992c; Ward 1980). Hodgkin's record of the operations of the Alexandria Poor House documents that, despite the disruptions to the local economy, he was still able to purchase a variety of foodstuffs, including fresh meat, salt beef, flour, butter, bread molasses, cornmeal, herring, and pickled codfish. He also purchased "20 bushels rye for coffee" (ibid). These purchases supplemented the vegetables produced on the Poor House farm. In January 1862, the livestock on the farm included "three horses, two cows, one bull, and nineteen hogs" (ibid: 66).

In January 1862, Robert Hodgkins prepared a list of the people, livestock, furnishings, and agricultural implements at the Poor House for submission to the "committee on the poor," which oversaw the institution. At that time, thirty-eight inmates lived at the Poor House, along with eight members of Robert Hodgkins' household. The Poor House ledger for 1861-1862 contains two sections, one for the alms house and one for the work house. According to local historian Ruth Ward, who analyzed the ledgers, "The ledger entries dealing with the work house indicate that most inmates were sent there for thirty days, although some were sentenced to six months." During the period covered by the ledger, at least two inmates of the work house, John Crisman and Kate Thompson, ran away (ibid). In January of 1863, one inmate delivered a child at the Poor House. The ledger also mentions three deaths in 1862: James Buckhannon, an unnamed boy who drowned, and a "German who died at poor house" (ibid: 65-66).

*Philanthropic and Limited Dividend Housing*

Until the Depression, most American leaders believed that the private market, with a helping hand from private philanthropy, could meet the nation's housing needs. The antecedent of public housing, philanthropic and limited dividend housing of the late 19th century, though privately built and operated, shared some similarities with later public housing. For instance, philanthropic and limited dividend housing was also faulted for plain appearance (Gardner 1981: 67). In the early 20th century, a few unions and settlement house reformers built model housing developments for working class families, mostly in the northeastern United States and without government subsidy.

**Public Housing in the New Deal**

*Overview*

Prior to the 1930s, the Federal Government had no role in housing private citizens; the social welfare of the public, in terms of housing, was left entirely to local governments and private charities (Robinson et al: 1999b: 5). The Great Depression of the 1930s focused the nation's attention on "the inequities of the housing market and on the smoldering slum problems…devastated home ownership and the residential construction industry" (ibid: 1:12).

Public housing in the United States was first implemented during the 1930s when many Americans lost their homes and livelihood as a result of the economic crises of the Great Depression. Franklin D. Roosevelt responded with the Federal Housing Act of 1934, which established the basic format for public housing in which the government subsidizes the market value of the housing, and the creation of the Federal Housing Association (FHA) (Trotter 1958; Gotham 2000: 296). Public housing in the New Deal was also an employment program, as under the National Industrial Recovery Act, the formation of the Public Works Administration (PWA), which developed and built the first housing projects in the United States, led to the creation of many jobs in the construction industry (Aiken and Alford 1970).

The socio-political environment during the early years of the Great Depression accommodated reformers who believed that that the federal government should subsidize social housing and build a noncommercial alternative housing sector. Many American housing activists envisioned public housing for the middle-class as well as the poor.

*The Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932*

The first significant New Deal measure targeted at housing was the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932. This act created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), a federal agency authorized to make loans to private corporations providing housing for low-income families. Also in 1932, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board was established to make advances on the security of home mortgages and establish a Home Loan Bank System. The act did little to assist individual homebuyers. The average home loan at that time required very short-term credit, with terms generally ranging from three to five years. Large down payments, second mortgages, and high interest rates were commonplace.

*The Housing Act of 1934*

As the economic situation worsened, the National Housing Act of 1934 was passed to relieve unemployment and encourage private banks and lending institutions to extend credit for home repairs and construction. Under the Act of 1934, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) was created. The responsibilities of the FHA, now a federal agency under the Assistant Secretary for Housing-Federal Housing Commissioner, are to improve housing standards and conditions; to provide an adequate home financing system through insurance of mortgage loans; and to stabilize the mortgage market. Two mortgage insurance programs were established under Title II of the

Act of 1934: Section 203 mortgage insurance for one to four family homes; and Section 207 multifamily project mortgages. The Act of 1934 also authorized the FHA to create the Federal National Mortgage Association, or Fannie Mae, which was chartered in 1937.

Helen Alfred, Executive Director of the National Public Housing Conference, summarized the rationale for the act, its means, and its goals:

> Recognizing the social importance of housing to all the people, and the value of a home construction program as a medium of reemployment in a great key industry, the Federal government has taken a hand. The removal of blighted areas and rehousing of the lower-income groups at rents which they can afford to pay has not been accomplished by speculative builders or limited dividend corporations. This new policy of the Federal government, as expressed in the terms of the National Industrial Recovery Act, presents an opportunity to make rapid progress toward the solution of our housing problem. In conformity with the provisions of the Act, the Government has made large sums of money available for the purpose of clearing slums and erecting low-rent dwellings. These funds will be advanced in the form of loans and outright grants. Private corporations, including limited dividend companies, can merely obtain loans for their projects. Public agencies, in addition to loans, can obtain subsidies amounting to thirty percent of the cost of labor and materials (Alfred 1934: 23).

Alfred also summarized the necessity for states and local communities to pass legislation and charter local authorities that would make implementation of law possible:

> The policy of the Government presents an opportunity for a vigorous battle against indecent housing conditions. The Government is doing its part; the next steps must be taken by local communities. As stated above, the outright grants will be given only to public bodies. Only five States now have the power to create housing boards or authorities with full power to acquire unhealthy areas, clear slums, and construct and operate dwellings. These States are California, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, and Wisconsin. Enabling legislation is pending in a number of extraordinary sessions of State Legislatures ….civic and welfare groups, members of the clergy, women's organizations and progressive labor leaders are uniting to promote sentiment in their local communities favorable to the creation of municipal housing authorities. Most of the municipal legislation is being patterned after a bill prepared in New York City under the supervision of the National Public Housing Conference. Under the terms of this bill, it is recommended that a municipal housing authority be created and that a board be appointed by the Mayor. This board is to have power to issue its own bonds and to sell them to the Federal government. It will have placed at its disposal an effective procedure for acquiring land by condemnation or purchase, for clearing, replanning and rebuilding unhealthy and blighted areas, and finally to manage and operate dwellings when completed. The Government loans will be repaid out of the rents collected (ibid).

Critics of the Housing Act of 1934 have pointed to the act's failure to assist lower income families most in need of housing aid and feel it did little to improve inner city housing; it promoted the single family detached dwelling as the prevailing mode of housing, which perpetuated suburban sprawl and it intensified racial segregation. Critics of the FHA have seen racially discriminatory policies and practices of the agency associated with mortgage insurance and lending, appraisal guidelines, and home building subsidies (Gotham 2001: 309).

Many New Dealers, including Eleanor Roosevelt, Harold Ickes, Aubrey Williams and Harry Hopkins acknowledged and worked to mitigate the effects of race on public policy; for instance, it was mandated that African Americans, who comprised about 10% of the total population, and 20% of the poor, would collect at least 10% of welfare assistance payments and various New Deal relief programs such as the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) allocated 10% of their budgets to African Americans (Leuchtenburg 1963:244-246). President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed an unprecedented number of African Americans to second-level positions in his administration; these appointees were collectively called *the Black Cabinet.* These efforts were largely responsible for the transition of black political organizations from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party by 1936, forging the political alliance between African Americans and the Democratic Party that still exists. Few efforts were; however, extended to ending racial segregation or guaranteeing the civil rights of racial minorities (ibid: 256-257). The CCC was organized in racially segregated units; however, pay and working conditions were equitable (ibid).

*Reformers and Housers - Ideals and Designs for Social Housing*

Even before the onset of the Great Depression, a cadre of progressive American architects and planners had come to believe that fundamental restructuring of national residential patterns. These design professionals and other reform-minded citizens, including urban and labor activists, envisioned the development of attractive and affordable alternatives to single-family suburbanization, which had become endemic by the 1920s (Mayer 1935: 400). Mayer, among other advocates of the rethinking of the American domestic landscape, saw new social housing not only as a solution for the problems of impoverished slum dwellers but a necessary step toward providing better lives for all Americans:

> The slum and the blighted district -- urban and rural - are only the most spectacular manifestations of the bad conditions under which almost all of us live. The people who live in slums can't afford to live in decent places. Those who can afford to don't get anything really satisfactory, unless they shift around with the shifting, sprawling city and suburb. Lack of play spaces and convenient parks, noise, exposure to traffic accidents, encroachment of business, overcrowded roads and streets and subways -- these affect the well-to-do only in less degree than they afflict the poor. The well-to-do shift to new areas, and the poor move into the abandoned unsatisfactory areas. If this sounds an exaggeration to anyone, let him simply visit the derelict areas that were good neighborhoods twenty, fifteen, ten years ago.
>
> …the housing problem is twofold. First, there is the lack of reasonable planning and stability which makes our entire physical environment unsatisfactory. Then

> there is the problem for something like two-thirds of our population who haven't the money to pay for physically decent housing--whose income or relief wage or relief dole is not enough to pay the sum of real-estate taxes, current interest and amortization on cost of land and building, and adequate maintenance. On top of these permanent elements there is the impending housing shortage, which will affect both groups. The problem of the two-thirds is bluntly one that involves redistribution of wealth. The physical solution is similar for all: planning and construction of projects on a sufficiently large scale so that they can be free from traffic dangers and extraneous noise, can contain facilities for recreational and community life, and can achieve the economies of large-scale planning and its amenities of proper orientation to air and sunlight. Such projects must be so related to the larger community of which they are a part that they are within convenient reach of daily work, of shopping districts, of larger recreational and park areas (ibid).

Catherine Bauer [Catherine Krause Bauer Wurster], born May 11, 1905 in Elizabeth, New Jersey, was a leading member of a group of early 20th century idealists known as *housers*, social reformers, mostly women, committed to improving housing for low-income families (Plate 9). On the basis of her belief that social housing could produce good social architecture, and impressions made on her by the wide spread suffering during the Great Depression, she became a great advocate for the poor in the struggle for housing. Bauer described as "equal parts Mae West and Margaret Mead, with a dash of Dorothy Parker and a pinch of Simone de Beauvoir," was a charismatic figure in the reform movement, one of its greatest theorists. Her classic *Modern Housing* (1934) made her an authority on social housing and she co-authored the Housing Act of 1937.

Bauer was significantly influenced by American urban critic Lewis Mumford and European and expatriate American artists and architects in Europe including Fernand Léger, Man Ray, Sylvia Beach, and the architects of change group; Ernst May, André Lurçat, and Walter Gropius.

European ideals and designs for social housing that had developed in the 1920s were adopted and implemented in the United States in the 1930s. The goal of the houser movement, beyond the creation of a supply of adequate, low-rent Government-built housing for the urban poor, was the establishment of an ordered environment for the urban poor that would eventually lead to the elimination of urban slums. European urban planning concepts such as *Zeilenbau*, or a plan that arranged buildings in parallel rows, to take advantage of maximum light and ventilation, were adopted for many projects. Limited traffic flow with planned circulation patterns, pedestrian walkways, courtyard areas and open spaces with park-like settings were also emphasized in the designs (Robinson et al: 1999a: 18). Most projects were designed to a human scale and were well landscaped. Some included private or semi private garden spaces.

PLATE 9
Portrait of Catherine Bauer Wurster, 20th Century Housing Reform Advocate
(Library of Congress Prints and Photograph Division)

Ultimately, the uninspired, sterile, and institutional designs that began to characterize American public housing fell far short of the communitarian, European-style projects that the housers envisioned.

*The PWA - Public Housing Design and Construction*

The United States Public Works Administration (PWA) was created as a federal agency under the National Industrial Recovery Act in June 1933. The agency's mission was to provide employment, stabilize purchasing power, improve public welfare, and contribute to a revival of American industry through management of the construction of public works and housing (Plate 10).

Horatio Hackett, a Chicago architect and engineer with limited experience in housing reform issues, was placed at the head of the PWA's Housing Division; consultants on staff included architects, Alfred Fellheimer and Angelo R. Clas (Robinson et al: 1999a: 21-23).

Several subordinate units were organized within the Housing Division of the PWA; the Branch of Land Acquisition which handled property acquisition and supervised site development; the Branch of Plans and Specifications, staffed by architects, engineers, landscape architects, and cost estimators, who worked closely with local architects and engineers; and the Branches of Construction and Management, which were responsible for the final aspects of project development, including slum removal, construction supervision, and administration of tenant services.

In the first years of its existence, the PWA Housing Division oversaw all phases of site development for public housing projects, excepting the style in which the buildings were built; which was, at least theoretically, left to the local architects (Robinson et al: 1999b: 19).

As PWA public housing scholars Michael W. Strauss and Talbot Wegg wrote:

> …the style of buildings, whether they should be "modern," colonial, Spanish, or what-not, was on the whole left to the decision of local architects. They had only one watchword, simplicity. As a result there is, to the layman's eye, great variety in the exterior design of projects. New York, Chicago, Camden, Cleveland, and some others are modern; Jacksonville and Miami are of typical design; Charleston recalls the graciousness of its heritage; Boston is in keeping with the New England tradition; Dallas suggests the distinctive architecture of the Southwest (ibid).


PLATE 10
PWA Steam Shovel
(Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, National Archives)

The autonomy of local architects in design decisions proved problematic; PWA official determined that most American builders were incapable of designing large-scale public housing projects that met the high stands of the Housing Division. Months before the first federal government funded public housing project, First Homes, opened in Manhattan's lower east side on December 3, 1935, the Plans and Specifications Branch began the preparation of a series of plans for the basic units of public housing complexes, including apartments and row houses of all types and sizes. These plans were published in May 1935 as *Unit Plans: Typical Room Arrangements, Site Plans and Details for Low Rent Housing*, and were adopted by most local architects involved with public housing projects and became the standard for PWA public housing design (ibid).

Over time, the use of standardized plans and model unit designs became more and more evident. Although the original rationale for this approach stemmed from observed deficiencies in the design skills of local architects, the ultimate effect was a net loss of freedom of design and architectural innovation. Further, economy increasingly dominated other considerations of design and construction.

Typical American public housing projects of this period included multi-family, low-rise residential buildings and an ordered site plan that arrayed the buildings around open spaces and recreational areas; buildings generally occupied less than 25 percent of the site (Plates 11 and 12). The most common building forms were several-story walk-up apartments and row houses, often constructed of brick, simply designed and generally well-built (Robinson et al: 1999b: 21-22). Attached dwellings were popular with designers of public housing complexes, being more economical in both construction and operating costs (ibid).

A community center, typically a one-story building containing management offices, recreation rooms or classrooms, and a hall for community functions such as dances or meetings, was usually integrated into the project. Management offices, maintenance buildings, garages, nursery schools, and buildings originally containing retail of office spaces comprised a non-residential component at some sites (Robinson et al: 1999a: 18-19, Robinson et al: 1999b: 21-22). Larger projects often included multiple commercial and community buildings and manifested as almost self-contained communities within the surrounding neighborhoods. These sometimes included heating plants, generally characterized by a tall smokestack (Robinson et al: 1999a: 18-19).

Spartan utilitarian design characterized the interior spaces of the individual residential units (Plate 13). Most units included one to four bedrooms, a kitchen, living room, and bathroom. Room sizes were minimal and the shapes generally regular. Walls were most often painted concrete block or plaster partitions; floors typically asphalt tile or linoleum over concrete, with the occasional use of wood parquet where costs and availability permitted. Units included modern conveniences; a gas range and electric refrigerator in the kitchens and full bathrooms (Robinson et al: 1999a: 19-20).

PLATE 11
K Street Projects in Washington, D.C.
(Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, National Archives)


PLATE 12
Cedar-Central Project in Cleveland, Ohio; June 1937
(Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, National Archives)

Each project was subject to both strict cost controls and minimum standards of appearance and livability. Various cost and space saving strategies were employed including open cupboards and closets and suite type plans as interior hallways were considered wasted space. Units were almost always situated to take advantage of maximum natural sunlight and ventilation, and arranged to maximize the privacy of residents (Robinson et al: 1999a: 19-20).

Factors in determining the location of public housing projects within local communities included proximity to employment opportunities, slum clearance, existing transportation and infrastructure development, and availability of suitable land. City blocks were often combined to form superblocks (Robinson et al: 1999b: 21-22) (Plates 14 and 15).

Designers sought to invest the project's residents with a sense of communal identity, distinct from its surrounding neighborhood, through the deliberate site plans and the design and form of the buildings. Public art was also an important component of early PWA-era projects and some later designs. The earliest PWA projects successfully integrated European design theories and contemporary American housing reform philosophies; the best of these achieved very high standards of design, site planning, and construction (Robinson et al: 1999a:19).

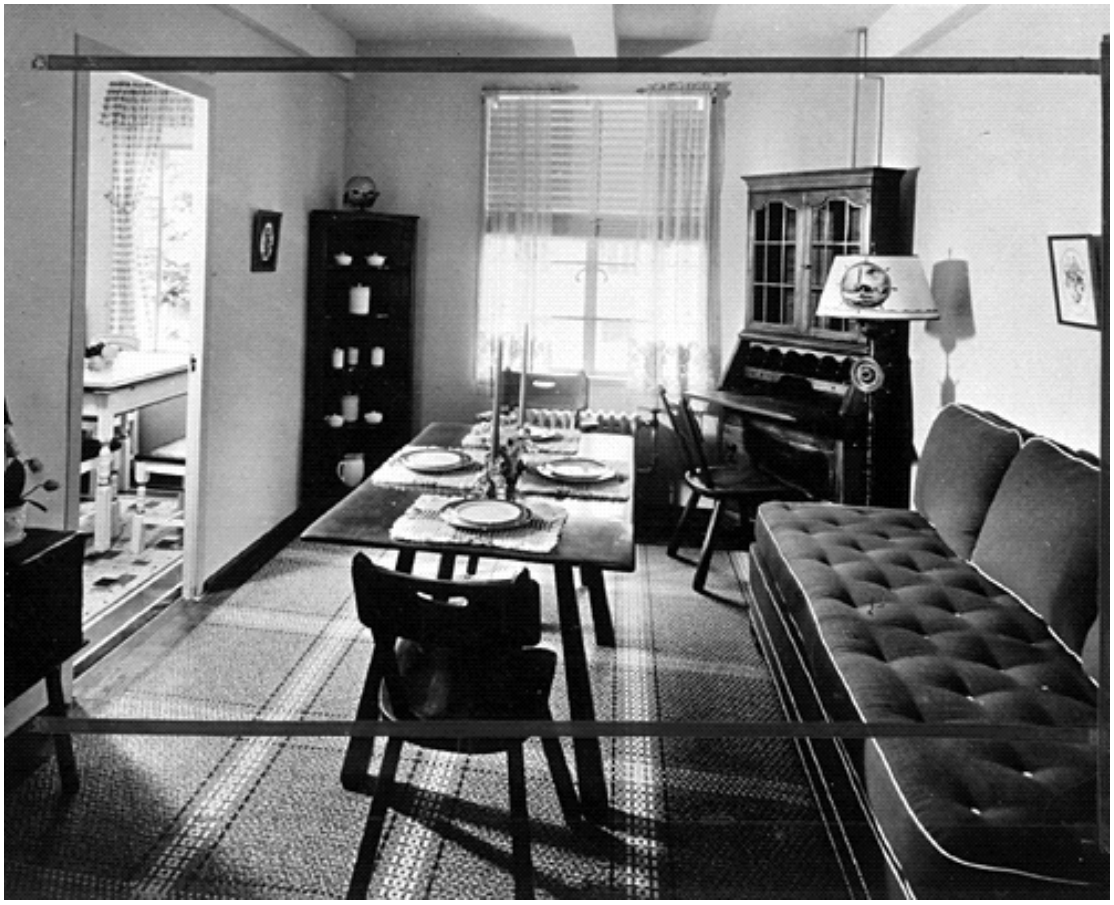

PLATE 13
Public Housing Unit Interior, Hillside Homes, Bronx, New York
(Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, National Archives)

PLATE 14
Aerial View, PWA Built Hillside Homes, Bronx, New York
(Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, National Archives)

PLATE 15
Aerial View of Williamsburg Houses in Brooklyn, New York
(Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, National Archives)

*Slum Clearance*

Housing reformers during this period were divided over the issue of slum clearance. In the 1930s, most American cities included slum areas, neighborhoods characterized by substandard housing of various types, occupied by the very poor, often ethnic or racial minorities (Plates 16 and 17). Many believed that slums were breeding grounds for crime and a major public health problem (Plates 18 and 19). Traditional reformers believed that slum clearance served to eliminate blighted and overcrowded neighborhoods while the building of new low-income housing on former slum sites allowed the poor to continue to live near their places of employment. Others, including Bauer and many housers, believed that slum clearance was a waste of time and money that primarily benefited the real estate industry. Opponents of slum clearance contended that new housing built on former slum sites, even with public financing, would often be too expensive for the dispossessed tenants. Lewis Mumford, an icon of the houser group, wrote: "if we wish to produce cheap dwellings, it is to raw land that we must turn... The proper strategy is to forget about the slums as a special problem…. When we have built enough good houses in the right places, the slums will empty themselves" (Robinson et al 1999b: 29).

Legal issues related to slum clearance proved to be a major obstacle for the PWA Housing Division projects. Early on, the PWA was determined to prove the feasibility of combining slum clearance with the construction of low-rent housing (Plate 20). Harold Ickes declared that the top priority of the Housing Division was to "seek out some of the worst slum spots on the municipal maps and abruptly wipe them out with good low-rent housing." Numerous PWA acquired sites, that had been slum neighborhoods, were condemned under the power of eminent domain. As some slum sites had hundreds of owners with whom the PWA had to negotiate, acquisition was sometimes very complicated. As a result of various legal challenges to condemnation proceedings before 1936, the PWA built all subsequent housing on vacant land or in sites for which it could negotiate clear title (Robinson et al 1999b: 37).

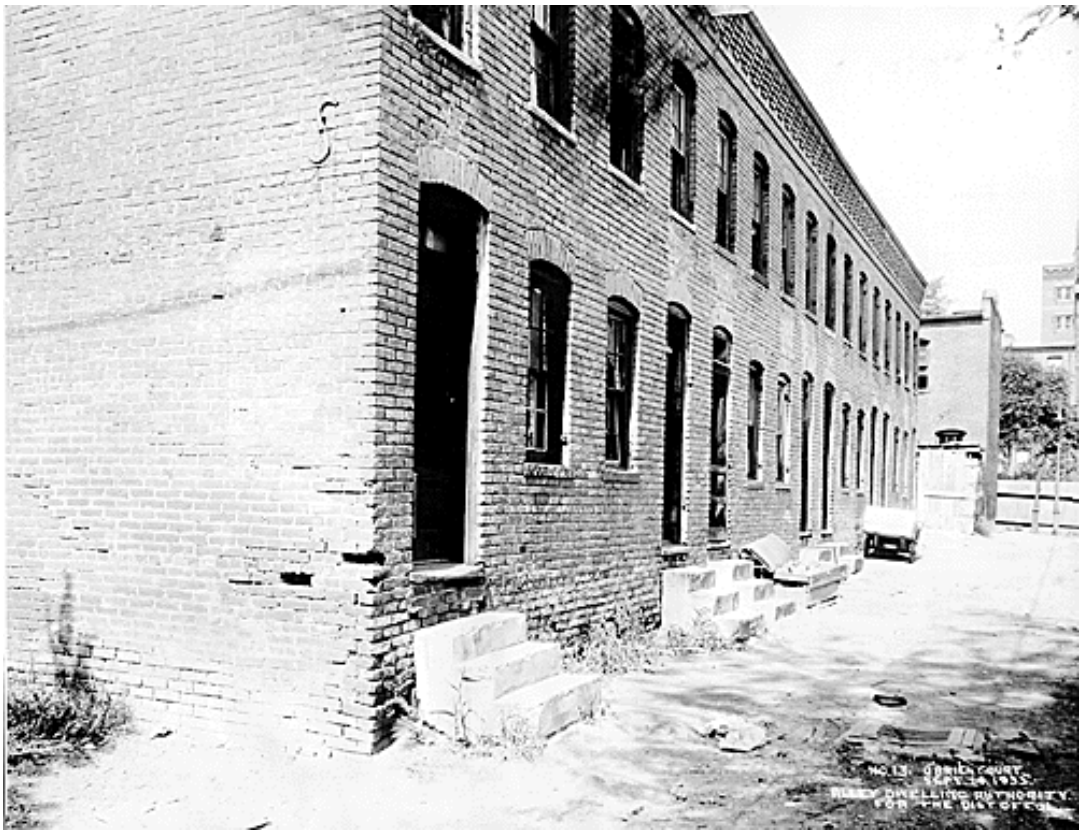

PLATE 16
O'Brien Court Slum Dwellings, Washington, D.C., 1934-1936
(Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library)

PLATE 17
Canal Street in the Yamacrow Section of Savannah, Georgia, 1936
(Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library)

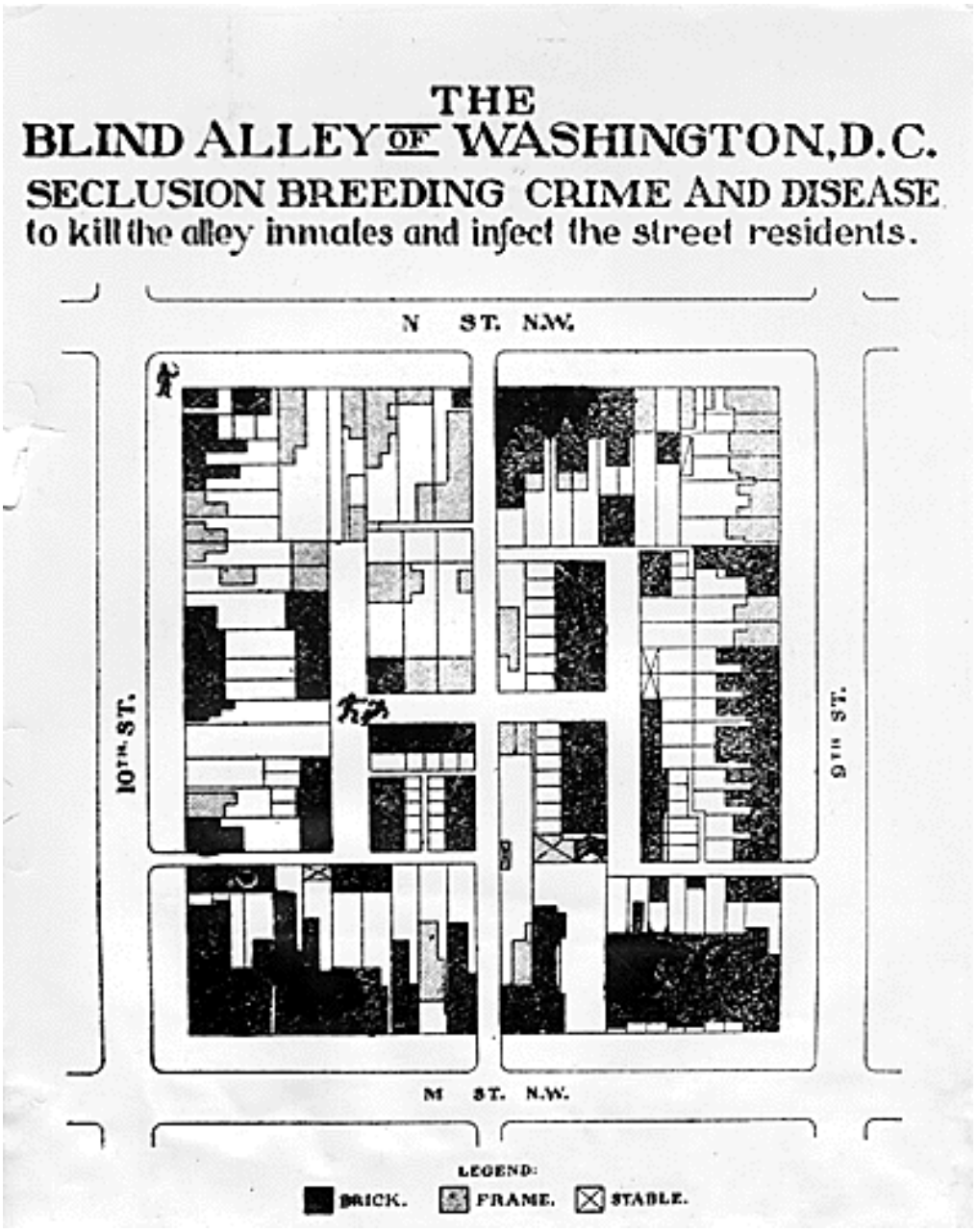


PLATE 18
Propaganda for Slum Clearance in Washington D.C.
(Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library)


PLATE 19
Slums Breed Crime; USHA Poster from the 1930s
(Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library)

PLATE 20
Slum Clearance in Washington, D.C., 1934-1936
(Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, National Archives)

*United States Housing Act of 1937*

As previously discussed, the Housing Act of 1934, although responsible for several major public works housing projects, was quite limited in scope. In December 1935, Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York began a campaign to push a broader housing bill through Congress (Robinson et al 1999b: 33). In a speech before the NPHC, he defended his stand on public housing against attack from the political right:

> The object of public housing ….. is not to invade the field of home building for the middle class or the well-to-do …. Nor is it even to exclude private enterprise from participation in a low-cost housing program. It is merely to supplement what private industry will do, by subsidies which will make up the difference between what the poor can afford to pay and what is necessary to assure decent living quarters (ibid).

Lobbyists for the private sector housing industry, amongst other groups, organized opposition to the new bill. One of the strongest and most vocal rebuttals to the philosophy of Wagner and his allies came from the president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB), Walter S. Schmidt, of Cincinnati:

> It is contrary to the genius of the American people and the ideals they have established that government become landlord to its citizens ….. There is sound logic in the continuance of the practice under which those who have initiative and the will to save acquire better living facilities, and yield their former quarters at modest rents to the group below (Robinson et al 1999b: 33).

Other business organizations followed suit, with the National Association of Retail Lumber Dealers, the U.S. Building and Loan League, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce also expressing fierce opposition to public housing legislation (Robinson et al 1999b: 33). The public housing activists responded by painting a bleak picture of the state of American housing:

> …AT LEAST A THIRD OF OUR HOUSING IS BAD ENOUGH TO BE A health hazard, but not all in the same way or to the same degree. The coverage of moral hazard is less than that of physical hazard, which is fortunate, as its effects are worse. About two fifths of our housing is rural, divided more or less evenly between farm and non-farm. The Farm Housing Survey made in 1934 shows an appalling lack of modern sanitation and conveniences, except in a few favored regions. To call 80 percent of our farmhouses substandard is an understatement (Wood 1940: 83).

Wood found data on urban housing conditions in the 1930s, derived from the *Real Property Inventories* housing field surveys conducted from 1934-1936, also disturbing. The structural condition of only 39% of urban homes was considered good, 44.8% needed repairs, and 16.2% was considered poor; 4.4% of urban dwelling units had neither gas nor electric lighting, 14.6% lacked a private indoor toilet, 19.9% had no bathtub or shower, and 17.4% of occupied dwellings were crowded or overcrowded (Wood 1940: 83). According to Wood, "to call a third of the nation or a third of those who live in urban communities 'ill-housed' can hardly be an exaggeration (ibid)." "One-third of a nation" became a rallying cry for the public housing movement (Robinson et al: 1999b: 34).

Enacted as law, the 1937 United States Housing Act, with the objective of providing affordable housing to the poorer segments of the population, provided stringent new cost guidelines to public housing projects that led to an increased emphasis on economy and greater standardization in American public housing:

> It is the policy of the United States to promote the general welfare of the Nation by employing its funds and credit, as provided in this Act, to assist the several States and their political subdivisions to remedy the unsafe and unsanitary housing conditions and the acute shortage of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of lower income and, consistent with the objectives of this Act, to vest in local public housing agencies the maximum amount of responsibility in the administration of their housing programs (United States Housing Act of 1937, Sec. 2; 42 U.S.C. 1437).

The new legislation revived the failing Red Hook housing project in New York City; however, it also tightly controlled the project's budget. The total cost per room was cut to nearly half that of earlier PWA efforts in New York City, and the project density far exceeded that utilized in earlier public projects in the city (Robinson et al: 1999b: 40-41).

The issue of slum clearance was also revisited in the 1937 act. Senator David I. Walsh, a proponent of slum reform from Massachusetts, added the "equivalent elimination" provision to the bill, which required the local authority to remove substandard slum units from the local housing supply in a "substantially equal number" to the public housing units it built. The local authority could meet this requirement by "demolition, condemnation, and effective closing" of substandard units, or through rehabilitation by "compulsory repair or improvement." This provision was supported by many commercial landlords, who feared that expanded housing supplies would lower the rents that could be charged for their rental properties (Robinson et al: 1999b: 37).

*United States Housing Authority*

The United States Housing Authority, or USHA, was created under the 1937 Housing Act. This federal agency was designed to lend money to the states or communities for construction of low-cost public housing. Unlike the centralized organization of the earlier PWA Housing Division, which was responsible for every component of project planning and administration, operations at the newly established USHA were increasingly decentralized.

Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes successfully lobbied Congress to place the USHA within the Department of the Interior; however, President Roosevelt appointed Nathan Straus, a man strongly disliked by Ickes as the USHA administrator. This appointment resulted in Ickes distancing himself from the public housing program (Robinson et al: 1999b: 39).

Under the USHA, responsibility for initiating, designing, building and managing housing projects was given to local Public Housing Authorities (PHAs), while the Washington bureaucracy provided program direction, financial support, and consulting advice. In effect, site analysis, land acquisition, tenant distribution, and project design were handled by PHAs under the relatively strict constraints of the Federal program and the USHA furnished technical guidance design assistance, project review, and issued program standards, management guidelines, design models, architectural standards, and building prototypes (Robinson et al: 1999b: 45).

Regarding the impact of increased standardization and restrictive budgets under the USHA on architectural style in public housing, it is clear that design creativity suffered during this period, continuing a trend that had actually begun under the PWA. Economy of materials and design trumped experimental and new design alternatives, resulting in what some critics have labeled an "unnecessarily barracks-like and monotonous" look. The social-psychological elements of project planning that had formed the core of the housers' vision were replaced by the goal of meeting minimum human needs of clean air and light within increasingly limited budgets. Although many new modern housing units were built, most were devoid of the artistic or aesthetic styling of earlier projects (Robinson et al: 1999b: 45).

As with the PWA projects, attempts were made to instill a sense of community in the public housing projects financed by the USHA. PHAs were encouraged to organize a variety of social, educational, and recreational events for the residents of the local complexes, most of which included a neighborhood community center. Choirs, nondenominational children's Bible schools, card clubs, dancing classes, nursery schools and neighborhood newsletters were amongst the activities and programs employed (Robinson et al: 1999b: 43). The USHA also attempted to increase public support for its programs and the new housing projects using city newspapers and government printed material, ground breaking and dedication ceremonies, tours of model homes, and radio broadcasts (ibid: 42).

*Criticism of Public Housing in the New Deal*

In its earliest phase, the American efforts in public housing were inspired by modern architectural theory, progressive social ideals and the praxis of urban activists; however, it soon foundered due to political squabbling, pressures from private sector builders, racial prejudice, classism, and uninspired design. Although a high degree of technical excellence was mandated by the United States Housing Authority for public housing design after 1937, the buildings generally appeared to be a plain and dreary choice of investment in healthier and safer buildings over attractive buildings….also long standing social bias toward plain public housing (Gardner 1981: 67). Bias of this type might be supported by identification with property values as an expression of socio-economic status and a zeal for protection of private property rights (Hooks 2001:139).

Some historians, including Richard Pommer, have blamed the failures of public housing in the United States almost entirely on the architecture and design. Pommer explained that modern architecture was not embraced by the architects of American public housing projects due to the separation of housing designs, which remained traditional from other building forms, Pommer added, "…the degradation of public housing in [the United States] resulted as much from the contempt of it and its inhabitants expressed by these purely architectural values as from the political-economic compromises necessary to sell it to the real estate owners, the rural politicians and the bureaucrats."

Housing and urban planning scholar John F. Bauman noted that the private housing market has long undermined government programs in public housing. This antagonism from the private sector, together with factors associated with racism and classism, such as the resistance of the middle class to living in propinquity to the poor or racial minorities, the idea of public housing as transitional and the failed aesthetics of public housing design have resulted in the current state of public housing. Bauman stated, "The nexus of privatism and racism has foreclosed serious attempts by either public or private agencies to make low income housing into more than a poor house…" (Gardner 1981: 66).

**Public Housing in the 1940s**

*Overview*

As President Franklin D. Roosevelt moved industry toward war production and abandoned his opposition to deficit spending, the PWA became irrelevant and was abolished in June 1941. Although Congressional interest in public housing had begun to diminish in the late 1930s, the onset of World War II would lead to renewed interest, redirection and expansion of Federal housing efforts. As the United States increased industrial capacity in response to the expanding conflict, established manufacturing centers such as Chicago and Detroit, as well as new manufacturing sites, experienced a great influx of population which again drew attention to the inadequate stock of urban housing.

In 1940, the U.S. Congress expanded the use of USHA funds for the construction of defense worker housing in areas where manufacturing and other defense-related industries were mobilizing to prepare for World War II. Slums cleared for either low-cost or defense-worker housing were required to be replaced with either white-designated or African-American designated projects. Good quality and inexpensive housing for defense workers and their families became a component of the war effort, leading to the revivification of the American public housing program after 1941. The goal of the program was; however dramatically altered from the provision of housing for low-income families to housing defense workers on the home front (Robinson et al: 1999b: 46).

Despite the patriotic rationale of the new public housing efforts, private enterprise and its supporters in Congress again formed opposition, arguing that federal involvement in housing should be limited to loans and mortgage guarantees to support private construction and, at most, the public construction of temporary housing. Political battles continued between public housing advocates and business interests and their allies; Congressional conservatives, including Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia and Republicans from rural constituencies. Opponents of public housing tried to derail defense housing funds being appropriated to the USHA and feared that public housing would emerge after the war to compete with private enterprise. The success of such attacks on government-built defense housing severely limited the extent of the public housing program during the war (Robinson et al: 1999b: 46).

*The Lanham Act of 1940*

In opposition to the USHA, a new housing bill that would severely restrict Federal efforts to build public war housing was sponsored by Republican congressman Fritz Lanham of Texas. The Lanham Act, enacted as law on October 14, 1940 (54 Stat. 1125) was designed to provide relief for defense areas found by the President to be suffering from an existing or impending housing shortage. In such cases, the Federal Works Administrator was empowered to acquire "improved or unimproved lands or interests in lands" for construction sites by purchase, donation, exchange, lease or condemnation. The Lanham Act provided $150 million to the Federal Works Administration to provide federally built housing quickly and cheaply in the most congested defense industry centers. It emphasized both speed in construction and economy of materials.

The Lanham Act represented a radical departure from previous federal public housing policy. It waived the low-income requirement for tenancy and made defense housing available to all workers facing the housing shortage. It also ordered local authorities to set fair rents at variable rates to be within the financial reach of all families employed in defense industries. The act exempted local authorities from the "equivalent elimination" clause, no longer requiring the demolition of an equal number of slum housing units for all public housing units built. Interestingly, the new policies conformed to the vision of earlier housers, such as Mumford and Bauer; public housing was becoming available to a more diverse section of American society, not only the most impoverished and slum clearance, which had been shown to be expensive, time consuming, and wasteful, was no longer mandated (Robinson et al: 1999b: 47). Between 1940 and 1944, about 625,000 units of housing were built under the Lanham Act and its amendments with a total appropriation of nearly $1 billion.

*War Trailer Projects*

During World War II, the great majority of the public housing units, over 580,000, were of temporary construction, such as plywood dormitories and trailers (Robinson et al: 1999b:52). Government built trailer camps became a common sight on the home front landscape during World War II:

> Across the length and breadth of America at war can be seen compact colonies of strange little cottages on wheels. These vehicles, each boasting all the comforts of home on a miniature scale, are known as trailers. A group or colony of them is a trailer camp. They are used to house workers in American war industries and other plants which have sprung up like giant mushrooms all over the United States. An owner, with his auto, which. pulls his trailer, may journey 500 to l,000 miles to join some trailer camp near the factory where he intends to work …
>
> People do not live in trailers because they like the idea of being gypsies, but generally because there are few houses to rent in the big war industry centers. So as a last resort they buy or rent a trailer, or even make one. Each trailer is built on two or four wheels and towed behind the owner's automobile. There are thousands of these trailers gathered in colonies near the nation's war plants.
>
> There were not quite 200 trailers in the camp. There were four neat rows of them and a few more scattered under the trees in front of a wooded ravine. Two white, roughly macadamized roads let through the trailer village. In about the middle of the camp stood the office and utility buildings. The office building was a bare room with a concrete floor and on the wall was a poster advertising war bonds. At the end of the room was a small office which served as renting bureau and post office. Stretching down one side of the room was a store where one could buy everything with the exception of fresh fruit and vegetables; fish and fowl. There was every kind of delicatessen -- sausages, salami, cheeses and potato salad and great stocks of sardines and canned salmon, canned goods and groceries. There was a small selection of such meats as chopped beef, pork chops and stew meats. There were oranges, bananas, cakes and bread (Vorse n.d.).

As early as 1940, war trailers were being distributed to areas in need of housing for defense workers (Plates 21 and 22). In the National Housing Agency publication, *Standards for War Trailer Projects* (NHA 1942), it was stated that trailers were to be used as expedient and temporary housing for defense workers, were to be transferred to other locations once adequate housing facilities became available, and were to be held to minimum construction standards due to their temporary nature. Additional guidelines suggested site selection in consultation "with local housing authorities, planning agencies, municipal officials, military authorities, industrial experts, and other persons in a position to give information and advice" (ibid: 1). The primary criterion for site selection was proximity and convenient access to the war activity, usually a defense plant of some type.

PLATE 21
War Trailers Caravan on Memorial Bridge, Washington, D.C., Circa 1940 (Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information Photograph Collection; Library of Congress

PLATE 22
War Trailer Interior Detail, Circa 1940 (Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information Photograph Collection; Library of Congress

Sites were to be, when possible, within walking distance to the war activity, "2 miles for men and 1 mile for women" (NHA 1942: i). "For economy and speed of construction," site layout conformed to existing topography and utilized existing drainageways; water lines and sanitary sewers were installed on-site; storm sewers were not built (ibid: 5, 15). Construction of paved roads accessing the site if not already present and sidewalks within the site were mandated (ibid: 6). Acceptable site density was considered to be "12 to 18 trailers per acre of usable land" (ibid: i). Example site plans were included in the manual (Exhibit 32).

Sites within 200 miles of the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and within 100 miles of the Gulf of Mexico were to be "planned with a view to protection against enemy aerial attack." Endorsed measures for air raid protection at trailer sites included site dispersion, use of natural camouflage, such as woods and foliage; and increased avenues for vehicular access at the site (NHA 1942: 3).

Two types of trailer units, standard trailers and expansible trailers, were mentioned in the standards manual; however these were not further defined. Proposed foundation plans for trailers were published (Exhibit 33). Lots for standard trailers were recommended to measure about 25 feet by 50 feet or larger, with a minimum area of 1250 square feet. Lots for expansible trailers were recommended to measure about 30 feet by 50 feet or larger, with a minimum area of 1500 square feet (NHA 1942:: 4).

Service trailers or buildings ancillary to the residential trailers and their arrangement in the site plan were also specified in the standards. Community Facilities included "Community Toilets," to be located within 200 feet of the residential trailers; "Community Laundries," within 300 feet; and "Collection Stations" for "refuse, garbage, sink waste, water supply, and ashes" within 150 feet (Exhibit 34). Outdoor lighting was recommended to "supplement street lighting" on walkways between the residential and ancillary structures (ibid: 7). Larger trailer camps, sites with 50 or more dwellings, were to be provided with on-site management and maintenance services, social or activity centers, outdoor recreation areas, health service facilities, and commercial facilities unless it could be demonstrated that adequate off-site facilities of these types were available to camp residents. Reduction or omission of such facilities required the approval of the "Washington office: [of the Federal Public Housing Authority] (ibid: 9).

With the end of the war in 1945, the FPHA was required, under the Lanham Act, to dispose of the temporary housing units, over 320,000 extant family dwelling and dormitory units at that time (NHA n.d.). The agency experimented with the reutilization of temporary war housing, in whole or in part, as barracks, utility buildings, and even rural dwellings and actively promoted the sale of such structures in domestic and foreign markets (NHA n.d.). The success of this program and the number of such structures that continued in use after the war is not known.

A series of photographs documenting one or more war trailer camps in or near Alexandria, Virginia in 1941 follow (Plates 21-24). These photographs were probably all taken at Spring Bank Trailer Camp located on U.S. 1, in Fairfax County, south of the City of Alexandria (Netherton et al 1992:622). A segregated Farm Security Administration (FSA) Trailer Camp for African Americans was present in Arlington, Virginia by 1942 (Plate 25).

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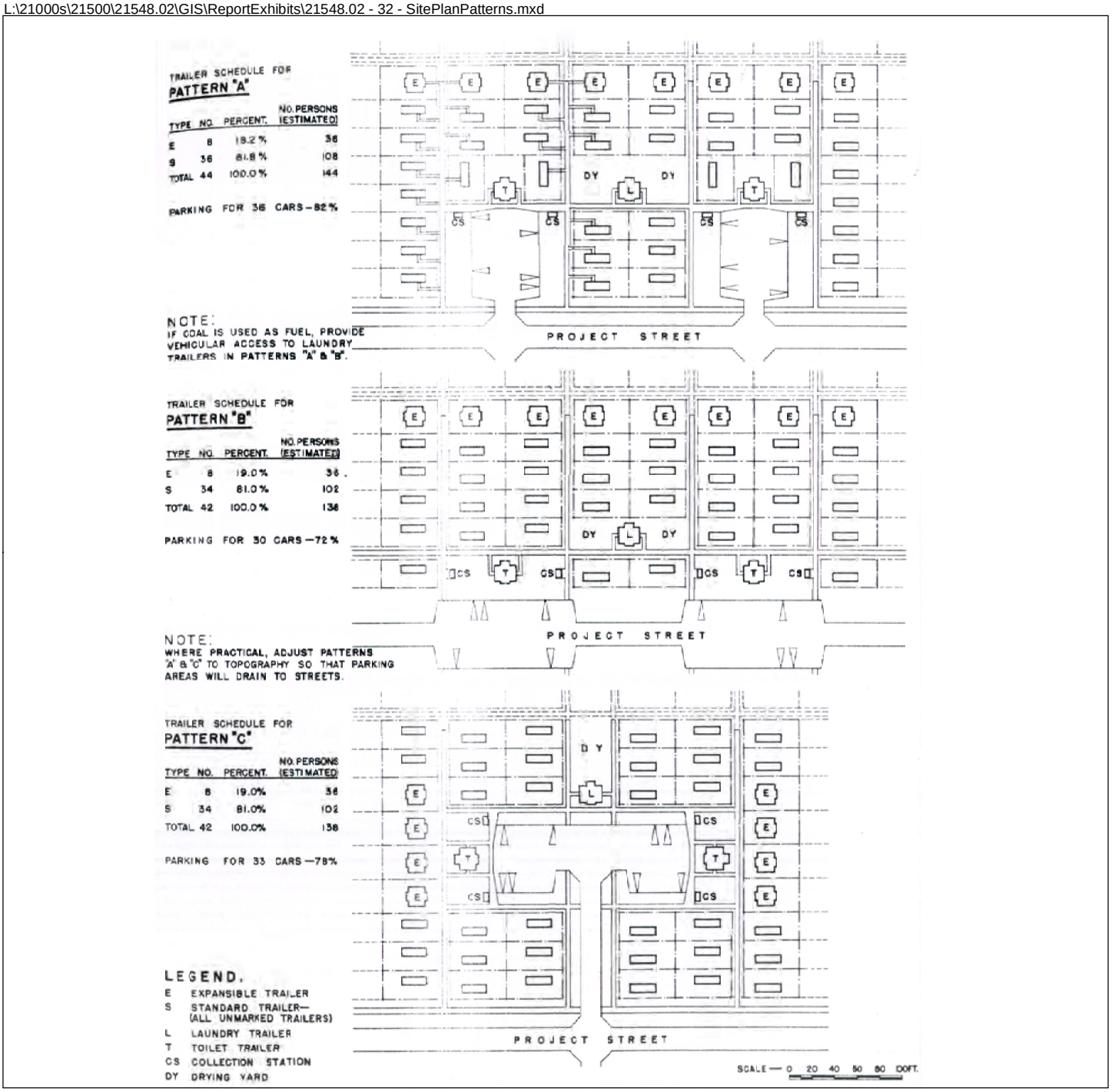
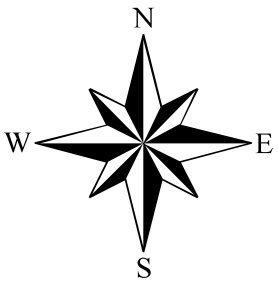



**Site Plan Patterns for War Trailer Projects**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not To Scale**




Map Source: National Housing Agency. 1942 Standards for War Trailer Projects. Federal Public Housing Authority. Washington, DC.

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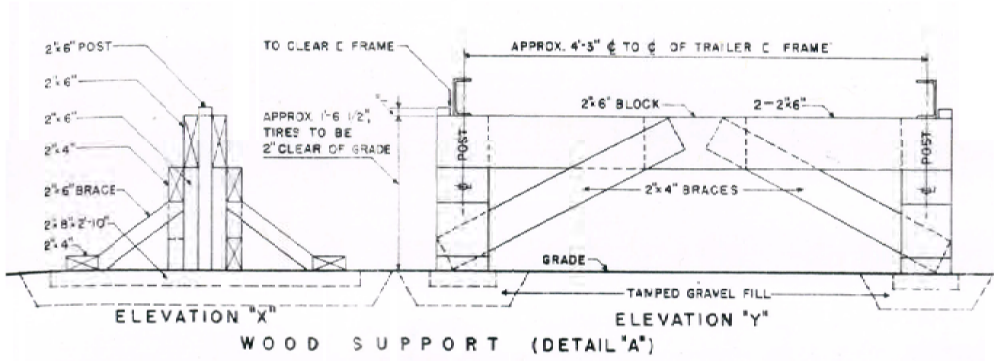
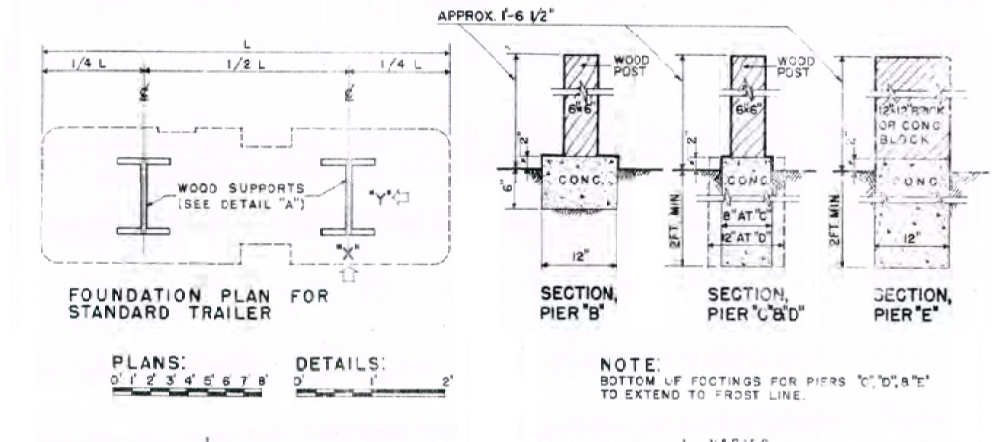
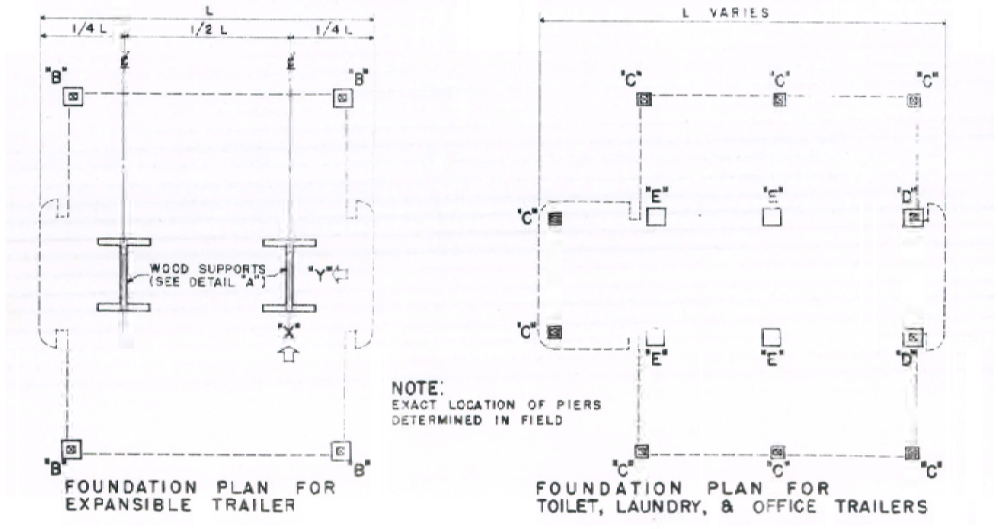
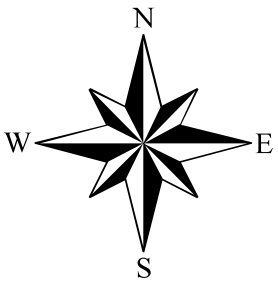



**Foundation Plans for War Trailer Project**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not To Scale**




Map Source: National Housing Agency. 1942 Standards for War Trailer Projects. Federal Public Housing Authority. Washington, DC.

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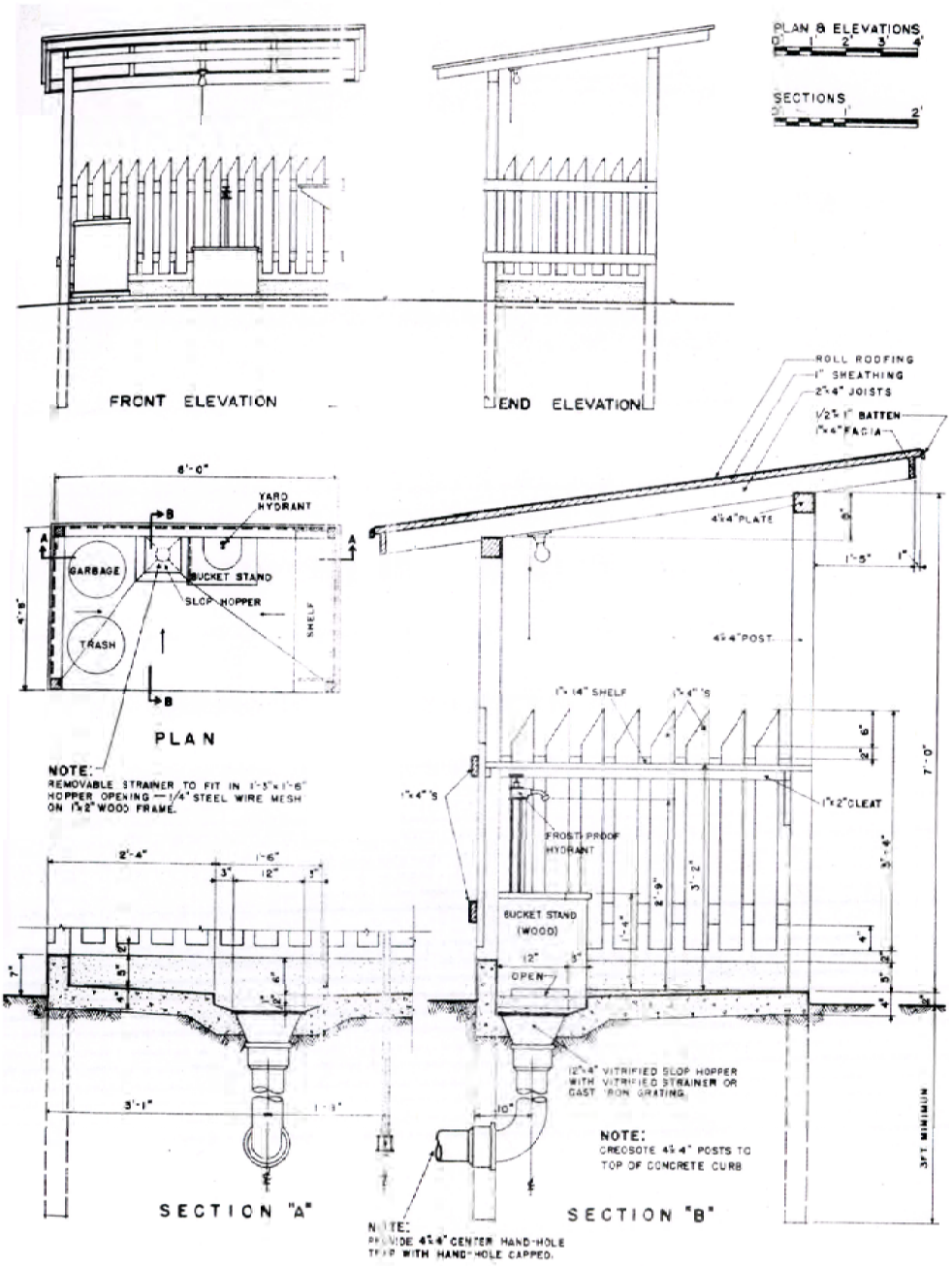


**Collection Stations for War Trailer Projects**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
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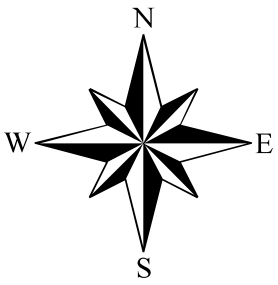


Map Source: National Housing Agency. 1942 Standards for War Trailer Projects. Federal Public Housing Authority. Washington, DC.

PLATE 23
"Trailer Occupied By War Department Employee and Wife from Pennsylvania. Trailer Camp near Alexandria, Virginia; March 1941" (Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information Photograph Collection; Library of Congress)

PLATE 24
Trailer camp on Mount Vernon Highway near Alexandria, Virginia; March 1941 (Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information Photograph Collection; Library of Congress)

PLATE 25
"Showers and Toilets for Trailer Camp Occupants; Trailer Camp near Alexandria, Virginia; March 1941" (Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information Photograph Collection; Library of Congress

PLATE 26
"Trailer Occupied by Torpedo Plant Worker, Wife, and Child; Trailer Camp in Alexandria, Virginia; March 1941" (Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information Photograph Collection; Library of Congress)

PLATE 27
"Arlington, Virginia. FSA (Farm Security Administration) Trailer Camp Project for Negroes. Single Type Trailer; April 1942" (Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information Photograph Collection; Library of Congress)

Although few details relevant to this facility have been located at this time, a community building including "a well laundry" supplied with new aluminum Maytag Commander washing machines was located within the camp (Lupton 1996: 21).

*The Housing Act of 1949*

After World War II, any effort to extend public housing policy was vigorously contested by special interest groups, sometimes referred to as the real estate lobby, including the National Association of Real Estate Brokers (NAREB), the National Association of Home Builders (NAHB), the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the U.S. Savings and Loan League, and the National Association of Retail Lumber Dealers.

In 1945, legislation to extend the public housing appropriations of the 1937 Housing Act, which had been suspended before the war, was introduced in Congress. This legislation reached the U.S. House of Representatives as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner (T-E-W) Bill in 1948. Although it was bitterly fought by the real estate lobby and its political allies, after the election of Harry S. Truman as President of the United States in 1948, a popular mandate for passage of the bill was perceived. The T-E-W Bill was signed into law in July of 1949 as the Housing Act of 1949. The Act called for the production of more permanent public housing across the United States. Under Title I of the Act, the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) was authorized to provide capital grants and loan guarantees to local agencies for use in urban renewal; large scale land acquisition and slum clearance; under Title III, the Public Housing Administration (PHA) was authorized to allocate federal funds to local housing authorities for the construction of 810,000 public housing units over a six year period (Robinson et al: 1999b: 100).

Although the Housing Act of 1949 was nominally an extension of the United States Housing Act of 1937, it was also a great compromise between advocates of housing reform and the real estate lobby (ibid).

**Public Housing After 1949**

*Overview*

In the perceived prosperity of the postwar years, public housing remained an integral part of Federal housing policy but received limited attention and funding. The rapid growth of population in the United States in the latter half of the 20th century and the concentration of this population in urban areas led to new problems in housing and the need for government to address these problems. Under the Housing Act of 1949, beginning in the 1950s, numerous massive public housing projects, typically high-rise complexes were constructed in urban areas across the country (Robinson et al: 1999b: 57).

In terms of design, public housing projects after 1949 were characterized by a simple, unified appearance. Standardization and economy became the most important elements of design; the "stripped modern" exterior architectural detailing of most public housing resulted in an institutional appearance. These later complexes also had much higher site densities than earlier projects, having both taller buildings with more units, and a greater number of buildings per site. The interiors of later public housing complexes also contrasted with the earlier ones, typically

having smaller units with smaller rooms, connected by long hallways. Also, unlike earlier small-scale projects that were designed to blend with their surroundings, public housing in the second half of the 20th century tended to stand out in the urban landscape (Robinson et al: 1999b: 57).

Many critics of the public housing system in the 1950s considered it tied to humanistic sentiments and not focused on practical methods of assisting the poor. They claimed that the bureaucracy involved in the public housing system was inefficient and significantly decreased the funds that were actually used for housing, that public housing tended to result in more racially segregated communities within cities, and that the demand on collective cooperation and unity necessary in public housing, due to the close quarters in which tenets lived, was often unreasonable. The most significant federal housing legislation to be enacted between 1949 and the 1970s was the Housing Act of 1959, which established a direct loan program for senior citizens in need of housing aid.

Although local housing authorities continue to be supported with federal funding through the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the federal government no longer pays to build housing projects. HUD organizes all public housing in the United States. Since 2001, HUD has increasingly diverted funds from public housing toward home ownership programs. Many such programs including the "Renewing the Dream" tax credit work to encourage private sector housing developers to construct housing for low income residents. HUD has also formally recognized the persistence of inequalities in the conditions of housing for racial minorities and persons with disabilities.

Federal programs begun in the last quarter of the 20th century, the Section 8 Housing Program and HOPE VI have involved government encouragement of and partnership with private sector entities to provide low cost housing and to redevelop distressed public housing projects as mixed communities.

*Section 8*

In reaction to the problems associated with the aging stock of public housing and increased requirement for low cost housing for those in need, the U.S. Congress passed legislation enacting the Section 8 Housing Program in 1974, which Richard Nixon signed into law. Section 8 encourages the private sector to construct affordable homes and assists poor tenants by giving a monthly subsidy to their landlords. This assistance can be 'project based, "which applies to specific properties", or "tenant based," which provides tenants with a voucher they can use anywhere vouchers are accepted. Since 1983, almost no new project based Section 8 housing has been produced. Effective October 1, 1999, existing tenant based voucher programs were merged into the Housing Choice Voucher Program, which is today the primary means of providing subsidies to low income renters.

*HOPE VI*

In 1989, a National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing was named and charged with proposing a National Action Plan to eradicate severely distressed or obsolete public housing by the year 2000. The HOPE VI program, formerly known as the Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program (URD), was created for the purpose of revitalizing severely distressed or obsolete public housing developments. HOPE VI was authorized by the Departments of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development and Independent Agencies Appropriations Act of 1993. It was also authorized, with slight modifications (amending Section 24 of the 1937 Housing Act), by Section 120 of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1992. PHAs located in one of the 40 most populous U.S. cities and PHAs on HUD's Troubled Housing Authority list are eligible to apply for HOPE VI funds.

**Public Housing in Alexandria**

*The Alexandria Housing Authority*

In June of 1939, the Alexandria Housing Authority was formally established as a public agency under the Housing Authority Law, Chapter 1, Title 36 of the Code of Virginia of 1938, as a result of work done by the local Council of Social Agencies and the Woman's Club. Reportedly, the municipal authorities were originally opposed to the creation of the agency; however, the city appropriated $3000, granted as a loan, to fund the Authority, pending anticipated financial assistance from the USHA (Woodbury 1940: 140). In 1940, the agency had one permanent full time employee, the executive director, two part-time typists and an architect hired on a contingent basis (ibid). Later renamed the Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority (ARHA), the primary mission of the agency has been to provide safe, sanitary housing at affordable rents for poor residents of the city. ARHA is currently responsible for the provision and maintenance of 1150 public housing units and the administration of 1722 vouchers for Section 8 housing. ARHA's annual operating cost and capital funding for the upkeep and maintenance of ARHA properties are funded by the U.S .Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The City appoints the nine member of the ARHA Board of Commissioners.

*Slum Clearance in Alexandria*

In a letter to the editor of the Washington Post in December 1935, a citizen of Alexandria expressed outrage at the paper's hostility to the emerging federal housing program and its contention that local government could handle the housing crisis:

> In my own hometown I know of no present or past attempts to remove the slum dwellings or even discuss the possibility of removing them. Shacks that were formerly grog shops and houses of worse repute are now renovated with a coat of paint, brass dooor-knockers [sic], green shutters, foot scraper, and a tub and are rented to the stupid petit bourgeois for fabulous sums while the former inhabitants are turned out to shift for themselves and develop bigger and better slums by their shifting…your "local government" is a non-entity and has failed to alleviate conditions… (WP 1935: 8).

In October 1939, the USHA earmarked $900,000 for use by the Alexandria Housing Board in a program of slum clearance and the construction of "200 family units that may be individual dwellings, row houses or single apartments." Provisions for slum clearance mandated that for each unit constructed an existing unit would be renovated or razed. The units were expected to rent from between $14 and $18 monthly and were to be made available to families earning less than $75 per month (WP 1939:12).

According to a letter to the editor of the Washington Post, slum clearance in Alexandria was underway by the beginning of 1941, the author informed:

> …of a situation which exists in the town of Alexandria…about the close of the year notices went out to various colored families living in Alexandria, in that area near the railroad tracks between Oronoco and Princess Streets, that because of the slum clearance in charge of the Housing Authority, these families must vacate the shacks in which they then lived and move to other homes so that better houses might be erected there.
>
> …However, they did not move…and on January 2, 1941 the wrecking crews came…Today I received word that the houses on Princess Street are having their roofs taken off…all those people living in that row of houses, including a child with a broken neck, will be entirely homeless, without even the shelter usually given to animals…Alexandrians are content to allow people to be treated worse than animals.
>
> It seems that the Housing Authority should have…ascertained whether there were enough places for these people to move… (WP 1941:10).

In a 1944 interview, Virginia Representative Howard Smith noted "the extremely pressing problem of District slums and the dire need here for proper Negro housing." Smith remarked on the recent efforts toward slum clearance and public housing in Alexandria:

> Over in Alexandria we can see in a small way the blessings of slum clearance. There are two blocks down there of fine brick dwellings for Negroes, with backyards and plenty of air and sunlight. They replaced former slums. It is deeply gratifying to see the pride and self-respect which a decent place to live has engendered in the occupants of these homes. They are beautifully kept (WP 1944a:B1).

Proponents of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill of 1948 noted that Alexandria, with a population of about 75,000, had available only 421 rental housing units for low income families (130 units for white families, 291 units for African-American families), not including those allotted for military personnel (WP 1948:15).

*Late 20th Century Public Housing in Alexandria*

Segregation of the city's public housing appears to have been a constant component of the system from its beginnings and throughout the 20th century. In 1965, with the integration of two African American families into the previously "whites only" Cameron Valley Homes, project efforts to remedy this situation were made (WP 1965: C1). At this time, the ARHA waiting list contained three times as many black as white families, while only slightly more than half of the 950 units available were open to African-Americans. The ARHA determined that an open-occupancy policy would ensure that black families would not have to wait a disproportionate amount of time for housing (WP 1965a)

During the 1960s, African-Americans in Alexandria made significant strides in gaining a voice concerning ARHA's housing units. In October 1966, Nelson Greene, a local funeral home owner, became the first African-American on the ARHA board. Having a black member on the board had been an objective of the city's civil rights groups for years, as the majority of the ARHA public housing units were rented by African-Americans (WP 1966)

In 1968, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) required local housing authorities to set up a procedure for handling tenant grievances and for expanding participation of tenants in project management in order to receive more federal funds. In the spring of 1969, a group of African-American tenants organized a committee to protest alleged unfair rent increases and violations of personal rights by ARHA and its employees. Within months, the committee became a tenant council recognized by the ARHA board. By the fall of 1969, relations improved between the ARHA board and the tenant council when the board made some policy changes requested by the council; among these changes was adjusting the rent down for a family with two wage earners, exempting the earnings of minors living at home, and extending the monthly rent payment deadline (WP 1969).

Between the completion of the James Bland Addition in 1959 and 1990, ARHA added five more public housing areas and replaced four projects. In 1981, the City Council passed Resolution 830 which authorized the ARHA to explore options to upgrade the public housing stock with the

result "that there be a variety of housing opportunities for persons of all economic groups." That year, ARHA turned its efforts from solely constructing monolithic, low-income housing projects to placing smaller public housing units within areas of mixed-income, privately-developed housing in Alexandria.

*Public Housing Complexes and Units in Alexandria*

As of 2006 ARHA managed 898 public housing units covering 38.05 acres in the City of Alexandria. Table 12 presents an inventory of these properties.

An overview of several public housing complexes in the project area vicinity is presented in the following text. Most are located within or near the Parker-Gray Uptown Historic District and the descriptions are drawn from the National Register of Historic Places Parker-Gray PIF. As the James Bland project is the focus of this study, no summary of this project follows; the details are included in the later in this report.

*John Roberts Homes*

The first public housing project completed in the Uptown/Parker-Gray area was the segregated "whites only" John Roberts Homes, built in 1941 in the block bound by Oronoco Street, E. Braddock Road, N. West Street, and the RF&P Railroad line. John Roberts Homes consisted of twenty-one wood-frame buildings each of which contained between four and ten units. The projects were razed in 1982 and replaced by the Colecroft residential development.

*Ramsey Houses*

The Ramsey Houses, a set of four American Foursquare house forms containing multiple units (three contain four units and one has three units), located on the east side of Patrick Street between Pendleton and Wythe Streets, were built as public housing in 1942 (Exhibit 35). The units are very different from other public housing in the city, constructed in Craftsman informed style with stucco exterior finishes and low hipped roofs.

*George Parker (Hopkins-Tancil Ct.)*

In January 1941, the first slum clearance project took place in the African-American neighborhood located between Pendleton and Princess Streets in the northeast quadrant of Alexandria. George Parker Homes, renamed Hopkins-Tancil Ct. in the 1980s, were located on two blocks bounded by Fairfax Street, Royal Street, Pendleton and Princess Streets (Exhibit 36). Circa 1942, the city completed the George Parker Homes in the two-block area of slum clearance. The housing consisted of two-story brick buildings constructed circa 1942 as housing for those employed in defense industries such as the torpedo factory and later turned over to Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority for use as public housing units for low income African American families (WP: 2001).

## TABLE 12: 2006 INVENTORY OF ARHA HOUSING UNITS

| ARHA Units | Units | Location | Year |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Public Housing* | | | |
| Ramsey Homes | 15 | N. Patrick, Pendleton & Wythe | 1942 |
| Samuel Madden Downtown | 100 | N. Pitt & N. Royal | 1945 |
| Samuel Madden Uptown | 66 | N. Henry & Montgomery | 1945 |
| James Bland | 148 | N. Patrick, First & Wythe | 1954 |
| James Bland Addition | 46 | Montgomery, N. Patrick & First | 1959 |
| Andrew Adkins | 90 | N. Fayette, Wythe & Madison | 1968 |
| Landrey High Rise | 170 | Wythe & N. Royal | 1978 |
| Quaker Hill | 30 | Ellsworth Dr. | 1989 |
| Park Place | 38 | N. Van Dorn St. | 1989 |
| Saxony Square | 5 | N. Armistead St. | 1989 |
| | | | |
| *Scattered Site Public Housing* | | | |
| Quaker Hill | 10 | Duke & Yale | 1981 |
| Ramsey School | 10 | Beauregard & Sanger | 1981 |
| Oasis and Bragg | 15 | Oasis & Bragg | 1981 |
| 28th Street | 15 | 28th Street | 1981 |
| Braddock & Radford | 10 | Braddock & Radford | 1990 |
| Braddock Rd./Hermitage | 8 | Braddock Rd./Hermitage | 1990 |
| Braddock & Van Dorn | 8 | Braddock & Van Dorn | 1990 |
| Braddock & Armistead | 5 | Braddock & Armistead | 1990 |
| Duke & Quaker | 10 | Duke & Quaker Lane | 1990 |
| | | | |
| *Public Housing Replacement* | | | |
| Hopkins-Tancil | 111 | N. Fairfax & N. Royal | 1983 |
| Glebe Park | 40 | West Glebe & Old Dominion | 1988 |
| Jefferson Village | 56 | N. West & Princess | 1990 |
| Quaker Hill | 60 | Quaker Hill Dr. | 1990 |
| | | | |

*Source: Statistical Profile Alexandria 2006 Update Department Of Planning And Zoning Faroll Hamer, Director, Prepared By: Ralph Rosenbaum, Urban Planner II March 2007*

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**Sanborn 1959 Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

N
W E
S

Ramsey Houses

Map Source: The Sanborn® Map Company

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**Sanborn 1941 Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

George Parker Homes

N
W
E
S

Map Source: The Sanborn® Map Company

***Thunderbird Archeology***
***A Division of Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 36***

*Samuel Madden Downtown*

The Samuel Madden Homes (Downtown), a 100-unit public housing complex, represents an early public housing development in the city, built between ca.1942 and 1959. It was built adjacent to the George Parker Homes and, together, the projects occupied two contiguous blocks, bounded by Pendleton Street to the north, Princess Street to the south, North Royal Street to the east, and North Pitt Street to the west (Exhibit 37). The earliest units were two-story brick buildings constructed for military housing circa 1945 (WP: 2001).

The project, named for the first African-American pastor of the Alfred Street Baptist Church, was initiated as part of a program of slum clearance, with the "blighted" area extending well beyond the site of the public housing units, and including areas north of Madison Street and west of N. Fairfax Street. After clearance, some of the land became the location of temporary houses built to provide displaced families a place to live while the Samuel Madden Homes were under construction.

*Samuel Madden Uptown*

Samuel Madden Homes (Uptown) were built in 1945, in the 900 blocks of Patrick and Henry Streets and the 1000 block of Montgomery Street (Exhibit 38). After the construction of these non-contiguous units, the other phase of the project became known as Samuel Madden (Downtown). The Samuel Madden Homes and the James Bland project were all the work of architect, Joseph Saunders, and are very similar in design. Each project includes side-gabled brick row houses, sometimes with six or more repeated in a row, and placed around landscaped garden areas that are oriented to face into the north-south streets.

Through oral history interviews with residents who lived in the neighborhood and in the Samuel Madden Homes and James Bland Homes public housing projects in the 1940s and 1950s, it has become apparent that little distinction was made by the residents between the Samuel Madden Homes (Uptown) and the later and adjacent James Bland Homes projects. Typically, both were known as "the projects." Perhaps due to confusion associated with Samuel Madden Homes (Downtown), the public housing in the vicinity of the study area, including Samuel Madden Uptown is frequently referred to as James Bland by area residents.

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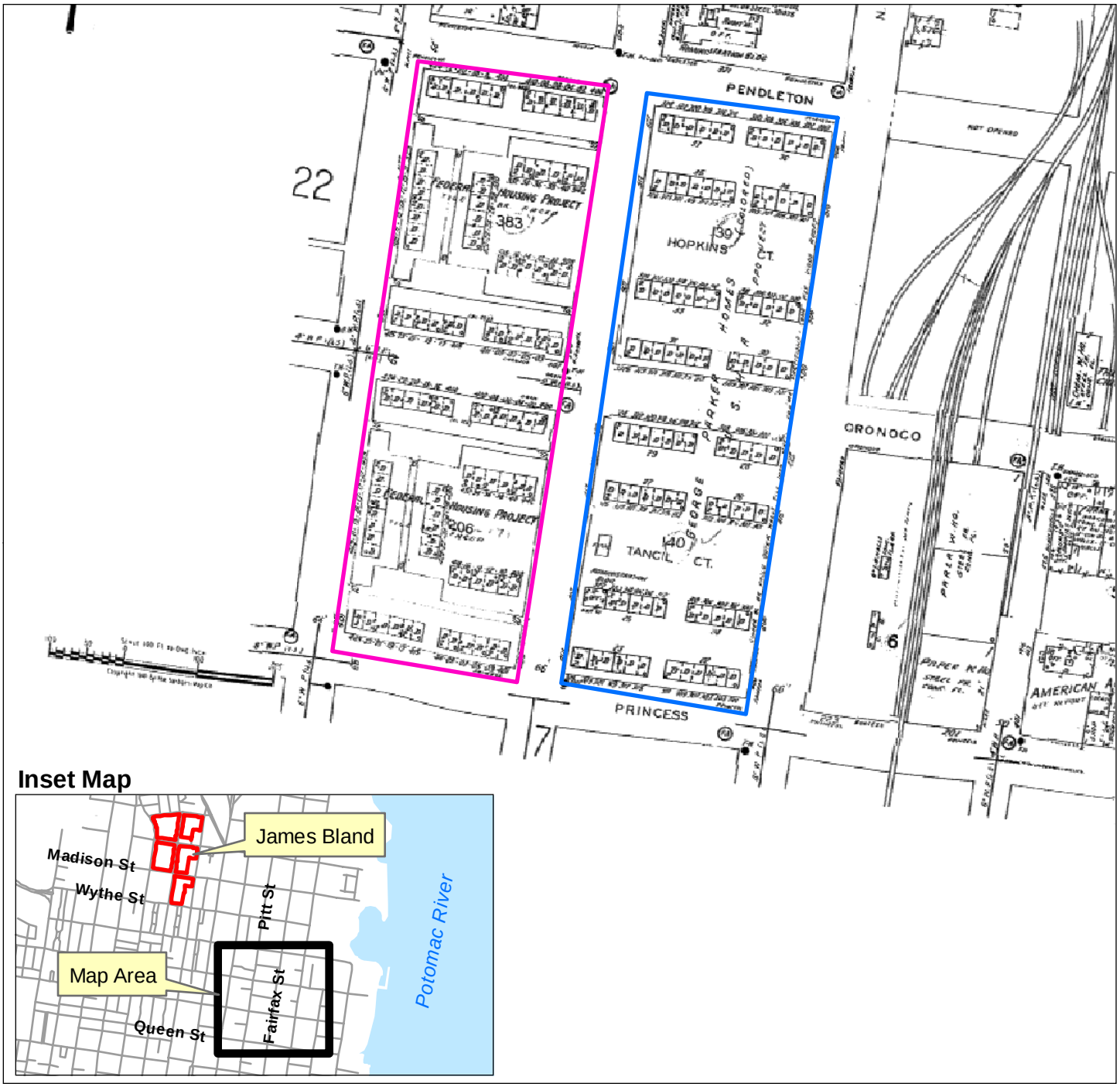


**Inset Map**




**Sanborn 1959 Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

Samuel Madden Downtown
George Parker Homes

N
W E
S

Map Source: The Sanborn® Map Company

***Thunderbird Archeology***
***A Division of Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 37***

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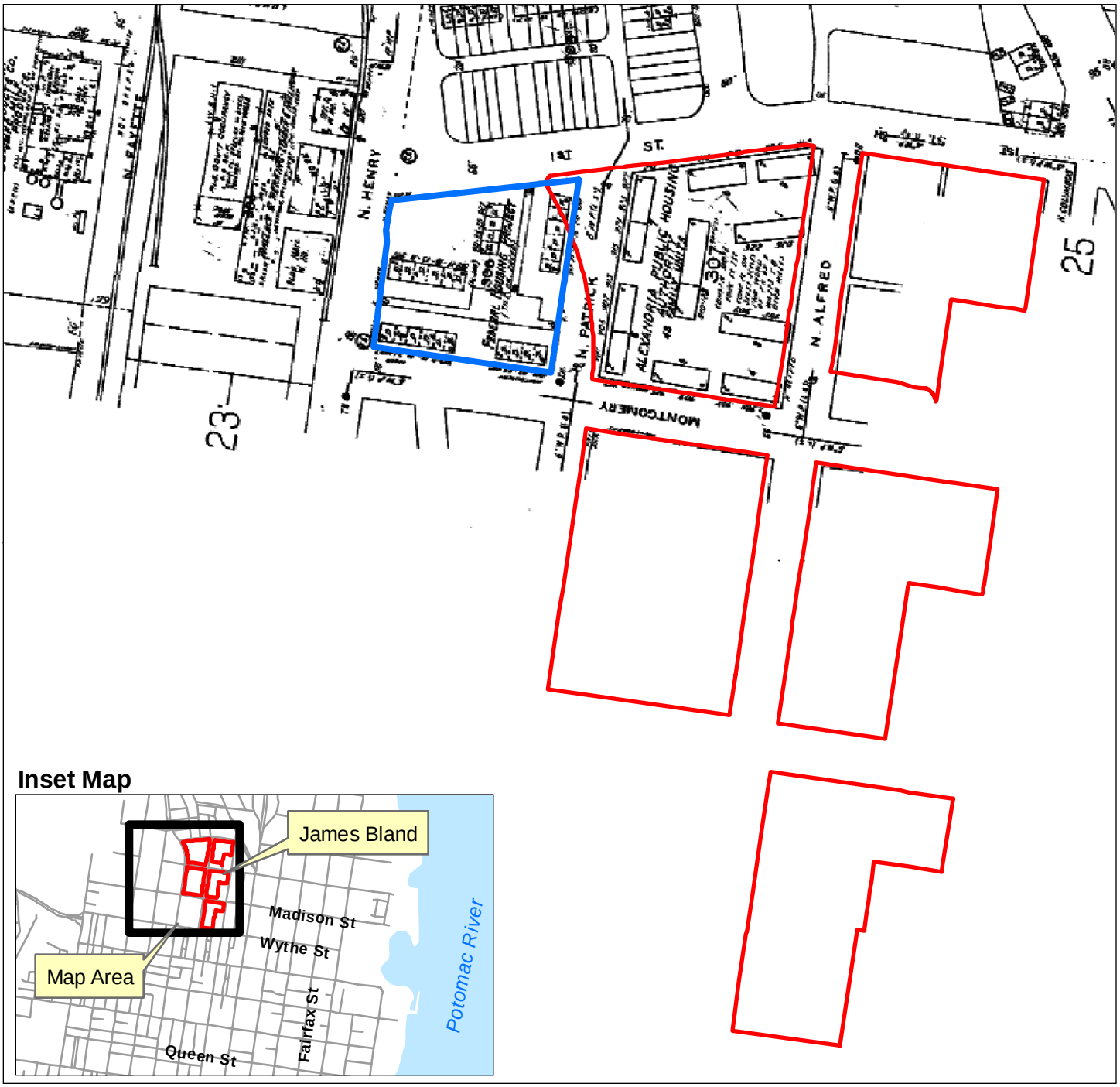


**Sanborn 1959 Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

Samuel Madden Uptown

N
W
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S

Map Source: The Sanborn® Map Company

## CHAPTER 11: JAMES BLAND PUBLIC HOUSING

The James Bland Homes encompass 194 public housing units within portions of five city blocks bounded by First Street to the north, North Columbus Street to the east, Wythe Street on the south, and North Patrick Street to the west (see Exhibit 1). Thirty-two privately owned town houses front the three blocks along North Columbus Street. The buildings are located within the Parker-Gray Historic District and are considered contributing resources to the district. Through its history, James Bland Homes and James Bland Addition have been continuously occupied by an entirely or majority African-American population. In 2008, the City Council approved the Braddock East Plan; one of the plan's provisions is to replace the James Bland Homes and James Bland Addition with higher-density, mixed-income housing units (Alexandriava.gov).

### Federal Negro Trailer Camp

The first Federal Public Housing action within the project area; however, may be traced to 1943, when, as a continuation of the previously discussed slum clearance project commenced in 1941, the government condemned two acres for temporary public housing for African Americans. The James Bland Homes project was preceded on the site by a wartime FHPA trailer camp:

> The 51 Negro families now living in five blocks of the downtown section of Alexandria which has been condemned by the Government will be housed in the Federal Negro trailer camp which occupies two blocks on North Alfred st. between Madison and Montgomery sts., it was announced yesterday by John Y. Kerr, assistant director of the Alexandria Housing Authority.
>
> The condemned property to which title is held by more than 1000 owners was taken by the Federal Public Housing Authority July 24. Occupants must vacate by August 8. …the FHPA trailer camp established in June of last year as temporary housing for Negro workers at Fort Belvoir until civilian quarters could be supplied for them on the military reservation, has a total of 64 trailers and it is anticipated that not all of the 51 families required to vacate the condemned properties will require trailer accommodations … it may be necessary for some of the single persons to double up in trailers … if there are extra trailers left over they will be removed by August 8. The entire trailer camp is to be disbanded and the trailers taken away from Alexandria within six months after the Negro project is completed … (WP 1944b: M4).

Few details on the wartime trailer camp have been located at this time. Some residents of the neighborhood occupied the trailers following the condemnation of their homes and the construction of the first buildings at James Bland in 1954. James L. Beatty related his experience as a member of one such city family that occupied these trailers:

> We lived in several places in Alexandria... 527 N. St. Asaph Street...off Powhatan.... That is where we lived just before moving to the trailers. When the trailers were ready we moved in - I'm guessing my parents applied for one of those trailers. They were certainly better than the house we were living in (personal communication 2009).

A number of African American families were living in tenements on the same blocks where the trailer camp was located. These residences were not condemned and remained occupied during the trailer camp period. According to one such resident:

> They were on two blocks, in the 800 block and north or south ... Both of those blocks had been mostly vacant lots. There was a row of houses on one block ... and a duplex house .. .they built the camp right behind ... up against that row of houses...
>
> We lived in the neighborhood ... In rental property nearby. We lived at 835 N. Patrick Street. The trailers were behind our house. I was friends with people who lived in the trailers. I can give you names of some of these people that might still live in the area ... James Beatty lived in the trailers and later in James Bland ... I believe he still lives in Alexandria; also John Griffin and John Taylor. I was friends with a lot of these people ... some are likely deceased. A lot of these people that lived in the trailers moved into the projects when they were finished (Joseph Earl, personal communication 2009).

It is uncertain what percentage of the trailer camp families were involved in the war industry, Mr. Earl's father, employed at the Torpedo Factory, remained in pre-war housing after the trailer camp was established in his back yard, Mr. Beatty's family were not involved in the defense industry; his father was employed as a laborer unloading lumber from rail cars at the time (Joseph Earl, personal communication 2009; James L. Beatty, personal communication 2009).

Joseph Earl remembered no service trailers or facilities within the wartime trailer camp:

> I don't remember any service trailers or laundry facilities; the people that lived in the trailers went to the Laundromat like everyone else in the neighborhood. They may have had an office there at the trailers ... I'm not sure (personal communication 2009).

Mr. Beatty, a camp resident as a child, agreed that few facilities were present and described the camp in some detail:

> There were no paved sidewalks ... What they did was build wooden walks between the trailers from the beginning to the end. Those walks served a good purpose. Back then we had real winters .. .get a foot or more of snow and ice. We could use that walk for our sleds. The walk wasn't very wide, there was a row of trailers on both sides...

> We had toilets ... as I understand they was in the trailers. I can't remember where or how it was picked up ... could have been special toilets. They might have been in separate trailers, one for women and one for men (personal communication 2009).

Mr. Beatty also provided some details concerning the individual trailers, indicating that two types of residential trailers were in use, likely the standard and expansible types as previously discussed:

> They were different sizes. If you had so many children you couldn't live in one and we had two...one large one and one small one. My parents were in the larger one. They had kitchens inside ... [The trailers] were on some kind of jacks or stilts. They weren't sitting on the ground but they didn't have prepared foundations or anything like that (ibid).

By 1945, it appears that the trailer camp was disbanded and the individual trailers were hauled away. Many residents, including the family of James L. Beatty, moved into the newly constructed Samuel Madden Homes [Uptown].

**Project Development History**

The James Bland Homes project was built by ARHA in two phases, with a four-block area constructed in 1954 and a final block (known as the James Bland Addition) constructed in 1959. The original cost estimate was $2,500,000 (WP 1952a:B1).

Condemnation proceedings for 57 parcels of land for the James Bland project began with a suit filed in the city Corporation Court in early January, 1952. Reports described the project as a 194-unit, 2.25 million dollar project for Negro families to be built on a five block, 8.5 acre site. The planned project would more than double the city's stock of low rent housing units for African American tenants, bringing the total to 385 units; another 130 units were also in place for low income whites (WP 1952b: B8).

In the previously discussed oral history interview, Buster Williams, a resident of the project area in the early 20th century, described the situations he and other residents of the project area found themselves in facing condemnation of their homes:

> ...We fought them because they came along and set their price. It was an organization that the city had going around buying up the property and the city would take over. They would build the houses and somehow or other it would revert back to the city after forty years, the houses and the grounds. So it wasn't a city project. It was redevelopment, redevelopers. I went to court for years fighting because they only offered $5000 and I owed $1700 on the property. So I fought and they eventually compromised. I asked, not knowing any better, I asked for ten thousand, and they compromised for $7500, which was half. When I asked for $5000 more, they gave me two thousand five hundred.

> ...one person was up in arms. The rest of them was [sic] satisfied because they had men on this side going around telling people, 'You can't fight City Hall.' And the people were ignorant to the fact [inaudible] they had explained to us that it wasn't city, it was the developers buying up the property and giving what you would accept. And that's the reason I held out and got the amount of money I did (Williams 1999).

In addition to some issues with residents and homeowners of the condemned properties, ARHA faced other challenges in proceeding with the development. Legal contest of the condemnation proceedings by the Safeway Stores, Inc and the Mutual Ice Company, owners of the block bounded by N. Patrick, N. Alfred, First and Montgomery Streets, led to ARHA abandoning plans to include the contested block in the project, as failure to meet a June 30 deadline would lead to loss of federal funds for the entire 194 unit allocation (WP 1952a:B1).

It was reported that construction of 148 low-rent housing units for "Negroes" was expected to begin in December 1952 and be completed by August, 1953. Difficulties in condemnation proceedings were blamed for delaying the project (WP 1952c: R17). The project faced additional difficulties; however, as the Public Housing Administration threatened to withdraw funding when ARHA delayed in awarding a construction contract for the project. Although Washington D.C. construction firm Victor R. Beauchamp, Inc. had been announced as low bidder at $1,191,652 in November 1952, ARHA had rejected the bid on the grounds that Beauchamp, a union-shop contractor, might not purchase building supplies from non-union Virginia supply firms. ARHA voted to re-negotiate the second lowest bid, $62,500 more than the Beuchamp bid; that of Alexandria construction company, Eugene Simpson and Bros. A special session of the City Council was called to meet with ARHA on December 26, 1952 to resolve the issue and attempt to avoid the loss of federal funding (WP 1952d:1; WP 1952e:13). ARHA unsuccessfully sought legal backing for its actions from Commonwealth Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond and the local Chamber of Commerce supported ARHA's stand (WP 1953a:15).

On January 8, 1953 the PHA vetoed ARHA's proposal to accept the Eugene Simpson and Bros bid for the James Bland project contract and refused to allow ARHA to advertise for new bids. The PHA, with over $500, 000 already invested in the project for land acquisition, insisted that the low bidder should be given a direct opportunity to accept or decline the contract and warned than funding for the project in the current year might not be available. The agency was authorized to fund only 35,000 units nationwide and money would be channeled to ready projects on "a first come first serve" basis (WP 1953b:23). This battle would eventually be decided in the courts. Alexandria manufacturer Southern Iron Works filed an injunction in Federal Court to prevent ARHA from accepting the Beauchamp bid (ibid); and, by the end of January, 1953, ARHA asked the United States District Court at Alexandria to decide whether Victor R. Beauchamp, Inc. or local firm Eugene Simpson and Bros. should be awarded the contract to develop the James Bland site (WP 1953c: 32).

Following the courts decision, in 1954, the three-block area from Wythe Street to First Street between Alfred and Columbus Streets and the adjoining blocks between Madison, Montgomery, Alfred, and Patrick Streets became the site of the first phase of James Bland Homes. According to City of Alexandria building permits, Victor R. Beauchamp, Inc. received the contracts and constructed the buildings. The project design was by local architecture firm Joseph Saunders and Associates.

After the development of the first phase of the James Bland project, local African American community leaders argued that additional units would benefit the area more than a proposed Safeway supermarket (WP 1956a: 37). However, on April 10, 1956, despite "impassioned pleas by several Negro Leaders," the Alexandria City Council rejected a proposal to consider re-opening negotiations with Safeway Stores, Inc. to acquire the contested property that would allow construction of 46 additional low income housing units for African Americans in the James Bland project or to seek an alternate site for the units (WP 1956b:22).

Finally, in 1959, the block bounded by Montgomery, First, Patrick, and Alfred Streets became the final phase of construction for the James Bland Homes project. Again, the design work was done by Joseph Saunders and Associates and Victor R. Beauchamp, Inc. constructed the new buildings.

**James Bland, Songwriter and Musician**

The James Bland Homes were named for James Alan Bland (also known as Jimmy Bland) (October 12, 1854–May 6, 1911), an African American musician and song writer born to a free family in Flushing, New York. Bland's father was one of the first African American college graduates in the United States and was appointed examiner in the U.S. Patent Office after the Civil War (Songwriters Hall of Fame 2008).

James Bland was educated in Washington, D.C. and graduated from Howard University in 1873. He composed over 700 songs, including "In the Evening by the Moonlight," "O Dem Golden Slippers," and "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny", the official State Song of Virginia from 1940 until 1997 (Songwriters Hall of Fame 2008) (Plates 28 and 29).

In 1875, he got his first job with Billy Kersands' "all-negro minstrel group". For the next several years he toured the U.S. with Kersands' group and other companies including Callender's Original Georgia Minstrels (Songwriters Hall of Fame 2008). Bland toured the United States with Billy Kersands' "all-negro minstrel group" and Callender's Original Georgia Minstrels after 1875. Beginning in 1881, he spent 20 years in Europe where he toured in the early 1880s with the Callender-Haverly's Minstrels and later as a solo artist. Bland, appearing as "the Prince of Negro Songwriters," was invited to give command performances for Queen Victoria and the Prince of Wales (ibid). Along with Stephen Foster, Bland defines an era in popular music and is remembered for breaking racial barriers in the music industry.

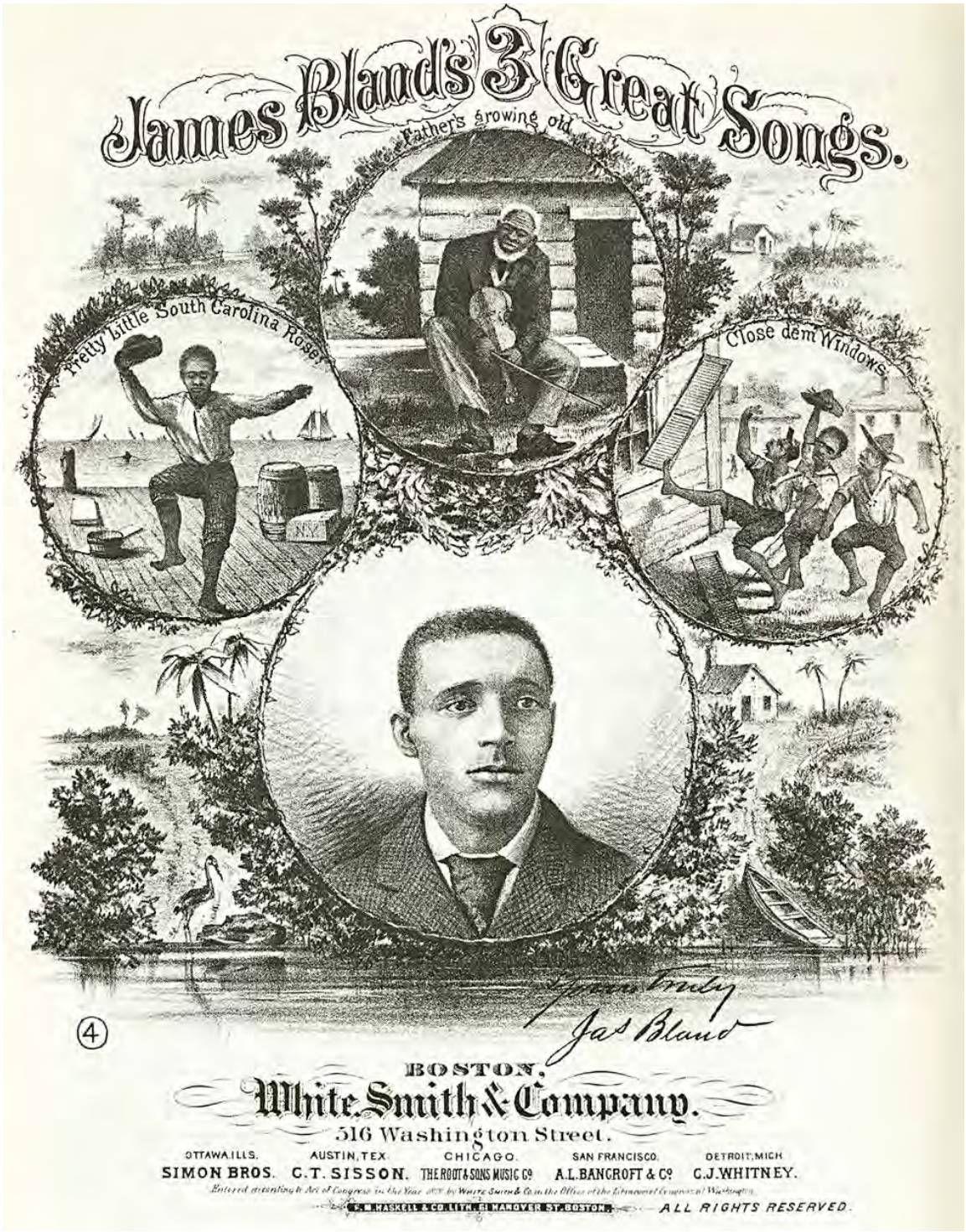


PLATE 28
James Bland 3 Great Songs Broad Sheet
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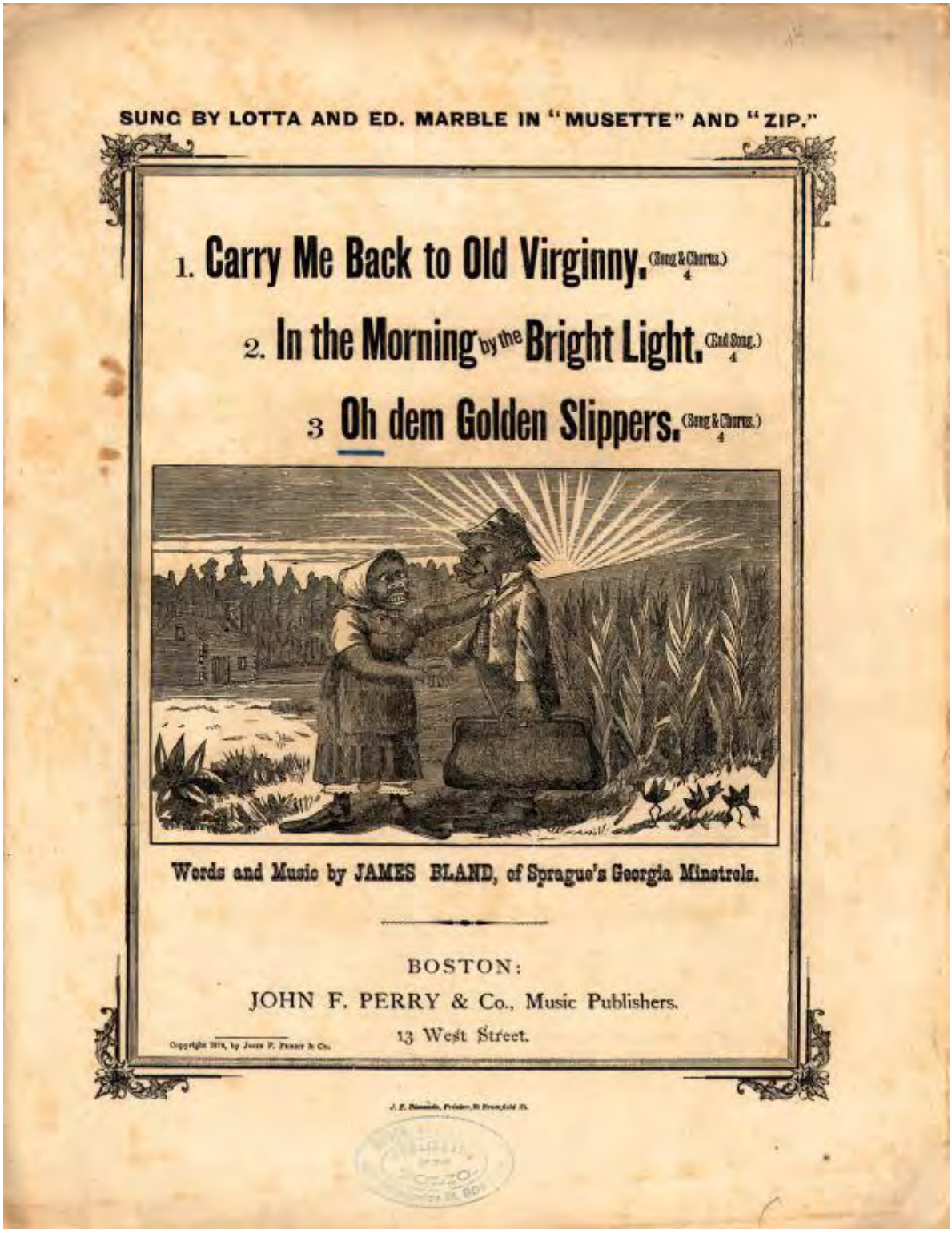


PLATE 29
James Bland Broad Sheet
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Although Bland was financially successful in his career, he returned to Washington, D.C. penniless in 1902 and died from tuberculosis on May 5, 1911 in Philadelphia (Songwriters Hall of Fame 2008).

It is not clear if James Bland had any specific association with Alexandria. It seems likely that the project was named in his honor due to his prominence as a figure in the cultural history of African Americans, and his connections to the metropolitan area and Virginia, as composer of the state song. A housing project in Flushing, Queens, New York complex, built in 1952 is also named for him. According to former Bland resident James E. Henson Sr., few of the occupants of the James Bland Homes were likely aware of the name's association (Sipe 2009).

**Joseph Henry Saunders Jr., Architect**

Joseph Saunders was a prolific architect in Alexandria, working from the late 1940s through the late 1960s (BAR 2008). The listing for Joseph Saunders in *the Virginia Architects, 1835-1955* follows:

> Saunders, Joseph Henry, Jr. (1914-1985)
>
> Saunders studied architecture at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and Harvard University. He worked in many architectural offices, including Baskervill & Son (q.v.), Milton L. Grigg (q.v.), and Gropius & Breuer. He was draftsman and chief designer for Newport News architects Williams, Coile & Pipino (q.v.) during 1933-1941. Saunders established his own architectural practice in Alexandria in 1942. In 1980 his firm was called Saunders, Cheng & Appleton, Ltd (Wells and Dalton 1997:400).

Joseph Henry Saunders Jr. was enumerated on the 1930 U.S. Census as a 15 year old resident of Newport News, Virginia, living in the household of his father; Joseph Henry Saunders Sr., superintendent of schools in Newport News. He graduated from Virginia Polytechnic Institute with as a Bachelor of Science in 1934 and attained his Master of Science degree there in 1935 (Harvard University 1940: 286). Saunders was described as a student in the 1935 Newport News city directory. After 1935, Saunders attained a Master of Architecture from Harvard University Graduate School of Design (GSD) where he studied under Walter Gropius, founder of the Bauhaus movement. After World War II, Gropius designed examples of replicable modernist public housing in Chicago. Saunders work in public housing design may have been informed by the work of Gropius and Gropius' protégé Marcel Breuer who made extensive use of concrete as a dynamic building material (BAR 2008).

In 1937 Saunders was registered to practice in Virginia, with an address in Charlottesville; perhaps he was with Grigg's office at this time. Saunders was involved with several architectural firms operating primarily in Northern Virginia between circa 1942 and 1981. Although a definitive timeline of his career has not been established, according to Tung C. Cheng, an architect employed with Saunders in the late 1960s and later a partner, the earliest firm operated as Joseph Saunders & Associates and, in the later 1940s, had an office in the Rupley Building at 815 King Street in the City of Alexandria (personal communication 2009; BAR 2008). The firm was renamed Saunders & Pearson when Charles Almond Pearson joined

the company, probably in the late 1950s. By the mid to late 1960s, the firm was in business as Saunders, Pearson & Partners. In 1970, Appleton joined the firm and Cheng was made a principal; the firm was renamed Saunders, Cheng & Appleton (Tung C. Cheng, personal communication 2009).

Saunders remained senior partner, working into the early 1980s. According to Cheng, "Saunders retired from Saunders, Cheng & Appleton in 1981. At that time the firm was merged with Henningson, Durham & Richardson, Inc.; HDR Inc., a national engineering and architectural design firm. I became a vice president at HDR" (Tung C. Cheng, personal communication 2009).

Saunders' early projects, prior to the construction of the James Bland Homes, included the Samuel Madden Homes in Alexandria, Virginia in 1944; the Church of St. Clement in Alexandria, Virginia in 1949 (Koyl 1955: 484); Piedmont Sanatorium, Burkeville, Virginia in 1950 (Koyl), and Catawba Sanatorium, Roanoke, Virginia in 1953 (Koyl 1955: 484). After 1954, Saunders and his various firms were responsible for the design of a variety of building types, including churches; office buildings; shopping centers; schools; motels (including the Old Colony Motor Lodge); private residential buildings; and public housing, (including the James Bland Addition) (BAR 2008; National Register of Historic Places Parker-Gray PIF). Other buildings designed by Saunders include the Jefferson Building at 901 North Washington Street; Alexandria Courthouse, 520 King Street; and several houses, duplex houses, and brick row houses on Gibbon Street. Saunders may be best remembered for preparing the original master plan in 1960 for what is now George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia (BAR 2008).

Tung C. Cheng also mentioned other projects worked on by Saunders, Pearson & Partners and Saunders, Cheng & Appleton including Fairfax City Hall in Fairfax, Virginia; "preparation of preliminary plans for the initial phase of the Alexandria Hospital on Seminary Road; T.C. Williams High School in the City of Alexandria, and numerous other public school buildings in the City of Alexandria and in Fairfax County". Commercial projects undertaken by the firm during the later years of Saunders' career included Beacon Mall Shopping Center in Fairfax County; the Hampshire-Langley Shopping Center; the Beacon Hill Apartments; the Mount Vernon Square garden apartments; Fairfax Square Apartments; and the Fountains, a high rise residential building on N. Beauregard in the City of Alexandria (Tung C. Cheng, personal communication 2009).

According to Cheng, Saunders was regarded very highly in the regional architectural community throughout his career; as a student of Gropius, he was considered important amongst Virginia architects during this period (Tung C. Cheng, personal communication 2009). Saunders also served as a visiting professor at Virginia Tech in the 1960s (ibid). Some of Saunders' designs for private urban residential buildings reflect the influence of Le Corbusier's now much maligned modernism, with "their stark rectilinear proportions, punched window openings and general lack
of ornamentation"(BAR 2008). Bauhaus principles of modernism may be seen in Saunders' use of standardized design; replicable, economical, low cost building materials; proportional geometry; abstraction of design elements; and elements of industrial architecture in residential

forms (Tung C. Cheng, personal communication 2009). The modernist aspects of Saunders design for private and public residential units in Alexandria were tempered with the use of red brick veneer and a few Colonial Revival details, referencing many 18th century buildings in the city.

Saunders also served as an architect member of the Alexandria Board of Architectural Review (BAR) and was the Chairman in the late 1950s into 1960s (BAR 2008). Joseph Saunders died in 1985, only a few years after his retirement.

**The Built Environment**

Located in Alexandria, Virginia, the James Bland Complex comprises thirty-four buildings spread across approximately five city blocks at the northwest end of Alexandria's historic core. The buildings are located between First Street on the north, Wythe Street on the south, North Columbus Street on the east, and North Patrick Street on the west, and are part of the Uptown/Parker-Gray Historic District. The Alexandria Historic District (Old and Historic Alexandria District) lies to the south and east of the complex.

The Samuel Madden Homes Uptown complex stands to the west of the James Bland Homes. Designed by the same architect, the two complexes share a common architectural vocabulary of materials and form. The Samuel Madden Homes were constructed nearly ten years before the James Bland Homes, and the organization of the buildings is distinct.

James Bland is comprised of thirty-four buildings that were constructed in two phases. Twenty-five of the complex's buildings were constructed in 1954, and the remaining nine buildings were completed in 1959. Designed as garden apartments by influential local architect Joseph Saunders, the layout of the complex was inspired by the Garden City and Garden Suburb movements. The thirty-four buildings were each designed to fit into one of ten building types. Six building types were constructed in 1954; the remaining four were built in 1959. Each building type contains a varying number of two-story, townhouse-style apartments, each with its own front and rear entrances.

While it is a product of two building campaigns, the complex was conceived as a cohesive whole. Construction of the 1959 phase - which occupies a single block at the northwest corner of the complex - was delayed by complications in acquiring the land for the complex. Despite the five-year delay, the Addition matches the original James Bland Homes complex in materials, form, finishes, and spatial organization.

*Construction, Design and Function*

The James Bland Homes include 194 public housing units on two entire and three partial city blocks; a portion of the site along Columbus Street was stepped around pre-existing private dwellings, so that the public houses only occupy just over one-half of each block (Exhibits 39 and 40). The site plan was adjusted to the streetscape; where the street pattern allowed for longer buildings; some were constructed on an apartment building model, with flats on each of two stories, as opposed to the townhouse design used for the majority of the units.

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**March 1964 Black and White Imagery**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

N
W E
S

Photo Source: USGS

***Thunderbird Archeology***
***by Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 39***

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**Sanborn 1959 Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

N
W E
S

Map Source: The Sanborn® Map Company

James Bland, First Phase (1954)

The first phase of the James Bland Homes was constructed under City of Alexandria Building Permits 5792, 5793, 5794 and 5795 dated March 19, 1953. These buildings, constructed in 1954, are of six types: Type I, Type I-R, Type II, Type III, Type IV, and Type V.

The first phase James Bland buildings consist of one, two and three bedroom units, with an average unit size of approximately 931 square feet. The units do not contain HVAC systems, dish washers, garbage disposals, clothes washer and dryers, sub-metered utilities or other modern amenities. Table 13 shows the total number of buildings of each type planned and constructed at James Bland in 1954 and identifies the units by location.

**TABLE 13: 1954 JAMES BLAND BUILDING TYPES**

| Bldg Type | Total Constructed | Total Planned | Address |
|---|---|---|---|
| Type I | 1 | (2) | 901-915 Madison |
| Type I-R | 4 | (5) | 806-820 Madison |
| | | | 806-820 Montgomery |
| | | | 806-820 First |
| | | | 900-914 Montgomery |
| Type II | 2 | | 811-821 Madison |
| | | | 811-821 Wythe |
| Type III | 8 | (10) | 707-717 Alfred |
| | | | 727-737 Alfred |
| | | | 806-817 Alfred |
| | | | 807-817 Alfred |
| | | | 827-837 Alfred |
| | | | 830-840 Alfred |
| | | | 907-921 Alfred |
| | | | 927-937 Alfred |
| Type IV | 4 | (7) | 813-823 Patrick |
| | | | 818-828 Alfred |
| | | | 824-834 Columbus |
| | | | 924-934 Columbus |
| Type V | 6 | | 719-725 Alfred |
| | | | 734-740 Columbus |
| | | | 801-807 Patrick |
| | | | 819-825 Alfred |
| | | | 829-835 Patrick |
| | | | 919-925 Alfred |
| **Total** | **25** | (24) | |

Copies of architectural drawings associated with the 1954 buildings, Type I and Type IR (Exhibit 41); Type II and Type III (Exhibit 42), and Type IV and Type V (Exhibit 43) were located. Site improvement details are shown on Exhibit 44, note the clothesline bent. Kitchen and bath details from the 1954 plan set are shown on Exhibit 45.

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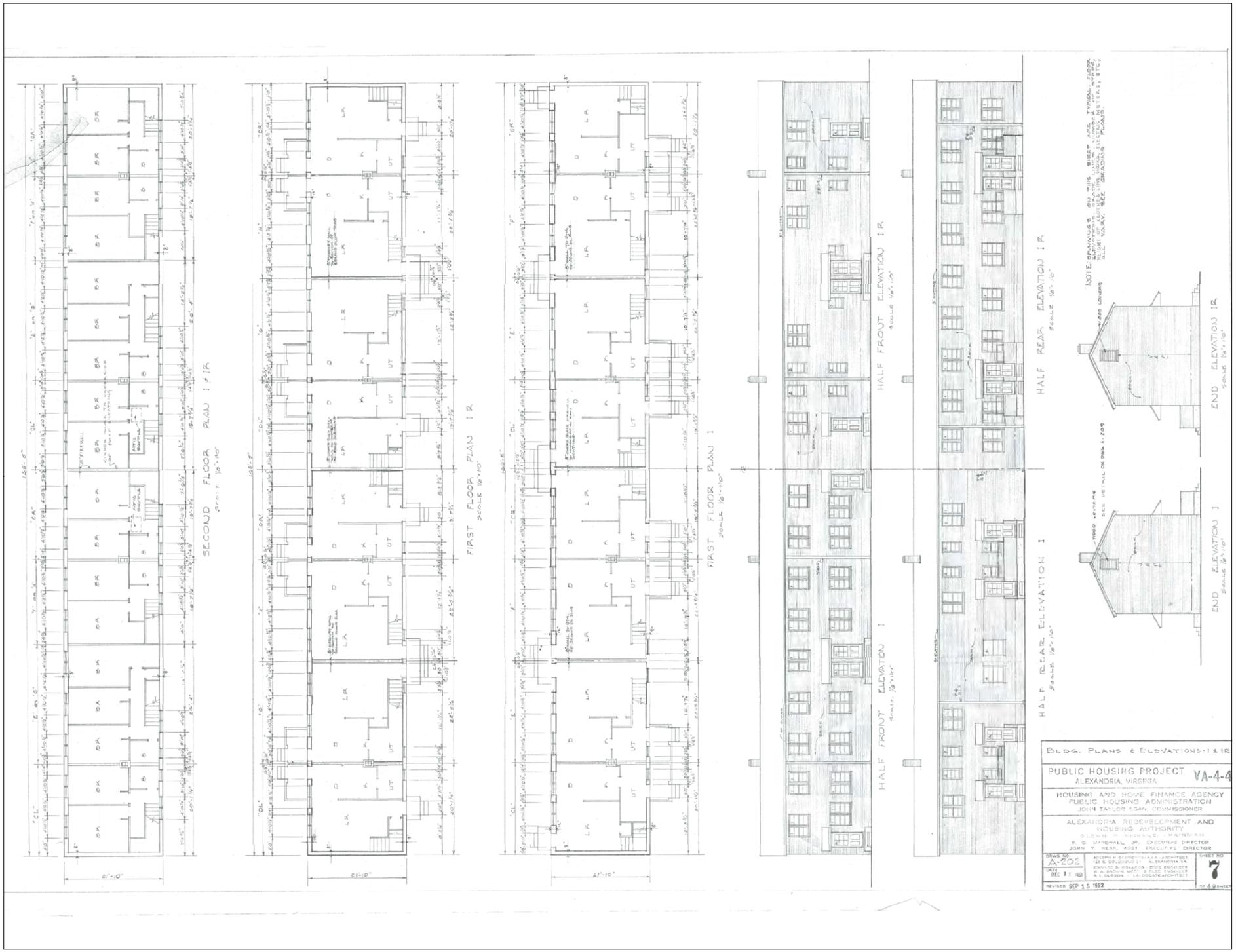


**Plans and Elevations - Building Types I & IR**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not to Scale**

Map Source: Public Housing Project "Plans and Elevation - Building Types I & IR. William A Brown Consulting Engineer. Drawing No. A-202. December 15, 1951 Revised September 15, 1952

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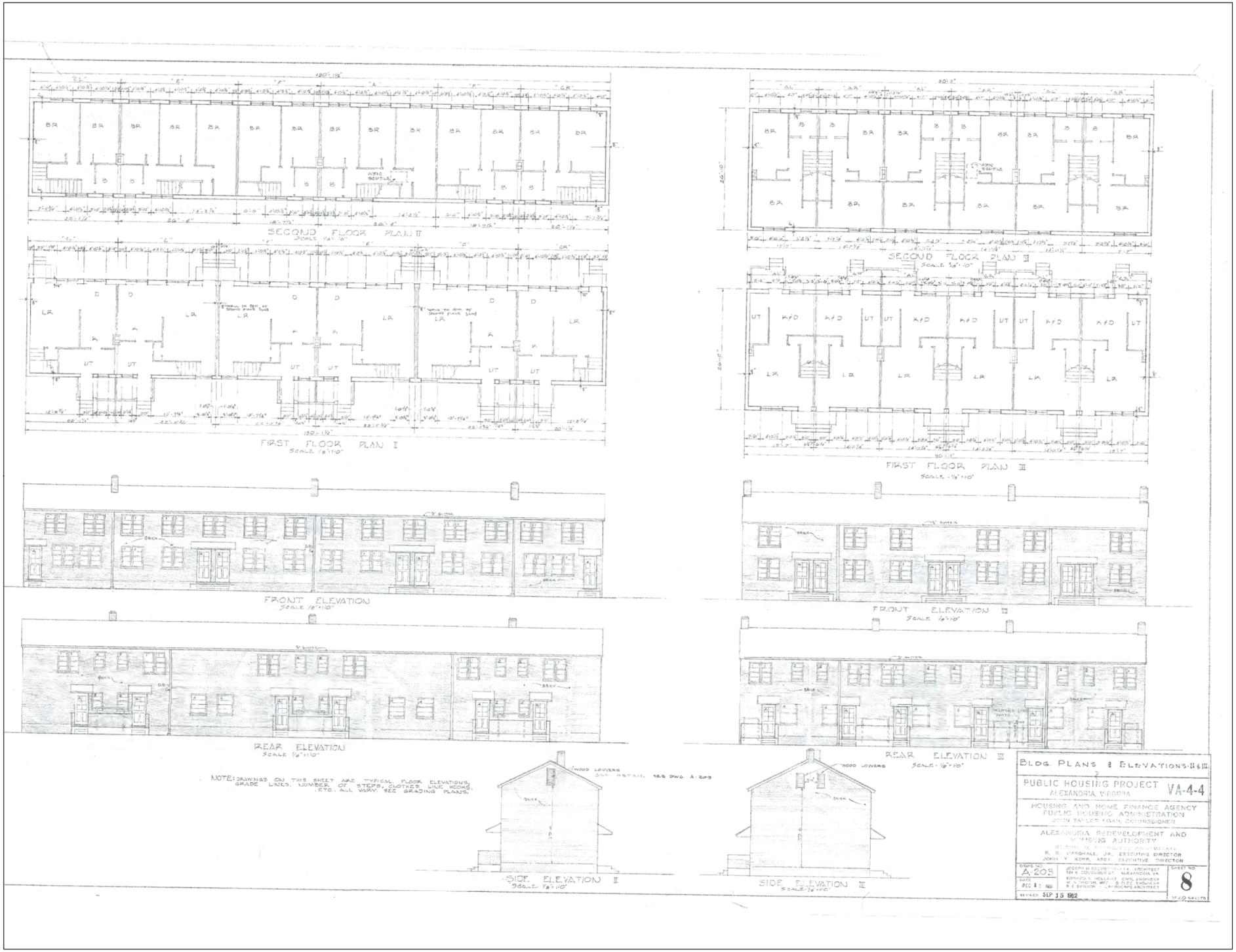


## Plans and Elevations - Building Types II & III
## James Bland Documentary Study
## WSSI #21548.02
## Not to Scale

Map Source: Public Housing Project "Plans and Elevation - Building Types II & III". William A Brown Consulting Engineer. Drawing No. A-203. December 15, 1951 Revised September 15, 1952

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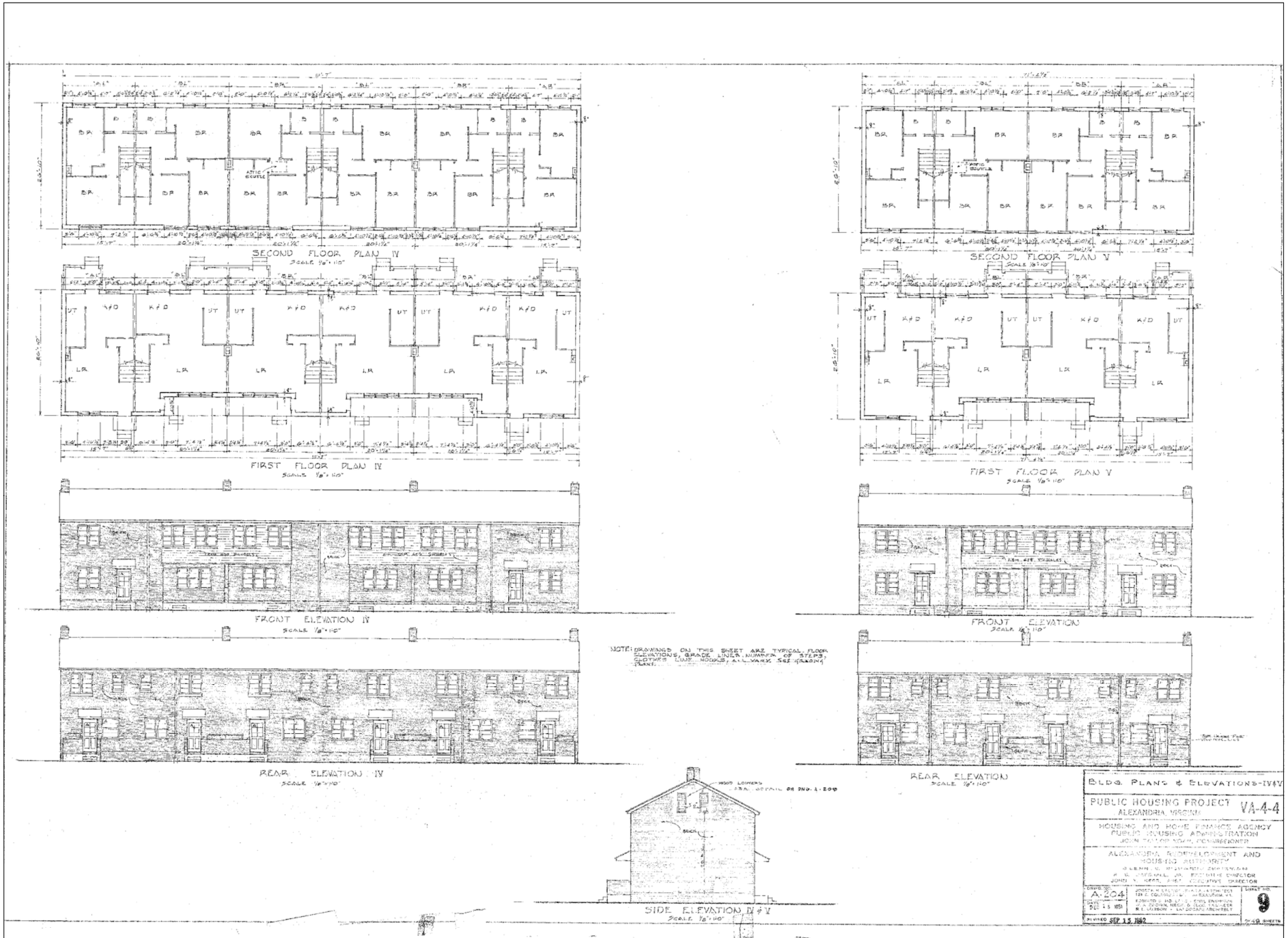
# Plans and Elevations - Building Types IV & V
# James Bland Documentary Study
# WSSI #21548.02
# Not to Scale




Map Source: Public Housing Project "Plans and Elevation - Building Types IV &V". William A Brown Consulting Engineer. Drawing No. A-204. December 15, 1951 Revised September 15, 1952

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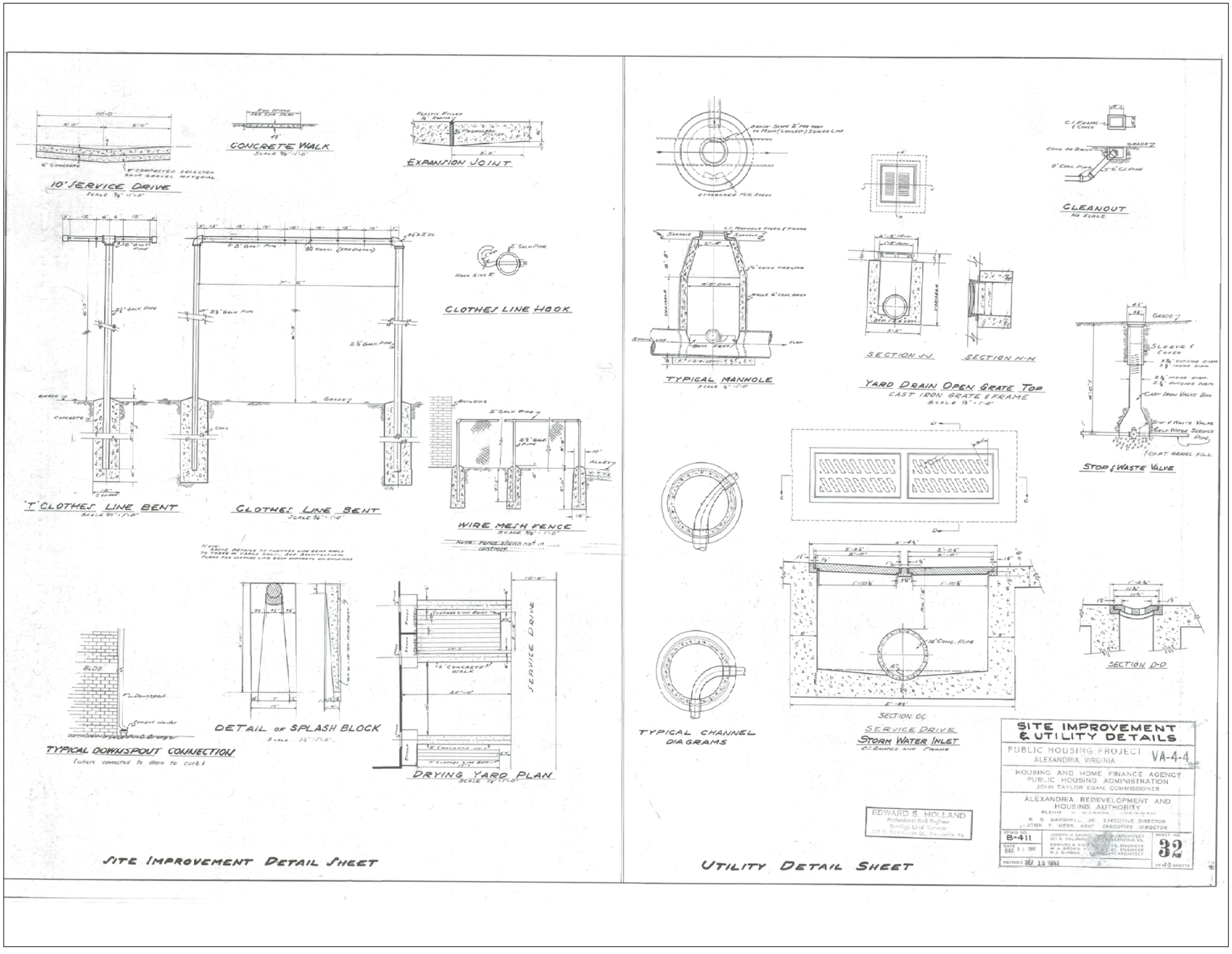


**Site Improvement & Utility Details**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not to Scale**

Map Source: Public Housing Project "Site Improvement & Utility Details". William A Brown Consulting Engineer. Drawing No. B-411. December 15, 1951 Revised September 15, 1952

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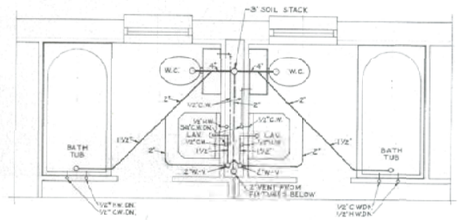
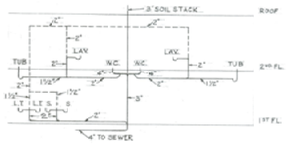
**Plumbing, Kitchen and Baths**
**1954 Types I, IR, II, III, IV, & V**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not to Scale**

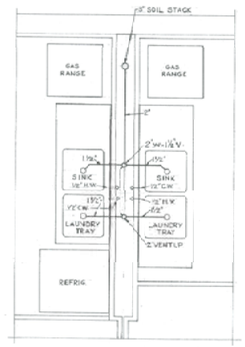
Map Source: Public Housing Project "Plumbing, Kitchens and Baths". William A Brown Consulting Engineer. Drawing No. M-604. December 15, 1951 Revised September 15, 1952



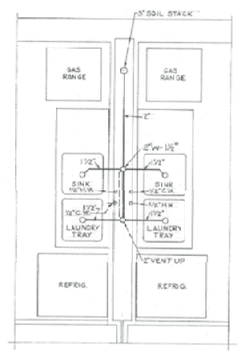

BATH ROOMS
UNITS A-A, A-B, B-B



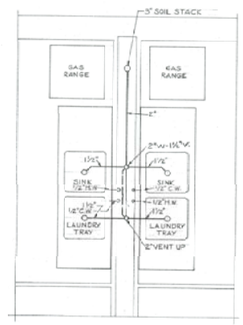

TYPICAL RISER DIAGRAM
FOR BLDGS. III-IV-V




KITCHENS
UNITS A-B

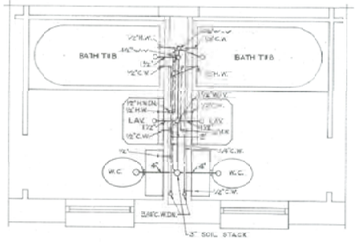



KITCHENS
UNITS A-A

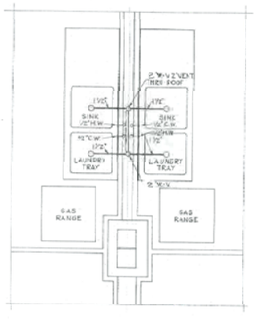



KITCHENS
UNITS B-B

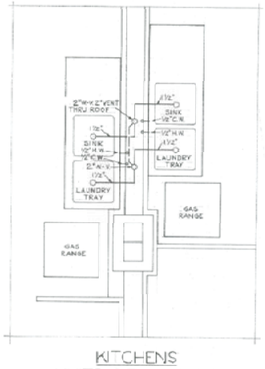
BUILDINGS III - IV - V
SCALE 1/2"-1'-0"



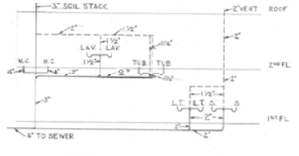

BATH ROOMS
UNITS C-E, C-F, D-G, D-H, E-F




KITCHENS
UNIT E-F




KITCHENS
UNITS C-E, C-F, D-G, D-H




TYPICAL RISER DIAGRAM
FOR BLDGS. I-II

BUILDINGS I - IR - II
SCALE 1/2"-1'-0"

NOTE:
CONTINUOUS WASTES MAY
BE SUBSTITUTED FOR
SEPARATE TRAPS, IF AVAILABLE.

PLUMBING - KITCHENS & BATHS
PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT VA-4-4
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
JOHN TAYLOR EGAN, COMMISSIONER

ALEXANDRIA REDEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING AUTHORITY
ELMER U. RICHARD, CHAIRMAN
R. S. MARSHALL, JR., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
JOHN Y. KERR, ASST. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

WILLIAM A. BROWN
CONSULTING ENGINEER
1223 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

DRWG. NO. M-604
DATE DEC 15 1951
REVISED SEP 15 1952
JOSEPH H. SAUNDERS - A.I.A. - ARCHITECT 121 S. COLUMBUS ST. ALEXANDRIA, VA.
EDWARD S. HOLLAND - C.E. CIVIL ENGINEER
R. A. BROWN, MECH. & ELEC. ENGINEER
R.R. BURSON - LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT
SHEET NO. 37 OF 49 SHEETS

James Bland Addition (1959)

By 1959, the James Bland Homes project was in its final configuration, as shown on the Sanborn 1959 map (see Exhibit 40). The James Bland Addition buildings were constructed under City of Alexandria Building Permit 6834 dated June 25, 1958. The nine buildings constructed in 1959 are of six types: Type A, Type B, Type C, and Type D. Table 14 shows the total number of buildings of each type constructed at James Bland in 1959 and identifies the units by location.

**TABLE 14: 1959 JAMES BLAND ADDITION BUILDING TYPES**

| Bldg Type | Total Constructed | Address |
|---|---|---|
| Type A | 1 | 910-920 Alfred |
| Type B | 2 | 902-908 Alfred |
| | | 922-926 Alfred |
| Type C | 4 | 901-907 Montgomery |
| | | 909-915 Montgomery |
| | | 902-908 First |
| | | 910-916 First |
| Type D | 2 | 901-911;913 Patrick & 917 Montgomery |
| | | 913; 917-927 Patrick |
| **Total** | **9** | |

Copies of architectural drawings associated with the 1959 buildings, Type A (Exhibit 46), Type B (Exhibit 47), Type C (Exhibit 48) and Type D (Exhibit 49) were located.

Kitchen and bath details from the 1959 plan set are shown on Exhibit 50. Site improvement details are shown on Exhibit 51. It appears each unit included a laundry sink.

Like the 1954 units, the units in the Addition did not contain HVAC systems, dish washers, garbage disposals, clothes washer and dryers, sub-metered utilities or other modern amenities.

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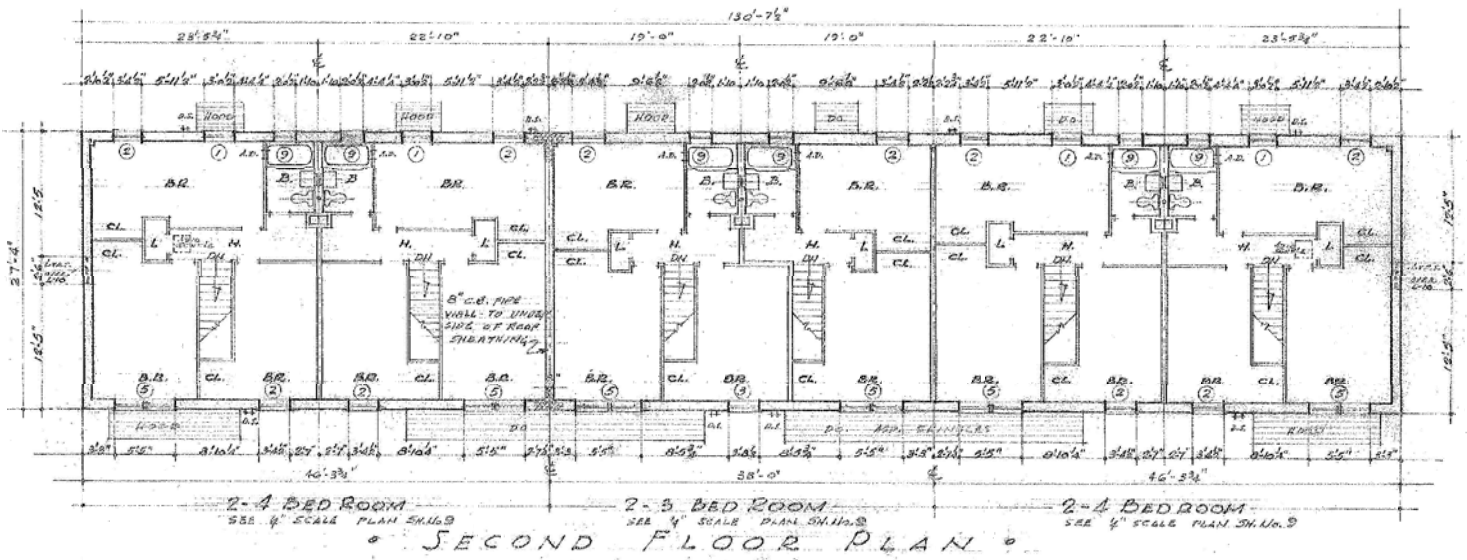
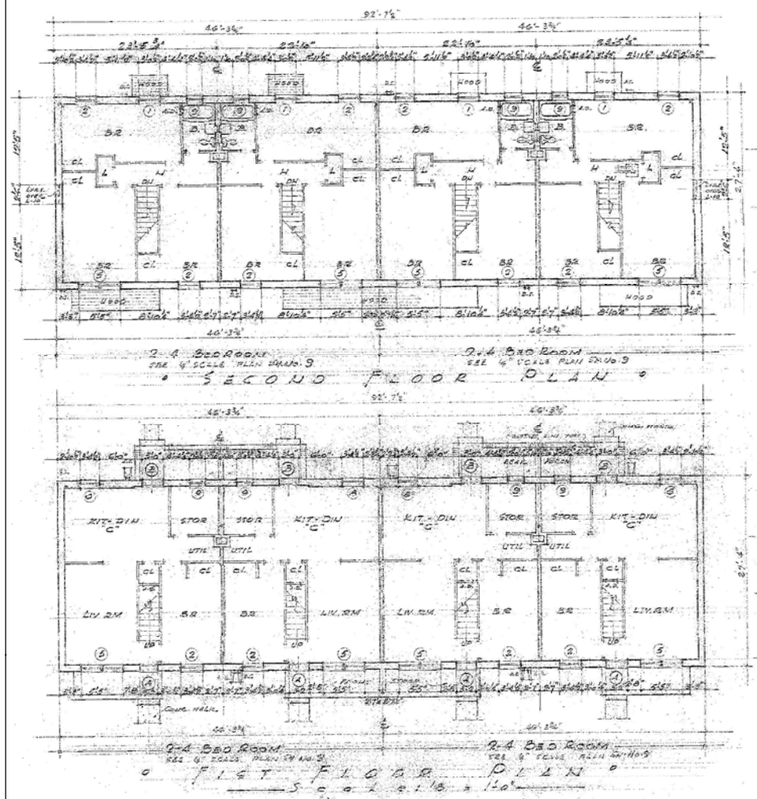


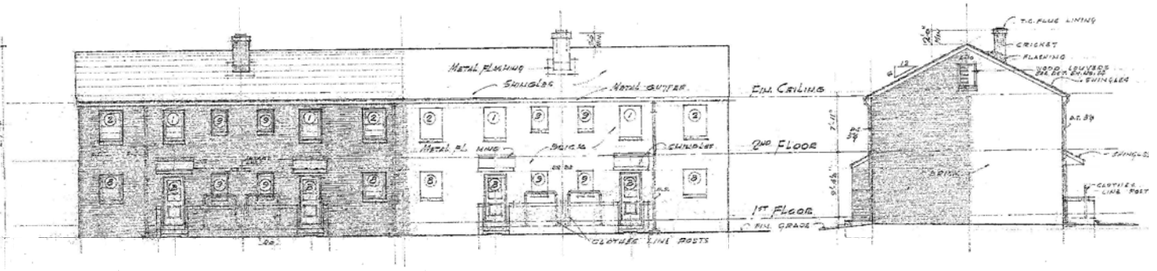

**Plans and Elevations - Building Type A**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not To Scale**

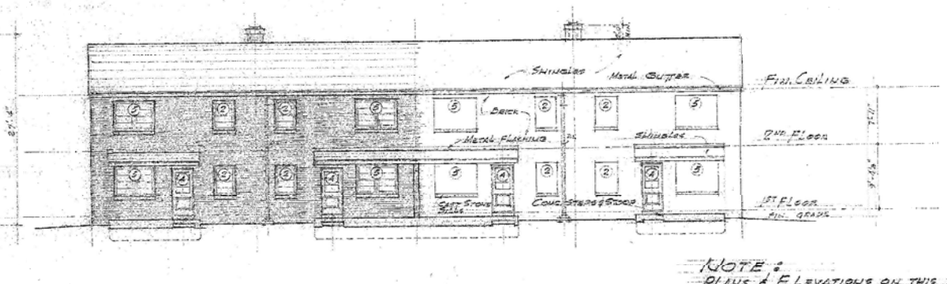
Map Source: Plans and Elevations - Building Type A.
Holland Engineering. Drawing No. A-3.
Sheet 1/25. May 3, 1958

**Plans and Elevations - Building Type B**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not To Scale**

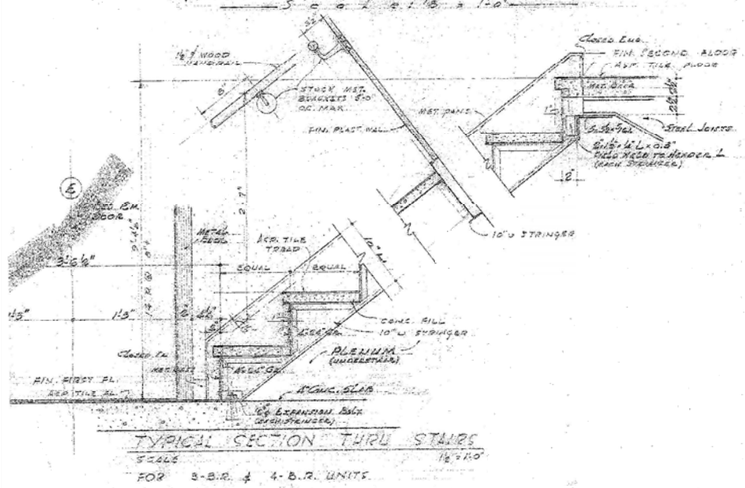
Map Source: Plans and Elevations - Building Type B
Holland Engineering. Drawing No. A-4.
Sheet 1/25. May 3, 1958

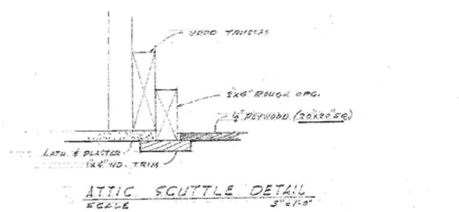



NOTE:
PLANS & ELEVATIONS ON THIS SHEET ARE TYPICAL AS PER BLD'G "B". REFER TO "A" UNIT PLANS FOR FURRED SPACE, PARTITION LOCATION ETC...; REFER TO "GRADING PLANS" FOR GRADE LINES, NUMBER OF STEPS ETC...; REFER TO "STRIP ELEVATION" FOR FOUNDATION DEPTH, FOOTING ETC...




PLANS & ELEVATIONS BLDG TYPE "B"
PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT VA-4-7
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
CHARLES E. SLUSSER, COMMISSIONER

ALEXANDRIA REDEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING AUTHORITY
V. WARD BOSWELL, CHAIRMAN
WINDER T. HARRIS, VICE CHAIRMAN
JOHN T. KERR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

DRWG. NO. A-4
DATE 5-5-58
REVISED 6-1-58
JOSEPH GARDNER AND ASSOC. - ARCHITECTS
WEST KING STREET, ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA
H. LAING PROUTY IV - SITE ENGINEER
C. A. BROWN, MECH. & ELEC. ENGINEER
HORTON ENGINEERING ASSOC., STRUCT. ENG.
SHEET NO. 11
OF 25 SHEETS

JOHN E. STRAUSS
CERTIFICATE NO. 295
REGISTERED ARCHITECT
COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

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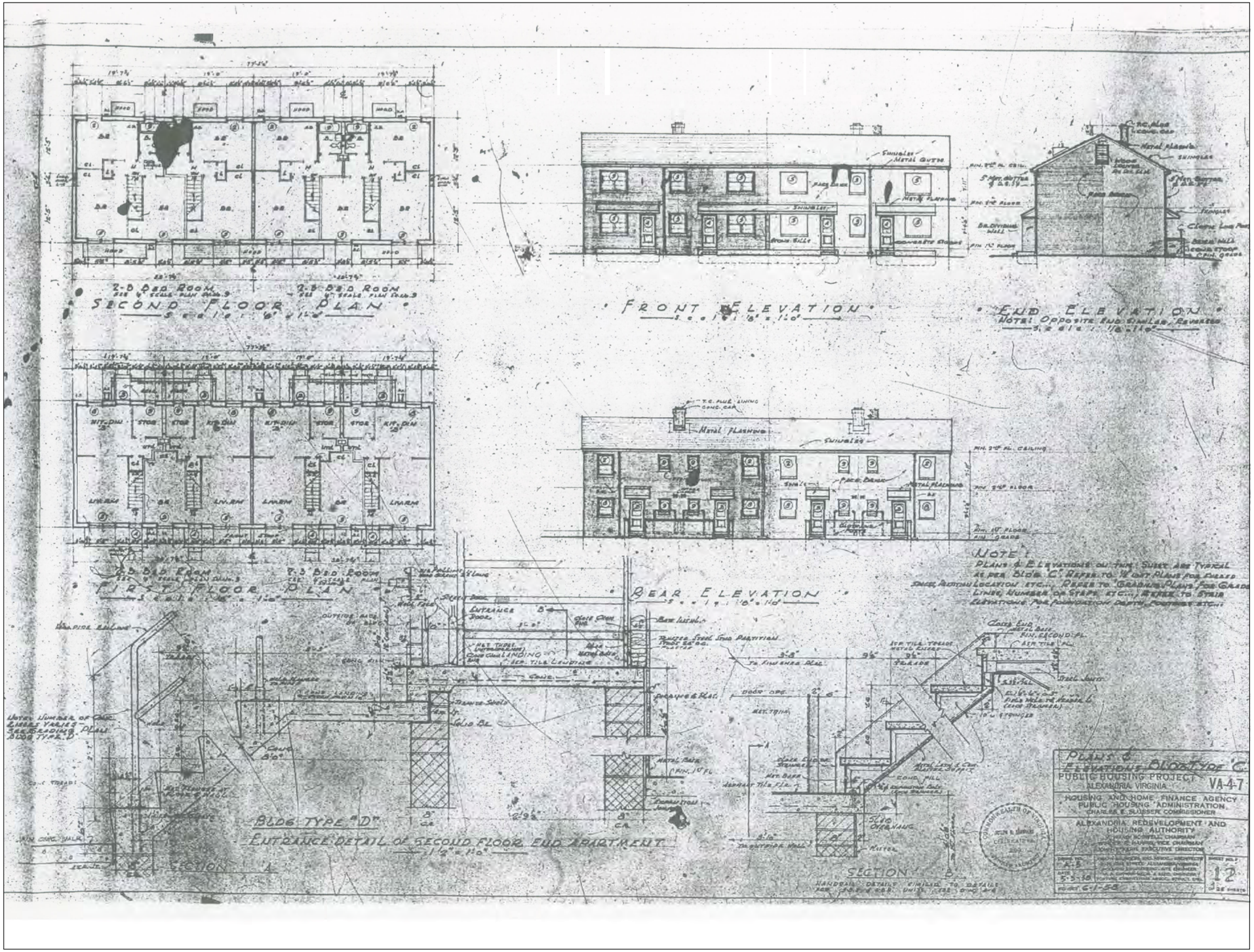


**Plans and Elevations - Building Type C**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not To Scale**

Map Source: Maintenance Building Plan and Details
Holland Engineering. Drawing No. A-3. May 3, 1958

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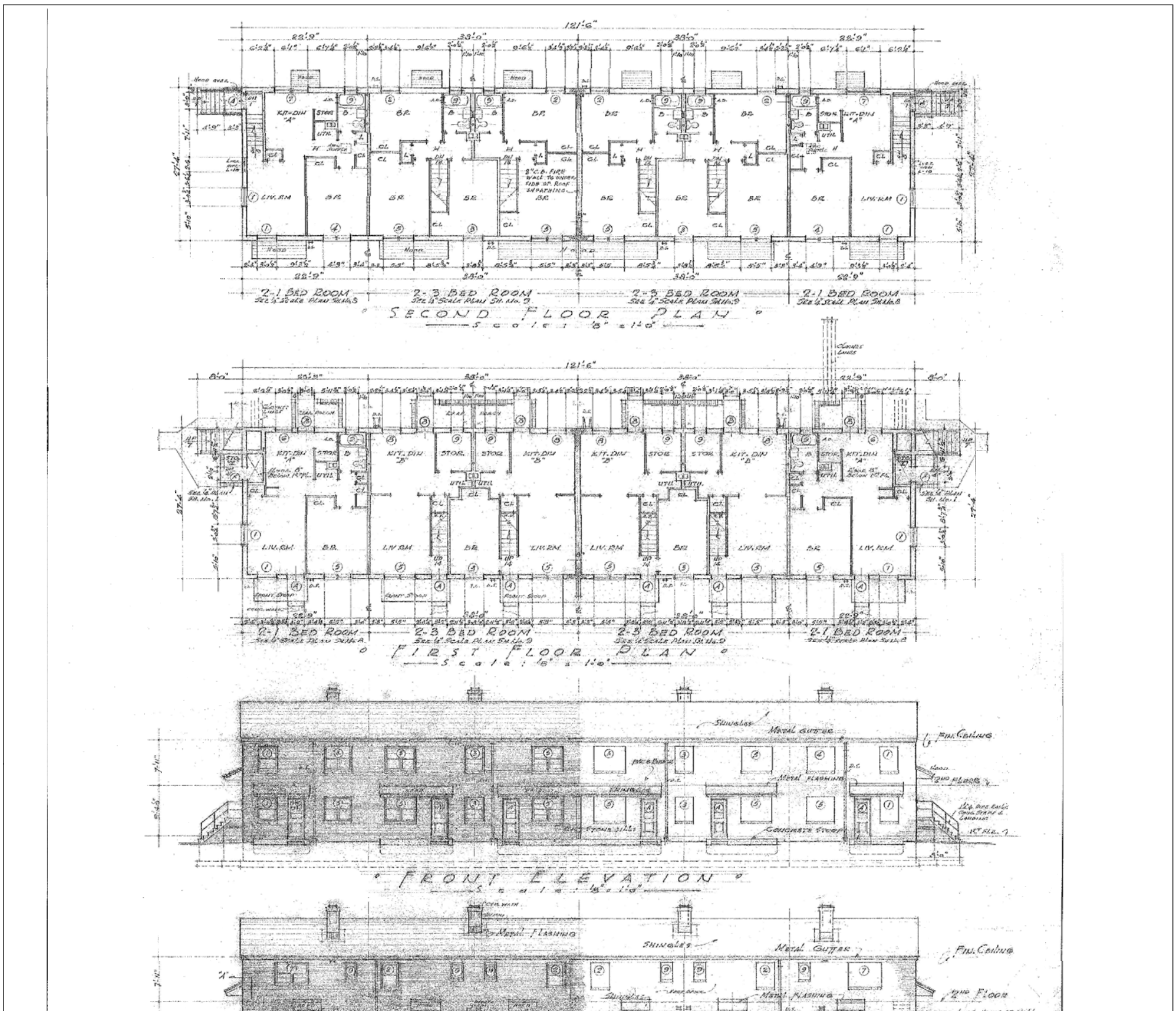


**Plans and Elevations - Building Type D**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not To Scale**

Map Source: Plans and Elevations - Building Type D
Holland Engineering. Drawing No. A-6.
Sheet 1/25. May 3, 1958

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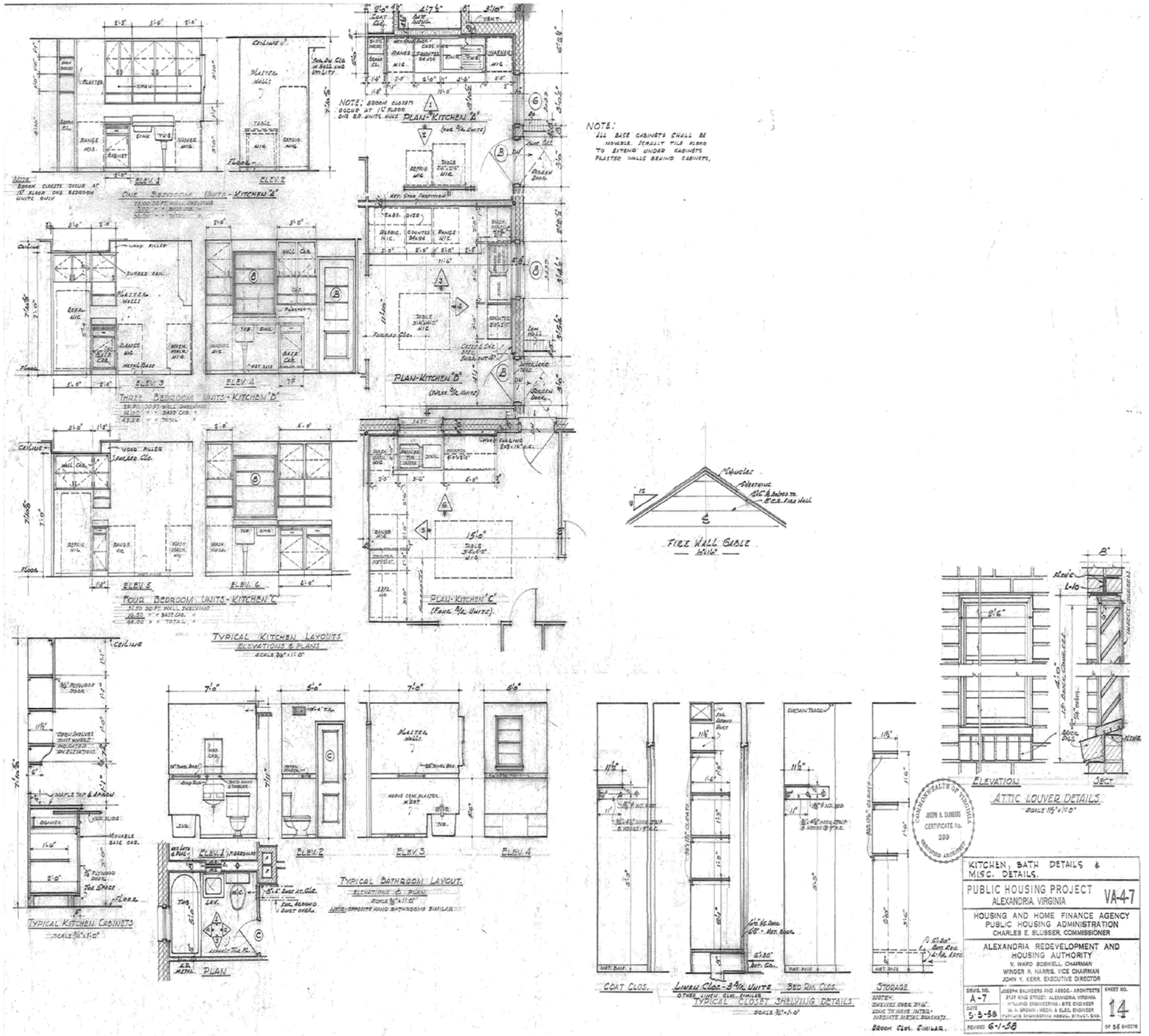
# Kitchen, Bath Details and Misc. Details
# James Bland Documentary Study
# WSSI #21548.02
# Not To Scale

Map Source: Kitchen, Bath Details and Misc. Details
Holland Engineering. Drawing No. A-7.
Sheet 1/25. May 3, 1958




KITCHEN, BATH DETAILS & MISC. DETAILS.

PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA
VA-47

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
CHARLES E. SLUSSER, COMMISSIONER

ALEXANDRIA REDEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING AUTHORITY
V. WARD BOSWELL, CHAIRMAN
WINDER R. HARRIS, VICE CHAIRMAN
JOHN Y. KERR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

DRWG. NO. A-7
DATE 5-8-58
REVISED 6-1-58

JOSEPH SAUNDERS AND ASSOC. - ARCHITECTS
3128 KING STREET, ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA
HOLLAND ENGINEERING - SITE ENGINEER
H. A. BROWN - MECH. & ELEC. ENGINEER
FAIRVIEW ENGINEERING ASSOC. STRUCT. ENGR.

SHEET NO. 14 OF 25 SHEETS

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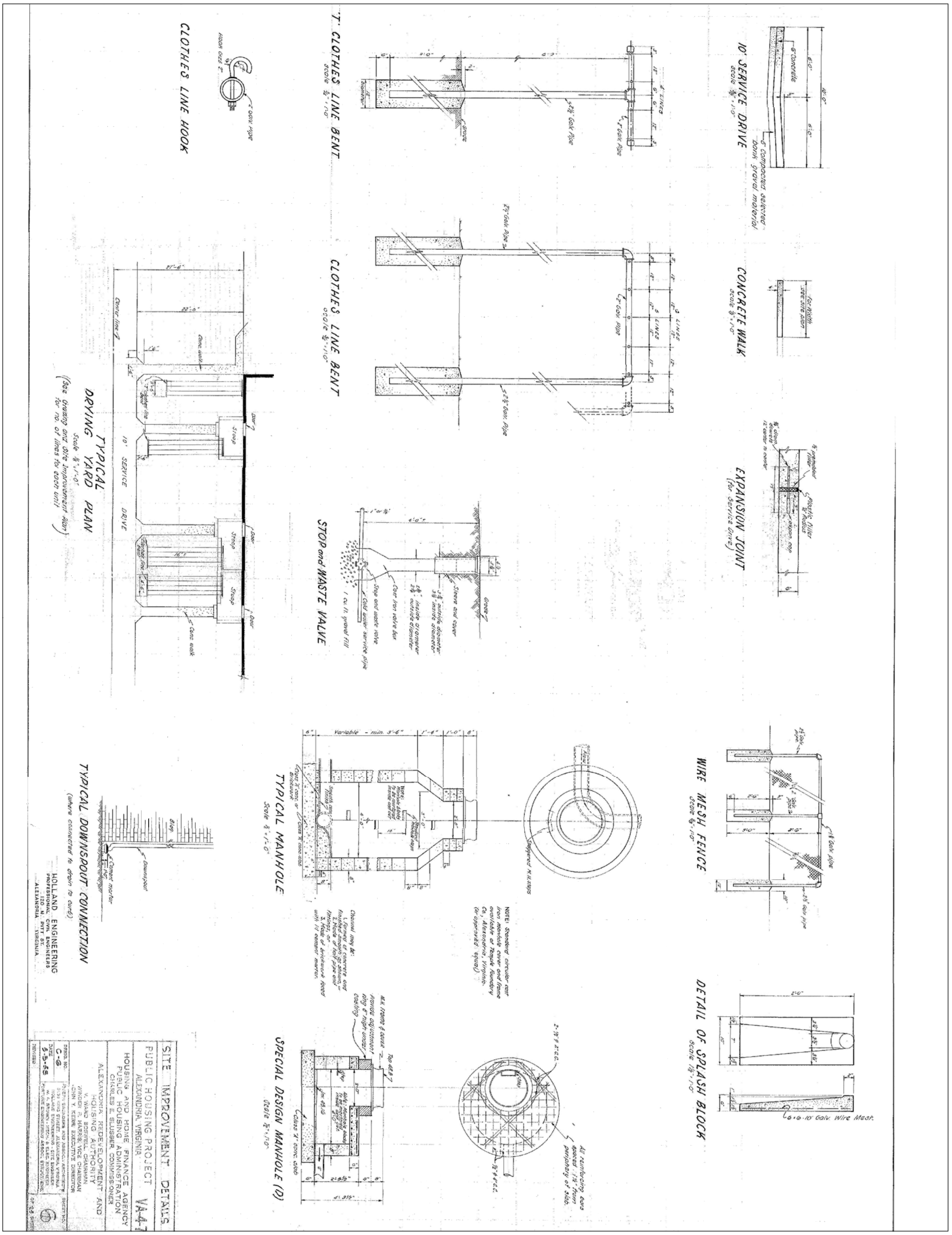


**Site Improvement Details Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not To Scale**

Map Source: Site Improvement Details Map.
Holland Engineering. Drawing No. C-6.
Sheet 1/25. May 3, 1958

*Building Descriptions*

The thirty-four apartment buildings share a common form, and were built using the same materials and finishes. Each building is two stories, with a side gable roof that is clad with asphalt shingles, and each is constructed of five-course American bond brickwork. Currently, the windows throughout the complex contain paired, four-over-four, vinyl, double-hung sash of varying sizes; the present sash replaced the original, two-over-two, horizontally-divided, wood sash windows. Each window rests on a slim, canted, cast-stone sill that is original, and each window incorporates metal or vinyl storm windows. Each building features a unique number of brick-and-concrete, corbel-capped chimneys located at the ridgeline either at the gable end or interior to the building. The buildings have replacement metal doors and screen doors at both the front and rear entries of each unit. The front entries are adorned by composite wood, classically inspired, door surrounds. Paired entries are framed by trabeated surrounds with fluted posts, while single entries are framed by pedimented surrounds set atop fluted posts. All the buildings exhibit boxed eaves with vented vinyl soffits, and unadorned vinyl raking cornices. They have what the original elevations show to have been single or paired gable-end, wood-louvered vents; the vents' wood louvers have all been removed, and have been replaced with vinyl siding. All of the buildings have built-in metal pipe, laundry line stanchions in their back yard.

The buildings completed in 1954 sit atop cinder block foundations and display both single and paired entries. The original 1952 building plans show that all of the front entries were planned with pent roof shelters over the doors; these have since been removed and replaced by the existing Classical-style door surrounds.

The 1959 buildings have brick foundations and single entries. The pent roofs clad with asphalt shingles still shelter the unit entrances as well as adjoining paired windows. Large, poured concrete stoops run along the center of many of the buildings' façades.

All of the buildings in the complex exhibit common interior finishes. Their floors are covered with replacement vinyl tiles, their walls are constructed of two layers of plastered gypsum wallboard, and their ceilings are flat-finished with gypsum wallboard. The embrasures for windows and doors are flush with the walls, with no surrounds. The windows have wood stools and unadorned, wood aprons. Rubber baseboards line the walls.

The closed stringer stairways have molded rubber safety treads; the staircases are boxed above the lower third of the steps and exhibit round wood handrails affixed to one wall; a half-wall serves as a solid railing for the lower third of the stairs. Many of the original appliances, fixtures, and cabinetry in the kitchens and bathrooms have been replaced; however, the original bathtubs and some sinks remain in the bathrooms. Bedroom closets and some kitchen cabinets were originally built with no doors and thus expose the built-in, wood shelving; most kitchen cabinets have been replaced. Interior doorways originally had two-panel wood doors; some have been replaced by flush, hollow-core, wood doors.

Each apartment unit has its own water heater and boiler. These units have been uniformly replaced in the buildings constructed in 1954; the boilers in the buildings constructed in 1959 may be original. In some units, round metal ductwork runs through the corners of the kitchens. This ductwork is part of the venting system for the boilers and water heaters, and connects to common chases that lead to the buildings' chimneys.

Individual Building Types Descriptions

**Type I – 100-5033-0001**
901-915 Madison Street (100-0133-0558)

901-915 Madison Street (100-0133-0558) is the only Type I (100-5033-0001) building at the James Bland Homes (Plate 30). The building's façade (south elevation) is twenty-one bays long, with a rhythm of entries (A) and windows (B) of A-BB-BB-BB-BB-AA-BB-BB-BB-BB-AA-BB-BB-BB-BB-AA-BB-BB-BB-BB-A ("A" corresponds a single entry, "AA" to a paired entry, and "BB" to a pair of windows).

The building contains eight, two-story, townhouse-style apartment units. The eight units include six, two-bedroom units and two, three-bedroom units. The apartments incorporate a kitchen, a living room, and a utility room on the first floor; the bedrooms are located on the second floor. The front entries of the apartments in the Type I building open into each unit's living room.

The interior finishes in the Type I buildings are typical of those seen throughout the complex.


PLATE 30
Building Type I (1954)
901-915 Madison Street Front Elevation

**Type IR – 100-5033-0002**
806-820 Madison Street (100-0133-0550)
806-820 Montgomery Street (100-0133-1330)
802-820 First Street (100-0133-1314)
900-914 Montgomery Street (100-0133-1338)

There are four Type IR (100-5033-0002) buildings at the James Bland Homes; 900-914 Montgomery Street (100-0133-1338) is the representative building documented for Type IR. Type I buildings and Type IR buildings differ primarily in the arrangement of their exterior elevations. The façades of Type IR buildings are eighteen bays long rather than the twenty-one bays seen in the single Type I building. The rhythm of entries (A) and windows (B) is A-B-B-C-AA-C-B-B-A-A-B-B-C-AA-C-B-B-A ("A" corresponds to a single entry, "AA" to a paired entry, "B" to a single window that is approximately 2 ft. wide by 4 ft. tall, and "C" to a single window that is approximately 2 ft. wide by 3 ft. tall). Plate 31 illustrates an example of the Building Type IR.

The interior layout of the Type IR buildings is similar to that of the Type I buildings; each building contains eight, two-story, townhouse-style apartment units that include six, two-bedroom units and two, three-bedroom units. The Type IR apartments incorporate a kitchen, a living room, and a utility room on the first floor with bedrooms on the second floor. The front and rear entries to the Type IR units are in different locations than in the Type I units. The front entries of the apartments in the Type IR buildings open into the units' dining rooms.

The interior finishes in the Type IR buildings are typical of those seen throughout the complex.

PLATE 31
Building Type I R (1954)
900-914 Montgomery Street: Front Elevation

**Type II – 100-5033-0003**
811-821 Madison Street (100-0133-0544)
811-821 Wythe Street (100-0133-1290)

There are two Type II (100-5033-0003) buildings at the James Bland Homes. 811-821 Madison Street (100-0133-0544) is the representative building documented for Type II. The façades of Type II buildings are sixteen bays long, with a rhythm of entries (A) and windows (B) of A-BB-BB-BB-BB-AA-BB-BB-BB-BB-AA-BB-BB-BB-BB-A ("A" corresponds to a single entry, "AA" to a paired entry, and "BB" to a pair of windows).

Type II buildings contain six, two-story, townhouse-style apartment units that include four, two-bedroom units and two, three-bedroom units. The living room, kitchen and utility room are located on the first floor with bedrooms on the second floor. The front entries of the apartments in the Type II buildings open into the units' living rooms.

The interior finishes in the Type II buildings are typical of those seen throughout the complex.

Plate 32 illustrates a Type II building.


PLATE 32
Building Type II (1954)
811-821 Wythe Street: Front (South) Elevation

**Type III – 100-5033-0004**
707-717 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0079)
727-737 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0089)
806-816 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0111)
807-817 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0095)
827-837 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0105)
830-840 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0123)
907-917 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0130)
927-937 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0140)

There are eight Type III (100-5033-0004) buildings at the James Bland Homes. 806-816 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0111) is the representative building documented for Type III. The façades of Type III buildings are nine bays long, with a rhythm of entries (A) and windows (B) of BB-AA-BB-BB-AA-BB-BB-AA-BB ("AA" corresponds to a paired entry, and "BB" to a pair of windows).

Type III buildings contain six, two-story, two-bedroom, townhouse-style apartment units. The living room, kitchen, and utility room are located on the first floor of each unit with bedrooms on the second floor. The front entries of the apartments in the Type III buildings open into the units' living rooms. The kitchen and dining room are consolidated into a single space.

The interior finishes in the Type III buildings are typical of those seen throughout the complex.

Plate 33 presents an example of a Type III building.

PLATE 33
Building Type III (1954)
707-717 North Alfred Street: Front Elevation

**Type IV – 100-5033-0005**
813-823 North Patrick Street (100-0133-0787)
818-828 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0117)
826-836 North Columbus Street (100-0133-0328)
924-934 North Columbus Street (100-0133-0343)

There are four Type IV (100-5033-0005) buildings at the James Bland Homes. 818-828 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0117) is the representative building documented for Type IV (Plate 34). The façades of Type IV buildings are eight bays long, with a rhythm of entries (A) and windows (B) of BB-A-BBB-BBB-BBB-BBB-A-BB ("A" corresponds to a single entry, "BB" to a pair of windows, and "BBB" to a set of three windows). Two, one-story inset porches divided by a solid brick wall occupy the center of the buildings' façade. The second stories above the porches are clad with vinyl siding; originally they were clad with asbestos shingles. Four single entries are located in the sides of the porches, perpendicular to the plane of the buildings' façades.

Type IV buildings contain six, two-story, townhouse-style apartments, composed of four, three-bedroom units and two, two-bedroom units. Living rooms, kitchens, and utility rooms are located on the first floor with bedrooms located on the second floor. The four, three-bedroom units are grouped in the center of each building, and are accessed by the entries located in the porches.

The front entrance of an apartment in a Type IV building opens into a short stair hall that is distinct from but open to the main living room space. The kitchen and dining room are consolidated into a single space.

The interior finishes in the Type IV buildings are typical of those seen throughout the complex.

PLATE 34
Building Type IV (1954)
818-828 North Alfred Street: From Elevation

**Type V – 100-5033-0006**
719-725 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0085)
734-740 North Columbus Street (100-0133-0374)
801-807 North Patrick Street (100-0133-0783)
819-825 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0101)
829-835 North Patrick Street (100-0133-0793)
919-925 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0136)

There are six Type V (100-5033-0006) buildings at the James Bland Homes. 801-807 North Patrick Street (100-0133-0783) is the representative building documented for Type V. The façades of Type V buildings are six bays long, with a rhythm of entries (A) and windows (B) of BB-A-BBB-BBB-A-BB ("A" corresponds to a single entry, "BB" to a pair of windows, and "BBB" to a set of three windows). Two, one-story inset porches divided by a solid brick wall occupy the center of the buildings' façade. The second stories above the porches are clad with vinyl siding; originally they were clad with asbestos shingles. Two single entries are located in the sides of the porches, perpendicular to the plane of the buildings' façade.

Type V buildings contain four, two-story, townhouse-style apartment units. The four units include two, three-bedroom units and two, two-bedroom units. Living rooms, kitchens, and utility rooms are located on the first floor with bedrooms located on the second floor. The two, three-bedroom units are grouped in the center of each building, and are accessed by the entries located in the porches.

The front entry to a two-bedroom apartment in a Type V building leads into a short stair hall that opens to the living room; the stair halls of three-bedroom units, however, are distinct from the main living room space. The kitchens and dining rooms are consolidated into a single space; they are larger in the three-bedroom units.

The interior finishes in the Type V buildings are typical of those seen throughout the complex.

Building Type V is shown in Plate 35.

PLATE 35
Building Type V (1954)
719-725 North Alfred Street: Front (West) Elevation

**Type A – 100-5033-0007**
910-918 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0150)

There is one Type A (100-5033-0007) building in the James Bland Homes Addition. It is located at 910-918 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0150) (Plate 36). Its façade is seventeen bays long, with a rhythm of entries (A) and windows (B) of BB-A-B-B-A-BB-BB-A-B-A-BB-BB-A-B-B-A-BB ("A" corresponds to a single entry, "B" to a single window, and "BB" to a pair of windows).

The building contains six, two-story, townhouse-style apartments, including two, three-bedroom units and two, four-bedroom units. The three-bedroom units are located in the center of the building and are flanked by two, four-bedroom units on either side. Each of the four-bedroom apartments and one of the three-bedroom apartments has a single bedroom located on the first floor along with a living room, a kitchen, and a utility room. The remaining bedrooms are located on the second floor.

The front entries of all of the apartments in the Type A building lead into a short stair hall that opens to the living room. In the units with a bedroom on the first floor, the bedroom is located on one side of the stair hall, while the living room is on the other. The kitchen and dining room are consolidated into a single space at the rear of the first floor; they are larger in the four-bedroom units than in the three-bedroom units. In the four-bedroom apartments, a second doorway at the rear of the first-floor bedroom opens into a utility corridor that is adjacent to the kitchen and dining area.

The interior finishes in the Type A buildings are typical of those seen throughout the complex.

PLATE 36
Building Type A (1959)
910-920 North Alfred Street: Front Elevation

**Type B – 100-5033-0008**
902-908 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0146)
922-928 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0763)

There are two Type B (100-5033-0008) buildings in the James Bland Homes Addition. 922-928 North Alfred Street (100-0133-0763) is the representative building documented for Type B (Plate 37). The façades of Type B buildings are twelve bays long, with a rhythm of entries (A) and windows (B) of BB-A-B-B-A-BB-BB-A-B-B-A-BB ("A" corresponds to a single entry, "B" to a single window, and "BB" to a pair of windows).

Type B buildings contain four, two-story, townhouse-style, four-bedroom apartments. Each of the apartments have a single bedroom on the first floor in addition to the living room, kitchen, and utility room. The remaining bedrooms are located on the second floor.

The front entries of all of the apartments in Type B buildings lead into a short stair hall that is open to the living room. The first-floor bedroom is located on one side of the stair hall, with the living room on the other. The kitchen and dining room are consolidated into a single space at the rear of the first floor. A second doorway at the rear of the first-floor bedroom opens into a utility corridor that is adjacent to the kitchen and dining area.

The interior finishes in the Type B buildings are typical of those seen throughout the complex.

PLATE 37
Building Type B (1959)
922-926 North Alfred Street: Front Elevation

**Type C – 100-5033-0009**
901-907 Montgomery Street (100-0133-1346)
909-915 Montgomery Street (100-0133-1350)
902-908 First Street (100-0133-1322)
910-916 First Street (100-0133-1326)

There are four Type C (100-5033-0009) buildings in the James Bland Homes Addition. 902-908 First Street (100-0133-1322) is the representative building documented for Type C. The façades of Type C buildings are ten bays long, with a rhythm of entries (A) and windows (B) of BB-A-B-A-BB-BB-A-B-A-BB ("A" corresponds to a single entry, "B" to a single window, and "BB" to a pair of windows).

Type C buildings contain four, two-story, townhouse-style, three-bedroom apartments. The two center apartments have a single bedroom located on the first floor in addition to the living room, kitchen, and utility room. The remaining bedrooms are located on the second floor.

The front entries of the apartments in Type C buildings lead into a short stair hall that opens to the living room. In two units, a bedroom is located on the first floor on one side of the stair hall, while the living room is on the other. The kitchen and dining room are consolidated into a single space at the rear of the first floor in all of the apartments.

The interior finishes in the Type C buildings are typical of those seen throughout the complex.

An example of Building Type C is seen in Plate 38.

PLATE 38
Building Type C (1959)
910-916 First Street: Front Elevation

**Type D – 100-5033-0010**
901-913 North Patrick Street & 917 Montgomery Street (100-0133-0803)
915-927 North Patrick Street & 918 First Street (100-0133-1381)

There are two Type D (100-5033-0010) buildings in the James Bland Homes Addition. The building that contains 901-913 North Patrick Street and 917 Montgomery Street (100-0133-0803) is the representative building documented for Type D. The façades of Type D buildings are sixteen bays long, with a rhythm of entries (A) and windows (B) of B-A-BB-BB-A-B-A-BB-BB-A-B-A-BB-BB-A-B ("A" corresponds to a single entry, "B" to a single window, and "BB" to a pair of windows).

The building contains four, one-story, one-bedroom apartments, and two, two-story, three-bedroom, townhouse-style units. The two, three-bedroom apartments are located in the center of each building. They each have a single bedroom located on the first floor in addition to a living room, a kitchen, and a utility room. The remaining bedrooms are located on the second floor.

The one-bedroom apartments are stacked one above the other at both ends of each building; they are the only one-bedroom units in the entire complex. Two of the apartments are located on the buildings' first floor; two are on the second floor. The apartments that occupy the first floor have entries in the buildings' façade, while the two, second-story apartments are entered from the gable ends of each building. The gable-end entries are raised above ground level, and are accessed via exterior flights of poured concrete steps with metal pipe railings. Interior, boxed stairways that run perpendicular to the exterior stairs lead from the exterior door to each apartment's living room.

In all Type D apartments, the kitchen and dining room are consolidated into a single space and set at the rear of the first floor.

The interior finishes in the Type D buildings are typical of those seen throughout the complex.

Plate 39 presents an example of a Type D building.

PLATE 39
Building Type D (1959)
901-911 North Patrick Street: Front Elevation

As previously discussed, the style and construction of the James Bland Homes is generally modernist with some Colonial Revival details. The National Register nomination form for the Uptown Parker-Gray District discusses unit design and site plan:

> The design combines sterile aspects of function-based modern architecture with the aesthetics of garden apartment siting, all with a modest sprinkling of Colonial Revival style details. In the longer rows within the public housing area, the repeated townhouse forms create undifferentiated street walls that are as many as eight units long per block on the east-west streets. The longest rows appear across from one another for two or three blocks in a row along the same street. These characteristics of the design, combined with an almost complete absence of decorative details in the same elevations, give it the alienating architectural feeling often associated with public housing projects that were designed as part of the Modern Movement. This aspect of the design is especially apparent to people driving through the neighborhood. However, the housing projects have a totally different appearance to pedestrians, especially those using the north-south streets. About 60 percent of the houses were placed in "C-shaped" arrangements to form rectangular shared gardens; the garden areas have been carefully landscaped with trees and shrubbery. Although the units to the right and left of each garden space have a uniform design in brick, the use of a few Colonial Revival style details, such as decorative wood lintels at the doorways, gives the houses that face into the garden areas a traditional appearance and human scale. At the far side of each garden space in four blocks out of the seven-block area (the side opposite the north-south street), the houses are arranged in sets of four with wood siding in a center second-story section. The wood-sided section has an inset first-story porch beneath it, shared by the two center units. Even these details lose some of their effectiveness when repeated as they are in five or six different garden spaces in a complex that occupies eight city blocks. However, the trees and other landscaping vary slightly from block to block, adding a little more variety to the design.
>
> The individual units are very Spartan in style, with minimal detailing influenced by Colonial Revival style, incorporating brick walls, side-gabled forms, pedimented architraves at main entrances to the units, and multi-pane double hung window sashes. Although the units are notably repetitious, the longest rows are along east-west streets that pass through the projects. Some units with wood siding and inset porches were placed in the centers of rows facing the north-south streets to accentuate the character and symmetry of the houses with respect to the garden spaces (National Register of Historic Places Parker-Gray PIF).

A detailed landscape plan for the 1959 James Bland Addition is included as Exhibit 52. No non-residential buildings were included in the development. Architectural drawings of a maintenance building planned for the nearby Samuel Madden Homes project at the same time as the 1959 Bland addition are included as Exhibit 53.

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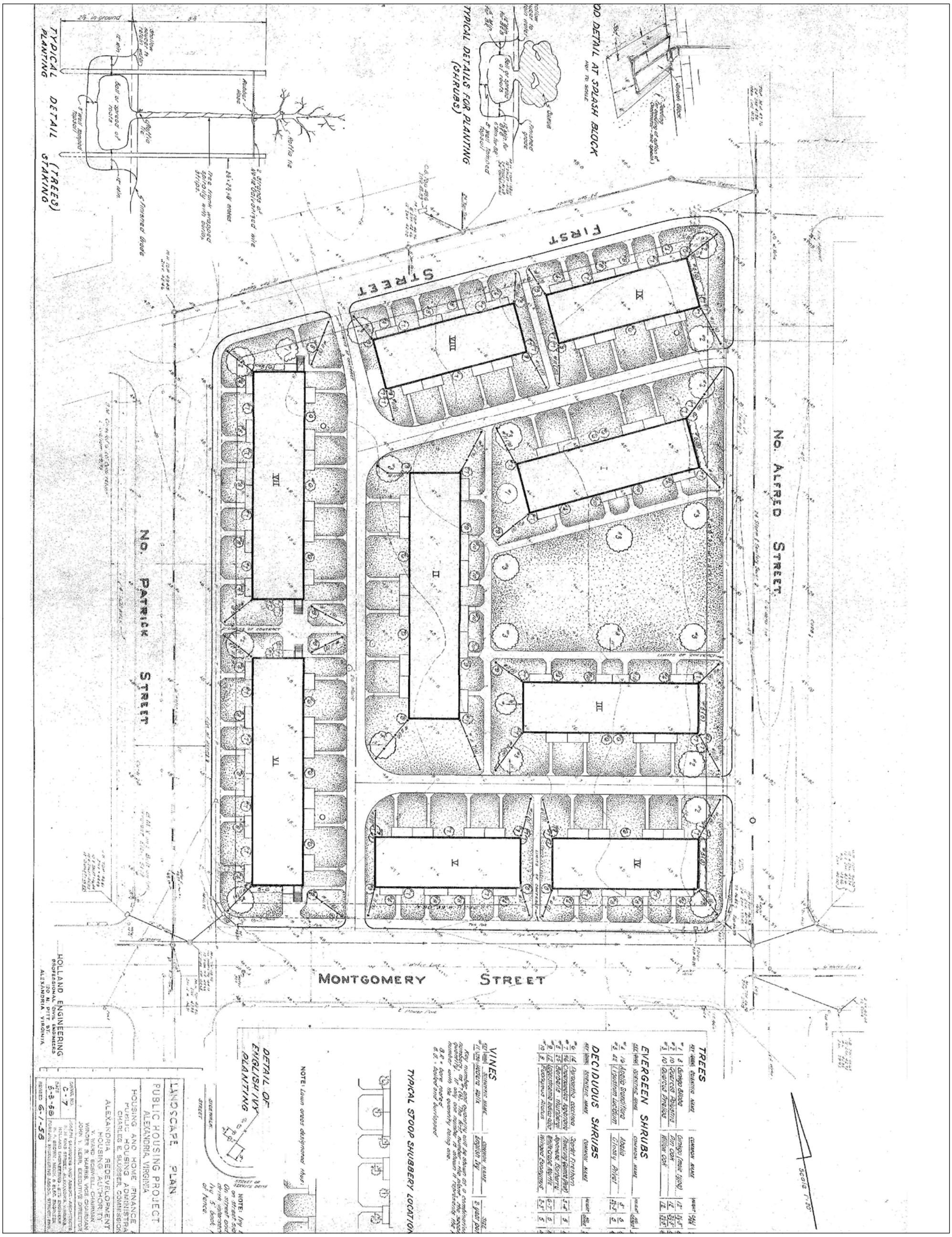


**Landscape Plan**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not To Scale**

Map Source: Landscape Plan.
Holland Engineering. Drawing No. C-7.
Sheet 1/25. May 3, 1958

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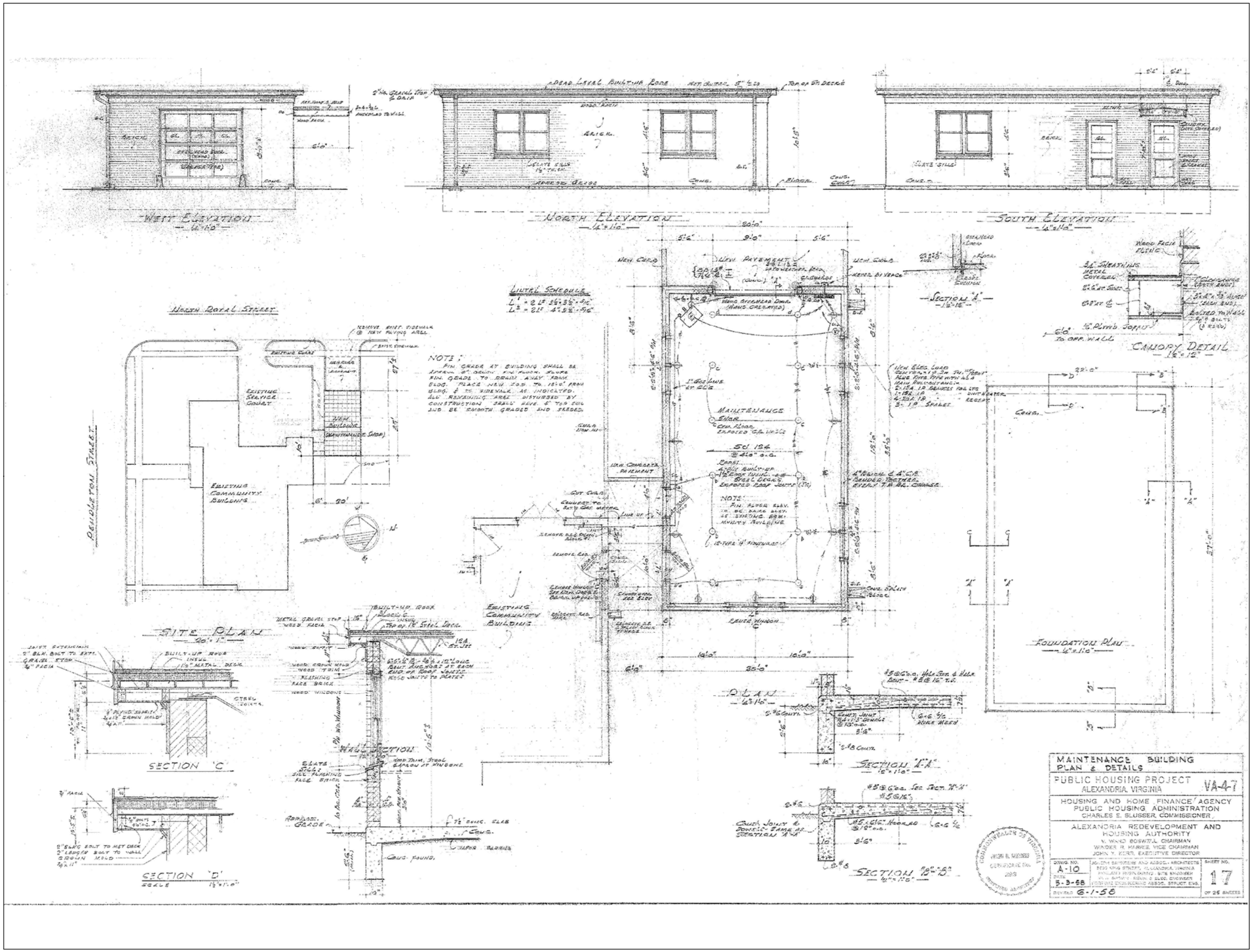


**Maintenance Building Plan and Details**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not To Scale**

Map Source: Maintenance Building Plan and Details
Holland Engineering. Drawing No. A-10.
Sheet 1/25. May 3, 1958

**Residents and Lifeways at James Bland Homes**

James E. Henson Sr., at the age of 17, moved into James Bland Homes with his mother and his aunt in February of 1954, soon after the projects opened (Sipe 2009). Mr. Henson's residency at James Bland was very brief, only about five months as he joined the United States Air Force in July of 1954 and served for twenty years. His mother; however remained a resident at James Bland until her death in 1987 and Mr. Henson had the opportunity to visit her at James Bland over the years (ibid).

Henson and his family occupied 835 N. Alfred, a two bedroom unit. Prior to moving to James Bland, the family lived in a row house at 1437 Duke Street, near Shiloh Baptist Church, for about fourteen years. Mr. Henson credits the late Alexandria Judge Franklin Bacchus, with whom his aunt was employed, with introducing his mother and aunt to the opportunity of moving into the new public housing project. Henson noted that the James Bland unit, mostly because of its indoor plumbing, was a clear improvement over the family's previous home where:

> We didn't have indoor plumbing for the bathroom. Ya know, we had indoor water, but not for the bathroom and not for anything like a tub. So we did tin tubs. We had a tin tubs. So, when we moved to Bland we had the running water inside (ibid).

During Henson's brief stay at James Bland, he recalled that little maintenance work was needed on the new units and that a maintenance man lived on the property. The units included laundry facilities that were fairly modern and convenient for the time, Henson recalled that:

> ...we had a ringer kind of washer in the storage area that would be pulled out when it was used. I know that we had clothes hangers in the back. I don't think it was a sink. I think that it was a ringer washer in the pantry area. When you came in through the back door our pantry was on like the left wall behind the door, so you could have entry to the pantry right there and as you walk into the pantry there was the washing, ringer type washing machine. They would wash, I never did any washing in that stage of my career, but they would wash then hang things on the back clothes lines (ibid).

Henson noted that there were few vacancies at the project in its first year and believed that most of the new residents at James Bland Homes in 1954 felt satisfied with the housing and the happy with the neighborhood:

> Well, when I lived in Bland the people that I knew were very happy to be there. There was a lot of camaraderie. We thought the accommodations were great. People watched out for people's houses. There were times when we didn't lock the door. It was a very folksy neighborhood. I know people behind us they had families. My mother and aunt they loved people. My mother knew the name of every kid in the block. She just liked to call kids by their names. Everyone in our group, neighborhood was very courteous and helpful...we had good neighbors living on both sides of us. We were the second unit from the corner. We had good neighbors, now there just wasn't a lot of noise or disturbances. There were a number of kids, and I say kids but I was a teenager (ibid).

ARHA reportedly gathered and maintained demographic information on residents at James Bland Homes over the years. Unfortunately, efforts to locate these records with ARHA and with federal public housing agencies that may have received and archived the information have been only partially successful. ARHA's 1959 annual report noted that the 46 units within the James Bland Addition "were occupied by eligible tenants as fast as they were completed" (ARHA 1959: 2). Eligibility related to the aggregate family income and housing need (ibid).

In 1959, ARHA noted that its 4942 tenants, occupying 1,247 dwelling units across eight development projects including the James Bland Homes, "...almost all came from dismal, substandard, or overcrowded quarters," were "generally happy in their surroundings" and had greatly benefitted from public housing (ARHA 1959: 2). According to this report, "problem families", defined as those families that present "an obvious danger" or disturb their neighbors through "disruptive behavior," represented less than 5% of the city's public housing population (ibid). With the goal of protecting the "good tenants" from the problem families, while stating that problem families could not be "tossed willy-nilly out of what, in most cases, is the first decent housing they ever have had or known; the agency instituted a program that utilized a friendly Home Visitor" to intervene and consult with problematic tenants (ibid :3).

Mr. Henson's household at James Bland, consisting of himself, his mother and his aunt were likely "good tenants" but their family composition may have been somewhat unusual within the community. Most of the other residents, he recalled from 1954, appeared to conform to a more traditional family structure; a father, mother and children occupying a unit (ibid). This likely changed over time with the increasing divorce rate and higher incidence of single parent households in American society as a whole.

Patterns of tenure for James Bland residents also remain largely unknown. Henson's mother remained a resident of the same unit for 33 years, until her death; his aunt remained at James Bland for many years and eventually moved to other public housing in the city. The only relevant statistical records were located in several of a series of quarterly "Low-Rent Management Directory" reports published by the PHA. Only those reports from November 1955, May 1957, and December 1958 were located and the only significant data included is represented as *Move-out rate*, or the average monthly rate at which tenants vacated units within the project during the preceding quarter. Moves from one unit to another within the same project were excluded from the agency's calculations. The November 1955 report indexed the James Bland Homes but listed no Move-out rate for the project. In this report, Move-out rates for other

city projects were: John Roberts Homes 2.1%; Parker Homes 0.6%; Madden Homes 1.6%; Ramsey Homes 0.0%; and Cameron Valley Homes 12.0%. The May 1957 report lists the Move-out rate for James Bland Homes at 0.7%, indicating that, during the preceding quarter, 1.16 of the 166 units within the project were vacated monthly. Move-out rates at other city projects had changed little from those included in the 1955 report, excepting the rate at Cameron Valley, which had decreased to 4.3%. In December 1958, the report noted the Move-out rate at James Bland at 1.4%, twice the rate recorded a year and a half earlier, but still fairly low.

At least in some cases, the Move out rates in the city's public housing likely reflected a degree of upward socio-economic mobility. James L. Beatty, a resident of Samuel Madden Homes, explained why his family left public housing and ultimately the city of Alexandria:

> My father was working for the gas company and every time he got a little raise the rent went up. The raises was all reported to the Housing Authority somehow. So in 1953 the rent went up to $80. My father .. .he refused to pay that. Some people in the projects did pretty well and made a lot of money and could have moved but they couldn't picture leaving their friends. ...you pretty much had to leave Alexandria. Now see in those days, there was nothing in Alexandria worth a black person buying, like in Del Ray...a black couldn't buy nothing there ... so we went to D.C. My father, he bought a tremendous place in D.C., in a mixed neighborhood, for $17000 in 1953 (personal communication 2009).

It is almost certain, based on the income requirements for tenancy, that the occupants of the James Bland Homes were predominantly working class with limited financial means and resources. In the 1950s, Henson's household was supported by the work of his mother and aunt, both of whom he said did "day work" - housekeeping in the homes of the city's whites. Interestingly, Mr. Henson was able to keep and spend his earnings from summer jobs indicating that the incomes of his mother and aunt were likely sufficient to maintain the household. Employment data for other James Bland residents have not been located at this time. Military careers may have been a popular choice for the young males coming out of the projects in the 1950s. Henson recalled several fellow residents that followed military careers and perceived these men as the most successful and notable former residents of James Bland Homes:

> One of the Bland residents went into the military and I think he became a colonel. His name was James Cason. Joseph Earl, he is down in Hampton Virginia ... Joseph [was] in the military, air force, I think he was a top sergeant. He is very active in his church. He [Cason] was probably to my knowledge the highest achiever (Sipe 2009)

Residents of James Bland in the 1950s appear to have been well integrated in the growing consumer culture of the time; they shopped at a variety of local businesses and many purchased groceries at a new chain store, the Giant on First Street:

> They bought carts, those shopping carts that fold up and they would shop at the Giant down on First Street...The Giant, in, let's see, that's the main place I can think of up in that area. They used to go to Johnson's store which was on Powhatan, but that wasn't like for major shopping because it was a very small grocery store...there was a grocery store on the corner of Columbus and Wythe across from St. Josephs and that was like in the neighborhood. I don't know the name of it (Sipe 2009).

The 1100 block of Queen Street, known to locals as the Block, with a variety of small businesses including a pool hall, several movie theaters, a barber shop and a Chinese restaurant was also an important commercial and social center for James Bland residents and others in the neighborhood. Nearby establishments such as Tom Allen's Restaurant and the Carver Theater were popular with James Bland residents and many travelled downtown to the American Legion and the Elks Home for dancing and entertainment (Sipe 2009).

City directories list few telephone numbers for James Bland residents in the 1950s; although the Henson household had a telephone in their unit at James Bland. According to Henson, only about 20 to 30 percent of James Bland residents owned cars in the mid 1950s. Mr. Henson did not recall if many residents of the projects owned televisions in the 1950s; his household owned a television prior to moving to James Bland Homes:

> We had television and um it seems like we had television. I think the reception was good for the television. I know, when we were out on Duke Street, man that must have been a winter television because there was always snow. We probably didn't have a good antenna (Sipe 2009).

Mr. Henson, like many Bland residents, attended the nearby St. Joseph's Catholic Church and was educated at the church school. Religion appears to have been an important component of the lives of James Bland residents, at least in the 1950s, as many attended one of several churches in the surrounding area. According to Mr. Henson:

> ...the values were high; there were good values in the neighborhood. On Sunday you would see people dressed in their Sunday go to meetings for the most part. We had one church right in the neighborhood, St. John's um, and then St. Joseph's was right around the corner (Sipe 2009).

James Bland Homes remained a segregated public housing facility, occupied entirely by African American residents, throughout the 1950s and, likely into the late 20th century, even after segregation was banned by law. Mr. Henson noted that Bland, as a segregated community within a predominantly African American neighborhood was extremely insular, in terms of race relations; interaction between African Americans and whites in the Hump appear to have been quite limited, even in comparison to the situation in predominantly African American neighborhoods in other parts of the city, and characterized by some unpleasantness when they occurred. Mr. Henson recalled:

> I didn't have white friends for the short duration that I was in Bland, and they weren't around Bland. But when I was out on Duke Street in the 1400 block whites lived on the even number side of the street which was south, on the south side up the street. Blacks lived on the north side of the street...this is away from Bland but I had associations with whites out there plus we played football together up on Jefferson Field on West Street, so there was interaction between blacks and whites when I was coming up in different parts of the city but when I moved to Bland my activity was kind of restricted to activities in that segregated area.
>
> North of Bland ... was the Westover Neighborhood. Vernon Street was predominately white and I eventually bought a house there ... those whites did not like for blacks to come through the neighborhood. I never had any incidents with them, but um. I don't know if you have ever heard of White Rosemont. I did have a few incidents where somebody...some guys ... threw something at me if I came through there with my bike. But that was not up at Bland, up at Bland that was just predominantly black and around the borders you just didn't spend a lot of time walking through a white neighborhood (Sipe 2009).

The racial tensions in the city erupted, at least once, in the form of significant civil unrest during the Alexandria City Disorders of May 29-June 3, 1970. The disturbances were precipitated by the murder of 19 year old African American man, Robin Gibson, by a convenience store clerk in Arlandria following the alleged shoplifting of a razor by Gibson and an ensuing altercation (WP 1970a:17). On the evening of May 29, "seven hours of minor fires and sporadic incidents of rock throwing by roving Negro youths," resulted in several arrests, mostly in the Arlandria section of the city (ibid). The unrest continued and spread throughout the city in the following days. On the night of May 31, 1970, several buildings were damaged by firebombs, including the historic Hallowell House in Old Town resulting in damage assessed at $65000 (WP 1970b:B1). By mid-week, "the all-white city council passed an emergency ordinance forbidding the sale and transportation of long knives in Alexandria, and banning the sale of gasoline in small containers" (WP 1970c: 39). By June 6, the city was again quiet, apparently no deaths or serious injuries resulted from the week long disturbance, although at least ten black youths were arrested and a clash between 200 African American youths and city and state police outside the convenience store where Gibson was slain was averted due to the intervention of some older members of the black community (ibid).

According to Henson, African American youths living in and near James Bland appear to have been involved in the disturbances:

> ... I came back just before I went to Vietnam, 1970, in the summer. Around the month of May/June there was a big racial kind of disturbance. I wouldn't call it a riot. It didn't go that far, up on the Hump. It was on primarily Montgomery Street between Patrick and Alfred. I don't know what triggered it but kids were throwing objects at cars that were being driven on Montgomery Street, you know going one way, west, and um, the police came and some of the guys on the back road were kinda throwing cans and bottles over the crowd at the police cars. That was scarier than Vietnam (Sipe 2009).

From the later 1970s, the neighborhood and the James Bland Homes appeared to have been increasingly associated with poverty, crime and violence. According to James L. Beatty, "the crime picked up over time ... as the younger generation came along" (personal communication 2009). James Henson noted that; "the neighborhood did eventually turn, I was reading the Post, I was living in Howard County Maryland [in early-mid 1980s], I read that the drug capitol of the city ... was in the same block where I had lived in the 800 block of North Alfred..." (ibid).

**Eudora Lyles and Later Community Housing Disputes**

Eudora Lyles, a well known writer and community and civil rights activist became involved in later housing disputes, often acting as a spokesperson and presenting the views of the residents. She received an Alexandria Commission for Women's award in 1985 for her efforts on behalf of African American residents in Alexandria.

In 1980, during a controversy over whether the city should commit the funds to maintain the deteriorating public housing units, if the city wanted to relinquish control over the units in exchange for federal funds, and if the city would honor its 1972 commitment to maintain the number of public housing units (WP 1980:VA 16). At this time, Eudora Lyles voiced the fears of the community, noting that "The fear in the community is of being dumped. It is as simple as that." (ibid.).

In 1985, a group called "The 16th Census Tract Crisis Committee" accused city officials of deliberately reducing and eliminating housing opportunities for African Americans in the city, beginning in the 1960s (WP 1985: F1). Ms. Lyles acted as spokesperson for this group which noted, in a complaint filed with HUD, that the constitutional rights of African Americans were violated by city actions. Backed by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, The 16th Census Tract Crisis Committee singled out the following city actions as violating the Civil Rights Act of 1968 (ibid.: F2):

Approving VDOT's relocation of U.S. Route 1 in the mid 1960s through one of Alexandria's oldest African American communities;

Constructing the Braddock Road Metro Station in a location that separated portions of a downtown African American community;

Using zoning code, code enforcement or condemnation to demolish homes occupied by African Americans without providing affordable alternatives;

Rejecting planned urban renewal projects and renovating housing units that were generally too expensive for African Americans;

Closing the historically African American Parker-Gray High School and reselling the property for commercial and upper end housing use rather than low income housing; and

Enacting a 1984 ordinance that designated the Parker-Gray African American community as a special preservation district.

The opposition to the Parker-Gray ordinance had been a topic of controversy for some time as some residents of the primarily African American Parker-Gray neighborhood opposed the extension of the Old Town Historic District into the neighborhood as it would increase property values and property taxes and force them from their homes (WP 1984a:C1). Even though her home on Fayette Street lay outside the expansion area, Ms. Lyles was a prominent critic of and a leader of the group opposing this expansion, stating that: "I felt it was illegal from the very beginning" (WP 1984a: C2). Although city officials tried to pass a compromise measure that would exempt the residents in the expansion area from Board of Architectural Review of modifications to the exterior of their homes, the City Attorney Cyril D. Calley felt that the exemption would be in violation of the city charter (WP 1984a:C1).

In addition to the increased financial burdens, opponents of the expansion felt that it would destroy the character of the neighborhood. In her 44 years of residence, Ms. Lyle had seen many neighborhood homes and institutions demolished in the name of progress (WP 1984b: D1). Roger C. Anderson, a long time Parker-Gray resident noted: " This is a working class black neighborhood and we want to keep it that way" (WP 1984b:D2). This attitude dismayed many of the newer residents who felt it to be decisive (ibid.).

Mayor James P. Moran, Jr. noted that these actions, including the expansion of the historic district, were driven by economic development, not the removal of African Americans. In early 1986, HUD concluded that City of Alexandria officials did not deliberately reduce housing opportunities for African Americans and The 16$^{th}$ Census Tract Crisis Committee challenged this decision (WP 1986:B8-B9). Later the same year, HUD reversed their decision, urging city officials to work with committee officials to resolve the conflict (WP 1988:D6). Ultimately, HUD closed the investigation into these charges, noting that it was "an unsuccessful conciliation", with a finding for neither party (WP 1988:D5-6).

Ms. Lillian Patterson of the Alexandria Black History Museum recalls that Lyles had written about the situation; however these records have not been located at this time (personal communication 2009). Patterson remembers that Lyles wrote about the single family dwellings that were present in the area condemned for public housing and expressed concern and unhappiness with the condemnation of these dwellings. Lyles felt that many displaced residents did not qualify or did not want public housing and were left with few alternatives (ibid). According to Patterson, Lyles noted that some residents were able to move in with friends and family, others acquired private housing, whether rented or purchased, including houses in the 700 block of Columbus Street that had not been condemned. Apparently many residents of these properties had moved into public housing and displaced people from the condemned properties then occupied those dwellings (ibid).

## CHAPTER 12: PREVIOUS ARCHEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The following inventory of previously recorded architectural resources near the project area was established by using DHR's online Data Sharing System, as well as examining cultural resource files and reports at the Thunderbird Archeology office in Gainesville, Virginia.

No archeological sites within the project area. Nine archeological sites located in the vicinity of the project area are shown on Table 15 (Exhibit 54).

**TABLE 15: DHR ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES IN THE PROJECT AREA VICINITY**

| DHR ID | Resource Name | Description | Temporal Designation |
|---|---|---|---|
| 44AX0028 | Alexandria Canal | Canal | 19th century |
| 44AX0043 | Robert E. Lee House | Dwelling, Single | 19th century |
| 44AX0045 | Mount Vernon Cotton Manufactory | Factory | 19th century |
| 44AX0048 | Lee-Fendall House | Dwelling, Multiple | null |
| 44AX0099 | Alexandria Canal Turning Basin | Canal | 19th century |
| 44AX0101 | Alexandria Jail | Jail, Police Station | 19th century: 2nd quarter; 20th century: 2nd quarter |
| 44AX0160 | Battery H | Military facility | 19th century: 2nd half |
| 44AX0196 | Robert Portner Brewery | Distillery | 19th century: 4th quarter |
| 44AX0197 | Colross | Dwelling, Single | 18th century: 4th quarter; 19th century; 20th century |

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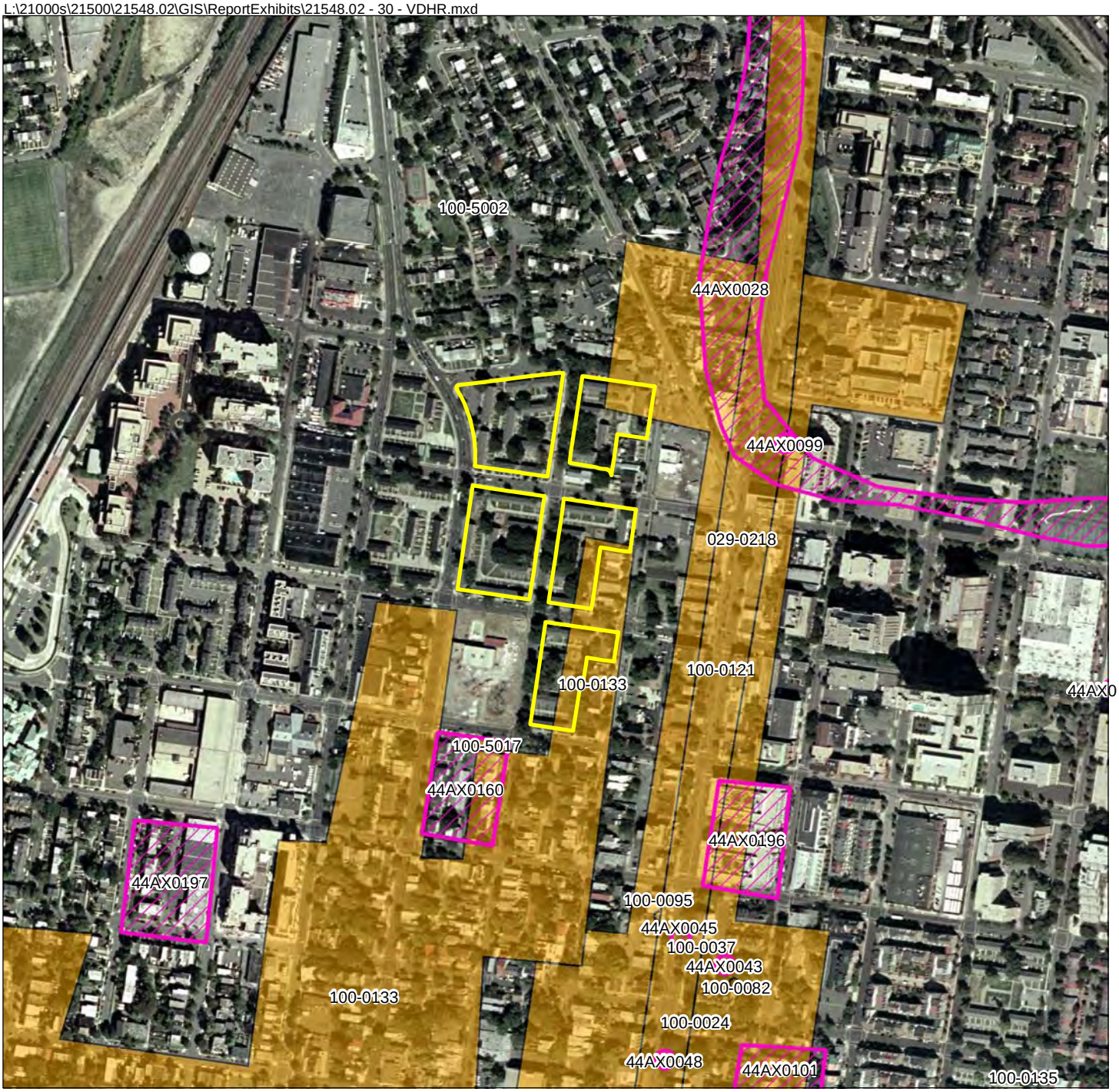


**VDHR Architectural Resources and Archeological Sites Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 500'**

VDHR Architectural Resource
VDHR Archeological Site
Project Area

N
W E
S

Photo Source: October 2007 Aerials Express natural color imagery

***Thunderbird Archeology***
***by Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 54***

The Alexandria Canal (1843–1886) has been recorded as site 44AX0028. An associated resource, site 44AX0099, represents the Canal Turning Basin. These resources are located to the east and northeast of the project area in the documented course of the historic canal.

The DHR site form for site 44AX0043 indicates that it is a 19th century dwelling.
Site 44AX0045 represents the archeological remains of the Mount Vernon Cotton Factory built in 1847. Between the years of 1861-1865, the factory was used to house prisoners and in the early 20th century it functioned as a brewery.

Site 44AX0048 is also associated with Resource 100-0024, the Lee-Fendall house. The site consists of a privy that was discovered in the backyard of the structure. The surface of the privy was excavated in 1976 and yielded an ironstone chamber pot from Trenton, NJ circa 1875. This site is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

According to the DHR site form, site 44AX0101 was occupied by the Alexandria Jail/Police Station from 1827 to 1987.

Battery H (site 44AX0160) was a Civil War military installation. A Phase I archeological investigation conducted in 1991 located various areas of the barracks, as well as a possible cobble path associated with the barracks.

Site 44AX0196 is the location of the Robert Portner Brewing Company, a late 19th century distillery. A Phase II evaluation conducted in 2005, by Parsons Engineering Service, uncovered several features related to the distillery including a brick and mortar well, a brick cistern, and a beer vault.

In 2005, Goodwin & Associates conducted a Phase III archeological evaluation on site 44AX0197. The DHR site form states that the site included late 18th early 19th century foundations associated with the built environment of an urban plantation with prominent owners.

Ten architectural resources located within or in the immediate vicinity of the project area are shown on Table 16.

**TABLE 16: DHR ARCHITECTURAL RESOURCES IN THE PROJECT AREA VICINITY**

| DHR ID | Resource Name | Eligibility |
|---|---|---|
| 029-0218 | Mount Vernon Memorial Highway (portion of George Washington Memorial Parkway) | Virginia Landmarks Register<br>National Register of Historic Places |
| 100-0024 | Lee-Fendall House, 614 Oronoco Street | Virginia Landmarks Register<br>National Register of Historic Places |
| 100-0037 | Hallowell School, 609 Oronoco Street, 501 N. Washington | Not Evaluated |
| 100-0082 | Robert E. Lee Boyhood Home/ Potts-Fitzhugh House, 607 Oronoco Street | Virginia Landmarks Register<br>National Register of Historic Places |
| 100-0095 | Old Club, 555 S. Washington Street | Not Evaluated |
| 100-0121 | Alexandria Historic District | Virginia Landmarks Register<br>National Register of Historic Places<br>National Historic Landmark |
| 100-0133 | Parker-Gray Historic District | Virginia Landmarks Register<br>National Register of Historic Places |
| 100-0135 | House, 719 S. Fairfax Street | Not Evaluated |
| 100-5002 | House, 1006 Colonial Ave | Not Evaluated |
| 100-5017 | Robinson Library, 638 N. Alfred Street | Virginia Landmarks Register<br>National Register of Historic Places<br>Contributing to Resource 100-0133 |

Resource 029-0218, the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway (a portion of George Washington Memorial Parkway), is listed on the Virginia and National Registers of Historic Places for its significance in the areas of landscape architecture in the second quarter of the 20th century and for its significance as a commemoration to George Washington.

The Lee-Fendall House (100-0024) was built in 1785 as the residence of George Washington's friend and attorney Philip Richard Fendall. After the death of Fendall in 1805, the house remained in the Lee family for about a century.

Constructed circa 1794, Hallowell School (100-0037) is the historic residence of Quaker schoolmaster Benjamin Hallowell. In 1824, Hallowell opened his first school at the residence. One of the earliest students to study at the school was a young Robert E. Lee in preparation for his West Point examinations.

Now operating as a historic house museum, Resource 100-0082 was home to many prominent residents of Alexandria and is an impressive example of Federal period architecture. The house was completed circa 1795 for John Potts, Jr., the first secretary of the Potomac Navigation Company. William Fitzhugh, the second owner was a major plantation owner, merchant and member of the Continental Congress. Later the house was occupied by General Henry (Light Horse Harry) Lee and his family. It was here that Robert E. Lee prepared for his entrance to the United States Military Academy. In the early 20th century, members of the Roosevelt administration also lived at this address.

The Old Town Historic District of Alexandria (100-0121) was placed on the National Register of Historic Places (NHRP) and designated a National Historic Landmark in 1966. About 200 historic structures comprise the District; these are located in an area bounded roughly by the Potomac River, Franklin Street, Washington Street and Queen Street. These structures include both warehouses and handsome dwellings of brick or frame. The District includes numerous late 18th and 19th century buildings of various types and architectural styles. Buildings in this historic district are protected by the guidelines of the City's Board of Architectural Review.

The Parker-Gray Historic District (100-0133), discussed in greater detail earlier in this report, includes the historic African American neighborhood also known as Uptown. Portions of the project area lie within the district.

Resource 100-0135, a dwelling at 719 S. Fairfax Street was once a boarding house and used during the Civil War to house troops during a Confederate raid. The NRHP eligibility of this resource has not yet been evaluated

Resource 100-5002 is located at 1006 Colonial Avenue and dates to 1971. It has not yet been evaluated for the NRHP.

The Robinson Library (100-5017) located at the corner of Wythe and Alfred Streets is believed to be the location of the nation’s first pre-planned civil rights “sit-in” to protest segregation in public facilities on August 21, 1939. It presently serves as Alexandria’s Black History Resource Center and has been recommended as eligible for NRHP nomination.

## CHAPTER 13: SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### Summary

Thunderbird Archeology, a division of Wetland Studies and Solutions Inc. (WSSI) of Gainesville, Virginia conducted a Documentary Study on the James Bland Development property; comprising two entire city blocks and three partial city blocks bounded by First, N. Patrick, Madison, N. Alfred, Wythe and N. Columbus Streets in Alexandria, Virginia (see Exhibit 1). This study was prepared with contributions from and in consultation with History Matters, LC of Washington, D.C.

The research was conducted in anticipation of the planned development of the property. The goal of the documentary study was to provide a full contextual study of the prehistory and history of the property, focusing on cultural themes associated with the historic James Bland public housing project and the historic African American neighborhood in which it is located; and to evaluate the potential for locating intact archeological sites on the property. The Archeological Assessment included with this reports presents the analysis of the archeological potential of the James Bland Development property and presents recommendations for an Archeological Evaluation of the property.

The documentary study and recommendations are in compliance with the City of Alexandria Archaeological Protection Code and followed a Scope of Work provided by Alexandria Archaeology.

The project area is the site of the James Bland Homes, a public housing project built by ARHA in two phases, with a four-block area constructed in 1954 and a final block (known as the James Bland Addition) constructed in 1959. The first Federal Public Housing action within the project area; however, may be traced to 1943, when as a continuation of the previously discussed slum clearance project commenced in 1941, the government condemned two acres for temporary public housing for African American defense workers. The James Bland Homes project was preceded on the site by a wartime FHPA trailer camp.

Documentary research has indicated that the James Bland Development property was owned by members of the Alexander family from the late 17th century; it was part of an estate bequeathed by Robert Alexander' to his daughter Sarah Alexander before 1736. Sarah Alexander was the wife of Baldwin Dade. Although the property had been subdivided by the late 18th century, portions of the property remained in Alexander hands into the 19th century. During the colonial period, the lands may have been utilized for the cultivation of tobacco or other crops or as pasture; however, little detailed information is available to support such conclusions. Domestic use of the project area by enslaved laborers or tenants in the 18$^{th}$ century must be considered a possibility; but no solid documentary evidence of such use has been found.

Although the property history remains somewhat unclear at this time various prominent citizens of the city, including Charles Alexander Jr., John Gadsby, Richard Conway, Orlando Fairfax, Burke and Herbert and Thomas Veitch owned portions of the property between the late 18th century and mid 19th century. Use of the land by tenants remains a possibility during this period. As most of these individuals were documented slave owners; it is possible that enslaved laborers were residing on the property during these times but no documented evidence of such has been found.

During this period, several properties in the vicinity of the project area were used as farms, pasture and household or market gardens by the various landowners or lessees. Documentary evidence has also been found indicating that at least one of the project area owners, Veitch, engaged free African Americans as tenants on his lands to the west of the project area during the second quarter of the 19th century. Several dwellings appear near or within the project area on Civil War era maps.

During the Civil War, Union troops occupying the city established various facilities to the south and east of the project area; these included the Washington Street Corral and associated barracks and support structures. No direct evidence for Civil War era activity within the project area was found. There is also the possibility that refugee slaves may have settled in temporary shanty towns in the project area during the Civil War, other historic African American neighborhoods, such as the Berg, traces its origin to such settlement and the location of most of the settlements of this type within the city is unclear.

By the third quarter of 19th century, residential development in the project area has clearly begun; with about 20 dwellings present in the project area by 1877. As the project area is located within the historic African American neighborhood known as the Hump, and based on trends in later property history, it is likely that most residents of the project area during this period were African Americans.

In the early 20th century, the vicinity of the study area was the site of continued residential and industrial development in Alexandria; the project area, specifically, remained an integrated neighborhood, including a population of approximately 70% African American and 30% Euro-American, largely recent European immigrants. An examination of the ethic affiliation of the individual residences indicated that some segregation by street face was noted at the turn of and in the early 20th century, although integration by street face appears to increase through time. It should be noted that these results are very preliminary as much of the data regarding the specific occupants of a particular dwelling was missing from either the city directories or the tax records. The S*ilas Green from New Orleans*, a successful travelling African American variety show was held in vacant lots within the project area in the 1940s and perhaps earlier. The neighborhood became almost entirely African American only after the completion of the James Bland Homes public housing project in the mid 1950s.

**Archeological Assessment and Recommendations**

The following text considers the results of the documentary study of the James Bland Development property in assessment of the probability that prehistoric and/or historic archeological sites might be found on the project area, site types that might be expected and the potential significance of such sites. As disturbance, a typical component of the urban environment is crucial to site preservation and significance, an examination of the potential disturbances on the property follows.

*Disturbance Assessment*

The property appears to have been little altered since the final phase of construction in the James Bland public housing project was completed in 1959. Exhibit 55 shows the locations of the extant 2008 buildings within the project area in the same configuration as shown on the 1959 Sanborn map.

Exhibit 56 presents a topographic map prepared in preparation for construction of the 1959 James Bland buildings within the project area. The ground surface appears very level and near its probable historic elevation, indicating that extensive filling prior to this time is not likely. The 1959 test borings shown on Exhibit 57 indicate; however, that 2-3 feet of brown sandy clay or silt clay fill was present over gray sandy clay (possibly marine clay) throughout much of the area.

No legible copies of topographic maps or test boring profiles prepared before construction of the 1954 buildings have been located at this time. Grading plans were located for Blocks 1 and 3 (Exhibits 58 and 59). Although the possibility exists that some filling prior to construction of the 1954 and 1959 buildings and some grading in association with said construction has occurred on the project area, the evidence is incomplete and does not make a sufficiently compelling case for the conclusion that such extensive disturbance has occurred within the study property that intact archeological sites would be unlikely.

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**1959 Sanborn Map with 2008 Buildings Overlay**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

Approximate Location of Project Area

Buildings (2008)

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Map Source: The Sanborn® Map Company

***Thunderbird Archeology***
***A Division of Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc.***

***Exhibit 55***

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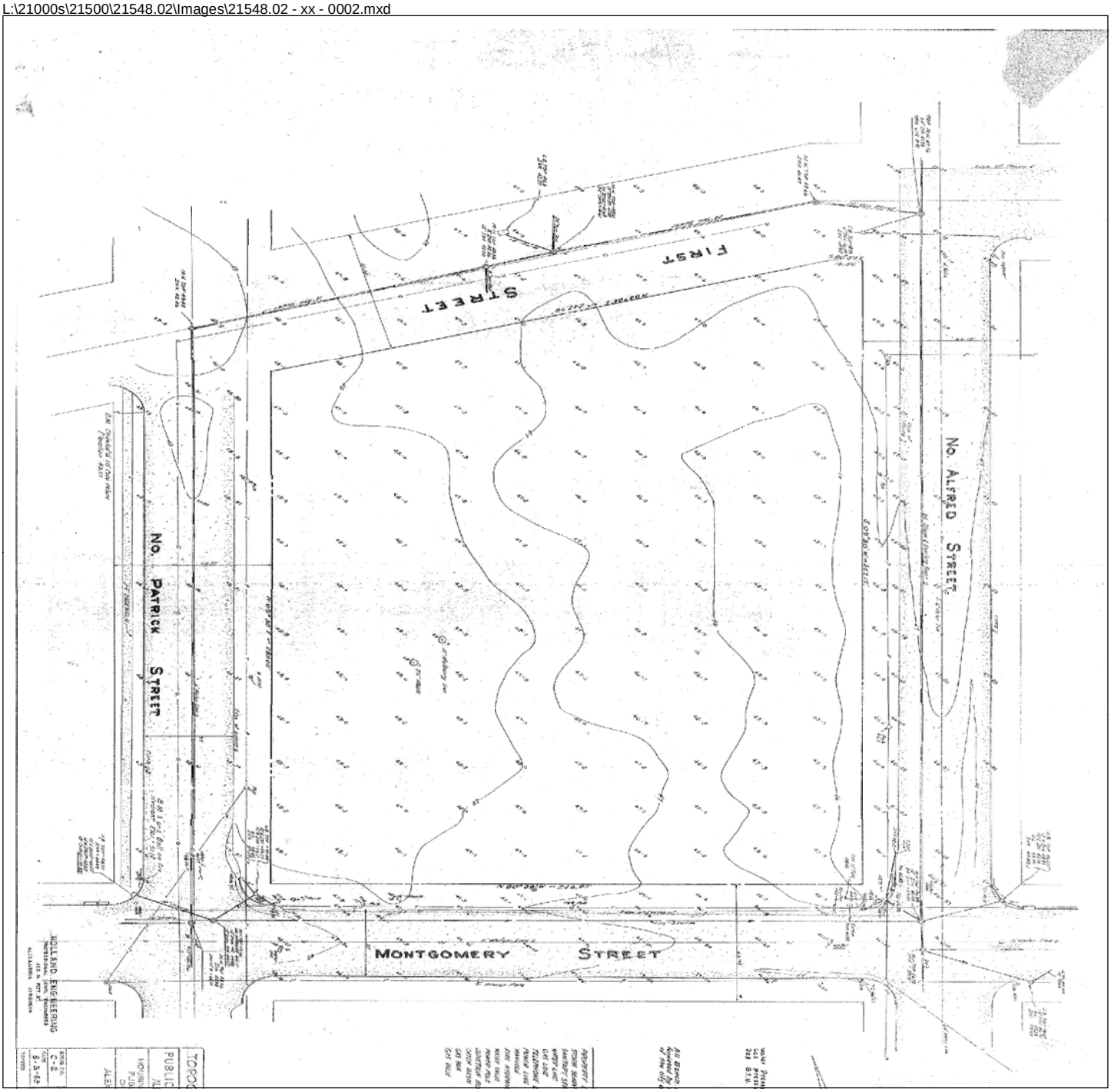
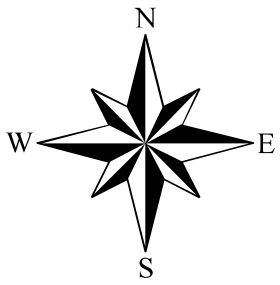



Map Source: Topographic Map.
Holland Engineering. Drawing No. C-2.
Sheet 2/25. May 3, 1958

**Topographic Map**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not to Scale**



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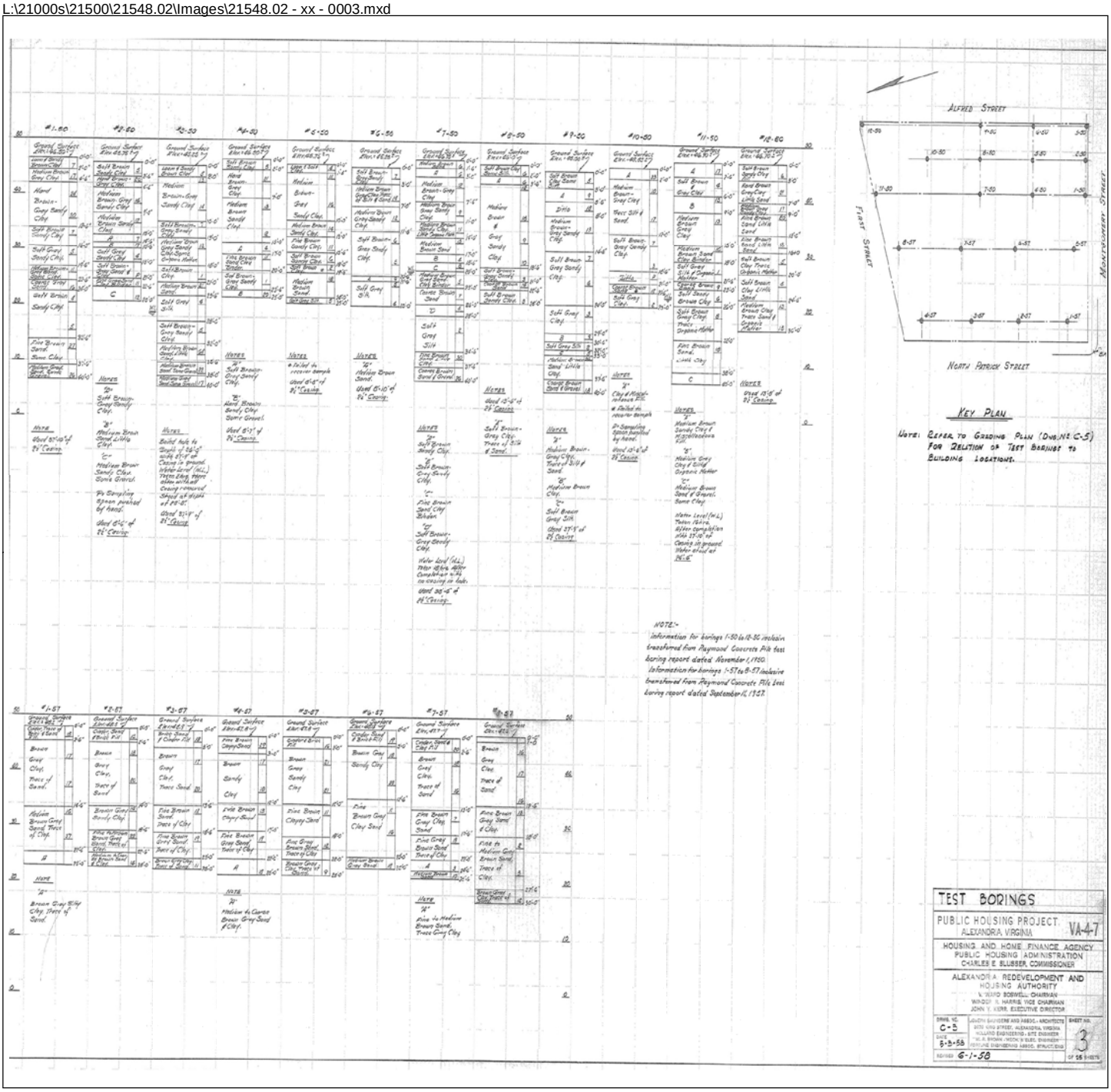


Map Source: Test Borings.
Holland Engineering. Drawing No. C-3.
Sheet 3/25. May 3, 1958 Revised June 1, 1958

**Test Borings**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not to Scale**

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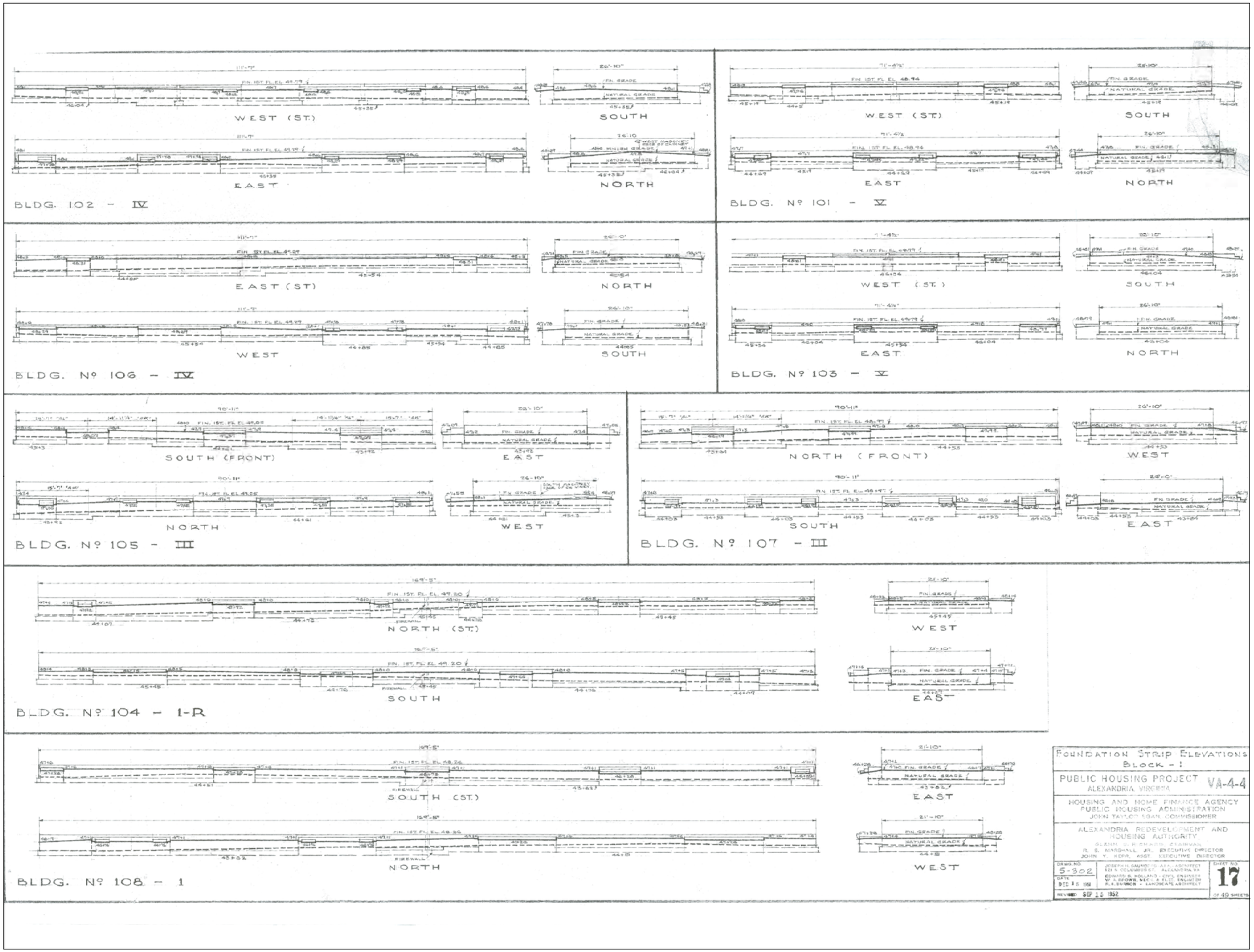


**Foundation Strip Elevations - Block I**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not to Scale**

Map Source: Public Housing Project "Foundation Strip Elevations Block I. William A Brown Consulting Engineer. Drawing No. A-202. December 15, 1951 Revised September 15, 1952

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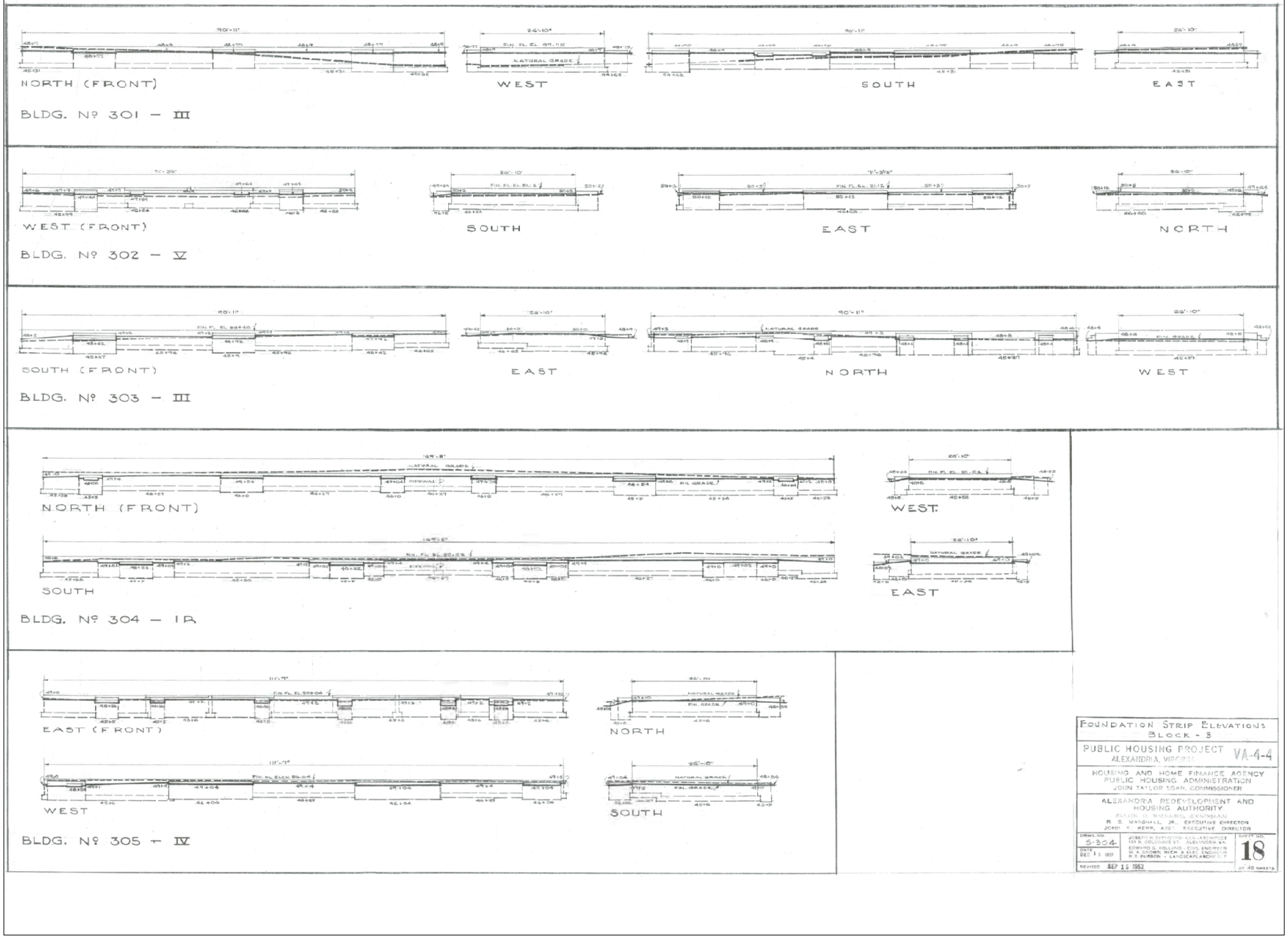


**Foundation Strip Elevations - Block 3**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Not to Scale**

Map Source: Public Housing Project "Foundation Strip Elevations Block 3". William A Brown Consulting Engineer. Drawing No. S-304. December 15, 1951 Revised September 15, 1952

*Potential for the Presence of Prehistoric Archeological Sites*

The probability for locating prehistoric sites generally depends on the variables of topography, proximity to water, and internal drainage. Sites are more likely on well-drained landforms of low relief in close proximity to water.

The topography of the project area prior to urban landscaping in the 20th century remains somewhat unclear. The earliest topographic map showing the project area (made in 1894, see Exhibit 13) indicates that the vicinity was on level terrain approximately 50 feet a.s.l., less than one half mile west of the Potomac River.

The James Bland Homes are located in the historic African American neighborhood known as the Hump since its founding after the Civil War. The topographical origin of the neighborhood's name would indicate that the project area and vicinity was likely a level well drained landform distinctly elevated above the surrounding terrain prior to 20th century development. This would indicate at least a moderate probability for the presence of prehistoric sites.

Prehistoric archeological sites dating from the Paleoindian through Contact period are possible. No prehistoric sites have been recorded in the vicinity of the project area; however, based upon the topographic and environmental setting, as well as the types of sites previously recorded within the City of Alexandria, the most likely site types expected in the project area would be small temporary resource exploitation camps dating to the Archaic and/or Woodland periods.

Some disturbance across the project area associated with 19th and 20th century construction and demolition activities is likely. As little information is available that documents the degree of such disturbances, archeological testing would be necessary to evaluate the degree and locations of disturbance. Plowing of the land prior to the 20th century may have disturbed any prehistoric archeological resources present. The most common features associated with temporary campsites of the type expected in the project area would be shallow hearth features which are very rarely found intact in plowed or otherwise disturbed contexts. Significant disturbance would greatly reduce the chance of locating intact prehistoric archeological resources in the project area. Overall, the presence of any intact prehistoric archeological resources within the project area is likely low to moderate, due to likely disturbances associated with historic plowing and construction and demolition activities.

*Potential for the Presence of Historic Archeological Sites*

The project area is contained within the Parker-Gray Historic District (100-0133) and 18 additional recorded archeological or architectural resources are located in the project area vicinity. These represent a variety of site types dating from the 18th to 20th century.

Domestic use of the project area by enslaved laborers and/or tenants from the late 17th century through the early 19th century must be considered a possibility; however no solid documentary evidence of such use has been found. Many of the 18th-19th century owners of the various properties in the chain of title for the study area were documented slave owners. No evidence of any buildings having been extant on the property during these periods was located; however dwellings associated with enslaved laborers and impoverished tenants are rarely shown on historic maps or detailed in deeds or other property records. Additionally, archeological sites associated with agricultural or other uses of the property during these periods are possible. The types of subsurface features associated with tenant or slave dwellings during these periods would include architectural features such as hearths and building foundations or piers and pit features such as refuse and sub-floor pits. Historic agricultural buildings on the property would be less likely to have associated features, with post holes being the most likely. As the location and degree of disturbance is not clear at this time, the probability of the presence of intact features of these types within the project area must be considered at least moderate, assuming such features were ever present.

Domestic use of the project area, most likely by enslaved African American laborers, free African American tenants and property owners from the late 18th century through the mid 19th century must be considered a possibility. Sites associated with domestic habitation of the project area after the Civil War and certainly by the 1870s, again likely of African American cultural affiliation, are highly probable. Multiple buildings were present within the project area by 1877 (Exhibit 60). A wide range of features including foundation remnants, refuse middens; and deep features such as privies, cellars, and wells might be expected in association with sites of this type.

No specific information documenting historic military use or activity on the project area was located. The possibility for archeological sites associated with small military encampments dating to the late 18th century and during the Civil War era does however exist. The James Bland Homes are in the vicinity of documented encampments occupied by elements of the French army during marches to and from Yorktown during the Revolutionary War. The sites of these camps are based on historic sketch maps and their exact locations remain unknown.

During the Civil War, Union troops were certainly present in the project area vicinity and some Union soldiers may have set up encampments nearby. Additionally, sites associated with use of the property by formerly enslaved African American refugees during the Civil War may be present. Features associated with short term military or refugee camps would likely be shallow and ephemeral. Overall, the probability of intact features of these types within the project area is low to moderate, due to the lack of hard evidence that military or refugee sites were present.

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Approximate Location of Project Area

Buildings (1865)

Buildings (2008)

**1877 Hopkins Map With Historic Structures Overlay**
**Alexandria, Virginia**
**James Bland Documentary Study**
**WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 100'**

N
W E
S

Map Source: Alexandria, Virginia - Ward 3. J.M. Hopkins. 1877

1865 Building Source: Barracks, Kitchens & C.&O.for Washington St. Corral. Alexandria, Virginia. May 20, 1865.

2008 Building Source: City of Alexandria GIS Department


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***Exhibit 60***

**Recommendations**

As the project area has been assessed with a moderate to high probability for the presence of archeological sites, as no clear evidence that the property has been significantly disturbed exists, and as demolition of the existing structures and planned development will impact the entirety of the project area to a depth that would disturb any potential archeological deposits or features that may be present, a Phase I archeological survey of the property is recommended.

The manual excavation of shovel test pits on a 50 foot grid, integrated with the built environment, is proposed as the initial testing methodology. Exhibit 61 presents the proposed shovel test pit locations. Additional shovel test pits should be excavated at close intervals around STPs that yield artifacts that indicate significant historic or prehistoric sites might be present. It is anticipated that the number of shovel tests excavated will be between 100 and 250. If significant disturbance or deep fills are encountered shovel testing in such areas may be judgmentally suspended, resulting in fewer test pits.

Although the degree of disturbance and subsurface stratigraphy within the project area is not clear, deep fills are not anticipated. Systematic shovel testing appears to be the best method to determine the degree of disturbance on the property and to identify any archeological sites that may be present.

Based on the results of the Phase I shovel test pits, additional archeological work, including but not limited to systematic metal detector survey, the manual excavation of test units, machine test trenching and demolition or construction monitoring may be required.

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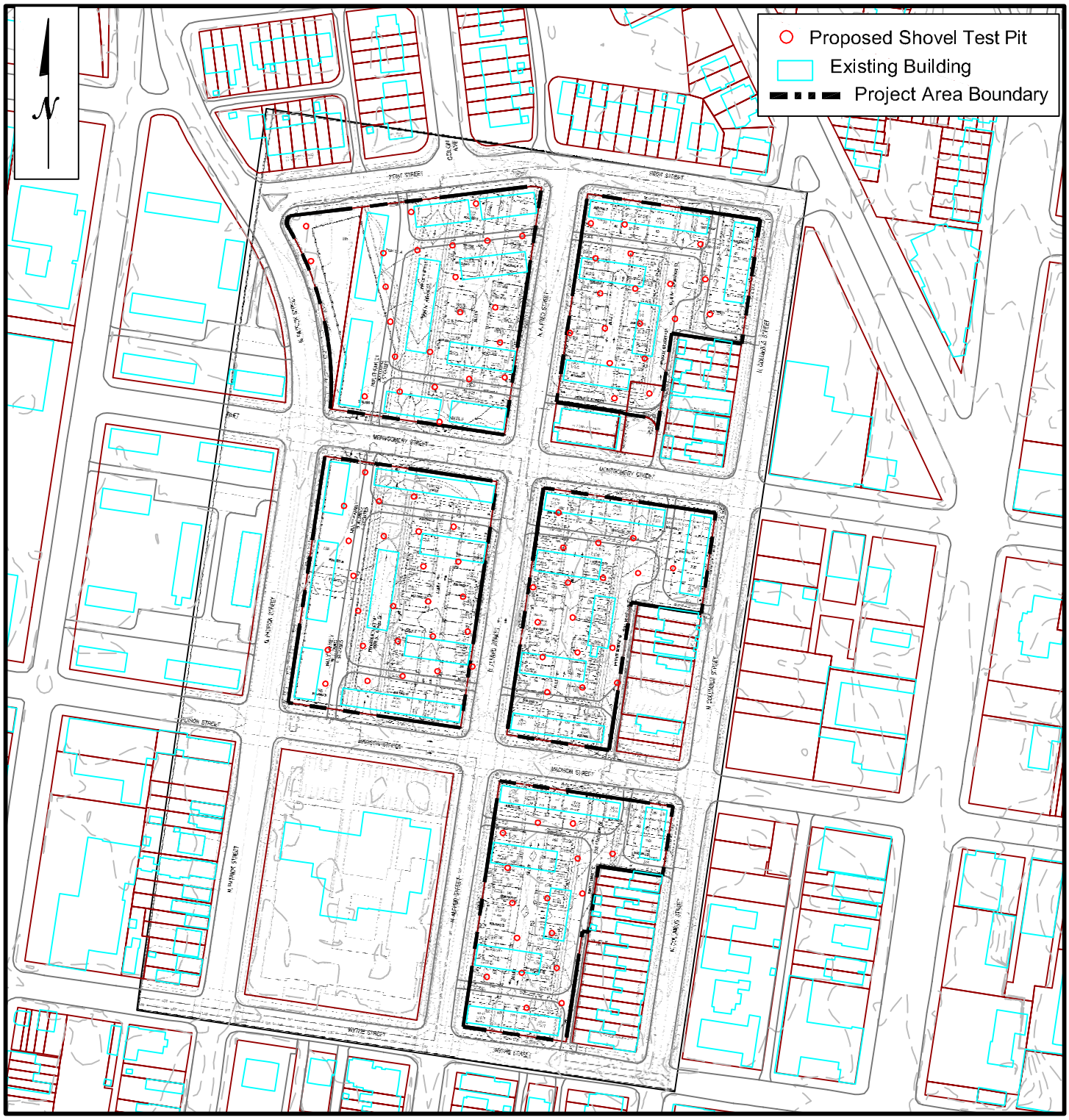


**Proposed Phase I Archeological Shovel Tests in the Project Area**
**James Bland Documentary Study - WSSI #21548.02**
**Scale: 1" = 200'**

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**APPENDIX I**
**Documentary Study Scope of Work**

**Scope of Work for a**
**James Bland Development**
**Five City Blocks Bounded by N. Alfred, Wythe and N. Alexandria, Virginia**

**July 17, 2008**

ALEXANDRIA ARCHAEOLOGY

**Documentary Study**

**First, N. Patrick, Madison, Columbus Streets**

These five city blocks have the potential to contain significant archaeological resources. In order to determine what preservation actions are appropriate, a Documentary Study is required first. The limited historical research that has been completed about the development blocks and the vicinity to date indicates that the Henry Daingerfield estate extended onto the block bounded by N. Patrick, Wythe, N. Alfred and Madison Streets, with the house situated in the middle of Wythe Street. During the Civil War, the 800 Block of Wythe Street was the site of the "Barracks, Kitchens &c." for the Washington Street Corral. This complex included a small Wagon Boss Quarters structure was located near the northwest corner of N. Columbus and Wythe Streets. A 179 ½ foot building, labeled "Mess rooms, kitchen and bunk rooms," spanned Wythe Street and extended south along the northwest street face of the 600 Block of N. Columbus Street. A kitchen and "sink" (privy) were located in the middle of Wythe Street.
By 1877, there were several structures in the development area. There was a cluster west of the canal near the Alexandria and Washington Turnpike and the Washington and Alexandria Railroad line (N. Columbus, First and Alfred Streets), and there were structures on N. Columbus near Madison Streets. In the late 19th century, this was the location of an African American community, "the Hump." Structures are shown on Sanborn maps on most of the blocks by the 1920s and 1930s.

The ultimate goals of the research are to understand the history of the project area, to develop a historical context for the interpretation of the site, and to identify, as precisely as possible, the potential locations of archaeological resources that may be preserved. The study shall also consider the effects of previous disturbances and grading on potential sites as well as the impact of the proposed construction activities on the areas of potential. The Study will conclude with specific recommendations, backed by stated evidence and arguments, as to which areas need Archaeological Evaluations and which areas do not. All aspects of this investigation shall comply with the *City of Alexandria Archaeological Standards* dated January 1996, *Guidelines for Conducting Cultural Resource Survey in Virginia*, and the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archaeology and Historic Preservation.* Project details are as follows:

**Documentary Study Report and Recommendations**

The consultant shall develop a full cultural and landscape history and shall identify significant themes through the research and articulate them in the report and summary. In addition, the consultant shall work with the developer, architect, and landscape architect to provide information in a way that can be used to integrate these themes and elements of the historic character of this place into the design and open space for the project.

The Documentary Study will consist of maps, plus primary and secondary source information. The archival research shall include, but is not limited to, a search of deeds, plats, title documents, probate and other court records; tax and census records; business directories; published and unpublished manuscripts of first-hand accounts (such as letters, diaries, and county histories); historical maps; newspaper articles; previous archaeological research; pedological, geological and topographic maps; modern maps, previous construction plans and photographs that can indicate locations of previous ground disturbance; and information on file with Alexandria Archaeology and the local history sections of public libraries in northern Virginia.

The archival research shall result in an account of the chain of title, a description of the owners and occupants, and a discussion of the land-use history of the property through time. The work will address issues relating to the changes in use of the land through time. It will identify significant themes and include the development of research questions that could provide a framework for the archaeological work and the development of historic contexts for the interpretation of the site. The work will present the potential for the archaeological work to increase our understanding of Alexandria's past and will highlight the historical and archaeological significance of the property.

In addition to the narrative, the Documentary Study report shall include the production of a map or series of overlay maps that will indicate the impact of the proposed construction activities on all known cultural and natural features on the property. The scale of the overlay map(s) will be large (such as 1 inch to 100 feet). The map(s) will depict the locations of features discovered as a result of the background documentary study (including, but not limited to, historic structures, historic topography, and water systems), the locations of any known previous disturbances to the site (including, but not limited to, changes in topography, grading and filling, previous construction activities), and the locations and depths of the proposed construction disturbances (including, but not limited to, structures, roads, grading/filling, landscaping, utilities). From this information, a final overlay map shall be created that indicates the areas with the potential to yield significant archaeological resources that could provide insight into Alexandria's past. The report will present specific recommendations in a Scope of Work that delineates the

archaeological testing strategy needed to complete an Archaeological Evaluation. The map shall indicate locations for backhoe scraping or trenching, hand excavation, metal detection, and/or monitoring. **The recommendations will be based upon the specific criteria for evaluating potential archaeological significance as established and specified in the Alexandria Archaeological Protection Code**. After the recommendations are approved by the City Archaeologist, the consultant shall prepare a budget for the required testing for the Archaeological Evaluation.

**Public Interpretation**

The *City of Alexandria Archaeological Standards* require that a public summary be prepared as part of the Documentary Study. The public summary will be approximately 4 to 8 pages long with a few color illustrations. This should be prepared in a style and format that is reproducible for public distribution and use on the City's web site. Examples of these can be seen on the Alexandria Archaeology Museum website. A draft of the summary should be submitted to Alexandria Archaeology for review along with the draft of the Documentary Study report. Upon approval, a master copy (hard copy as well as on CD) will be submitted to Alexandria Archaeology. The summary and graphics should also be e-mailed to Alexandria Archaeology for publication on the web site.

**Tasks**

The following is a summary of the tasks to be completed:

1. Send resume of the historian/researcher to Alexandria Archaeology for approval prior to beginning the research. The approved researcher shall visit Alexandria Archaeology to gather available information, including to-scale historical maps, site reports, and secondary compilations and indexes from City files.

2. Visit other repositories to complete research from primary and secondary sources.

3. Analyze the compiled data to evaluate the potential for the recovery of significant archaeological resources on the property.

4. Produce a preliminary draft of the Documentary Study report with recommendations, including a Scope of Work for the Archaeological Evaluation if warranted, and submit it to Alexandria Archaeology. Upon approval by Alexandria Archaeology, prepare a budget for the Archaeological Evaluation.

5. Make required revisions and deliver 1 unbound and 3 bound copies of the final Documentary Study report (with title, consultant firm name and date on the spines) to Alexandria Archaeology, along with a CD of the final report and a separate CD of the public summary with graphics.

6. Meet with the City Archaeologist and the developer/architect/landscape architect to provide information that might be useful in integrating the historic character into the design of the development.

Formats for Digital Deliverables:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Photographs: | .jpg |
| 2. Line Drawings: | .gif or .jpg as appropriate |
| 3. Final Report/Public Summary: | Word, PageMaker and/or PDF |
| 4. Oral History: | Word |
| 5. Catalogue: | Word, Access or Excel |
| 6. Other Written material: | Word, Access, Excel, PageMaker or PDF as appropriate |

**APPENDIX II**
**Chain of Title**

**Conveyances to ARHA**

1952 July 31
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Rufus Williams and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 342:561

1952 August 4
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Edward Malloy and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 343:50

1952 August 11
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — City of Alexandria
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 343:235

1952 August 11
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Olander Banks and wife et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 343:237

1952 August 11
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Marion Dogan Jackson Jones and husband et al
Deed - Alexandria Deed Book 343:241

1952 August 12
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Olympic Boys Club Inc.
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 343:297

1952 August 13
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Elizabeth Howard
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 343:344

1952 August 15
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Julia Walker et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 343:381

1952 August 15
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Samuel A. Tucker Jr.
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 343:387

1952 August 15
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Janie M. Robins and husband
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 343:389

1952 August 25
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Jacob T. Hughes and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 344:4

1952 August 25
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Joseph Smith and wife et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 344:10

1952 August 25
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Randolph Simms and wife et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 344:20

1952 September 3
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Henrettea Edwards
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 344:300

1952 September 3
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Annie M. Lawson
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 344:302

1952 September 5
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — J.C. Dennis and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 344:395

1952 September 18
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — F.L. Lee et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:91

1952 September 18
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — John Williams et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:98

1952 September 18
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Walter Colbert et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:103

1952 September 18
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Martha S. Laupheimer Tr et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:108

1952 September 18
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Ellen E. Robinson et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:113

1952 September 18
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Annie Smith et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:118

1952 September 18
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Elrich Murphy et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:123

1952 September 22
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Queen Esther Gilbert and husband
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:216

1952 September 23
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Clara M. Claiborne and husband
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:278

1952 September 23
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Fred D. Peterson and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:283

1952 September 23

Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Edward Forest and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345: 288

1952 September 29
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Catherine O'D D Raugust
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:496

1952 September 29
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Thomas O'Brien et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:502

1952 September 29
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Margaret Wickware
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:507

1952 September 29
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Oscar Gary Jr. et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:512

1952 September 29
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Joseph Blundon
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:518

1952 September 29
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Partick McFarlin et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:523

1952 September 29
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Alexandria Real Estate Invest Tr. and Title Co. et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:528

1952 September 29
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Alexandria Real Estate Invest Tr. and Title Co. et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:533

1952 September 29
Alexandria Redevelopment — Mattie P. Baker et al

and Housing Authority
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:538

1952 September 30
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Charles R. Blunt and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 345:578

1952 October 9
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Charles R. Blunt et al Tr
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 346:248

1952 October 13
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Adeline de Felice
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 346:314

1952 October 15
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Alexandria Real Estate Invest Tr. and Title Co. et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 346:402

1952 October 16
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Lettie Mae Osley
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 346:457

1952 October 16
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Marie F. Blunt
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 346:485

1952 October 16
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Margaret Holmes
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 346:490

1952 October 20
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Ralph Spotswood et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 346:616

1952 November 5
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Alfred H. Collins and wife

Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 348:41

1952, January 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Walter Hopper and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 329:133

1952, January 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Columbus Gambrell and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 329:375

1952, January 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — John Morgan Davis et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 329:379

1952, January 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Frank E Treger and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 329:381

1952, January 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Max Rubin and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 329:383

1952, January 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Samuel Reese et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 329:386

1952, January 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — William A. Gordon and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 329:577

1952, January 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Mattie P. Brooks and husband
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 329:579

1952, February 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Robert L. Blunt
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 330:636

1952, February 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Ruth E. Bailey
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 330:638

1952, February 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Bernie Pritchett and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 330:640

1952, February 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Clarence A. Campbell
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 331:95

1952, February 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Ellen D. Thomas
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 331:97

1952, February 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Raymond Edgar Hooks and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 331:99

1952, February 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Amanda Cole
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 331:102

1952, February 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Burrell H. Pinkard et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 331:224

1952, February 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Maria E. Lee
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 331:227

1952, February 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Gardner E. Tesh and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 331:230

1952, February 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — G. Thomas Lee and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 331:232

1952, February 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Harry Edward Brown and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 331:365

1952, February 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Clotilde B. Carey
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 331:367

1952, February 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Richard L. Ruffner Exr et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 331:499

1952, March 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Bertha V. Monroe
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 332:228

1952, March 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Catherine Louise Ryan
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 332:260

1952, March 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Algie H. Banks and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 332:585

1952, April 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — William Cason and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 337:326

1952, April 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — John L. Doniphan and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 337:328

1952, April 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Lewis Williams and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 337:363

1952, April 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Annie Belle Jenkins
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 337:399

1952, April 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Virginia W. Thomas
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 337:534

1952, April 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — James Adams and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 338:50

1952, May 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Albert Hynes Islar et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 338:273

1952, May 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Susan Holt Coles and husband et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 338:585

1952, May 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Susan Holt Coles et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 338:588

1952, May 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Robert Clay et al Tr
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 338:594

1952, June 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Randolph Simms and wife et al
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 339:133

1952, June 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Harry Towles and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 339:139

1952, June 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Domenico Bufano and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 341:111

1952, July 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Alfred H. Collins and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 342:418

1952, July 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Martell Taylor and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 342:420

1952, July 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Lewis Smith and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 342:443

1952, July 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Robert E. Owens and wife
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 342:446

1952, July 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Ruth Carter
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 342:450

1952, July 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — Eugene J. Taylor
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 342:558

**Block 1**

1950 June 22
William M. Bell — Anthony Burgwald — Lot #500
Ellen Bell — Ann Burgwald
Deed of Bargain & Sale – Alexandria Deed Book 316: 7

1950 June 17
Anthony Burgwald — Regina Fannon — Lot #500
Ann Burgwald
Deed of Bargain & Sale – Alexandria Deed Book 299:34

1951 December 1
Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority — G. Thomas Lee, Eliza Lee — 810 Madison Street
Deed of Bargain & Sale - Alexandria Deed Book 331:232

1944 April 5
G. Thomas Lee, Eliza A. Lee — Charles A. Davis, trustee, Courtland H. Davis, trustee — 810 Madison Street
Deed of Trust - Alexandria Deed Book 207:147

1911 May 19
G. Thomas Lee, Eliza A. Lee — Noel Garner, trustee
Deed of Trust held by the First National Bank, Alexandria, VA – Alexandria Deed Book 61:175

1911 May 16
G. Thomas Lee — Charles C. Marshall, Lucy E. Marshall — 810 Madison Street
Deed of Bargain & Sale – Alexandria Deed Book 61:174

1911 May 13
Charles C. Marshall — Alice P. Lockwood (*formerly Alice B. Prescott*) — 810 Madison Street
Deed of Bargain & Sale – Alexandria Deed Book 61:173

1898 April 16
Alice B. Prescott — William P. Lockwood — 810 Madison Street
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 41:199

1875

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| John Laphen | Samuel B. Larmon | 7 House & Lot SW corner of Columbus & Madison |

Alexandria Property Tax 1875

1875

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Burke and Herbert | Samuel B. Larmon | Lot, SE corner of Alfred & Madison |

Alexandria Property Tax 1875

1828

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Samuel B. Larmon | Joseph Mandeville<br>Samuel B. Larmon | one acre (south half of Block 1) |

Alexandria Property Tax 1828

1817 January 24

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Edward Lloyd | Charles Alexander (Exors) | one acre (north half of Block 1) |

Deed – Alexandria Deed Book E-2:12

1817 January 24

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Joseph Mandeville Larmon | Charles Alexander (Exors) | one acre Samuel B. (south half of Block 1) |

Deed – Alexandria Deed Book E-2:12

**Block 2**

1949 July 12

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Walter Hopper<br>Elizabeth Hopper | Marie F. Blunt<br>Charles R. Blunt | 830 Madison |

Deed of Bargain & Sale – Alexandria Deed Book 285:126

1931 March 26

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Charles R. Blunt | R. B. Robinson | 801-803 Madison |
| | Effie A. Robinson | |
| | M.B. Harlow, trustee | |
| | Eva Hauser Archer | |
| | Mary L. Hawkins | |

Deed of Bargain & Sale and Release – Alexandria Deed Book 106:357

1888 October 22

| | |
|---|---|
| Robert B. Robinson | Alexandria Real Estate |
| Josie G. Robinson | Investment Trust and Title Company |

**BLOCKS 2 and 3**

1948 October 7

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Elizabeth Howard | Marie F. Blunt | 814 Montgomery Street |
| | Charles R. Blunt | |

Deed of Bargain & Sale – Alexandria Deed Book 271: 559

1947 July 14

| | |
|---|---|
| Marie F. Blunt | Lot with eight |
| Charles R. Blunt | frame dwellings |

Deed of Dedication– Alexandria Deed Book 249: 379

1931 April 10

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Charles R. Blunt | Elias London | Lot with eight |
| | Olga London | frame dwellings |

Deed of Bargain & Sale – Alexandria Deed Book 106:488

1922 March 16

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Elias London | Frank Shapiro | Lot with eight |
| | Gussie Shapiro | frame dwellings |

Deed of Bargain & Sale – Alexandria Deed Book 73:493

1920 October 21

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Elias London and | Carl Budwesky, widower | Lot with eight |
| Frank Shapiro, | (Robinson Moncure, trustee) | frame dwellings |
| Tenants in common | | |

Deed of Bargain & Sale and Release – Alexandria Deed Book 71:374

1920 March 3

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Carl Budwesky | Charles Henry Smith | No. 808-22 |
| | Special Commissioner of Sale | Montgomery |
| | | Street |

Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 70:266

1912 April 22
Thomas Groves George F. Klipstein sundry parcels
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 62:31

1894 June 28
George F. Klipstein Daniel Birtwell
Alice E. Birtwell
Deed – Alexandria Deed Book 32:288

1894 February 10
Daniel Birtwell The Alexandria Real Estate Investment
Trust and Title Company (Alex. RE & TT)
Deed– Alexandria Deed Book 31:367

1894 February 9
Daniel Birtwell Alex. RE & TT
Deed– Alexandria Deed Book 32:246

1891 April 15
Alex. RE & TT Theodore E. Davis
Deed of Trust: Subdivision and plat– Alexandria Deed Book 25:357

1888 June 5
Alex. RE & TT Michael B. and Helen C. Harlow several lots
James R. and Annie S.D. Caton
Deed– Alexandria Deed Book 22:44

1887 June 4
Michael B. Harlow Mary R. Fairfax, widow of two certain lots
James R. Caton Orlando Fairfax (of the city of or parcels of land
Richmond)
Deed– Alexandria Deed Book XX: 47

1853 June 4
Orlando Fairfax William Veitch total of 2 ½ acres
(of Alexandria) Mary Veitch

1852 September 27
William Veitch Francis L. Smith "half square or
Charles E. Stuart, acre of ground"
Commissioners
Deed– Alexandria Deed Book O-3:322

1835 October 1

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| William Veitch | John Cohagan<br>Elizabeth Cohagan | Lot 20 and 21 |

Deed– Alexandria Deed Book V-2:579

1823 March 30

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| William Wright Cohagen | Mechanics Bank of Alexandria | No. 20 and 21 of Conway's estate |

Deed– Alexandria Deed Book N-2:14

1812 October 1

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Joseph Smith | Richard Conway's Executors | No. 20 and 21 |

Described as laid down in the Gilpen plat: No 20 = 1 7/8 acre; No 21 = 5/16 acre
Deed– Alexandria Deed Book X: 108

1835 February 2

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| William Veitch | William B. Alexander<br>Susan P. Alexander | |

Deed– Alexandria Deed Book V-2:242

**Block 3**

1946 July 8

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Eugene J. Taylor | James Taylor | 920 and 922<br>N. Columbus Street |

Deed of Bargain & Sale – Alexandria Deed Book 230: 360

1925 November 12

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Eugene J. Taylor<br>Nellie Taylor | Margaret G. Armstrong<br>James Armstrong | 920 & 922<br>N. Columbus Street |

Deed of Bargain & Sale – Alexandria Deed Book 84: 545

1925 November 12

| | |
|---|---|
| F.C. Goodnow, trustee | Eugene J. Taylor et ux. |

Deed of Trust – Alexandria Deed Book 84: 546

**Blocks 4 and 5**

1820-1878+
Hugh C. Smith
Alexandria Property Tax

1813 July 1

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| John Gadsby | William Herbert<br>Nicholas Fitzhugh<br>Edward Lee<br>(Exor.s Richard Conway) | Lot 22 |

Alexandria Deed Book W: 92

1812 July 1

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| William Herbert | William Herbert<br>Nicholas Fitzhugh<br>Edward Lee<br>(Exor.s Richard Conway) | Lot 23 |

Alexandria Deed Book X: 276

**APPENDIX III**
**Resumes of Key Project Personnel**

## *Kimberly A. Snyder, M.A., R.P.A.*
## *Vice President, Archeology Division*

Kimberly Snyder has over 25 years of experience in cultural resource management. She has participated in or supervised all phases of archeological work, including Phase I through Phase III investigations. The sites on which Ms. Snyder has worked include all time periods of prehistory from Paleoindian to Late Woodland as well as historic period dwellings, military sites and cemeteries covering a temporal range from the 18th through the 20th century.

Ms. Snyder has also served as contracts manager and has been responsible for the preparation of technical and cost proposals, the efficient allocation of personnel and other resources, project scheduling and technical reports. She has authored or co-authored over 300 technical reports for both private firms and government agencies within the Middle Atlantic region.

Ms. Snyder is also experienced in both prehistoric and historic period artifact identification, having served as laboratory manager for a number of years. She has assisted in the preparation of grant proposals and the development of museum exhibits. She directed excavations at an Early Woodland site as part of a public education and field school program.

Her responsibilities at Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc. include preparation of technical and cost proposals, contract negotiation, scheduling, contract performance and quality and directing 19 field and laboratory supervisors and technicians.

## *Professional Affiliations and Memberships:*

Society for Historical Archeology
Middle Atlantic Archeological Conference
Archeological Society of Virginia
Register of Professional Archeologists

## *Education:*

Bachelor of Arts, 1976, Anthropology, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.
Master of Arts, 1985, Anthropology, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.

## *Continuing Education:*

Section 106: An Introduction (National Preservation Institute), April 2005
AutoCad 2004: Level 1 Essentials, KEI Pearson, July 2004
Project Management Essentials, Zweig White, March 2007

## *Publications (selected):*

2005 Mullen, John, Kimberly Snyder and Johnna Flahive. *Phase I Archeological Investigations at the 63 Acre Dulles Gateway Property and Phase II and III Investigations at Site 44FX3007, Fairfax County, Virginia.* Report prepared for Crimson Partners, Herndon, Virginia.

2005 Walker, Joan, Kimberly Snyder and Gwen Hurst. *Phase I Archeological Investigations of the Banshee Reeks Nature Preserve, Loudoun County, Virginia.* Report prepared for Banshee Reeks Nature Preserve, Loudoun County, Virginia. Report prepared for Suzanne Grobbel Department of Parks, Recreation and Community Services, Leesburg, Virginia.

2004 Snyder, Kimberly, Joan Walker, Christine Jirikowic and Gwen Hurst. A Phase I Archeological *Investigation of Lots 48, 49 and 50 of the Stone House Foundation Property, Stephens City, Virginia.* Report prepared for the Long Companies, Middleburg, Virginia.

2004 Walker, Joan, Kimberly Snyder, Christine Jirikowic and Gwen Hurst. *Phase II Archeological Investigations of 44PW1305, Prince William County, Virginia.* Report prepared for Washington Homes, Chantilly, Virginia.

2003 Gardner, William, Kimberly Snyder and Gwen Hurst. Phase III Data Recovery Excavations of 44LD601, Loudoun County, Virginia. Report prepared the Brambleton Group, L.L.C., Dulles, Virginia.

2003 Walker, Joan, Kimberly Snyder, Christine Jirikowic and Gwen Hurst. Phase III Data Recovery Excavations at 44LD834, Loudoun County, Virginia. Report prepared for Pulte Home Corporation, Fairfax, Virginia.

2002 Gardner, William, Kimberly Snyder, Gwen Hurst and Leslie Mitchell-Watson. *A Phase I Archeological Investigation of the Circa 133 Acre Fu-Shep Property, Frederick County, Virginia.* Report prepared for Toll Brothers, Inc. of Dulles, Virginia.

2002 Gardner, William, Kimberly Snyder and Gwen Hurst. *Phase I Archeological Investigations of the Circa 255 Acre Riding Property, Loudoun County, Virginia.* Report prepared for Oak Ridge, Inc., Leesburg, Virginia

2001 Gardner, William, Kimberly Snyder and Gwen Hurst. *Phase I Archeological Investigations of the Circa 450 Acre Loudoun County Reserve Property, Loudoun County, Virginia.* Report prepared for Oak Ridge, Inc., Leesburg, Virginia

2001 Gardner, William, Kimberly Snyder and Gwen Hurst. *Phase I Archeological Investigations of Circa 1300 Acres Proposed for Development as the Brambleton Planned Community, Loudoun County, Virginia*. Report prepared for the Brambleton Group, L.L.C., of Dulles, Virginia.

2000 Gardner, William, Kimberly Snyder, Gwen Hurst and Ruth Ann Overbeck. *Archeological Investigations of 44FX2470, The Alfred Odrick House, Fairfax County, Virginia.* Report prepared for the Holladay Corporation, Washington, D.C

2000 Gardner, William, Kimberly Snyder, Gwen Hurst. *Phase II Archeological Excavations of 44LD637, Loudoun County, Virginia.* Report prepared for Lansdowne Community Development, L.L.C., Chantilly, Virginia.

1999 Gardner, William, Kimberly Snyder, Gwen Hurst, Joan Walker and John Mullen. *Excavations at the Old Town Village Site, Corner of Duke and Henry Streets, Alexandria, Virginia: An Historic and Archeological Trek through the 200 Year Old History of the Original Spring Garden Development.* Report prepared for Eakin and Youngentob Associates, Inc., Alexandria, Virginia.

1999 Gardner, William, Kimberly Snyder, Gwen Hurst, Joan Walker and John Mullen. *Excavations at the Old Town Village Site, Corner of Duke and Henry Streets, Alexandria, Virginia: An Historic and Archeological Trek through the 200 Year Old History of the Original Spring Garden Development.* Report prepared for Eakin Young and Taub

1999 Gardner, William, Kimberly Snyder, Gwen Hurst and Tammy Bryant. *Phase I Archeological Investigations of a 1200 Acre Parcel, Loudoun County, Virginia.* Report prepared for Lansdowne Community Development, L.L.C., Leesburg, Virginia.

1998 Gardner, William and Kimberly Snyder. *Phase I Investigations at the 22 Acre Walney Glen Tract, Fairfax County, Virginia.* Report prepared for U.S. Home Corporation, Silver Spring, Maryland.

1998 Gardner, William, Kimberly Snyder, Gwen Hurst and John Mullen. *Phase I Archeological Investigations at a 155 Acre Parcel Near Bristow, Prince William County, Virginia.* Report prepared for Manassas Assembly of God, Manassas, Virginia.

1997 Gardner, William, Kimberly Snyder, Gwen Hurst and Tammy Bryant. *Phase I Archeological Investigations at the 450 ± Cedar Crest Property, Loudoun County, Virginia.* Report prepared for Pulte Home Corporation, Fairfax, Virginia.

1997 Gardner, William, Kimberly Snyder, Gwen Hurst and Tammy Bryant. *Phase II Archeological Investigations of 44FX2237, Fairfax County, Virginia.* Report prepared for Pulte Home Corporation, Fairfax, Virginia.

1996 Gardner, William, Kimberly Snyder, Gwen Hurst and Tammy Bryant. *Phase II and Phase III Archeological Investigations of 44FX885, Fairfax County, Virginia.* Report prepared for Chambers Construction Company, Lorton, Virginia.

1996 Gardner, William, Kimberly Snyder, Tammy Bryant and Gwen Hurst. *A Fairfax County Tenancy: A Phase III Archeological Investigation of an Historic Area within 44AX177, Alexandria, Virginia.* Report prepared for Pulte Homes Corporation, Virginia Division, Fairfax, Virginia.

1995 Gardner, William Gardner, Kimberly Snyder, Gwen Hurst and Tammy Bryant. *Phase II Archeological Investigations of 44PW752, 44PW754, 44PW787, 44PW808, 44PW809 and 44PW843, Prince William County, Virginia.* Report prepared for South Charles Realty Company, Baltimore, Maryland.

1995 Gardner, William, Kimberly Snyder, Gwen Hurst and Ruth Ann Overbeck. *A Phase II Archeological Evaluation of 44KG118m 121-122, 124-126 and 132, A Phase II Architectural Evaluation of Friedland (0-48-0045) and a Phase I Archeological Resources Reconnaissance of a Three Acre Railroad Spur Tract, King George County, Virginia.* Report prepared for Garnet of Virginia, Annapolis, Maryland.

1994 Gardner William and Kimberly Snyder. *Phase I Archeological Survey of an 893 Acre Portion of the Proposed Disney's America Project Near Haymarket, Prince William County, Virginia.* Report prepared for Disney Development Corporation, Gainesville, Virginia.

1994 Gardner William and Kimberly Snyder. *Phase II Archeological Survey of Six Sites: 44PW677, 44PW683, 44PW686, 44PW687, 44PW689 and 44PW690 Near Haymarket, Prince William County, Virginia.* Report prepared for Disney Development Corporation, Gainesville, Virginia.

1993 De Leonardis, Lisa, Kimberly Snyder and William Gardner. *Phase I Archeological Survey of 180 Acres at the Proposed Townes of Newport Development, Prince William County, Virginia.* Report prepared for South Charles Realty Corporation, Baltimore, Maryland.

1993 De Leonardis, Lisa, Kimberly Snyder and William Gardner. *Phase II Archeological Investigations of Activity Areas I-IV, 44PW568, Prince William County, Virginia.* Report prepared for South Charles Realty Corporation, Baltimore, Maryland.

1986 Gardner, William, Mary Folsom-Barse, Kimberly Snyder and William Barse. *44PW441: An 18$^{th}$ Century House Site on Quantico Creek, Prince William County, Virginia.* Report prepared for Virginia Electric Power Company, Richmond, Virginia.

## *Boyd Sipe*
## *Archeology Field Supervisor*

Boyd Sipe has over eight years experience in archeological research and fieldwork with specializations in archival and documentary research and the management of cultural resources of the Northern Virginia region. He has earned distinction in his postgraduate study of Landscape Archaeology at the University of Leicester. At WSSI, Mr. Sipe's responsibilities include the supervision of archeological field crews conducting Phase I, II, and III investigations and authoring of reports associated with the archeological field work.

Prior to joining Thunderbird Archeology, a Division of Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc., Mr. Sipe served as an archeological field technician for James Madison University Archeological Research Center of Harrisonburg, Virginia for two years, primarily working on archeological projects carried out for the Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT).

## *Certifications:*

American Red Cross Standard First Aid, 2005
American Red Cross Adult CPR/AED, 2005
ATV Safety Institute, 2006

## *Education:*

Master of Arts, expected completion 2009, Archaeology and Heritage, University of Leicester
University of Virginia, 1985-1987, Liberal arts with archeology coursework

## *Continuing Education:*

AutoCAD 2004 Level 1-Essentials, KEI Pearson, 2005
Section 106: An Introduction (National Preservation Institute), April 2005
Spring/Summer Woody Plant Identification, WSSI in-house class, May 2006
Faunal Identification, WSSI in-house class, May 2006
Physical Geology of Northern Virginia, WSSI in-house class, March 2006
Winter Plant Identification, WSSI in-house class, February 2006
Soils and Geomorphology of Northern Virginia, WSSI in-house class, October 2005

## *Publications (selected):*

2007 Barse, William P. and Boyd Sipe. *Archeological and Historical Determination of Traditionally Navigable Waters in Northern Virginia and a Comprehensive Methodology for the Determination of the Traditional Navigability of Waterways in the United States.* Prepared for Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc. of Gainesville, Virginia.

2006 Flahive, Johnna and Boyd Sipe. *Documentary Study of the 800 Block of North Henry Street, Alexandria, Virginia.* Prepared for Madison Venture, LLC of Washington, D.C.

2006 Sipe, Boyd. *Phase I Archeological Investigations of the Circa 253 Acre Arrington Knolls Property, Fauquier County, Virginia.* Prepared for Centex Homes of Chantilly, Virginia.

2006 Sipe, Boyd and Johnna Flahive. *A Phase II Archeological Evaluation of Site 44LD0825 on the Lizzio Property, Loudoun County, Virginia.* Prepared for Merritt Properties, LLC of Sterling, Virginia.

2005 Jirikowic, Christine, Boyd Sipe, and Gwen J. Hurst. *Phase IA Archeological Investigations of the Circa 982 Acre Creekside Property, Loudoun County, Virginia.* Prepared for Lansdowne Community development, LLC of Lansdowne, Virginia

2005 Sipe, Boyd. *Phase I Archeological Investigations of the 12.37 Acre Electric Avenue Property, Fairfax County, Virginia.* Prepared for Van Metre Companies of Ashburn, Virginia

2005 Sipe, Boyd, Johnna Flahive, and Jarod Hutson. *Phase II Archeological Investigations at 44LD1180 on the Braddock South Property, Loudoun County, Virginia*. Prepared for Pulte Homes Corporation of Fairfax, Virginia

2005 Sipe, Boyd, Johnna Flahive, and Jarod Hutson. *Phase I Archeological Investigation of the Circa 89 Acre Jefferson Farm Property and Phase II Investigation of 44PW1642, Prince William County, Virginia*. Prepared for Cedar Run/Jefferson, L.C. of Chantilly, Virginia

2004 Jirikowic, Christine, Boyd Sipe, and Gwen J. Hurst. *Phase I Archeological Investigations of the 10.07 Acre St. Louis Property, Loudoun County, Virginia.* Prepared for Brian Brooks of Aldie, Virginia.

2004 Jirikowic, Christine, Joseph Blondino, Boyd Sipe, and Gwen J. Hurst. *Phase I Archeological Investigations of Portions of the Wellingford Industrial Park Property, Prince William County, Virginia.* Prepared for Hawkins Road Associates of Manassas, Virginia

## *Presentations and Speaking Engagements:*

2007 A Civil War Camp Site near Camp Pickens (44PW1095). Paper presented at the Seminar on Historic Archaeology in Prince William County, Woodbridge, Virginia.

# Edna Johnston

## EDUCATION

Doctoral Studies, History, University of Virginia
M.A., History, Catholic University of America, 1990
A.B., History, Guilford College, 1984

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

History Matters, LLC, Washington, DC

**Founder and Principal** for Washington, DC-based history research and preservation firm, 1999 to present. Directs company and supervises all research. Clients include local, state and federal agencies, private companies, and non-profit organizations.

Oculus, Charlottesville, Virginia

Historian for Charlottesville, Virginia- and Washington, DC-based landscape architecture firm, 1998 to 1999. Provided historical research and written analysis to support the architectural work of Oculus, a firm that specialized in historic landscape preservation and cultural landscape analysis. Clients included government agencies and private foundations. Wrote the historic context and battlefield history of Civil War battles Auburn I and Auburn II as part of a historic context prepared for the Cultural Landscape Inventory of the Cedar Run Dam 6 Project Area, Auburn, Fauquier County, Virginia (1999).

Office of University Development, University of Virginia

Special Projects Officer/Consultant, 1995 to 1998. Directed research and programs on the modern history of the University, working with students, alumni, and former faculty and administrators. Projects included the production of five original monographs about the university and the development of an upper-level course about the university's 20th-century history, a one-day conference about the same topic, and an exhibition website about student life in the 20th century titled 100 Years of Life on the Lawn. Directed research for and was co-editor of The Lawn Resident Directory: 1895-1995, University of Virginia, 1996.

Hereford Residential College, University of Virginia

Coordinator of Studies, 1996-1997. As one of three, part-time coordinators of studies, planned, implemented, and supervised academic and other programming. Oversaw annual $100,000 program budget and worked with Associate Dean of Students to choose Hereford residential staff. Coordinator of Studies appointment carried with it a one-year, $15,000 competitive fellowship.

Corcoran Department of History and Division of Continuing Education, University of Virginia

Instructor and Teaching Assistant, 1993 to 1996. Taught courses in U.S. history, including specialized courses in the history of women, labor, film, and the American South.
Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities, University of Virginia
Research Assistant to History Professor Edward Ayers, 1993 to 1994. Administered and researched material for The Valley of the Shadow: Living the Civil War in Virginia and Pennsylvania project, a multimedia text available on CD and the web (http://valley.vcdh.virginia.edu).

American Institutes for Research (AIR), Washington, DC

Senior Research Associate and Senior Editor and Writer for non-profit social and behavioral research firm, 1986 to 1990. Projects concerned AIDS education and research. Developed and tested new informational materials to encourage blood donors who are at risk for HIV not to donate. Helped to develop print and video materials and supervised field team testing materials with blood donors in New York City.

National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC

Intern and Research Assistant on the Afro-American Communities Project, 1984 to 1985. Working with probate, census, and other social documentation of the period, conducted research on ante-bellum, African-American communities in the northern states. Social historian and George Washington University Professor James Horton, project director.

## SELECTED PROJECTS AND PUBLICATIONS

*Purcellville Historic District*, Purcellville, Virginia, National Register Nomination. Kathryn Gettings Smith, Edna Johnston, and Melanie Macchio. Washington, DC: History Matters, LLC, September 2006.

*Architectural Survey of African American Historic Resources in Loudoun County, Virginia*, Loudoun County, Virginia. Kathryn Gettings Smith, Edna Johnston and Megan Glynn. Washington, DC: History Matters, LLC, 2004.

*Exploring Leesburg: Guide to History and Architecture*, Leesburg, Virginia. Kathryn Gettings Smith, Evelyn D. Causey, and Edna Johnston. Leesburg, VA: The Town of Leesburg, 2004.

*Chickamauga Battlefield: Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, Cultural Landscape Report*, Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia. John Milner Associates, Inc., History Matters, LLC and HNTB Corporation. Charlottesville, VA: John Milner Associates, Inc., 2004.

*Grand Canyon National Park, Grand Canyon Village National Historic Landmark District Cultural Landscape Report*, Grand Canyon, Arizona. John Milner Associates, Inc. with History Matters, LLC and Ravenna Archaeology in association with van Dijet Westlake Reed Leskosky Architects. Charlottesville, Virginia: John Milner Associates, Inc., 2004.

*Grand Canyon National Park, North Rim Bright Angel Peninsula Developed Area Cultural Landscape Report*, Grand Canyon, Arizona. John Milner Associates, Inc. with History Matters, LLC and Rivanna Archaeology in association with van Dijik Westlake Reed Leskosky Architects. Charlottesville, VA: John Milner Associates, Inc., 2003.

*The Senate Reception Room: A Development History*, Office of the Senate Curator, United States Senate. Edna Johnston, Kathryn Gettings Smith and Megan E. Glynn. Washington, DC: History Matters, LLC 2003.

*Olympia Apartments*, Washington, DC, National Register of Historic Places Nomination. Washington, DC: History Matters, LLC 2003.

*Front Royal Historic District*, Front Royal, Virginia, National Register of Historic Places Nomination. Edna Johnston and Kathryn Gettings Smith. Washington, DC: History Matters, LLC 2003.

*Grand Canyon National Park, Desert View Component Landscape, Cultural Landscape Inventory*, Grand Canyon, Arizona. JMA/OCULUS with History Matters, LLC and Rivanna Archaeology in association with van Dijik Westlake Reed Leskosky Architects. Charlottesville, Virginia: JMA/OCULUS, 2003.

*Preliminary Information Forms* for Historic Districts in Hamilton, Lovettsville, Purcellville, and Round Hill, Loudoun County, Virginia (2003).

*Woodgrove*, Round Hill, Loudoun County, Virginia. National Register of Historic Places Nomination. Edna Johnston and Kathryn Gettings Smith. Washington, DC: History Matters, 2002.

*Clarksville Historic District*, Clarksville, Virginia, National Register of Historic Places Nomination. Edna Johnston and Kathryn Gettings Smith. Washington, DC: History Matters, 2001.

*Washington Avenue Historic District*, Fredericksburg, Virginia, National Register of Historic Places Nomination. Edna Johnston and Kathryn Gettings Smith. Washington, DC: History Matters, 2001.

*Laburnum Park Historic District*, Richmond, Virginia, National Register of Historic Places Nomination. Edna Johnston and Kathryn Gettings Smith. Washington, DC: History Matters, 2000.

*Cultural Landscape Inventory of the Cedar Run Dam 6 Project Area*, Auburn, Fauquier County, Virginia. Douglas C. McVarish, Joseph Balicki, Edna Johnston and Robert M. McGinnis. West Chester, PA: John Milner Associates, Inc. and OCULUS, 1999.

*The Lawn Resident Directory: 1895-1995*. Edna Johnston, Jeffrey Plank, and Rebecca Allen, editors. Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia, 1996. Edna Johnston, Director of Research.

*100 Years of Life on the Lawn: Twentieth-Century Student Life at the University of Virginia*. On-line exhibit. Edna Johnston, curator, 1995 to 1998.

## PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

Meets the Secretary of the Interior's *Professional Qualification Standards* for History.

## PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND BOARD MEMBERSHIPS

American Historical Association
Organization of American Historians
American Association for State and Local History
Society for History in the Federal Government
Advisory Board for the Senate Reception Room

# Evelyn D. Causey

## EDUCATION

Ph.D., American History, University of Delaware, 2006
Certificate in Museum Studies, University of Delaware, 1998
A.B., History, Bryn Mawr College, *summa cum laude*, 1994
Visiting Student, Newnham College, Cambridge University, 1992-1993

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

History Matters, LLC, Washington, DC

Historian, 2004 to present. Conducts historical research and fieldwork. Prepares National Register nominations, survey forms, property histories, and determinations of eligibility.

Center for Historic Architecture and Design, University of Delaware

Research Assistant, 2001 to 2002. Wrote architectural descriptions and historical narratives of buildings for reports submitted to New Castle County and to the Delaware State Historic Preservation Office. Conducted fieldwork at dwellings, farm complexes, commercial buildings, and an industrial site, and produced CAD drawings based on field notes.

Department of History, University of Delaware

Instructor, United States History to 1865, 2000 and 2002. Teaching Assistant and Graduate Assistant, 1996 to 2000.

Independence Seaport Museum, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Curatorial Intern, 1997. Implemented plan for periodic replacement of light-sensitive objects in the permanent exhibit. Responsibilities included selecting replacement objects, preparing them for display, and writing interpretive labels.

Graduate Summer Institute in Early Southern History and Decorative Arts, UNC- Greensboro/Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts

Visiting Scholar, 1999. Advised participants, primarily graduate students and museum professionals, on their research projects. Conducted workshop on using decorative arts as historical evidence.

Office of Historic Alexandria, Virginia

Curatorial Assistant, Gadsby's Tavern Museum and Fort Ward Museum and Historic Site, 1995 to 1996. Assisted with exhibit preparation, publicity, education programs, family programs, and rentals for private events.

Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC

Junior Fellow, 1994. Organized, re-housed and processed documentation for the Historic American Buildings Survey and Historic American Engineering Record.

National Museum of American History, Washington, DC

Intern, Smithsonian's America Exhibit Office, 1992 and 1993. Conducted artifact and graphics research within the Smithsonian and at other institutions.

## SELECTED PROJECTS AND PUBLICATIONS

*St. Mary's County Historic Roads Survey*, St. Mary's County, Maryland. Kathryn Gettings Smith, Evelyn D. Causey, and Melanie Macchio. Washington, DC: History Matters, LLC, 2006.

*History of Orrick Chapel Methodist Church in Stephens City, Virginia.* Evelyn D. Causey. Washington, DC: History Matters, LLC, 2006.

*Tower House*, Fairfax County, Virginia, National Register Nomination. Kathryn Gettings Smith and Evelyn D. Causey. Washington, DC: History Matters, LLC, 2005.

*Columbia Pike Historic Architectural Resources Report*, Arlington, Virginia. Evelyn D. Causey and Kathryn Gettings Smith. Washington, DC: History Matters, LLC, 2005.

*Phase II Architectural Evaluation of the Wedderburn Property*, Fairfax County, Virginia. Kathryn Gettings Smith and Evelyn D. Causey. Washington, DC: History Matters, LLC, 2005.

*Property Documentation Report, Donohoe Farm*, Evergreen Mills Road, Loudoun County, Virginia (2005).

*Jamestown Exposition Historic District*, National Historic Landmark Nomination, Norfolk, Virginia. Evelyn D. Causey, Edna Johnston and Kathryn Gettings Smith. Washington, DC: History Matters, LLC, 2004.

*Exploring Leesburg: Guide to History and Architecture*, Leesburg, Virginia. Kathryn Gettings Smith, Evelyn D. Causey and Edna Johnston. Leesburg, VA: The Town of Leesburg, 2004.

*Washington Mills – Mayodan Plant*, Mayodan, North Carolina, National Register Nomination. Evelyn D. Causey and Kathryn Gettings Smith. Washington, DC: History Matters, LLC, 2004.

*Fairview Cemetery*, Culpeper, Virginia, National Register Nomination. Evelyn D. Causey. Washington, DC: History Matters, LLC, 2004.

*Threatened Resources in Delaware, 2001-2002*. Jennifer A. Cathey, Evelyn D. Causey and Rebecca J. Sheppard, editors. Newark, Del.: Center for Historic Architecture and Design, 2002.

Contributing Book Reviewer for *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

## PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

Meets the Secretary of the Interior's *Professional Qualification Standards* for History and Architectural History.

## RECENT PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS

"Landscapes of Refinement and Honor: State University Campuses in the Antebellum South." Paper to be presented at the *Southern Historical Association Annual Meeting,* November 2006.

"The Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition of 1907." Poster Session, *Virginia Forum*, April 2006.

**APPENDIX IV**
**Oral History Interview**

## ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW WITH JAMES E. HENSON, SR.

**Interviewer:** It's Friday January 3rd 2009. My name is Boyd Sipe and I am speaking with James Henson. Mr. Henson will you grant me your permission to record this and transcribe it for historical research?

**Mr. Henson**: Yes but if you could make any money on it I want my appropriate fee.

**Interviewer:** Well, I will check into that and send you all the appropriate paperwork. Do you like being called James or Jim?

**Mr. Henson**: Anything but late for supper.

**Interviewer:** Alright, sounds good.

**Mr. Henson**: A lot of people call me Jim.

**Interviewer:** Ok, may I have your age?

**Mr. Henson**: 72

**Interviewer:** What's your current address?

**Mr. Henson**: 607 South Pitt [Alexandria, Virginia].

**Interviewer:** How long have you lived here?

**Mr. Henson**: 2 and ½ years

**Interviewer:** I understand that you are the president of the Departmental Progressive Club. Could you tell me something about the history of the club?

**Mr. Henson**: Well the club it started in 1927. It established 5 goals and they are still our objectives. One is to strengthen character, two good fellowship, three wholesome recreation, personal involvement in the community, and finally coalition involvement in the community.

**Interviewer:** How long have you been in the club?

**Mr. Henson**: I've had a break in my membership but I served for about 18 years, starting in 1967. And then I've been back in the club for about 2 and ½ years.

**Interviewer:** So, you have lived in Alexandria most of your life?

**Interviewer:** Could you tell me a little bit about when you were born and where and your parent's background?

**Mr. Henson**: 1936 in the Alexandria hospital and at that time the Alexandria Hospital was in the, let's see, that was on the ... block of Duke Street.

**Interviewer:** Where were your parents living at that time?

**Mr. Henson**: Um, they lived um, on, in the, 400 block, it was like 400 South Royal Street, that's where my mother lived, my mother and father they weren't married and they didn't live together. I think he lived about three or four doors down the street.

**Interviewer:** So did you grow up on South Royal Street or did you move around?

**Mr. Henson**: Actually, my mother did day work, so um, and she was young, about twenty-eight, I guess, when I was born. But she had people who had good reputations, um, keep me through the week and then she would pick me up on the weekends and one of the famous ladies that kept me was a kindergarten teacher...was Martha Miller.

**Interviewer:** Where did she teach?

**Mr. Henson**: She ran a kindergarten out of her home and she was one of the most famous kindergarten teachers from within the black community, ever.

**Interviewer:** So, where did you attend school?

**Mr. Henson**: I started St. Joseph's Catholic School in first grade after leaving Miss Martha Miller's kindergarten and that was 1942 and I attended that school for eight years.

**Interviewer:** Ok, I am preparing this oral history interview in association with historic research being conducted on the James Bland Homes public housing project. I understand that you were a tenant at the James Bland Homes?

**Mr. Henson**: Yes

**Interviewer:** When did you reside at the James Bland Homes?

**Mr. Henson**: Uh, let's see, I think we moved in, in February of 1954.

**Interviewer:** And you moved there with your mother?

**Mr. Henson**: My mother and my aunt.

**Interviewer:** And you were what about 17?

**Mr. Henson**: Yes. You got it.

**Interviewer:** Do you remember your address at James Bland?

**Mr. Henson**: 835 North Alfred.

**Interviewer:** That's the ones that were built in 1954?

**Mr. Henson**: Right, I mean they were relatively new when we moved in February.

**Interviewer:** And, were you still attending school at that time?

**Mr. Henson**: Um, yea, I graduated in June of 1954.

**Interviewer:** Were you working at that time?

**Mr. Henson**: No, I did have summer jobs. I was in school up to June. I joined the air force in July of 1954 where I stayed for twenty years.

**Interviewer:** What did you do in the air force?

**Mr. Henson**: I was an air transportation supervisor.

**Interviewer:** Did you move around all over the country?

**Mr. Henson**: Yes.

**Interviewer:** All over the world maybe?

**Mr. Henson**: I was sent to Vietnam in June of 1970 to June of 1971 and I served in the presidential wing at Andrews's Air Force Base...that was about eight and, let's see, actually, I served, I guess, I served about eleven years. Eight years I served on the ground as an air traffic supervisor, air transportation supervisor. Then three years I was a flight steward in the flying portion.

**Interviewer:** Did you live on the base?

**Mr. Henson**: No, I didn't. I lived over here in Alexandria.

**Interviewer:** Let's get back to James Bland.

**Mr. Henson**: Right.

**Interviewer:** Did you enjoy living at James Bland?

**Mr. Henson**: It was a step up. We lived at 1437 Duke Street near a very famous store called San Tullas (?); it's also in the same block of Shiloh Baptist Church. We lived there for about fourteen years.

**Interviewer:** So was that an older building?

**Mr. Henson**: The house is still there but it was a row house. We didn't have indoor plumbing for the bathroom. Ya know, we had indoor water, but not for the bathroom and not for anything like a tub. So we did tin tubs. We had a tin tubs. So, when we moved to Bland we had the running water inside.

**Interviewer:** So, you moved to Bland right after it was completed, I suppose. Do you know?

**Mr. Henson**: I don't know when it was completed. I know that they hadn't been open long.

**Interviewer:** Right. Do you know how your mother, your family found out about [James Bland Homes] and ended up moving there?

**Mr. Henson**: My aunt worked for Judge Franklin Bacchus and I think somehow, I think he mentioned it. The late Judge Bacchus.

**Interviewer:** Do you think other residents generally felt the same way, that it was a move up or do you know people that were dissatisfied?

**Mr. Henson**: Well, when I lived in Bland the people that I knew were very happy to be there. There was a lot of camaraderie. We thought the accommodations were great.

**Interviewer:** Were you familiar with the neighborhood prior to its development as the James Bland Homes project?

**Mr. Henson**: I remember coming through there from Duke Street walking up town, in this case the Hump. I remember walking up there, there used to be a Silas Green show and that was a very entertaining show under a tent. They would come to town with a tent and they would have entertainment. We never paid, we just kind of looked under the tent and watched and there were movies and stuff.

**Interviewer:** Was that in the 40s then?

**Mr. Henson**: Yes.

**Interviewer:** The James Bland Homes project was preceded on the site by a wartime FHPA trailer camp in 1943. Do you know anything about this camp?

**Mr. Henson:** No, but one of my friends lived in that trailer camp, or at least that is what he said. I never really visited the trailer camp.

**Interviewer:** Do you remember his name?

**Mr. Henson**: Not at the moment. I think it was Joseph Earl.

**Interviewer:** Did you know any of the residents of the neighborhood that were forced out of their homes when James Bland was built?

**Mr. Henson**: No, I didn't know anything about specific issues. I just know we moved to a better house.

**Interviewer:** Did many relocate to James Bland?

**Mr. Henson**: Well, Joseph Earl, I think he lived in trailers and then I think they lived in Bland for awhile. Then later they moved to the south side of town beside the cemetery.

**Interviewer:** Do you remember how many bedrooms were in the unit you lived in?

**Mr. Henson**: Two

**Interviewer:** Was it two stories?

**Mr. Henson**: Yes

**Interviewer:** What did you think about the layout of the units as far as privacy?

**Mr. Henson**: Well, we had good neighbors living on both sides of us. We were the second unit from the corner. We had good neighbors, now there just wasn't a lot of noise or disturbances. There were a number of kids, and I say kids but I was a teenager. We traveled a lot at that time. I was kinda dating so I remember coming out on the hill and going back to my Duke Street neighborhood. So I spent a lot of time away from the house, plus I was still in school, and I was playing sports so we had practice at night, you know in the evenings.

**Interviewer:** What sports were you playing?

**Mr. Henson**: Football, basketball, track.

**Interviewer:** What about the quality of construction?

**Mr. Henson**: We had some issues with the stoves sometimes but it didn't seem like we had major issues. There was a maintenance man that was around for the little minor things but we never had any major issues.

**Interviewer:** Did the maintenance man live there?

**Mr. Henson**: I think so. I think the maintenance man lived on the property.

**Interviewer:** Were the units furnished?

**Mr. Henson**: No.

**Interviewer:** Bring your own furniture?

**Mr. Henson**: Yes, we brought our own furniture.

**Interviewer:** Was there a laundry sink in the unit? or did you go to the Laundromat?

**Mr. Henson**: Um, seems like we had a ringer kind of washer in the storage area that would be pulled out when it was used. I know that we had clothes hangers in the back. I don't think it was a sink. I think that it was a ringer washer in the pantry area. When you came in through the back door our pantry was on like the left wall behind the door, so you could have entry to the pantry right there and as you walk into the pantry there was the washing, ringer type washing machine. They would wash, I never did any washing in that stage of my career, but they would wash then hang things on the back clothes lines.

**Interviewer:** Do you remember how much you paid in rent?

**Mr. Henson**: I really don't. I was spared that inconvenience.

**Interviewer:** Where did you pay rent?

**Mr. Henson**: My mother or my aunt would drop it off at the office, as I recall, I don't remember.

**Interviewer:** Was that the ARHA office?

**Mr. Henson**: I never took the rent. For some reason when I was that age I didn't have very much financial responsibility. The money that I made on my little jobs my mother and my aunt let me keep it and I spent it on clothes.

**Interviewer:** Was your mother still doing day work?

**Mr. Henson**: Yes.

**Interviewer:** And your aunt?

**Mr. Henson**: My aunt was working for the Bacchus.'

**Interviewer:** Was James Bland Homes fully occupied during your stay? Were there empty units?

**Mr. Henson**: I don't recall vacancies.

**Interviewer:** Designers of public housing in the early 20th century hoped that residents of public housing projects would feel a sense of community and tried to encourage

this in aspects of the project design. Do you believe there was a sense of community at James Bland? Why or why not?

**Mr. Henson**: Oh yes. People watched out for people's houses. There were times when we didn't lock the door. It was a very folksy neighborhood. I know people behind us they had families. My mother and aunt they loved people. My mother knew the name of every kid in the block. She just liked to call kids by their names. Everyone in our group, neighborhood was very courteous and helpful.

**Interviewer:** Do you have memories of your neighbors or the neighborhood at James Bland?

**Mr. Henson**: Yeah. They are deceased now. Gracie Butler they lived behind us, and her husband Willard, Gracie and Willard, well Willard was a Wanzer really, she was a Butler. When she married she became a Wanzer. Gracie and Willard Wanzer. Then next door there Ella May Dogan. I went to school with her. Her husband...that's a good question...Martin Sykes, and then we had for a long time... Jackie (female) Seegars. Across the front from us we had the Lovingood family. I went to school with the girls, there were three, four girls, one boy for awhile, Billy Lovingood , William Lovingood. I think he moved to Ohio, nicknamed Billy.

**Interviewer:** Do you remember witnessing arguments or fights?

**Mr. Henson**: Well, when I went into the Air Force...I left home...I came back just before I went to Vietnam, 1970, in the summer. Around the month of May/June there was a big racial kind of disturbance. I wouldn't call it a riot. It didn't go that far, up on the Hump. It was on primarily Montgomery Street between Patrick and Alfred. I don't know what triggered it but kids were throwing objects at cars that were being driven on Montgomery Street, you know going one way, west, and um, the police came and some of the guys on the back road were kinda throwing cans and bottles over the crowd at the police cars. That was scarier than Vietnam.

**Interviewer:** Was your mother still living at James Bland?

**Mr. Henson**: Yes.

**Interviewer:** Do you think a lot of the kids were James Bland residents?

**Mr. Henson**: I think they were, for the most part.

**Interviewer:** That sort of leads into a couple of other questions I had. One was about the race relations in Alexandria over the time that you lived at Bland and after? Was that the low point?

**Mr. Henson**: That was the low point, yes, that incident.

**Interviewer:** What about in the 50s, I imagine that they were still segregated, the businesses?

**Mr. Henson**: I didn't have white friends for the short duration that I was in Bland, and they weren't around Bland. But when I was out on Duke Street in the 1400 block whites lived on the even number side of the street which was south, on the south side up the street. Blacks lived on the north side of the street, and I went to St. Joseph's Catholic ... this is away from Bland but I had associations with whites out there plus we played football together up on Jefferson Field on West Street, so there was interaction between blacks and whites when I was coming up in different parts of the city but when I moved to Bland my activity was kind of restricted to activities in that segregated area.

**Interviewer:** Bland was completely segregated; I mean it was all African Americans?

**Mr. Henson**: Correct. Right.

**Interviewer:** How about the relations between Bland residence and the residents of the surrounding neighborhood?

**Mr. Henson**: Well, as far as I can recall. I would say a heavy percentage of the people around Bland were African Americans.

**Interviewer:** Do you think there was any animosity between the two groups or did the people who lived in Bland and the surrounding neighborhood blend together?

**Mr. Henson**: North of Bland, living inside Bland no, North of Bland was the Westover Neighborhood. Vernon Street was predominately white and I eventually bought a house there. I remember looking at the deed and that lead me to know that it was called the Westover Neighborhood. Those whites did not like for blacks to come through the neighborhood. I never had any incidents with them, but um. I don't know if you have ever heard of White Rosemont? I did have a few incidents where somebody some guys threw something at me if I came through there with my bike. But that was not up at Bland, up at Bland that was just predominately black and around the boarders you just didn't spend a lot of time walking through a white neighborhood.

**Interviewer:** I think I kind of covered this already. You mention a few of the names. Did you keep in touch with any of your neighbors at Bland I might want to talk to?

**Mr. Henson**: James Beatty. He is a member of the Progressive Club now.

**Interviewer:** And he was a Bland Resident?

**Mr. Henson**: Uh huh.

**Interviewer:** One thing we are looking into is what became of some of the Bland residents. Do you know of any that became community leaders, in way that you did with the club, or notable locally?

**Mr. Henson**: One of the Bland residents went into the military and I think he became a colonel. His name was James Cason. Joseph Earl, he is down in Hampton Virginia, but he was in Bland longer than I and Joseph in the military, air force, I think he was a top sergeant. He is very active in his church. He was probably to my knowledge the highest achiever.

**Interviewer:** Did you attend church while you were at James Bland?

**Mr. Henson**: Yes. St. Joseph's Catholic Church. I attended St. Joseph church when I lived on Duke Street and when we moved to Bland. I went to that school.

**Interviewer:** Do you remember if most people at Bland attended church?

**Mr. Henson**: It was very likely because people who...the values were high, there were good values in the neighborhood. On Sunday you would see people dressed in their Sunday go to meetings for the most part. We had one church right in the neighborhood, St. John's um, and then St. Joseph's was right around the corner on the 700 block of North Columbus Street [ inaudible] 300 block of North Alfred.

**Interviewer:** St. Johns was a Baptist church?

**Mr. Henson**: Yes.

**Interviewer:** That's still there?

**Mr. Henson**: Yes, it is.

**Interviewer:** It preceded James bland?

**Mr. Henson**: I don't know.

**Interviewer:** But you don't know anything about the church that was there before Bland?

**Mr. Henson:** Now that might be on the corner of Patrick and Wythe. That was the church that was in the neighborhood. I don't know too much about it. I never attended that church.

**Interviewer:** Where there any problems with crime while you were living there?

**Mr. Henson:** Not while I was living there but I was very surprised to find out that the neighborhood did eventually turn, I was reading the Post, I was living in Howard

County Maryland, I read that the drug capitol up the city [inaudible] was in the same block where I had lived in the 800 block of North Alfred.

**Interviewer:** Was that in the 70s or 80s?

**Mr. Henson:** That was in the, I think that was in the 70s into the 80s. My mother died in 1987. It was going strong then.

**Interviewer:** Was she still living at Bland when she died?

**Mr. Henson:** Yes.

**Interviewer:** What about your aunt?

**Mr. Henson:** My aunt was there too but later she moved to the housing on, what street was that, it was down in the Burg, it was on North of Pendleton, Width and Royal and Fairfax, public housing.

**Interviewer:** Is she still alive?

**Mr. Henson:** No.

**Interviewer:** What about while you were living there when it was fairly peaceful did you have any problems with police or local authorities?

**Mr. Henson:** No. We didn't really, when I was living there '54 or before I don't remember any instances involving the police. After I went in the military in 1954 as I would come home there would be police on patrol of the neighborhood. A lot of kids would be out in the block where my mother and aunt lived but ya know, this wouldn't qualify for a story but my aunt and my mother had lived in that neighborhood for a long time, I mean if they moved in '54, let's say it's '84, so that's thirty years. There was one incident where my aunt came home and some boys were under a tree and it was lightning and my aunt told them don't stand under the tree because lightning might hit that tree and injure you. Right. She said why don't you, you can stand on my porch, because it had that little overhang, you've got some protection from the rain. So she, they said yes ma'am, these are the guys that hang around in the neighborhood, so my aunt went in the house and she shut the door and a short while later she heard a knock so she went to the door, and there were two boys and one of them said ma'am you left your keys in the door.

**Interviewer:** That's nice.

**Mr. Henson:** I just thought that was very memorable.

**Interviewer:** While you were living at Bland do you remember where you would shop for groceries?

**Mr. Henson:** Again, during the time I was there I didn't really shop. Oh but I know where they went. They bought carts, those shopping carts that fold up and they would shop at the Giant down on 1st street.

**Interviewer:** Do you think most of the Bland residents shopped at Giant?

**Mr. Henson:** The Giant, in, let's see, that's the main place I can think of up in that area. They used to go to Johnson's store which was on Powatan, but that wasn't like for major shopping because it was a very small grocery store, but it was a small grocery store.

**Interviewer:** Can you think of any other local businesses in the area that were around during that time?

**Mr. Henson:** There was a grocery store on the corner of Columbus and Width across from St. Josephs and that was like in the neighborhood. I don't know the name of it.

**Interviewer:** I think I might have seen a picture of it. Barber shops or beauty salons?

**Mr. Henson:** The barber shop that I attended was on Queen Street and that was several blocks away between Henry and [inaudible]. We used to call that the Block. There were a couple of movies there on opposite corners across the street from one another. [inaudible]... Chinese restaurant.

**Interviewer:** In the 50s when you were at Bland do you remember if many of the residents owned cars?

**Mr. Henson:** We didn't but there were some that owned cars. The Lovingoods didn't own a car. The Sykes owned a car. Jackie didn't own a car. Willard owned a car. So I would say just based on the examples that I am relating too in my little circle, I would say maybe 20 to 30 percent may have owned cars.

**Interviewer:** I imagine most people had radios, what about televisions?

**Mr. Henson:** We had television and um it seems like we had television. I think the reception was good for the television. I know, when we were out on Duke Street, man that must have been a winter television because there was always snow. We probably didn't have a good antenna.

**Interviewer:** How about telephones? I noticed in the city directory there weren't a lot of phone numbers listed for Bland residents?

**Mr. Henson:** I think we had a phone. It seems like I was out a lot. I think we had a phone on the wall as you came in the door. But maybe a lot of the people that I knew didn't have phones or couldn't use the phone in an unlimited way. I don't remember using a phone a lot.

**Interviewer:** You mention going down to the Block and the movies.

**Mr. Henson:** Yeah that was the 1100 block of Queen Street.

**Interviewer:** What did residents of James Bland do for entertainment?

**Mr. Henson:** Shoot pool, there was a restaurant on the corner of [[[inaudible]]] and Queen, call it Tom Allen's restaurant.

**Interviewer:** Dancing?

**Mr. Henson:** No, not dancing. We had shows like I said at the theater. The theater on [inaudible] and Queen was called The Carver Theater. We had popular nationally famous entertainers come there. There was dancing at the American Legion which was on [inaudible] the 200 block [inaudible] and on the 200 block of Henry Street we had the Elks home and there was dancing at the Elks home that was a club somewhat like the Departmental Progressive Club.

**Interviewer:** You mentioned the Silas Green music shows, they were over by the time Bland was built?

**Mr. Henson:** They were seasonal. Come to town for good weather, summer. Set up a tent, put on a show and move out.

**Interviewer:** Did they set up around Bland?

**Mr. Henson:** In Bland, but it wasn't called Bland. The projects weren't there, at least those weren't, the ones that I moved in weren't.

**Interviewer:** So after Bland was built the Silas Green music shows didn't come there anymore?

**Mr. Henson:** No because the houses took up where they used to put up the tents.

**Interviewer:** The James Bland Homes were named after James A. Bland the singer and composer; the man who wrote "Carry me Back to Ole Virginny" and "Golden Slippers." Did residents ever comment on this?

**Mr. Henson:** I still don't know whether he was black or white.

**Interviewer:** He was black.

**Mr. Henson:** Ok.

**Interviewer:** His father was one of the first African American men to ever graduate from a university and he was from Ohio and he moved to Washington D.C. right after the Civil War with James Bland and took a job at the patent office. Did residents ever comment on James Bland, the name?

**Mr. Henson:** No, not to my knowledge, I didn't have any clue until you just said what you said.

**Interviewer:** Most were named after local figures, ministers.

**Mr. Henson:** Well, I knew about Anna B. Rose and Doctor [inaudible].

**Interviewer:** Were any of the residents of James Bland playing music?

**Mr. Henson:** I think Harvey Grey played music. He is a little younger than I am and I think he lived up in the projects for awhile. He played the saxophone. They had a little group I believe but I was in the Air Force then.

**Interviewer:** Picnics, block parties on the lawns?

**Mr. Henson:** I am sure they did because the people who were, yeah sometimes there were parties in the allies and the backyards people would have a barbecue grill out. There were parties.

**Interviewer:** The James Bland Homes are located on the border of two historic African American neighborhoods, *Uptown* and the *Hump*. Did residents of James Bland identify as living in *Uptown* or the *Hump*?

**Mr. Henson:** Well, Bland is a kind of a name that came along later. I think the Hump was designated before Bland and Bland did not displace the Hump, in my mind.

**Interviewer:** So you would have said you were living at the Hump?

**Mr. Henson:** I really wasn't there long enough to claim residency, I wasn't really all that proud of living at the Hump. I just had other things on my mind. I felt that I lived on the Hump and if something came up I would have said that but it never came up.

**Interviewer:** The James Bland Homes project grew out of an idealistic public housing movement that began in the 1930s. Originally, some hoped that high quality public housing might be made available for not only the neediest Americans but for a wide range of persons including the middle class. Clearly, this has not happened-do you think it would have been a good thing if more public housing had been created for a larger section of the population?

**Mr. Henson:** Well, I'm a person that believes that diversity is good because it allows people to live close enough to knock down certain walls of ignorance based on separation so for that reason I think that it would have been good. That's not taking into account income, employment, racism, and stuff like that, but if you know, it happened it probably would have been turmoil because of the social climate at least initial turmoil but it would have been something that I believe we could have overcome it with good leadership. It would have been challenging.

**Interviewer:** That's all the questions that I have. Thank you.