Alfred Street Baptist Church

City of Alexandria, Virginia

WSSI #22921.01

Documentary Study

Prepared for:
Alfred Street Baptist Church
301 S. Alfred Street
Alexandria, VA. 22314

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ABSTRACT

Thunderbird Archeology, a division of Wetland Studies and Solutions, Inc. (WSSI), of Gainesville, Virginia prepared a Property History and a Documentary Study for the Alfred Street Baptist Church (ASBC) properties, located between South Alfred, Wolfe, South Patrick, and Duke streets in Alexandria, Virginia. The study was initiated in anticipation of planned renovations to the historic church and the addition of a new sanctuary in the study area and the concern that significant archeological resources may be impacted by construction. The work is required under the City of Alexandria Archaeological Protection Code prior to development of the property and followed a Scope of Work approved by Alexandria Archeology (Appendix I). The purpose of the documentary study is to develop a historical context for the interpretation of the land use history of the study area and to identify the potential locations of archaeological resources that may be preserved, and ultimately determine if archeological investigations are needed on the property prior to development.

The ASBC site is located within the City of Alexandria's Archaeological Resource Area 1 (Old Town), which encompasses the 1798 town limits. This historic core has yielded archeological remains that span the entire development of the city, including evidence of early Freed Black settlements, which is relevant as the Church property is located in the historic African-American neighborhood known as the Bottoms. The block was likely inhabited by enslaved African-American laborers, free African-American tenants and property owners from the late 18th century through the mid-19th century. The Colored Baptist Society of Alexandria first rented a lot in 1818 within the northern half of the study area, then purchased the property in 1842. In 1853, the church purchased the adjacent lot to the south and by 1855, replaced the original church with one at least double in size. Possible historic features include deep features, which are more likely to have remained undisturbed by modern activity, such as foundations, trash pits, privies, cellars, and wells associated with the historic church, businesses, and housing; all of which were found in at least three previous archaeological investigations on the block.

The potential for locating significant and intact prehistoric resources within the study area is low, due to long-term, historic occupation of the block starting in the late-18th century and into the present day. The study area has a moderate to high probability of containing early 19th century – 20th century artifact deposits and archeological features that could potentially provide significant information about the residents living within the Bottoms. The demolition, grading, and construction of parking lots and buildings in the late 20th century likely disturbed historic contexts, though the degree of disturbance is unknown. Thus, archeological testing is recommended to evaluate the degree and locations of disturbance.

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INTRODUCTION

Thunderbird Archeology, a division of Wetland Studies and Solutions Inc.(WSSI) of Gainesville, Virginia conducted a Documentary Study on Alfred Street Baptist Church (ASBC) properties, comprising an entire city block between South Alfred, Wolfe, South Patrick, and Duke streets in Alexandria, Virginia (Figure 1 and Figure 2). The research was conducted in anticipation of the planned development of the property. The work is required under the City of Alexandria Archaeological Protection Code prior to development of the property and followed a Scope of Work approved by Alexandria Archeology (Appendix I). The purpose of the documentary study is to develop a historical context for the interpretation of the land use history of the study area and to identify the potential locations of archaeological resources that may be preserved, and ultimately determine if archeological investigations are needed on the property prior to development. The Chain of Title is summarized within the discussions below.

Anna Maas, MUEP served as the Principal Investigator for History on this project; John P. Mullen, M.A., RPA served as the Principal Investigator for Archeology and edited the report. Anna Maas, MUEP and Courtney Williams, M.A. conducted the archival research and prepared the report, with assistance of Lily Sipe and Jean Stoll, M.A. Michael Bowser, GIS Specialist, prepared the map figures. Archival research was conducted at the offices of Alexandria Archaeology, the Alexandria Courthouse, and the Barrett Branch of the Alexandria Library (Special Collections). Research was conducted at the following repositories: Alfred Street Baptist Church, Alexandria Archeology, City of Alexandria Courthouse, City of Alexandria Office of Historic Preservation, Alexandria Library Barret Branch Special Collections, and City of Alexandria Archives and Records Center. Research was also conducted online at Alexandria Black History Museum, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Library of Virginia, Library of Congress, Ancestry.com, and various other sites. Historic images were identified in Special Collections, Alexandria Archeology, Library of Congress, and by Alton S. Wallace, Ph.D. church historian and author of *I Once Was Young: History of Alfred Street Baptist Church*.

PREHISTORIC CONTEXT

Paleoenvironmental Background

basic environmental history of the area has been provided by Carbone (1976; see also Gardner 1985, 1987; Johnson 1986). The following will present 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 which was characteristic of the parkland of 14-12,000 years ago. Animals were undergoing a rapid increase in numbers as deer, elk and, possibly, moose expanded into the niches and habitats made available as the result of wholesale extinctions of the

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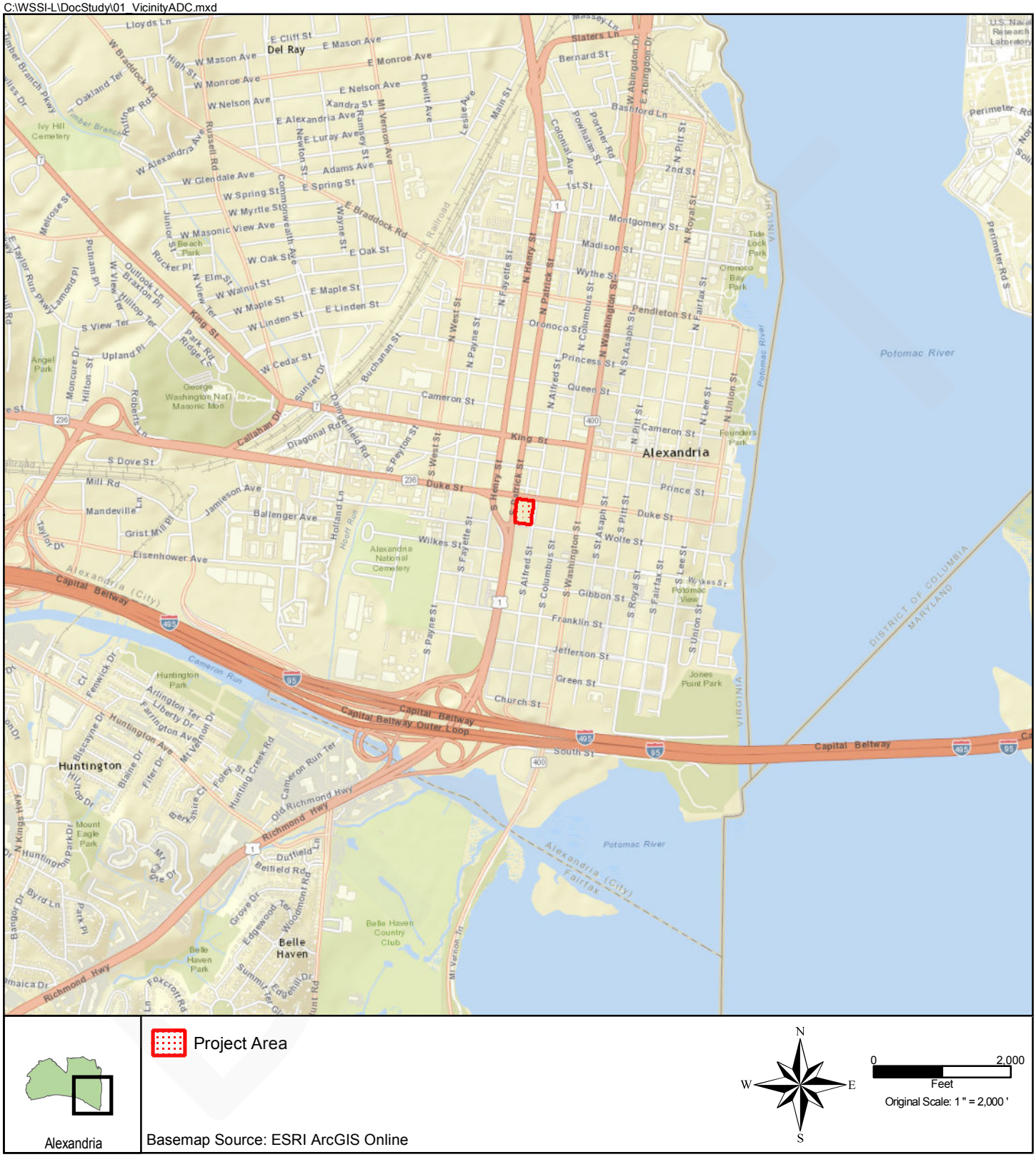

Figure 1
Vicinity Map

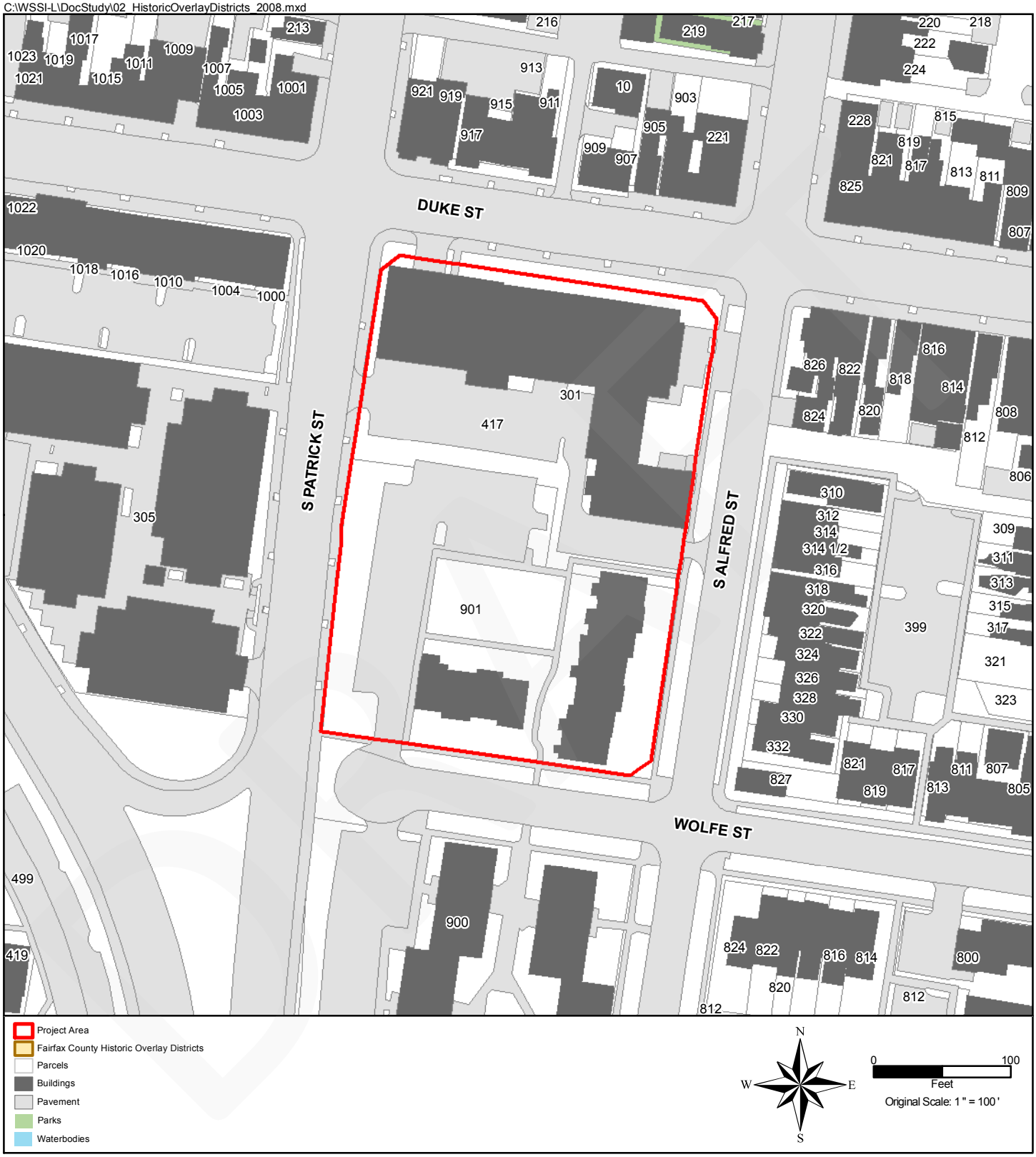

Figure 2
Parcel Map

various kinds of fauna that had occupied the area during the previous millennia. The current cycle of ponding and stream drowning began 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.

These trends continued to accelerate over the subsequent millennia of the Holocene. One important highlight was the appearance of marked seasonality circa 7000 BC. 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 BC. 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 BC, at which time the rise slowed, continuing at a rate estimated to be 10 inches per century (Darmody and Foss 1978). This rate of rise continues to the present. Based on archeology (c.f. Gardner and Rappleye 1979), it would appear that the mid-Atlantic migratory bird flyway was established circa 6500 BC. Oysters had migrated to at least the Northern Neck by 1200 BC (Potter 1982) and to their maximum upriver limits along the Potomac near Popes Creek, Maryland, by circa 750 BC (Gardner and McNett 1971), with anadromous fish arriving in the Inner Coastal Plain in considerable numbers circa 1800 BC (Gardner 1982).

During the historic period, circa AD 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. At this time the stream 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.

Prehistoric Overview

A number of summaries of the archeology of the general area have been written (c.f. Gardner 1987; Johnson 1986; Walker 1981); a brief overview will be presented here. Gardner, Walker and Johnson present essentially the same picture; the major differences lie in the terminology utilized for the prehistoric time periods.

Pre-Paleoindian Period (pre-9500 BC)

Possible evidence for pre-Paleoindian (prior to 9500 BC) colonization of the Americas has been found at the Cactus Hill site (44SX0202) in Virginia, where an ephemeral component dating from 17,000 to 15,000 B.P. included prismatic blades manufactured from quartzite cores and metavolcanic or chert pentagonal bifaces (Haynes 2002: 43-44 cited Johnson 1997, McAvoy 1997, 2000, McAvoy and McAvoy 1997, 2000, Turner 2000). Generally, lanceolate projectile points, prismatic blades, pentagonal bifaces, polyhedral blade cores, microflakes and microlithic tools comprise possible pre-Paleoindian assemblages and a preference for cryptocrystalline lithic material such as chert and jasper is noted (Goodyear 2005). Cactus Hill and other reportedly pre-Paleoindian sites, including SV-2 in Saltville, Virginia (44SM0037) and the Meadowcroft Rock Shelter in western Pennsylvania, have been the subject of much controversy and no undisputed pre-Paleoindian sites or sites representing substantial pre-Paleoindian occupations have been identified in the region.

Paleoindian Period (9500-8000 BC)

The Late Pleistocene/Early Holocene of the Late Glacial period was characterized by cooler and drier conditions with less marked seasonal variation than is evident today. The cooler conditions resulted in decreased evaporation and, in areas where drainage was topographically or edaphically poor, could have resulted in the development of wetlands (Walker 1981; Johnson 1986:1-8). The overall cast of the vegetation was one of open forests with mixed coniferous and deciduous elements. The 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 and extirpation of the herd animals and megafauna characteristic of the Late Pleistocene. As the evidence suggests now, the last of these creatures, e.g. mastodons, would have been gone from the area circa 11,000-11,500 years ago, or just before humans first entered what is now Virginia.

Temporally diagnostic artifacts of the earliest groups include Clovis spear points (Early Paleoindian), Mid-Paleo points, and Dalton points (Late Paleoindian). Although hard evidence is lacking, the subsistence settlement base of these groups appears to have focused on general foraging with an emphasis on hunting (Gardner 1989 and various). A strong component of the settlement and exploitative system was the preference for a restricted range of microcrystalline lithics, e.g. jasper and chert, a formal tool kit, and the curation of this tool kit. Sporadic Paleoindian finds are reported on the Potomac, such as the two fluted points found at the Accotink Creek sites (44FX35 and 44FX30) and a third at 44FX1301 on Accotink Bay (Polk and Thomas 1992:87), but, overall, these spearpoints are uncommon in the county (c.f. Gardner 1985; Brown 1979).

Early Archaic Period (8500-6500 BC)

The warming trend, which began during the terminal Late Pleistocene, continued during the Early Archaic. Precipitation increased and seasonality became more marked, at least

by 7000 BC. The open woodlands of the previous era gave way to increased closure, thereby reducing the edge habitats and decreasing the range and numbers of edge adapted species such as deer. The arboreal vegetation was initially dominated by conifers, but soon gave way to a deciduous domination.

Archeologically, temporally diagnostic artifacts shift from the lanceolate spear points of the Paleoindians to notched forms (Johnson 1986:2-4). Diagnostic projectile points include Palmer Corner Notched, Amos Corner Notched, Kirk Corner Notched, Kirk Side Notched, Warren Side Notched and Kirk Stemmed. Although the populations still exhibited a preference for the cryptocrystalline raw materials, they began to utilize more locally available materials such as quartz (Walker 1981:32; Johnson 1986:2-1). The tool kit remained essentially the same as the Paleoindian, but with the addition of such implements as axes.

At the beginning of the Early Archaic the settlement pattern was similar to that of the Paleoindians. Changes in settlement become evident from 7500 BC on, accelerating after 7200 BC. Among the major shifts were a movement away from a reliance on a restricted range of lithics and a shift toward expedience, as opposed to curation, in tool manufacture. Johnson feels that this shift is particularly marked during the change from Palmer/Kirk Corner Notched to Kirk Side Notched/Stemmed (Johnson 1983; 1986:2-6). The changes are believed to be the result of an increase in deciduous trees and the subsequent closure of the forested areas. These changes are reflected in the fact that sites show up in a number of areas not previously exploited. A population increase also seems to be a factor in the increased number of sites.

Middle Archaic (6500-3000/2500 BC)

The Middle Archaic period, which corresponds to the Atlantic environmental episode, exhibited an acceleration of the warming trend (Walker 1981). Two major sub-episodes were present: an earlier, moister period that lasted until approximately 4500 BC, and a later, warmer and drier period, the mid-Holocene Xerothermic, which ended at approximately 3000 BC. A gradual reduction in rainfall and increased evaporation characterized the period, which was marked by an increase in deciduous vegetation, a more marked seasonality of plant resources, a decrease in the deer population (because of the disappearance of edge habitats), and an increase in the numbers of other game animals such as turkey. Importantly for the local area, more of a mosaic of forests and grasslands might have been present because of edaphic factors. The dominance of deciduous species offered a high seasonal mast (acorns, nuts) that provided a nutritious and storable food base (Walker 1981).

Temporally diagnostic projectile points include Lecroy[1], Stanly, Morrow Mountain, Guilford, Halifax and other bifurcate/notched base, contracting stem and side notched variants. The tool kit is definitively more expedient (Walker 1981) and includes grinding and milling stones, chipped and ground stone axes, drills and other wood working tools.

With the increasing diversity in natural resources came a subsistence pattern of seasonal harvests. Base camps were located in high biomass habitats or areas with the greatest variety of food resources nearby (Walker 1981). These base camp locations varied according to the season; however, they were generally located on rivers, fluvial swamps, or interior upland swamps. 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. In contrast to the earlier preference for cryptocrystalline materials, Middle Archaic populations used a wide variety of lithic raw materials, and propinquity became the most important factor in lithic raw material utilization (Walker 1981 and Johnson 1986). Settlement, however, continued to be controlled, in part, by the distribution of usable lithics.

Early Archaic components show a slight increase in numbers, but it is during the Middle Archaic (Morrow Mountain and later) that prehistoric human presence becomes relatively widespread (Gardner various; Johnson 1986; Weiss-Bromberg 1987). Whereas the earlier groups appear to be more oriented toward hunting and restricted to a limited range of landscapes, Middle Archaic populations move in and out and across the various habitats on a seasonal basis. 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 notes a major increase in the number of sites during the bifurcate phase (Johnson 1986:2-14) and the later phases such as Halifax.

Late Archaic (2500-1000 BC)

During this time period, the climatic changes associated with the Sub-Boreal episode continued, although the climate began to ameliorate. At this time, a major adaptive element was found in the resources offered by the rivers and estuaries.

Diagnostic artifacts include broadspear variants such as Savannah River and descendant forms such as the notched broadspears, Perkiomen and Susquehanna, Dry Brook and Orient, and more narrow bladed, stemmed forms such as Holmes. Gardner (1987) separates the Late Archaic into two phases: Late Archaic I (2500-1800 BC) and Late Archaic II (1800-1000 BC). The Late Archaic I corresponds to the spread and proliferation of Savannah River populations, while the Late Archaic II is defined by Holmes and

[1] 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 Kana types (Broyles 1971; Chapman 1975; Gardner 1982). Other researchers place the bifurcate phase within the Early Archaic period. The bifurcate points do not occur throughout the entire Middle Archaic period; 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). For instance, a Middle Archaic horizon at the Sandts Eddy Site (36NM12) in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, furnished a bifurcate point and a radiocarbon date of around 7330 B.P. (Bergman et al. 1994).

Susquehanna points. The distribution of these two, Gardner (1982; 1987) suggests, shows the development of stylistic or territorial zones. The Susquehanna style was restricted to the Potomac above the Fall Line and through the Shenandoah Valley, while the Holmes and kindred points were restricted to the Tidewater and south of the Potomac through the Piedmont. Another aspect of the differences between the two groups is in their raw material preferences: Susquehanna and descendant forms such as Dry Brook and, less so, Orient Fishtail, tended to be made from rhyolite, while Holmes spear points were generally made of quartzite.

A new item in the inventory was the stone bowl manufactured of steatite, or soapstone. These were carved from material occurring in a narrow belt extending from Pennsylvania south to Alabama and situated, for the most part, along the edge of the Piedmont and Inner Coastal Plain provinces.

An increasingly sedentary lifestyle evolved, with a reduction in seasonal settlement shifts (Walker 1981; Johnson 1986:5-1). Food processing and food storage technologies were becoming more efficient, and trade networks began to be established.

The most intense utilization of the Potomac Coastal Plain begins circa 1800 BC with the advent of the Transitional Period and the Savannah River Broadspear derivatives, which include the Holmes and other related points. This appears to correlate with an increase in the numbers of anadromous fish, with the bulk of the harvesting taking place in the spring and early summer. 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. Although hunting camps and other more specialized sites may occur in the inter-riverine areas, the larger base camps are expected to be found along rivers or in estuarine settings (Walker 1981). Use of the interfluvial Piedmont diminished during the Late Archaic; sites from this period are less numerous and more widely scattered. It was at this point that the stylistic differentiation becomes apparent between the areas above the Fall Zone and those below, as discussed earlier: rhyolite usage and Susquehanna Broadspear forms occur above the Fall Zone while Holmes and its derivatives, including Fishtail variations, occur below the Fall Zone.

Early Woodland (1000-500 BC)

At this time during the Sub-Atlantic episode, more stable, milder and moister conditions prevailed, although short term climatic perturbations were present. This was the point at which the climate evolved to its present conditions (Walker 1981).

The major artifact hallmark of the Early Woodland is the appearance of pottery (Dent 1995; Gardner and McNett 1971). The Early Woodland period may be separated into three phases: Early Woodland I, II, and III. The earliest dates for pottery 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). This pottery is tempered with steatite, and the vessel shape copied that of the soapstone bowl, suggesting a local source for this innovation. This

steatite tempered pottery is characteristic of the Early Woodland I period and is widely distributed throughout the Middle Atlantic (Dent 1995; Gardner and Walker 1993). Diagnostic points included smaller side notched and stemmed variants such as Vernon and Calvert. Early Woodland II pottery is characterized by steatite or other heavily tempered ceramics with conoidal bases that were made by the annular ring technique. This ware is referred to as Selden Island Cordmarked. The wide-spread adoption of this pottery type by groups throughout the Middle Atlantic was perhaps due to the fact that sand and grit was such a versatile temper, for groups once far removed from the steatite sources quickly adopted this new medium (Goode 2002:3, 26). Again, small stemmed or notched points are diagnostic artifacts. Sand tempered pottery (Accokeek) is the Early Woodland III descendant of these steatite tempered wares. Rossville/Piscataway points are the diagnostic spear points.

It is important to note that pottery underscores the sedentary nature of these local resident populations. This is not to imply that they did not utilize the inner-riverine or inner-estuarine areas, but rather that this seems to have been done on a seasonal basis by people moving out from established bases. The settlement pattern is essentially a continuation of Late Archaic lifeways with an increasing orientation toward seed harvesting in floodplain locations (Walker 1981). Small group base camps would have been located along Fall Line streams during the spring and early summer in order to take advantage of the anadromous fish runs. Satellite sites such as hunting camps or exploitive foray camps would have operated out of these base camps.

Middle Woodland (500 BC - AD 1000)

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. Based on work in the lower Potomac River Valley and the upper Delaware 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). It should be noted that while net impressed surfaces appear in the archeological record, 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. Comparisons could also be extended to the Prince George Net Impressed ceramics from southern Virginia (Barse 2007). Net marking is characteristic of the Middle Woodland I period; however, it is supplanted by fabric impression and cord marking during the Middle Woodland II (Gardner and Walker 1993:4).

Late Woodland (AD 1000 to Contact/depopulation)

In the early part of the Late Woodland, the diagnostic ceramics in the Northern Virginia Piedmont region are crushed rock tempered ceramics for which a variety of names, such as Albemarle, Shepherd, etc., are used. The surfaces of the ceramics are primarily cord

marked. Later in the Late Woodland, decoration appears around the mouths of the vessels and collars are added to the rims. In the Potomac Piedmont, circa AD 1350-1400, the crushed rock wares are replaced by a limestone tempered and shell tempered ware that spread out of the Shenandoah Valley to at least the mouth of the Monocacy. Below the Fall Line, a crushed rock tempered derivative of the earlier types, known as Potomac Creek ware, is found. This is the pottery type made by the historic Piscataway Indians and related Indian tribes in the Inner Potomac Coastal Plain. Triangular[2] projectile points indicating the use of the bow and arrow are diagnostic as well.

Horticulture was the primary factor affecting Late Woodland settlement choice and the focus was on easily tilled floodplain zones where the larger hamlets and villages were found. This was characteristic of the Coastal Plain as well as the Piedmont and the Shenandoah Valley further west (Gardner 1982; Kavanaugh 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 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 river or streams, distribution of readily available surface water, and the presence of lithic raw material (Gardner 1987). The pattern of seasonally shifting use of the landscape begins circa 7000 BC, when seasonal variation in resources first becomes marked. By 1800 BC, runs of anadromous fish occur and, in the Coastal Plain, the Indians spent longer periods of time along the estuarine Potomac (Gardner 1982; 1987). It is possible some horticulture or intensive use of local resources appears sometime after 1000 BC, for at this time the seasonal movement pattern is reduced somewhat (Gardner 1982). However, even at this time and during the post-AD 900 agriculture era, extension of the exploitative arm into the upland and inter-riverine area through hunting, fishing and gathering remained a necessity.

Perhaps after AD 1400, with the effects of the Little Ice Age, the resulting 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 the exchange networks. A severe drought may have occurred in the 16th century. More centralized forms of social organization may have developed at this time, and small chiefdoms appeared along major rivers at the Fall Line and in the Inner Coastal Plain at this time. A Fall Line location was especially advantageous for controlling access to critical seasonal resources as well as being points of topographic

[2] Triangular projectile points have also been recovered from well-defined and earlier contexts at regional sites such as the Abbot Farm site, the Higgins site and the Pig Point site (MAC Lab 2012; Luckenbach et. al. 2010). Additionally, triangular points have been found in context with Savanah River points in Fairfax County, although the context appears to have been mixed (Christopher Sperling, personal communication 2015).

constriction that facilitated controlling trade arteries (Potter 1993; Jirikowic 1999; Miller and Walker n.d.).

Historic Native American Occupants

The resident Native Americans along the Potomac at the time of the first reported contact by Europeans were the Piscataway, descendants, evidently, of the prehistoric Potomac Creek populations. Also known as the Conoy or by the names of their villages, the Piscataway people 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 (Jones et al. 1997:19-20). 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 European contact. It is unclear whether these groups spoke an Iroquoian or Coastal Algonquian dialect. The Piscataway and other Indian groups effectively disappeared from the historic record by A.D. 1700, although some groups did remain and have evolved into a rather large local population (Cissna 1986; Gardner 1991).

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

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 Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (V-CRIS) 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 V-CRIS, however, no temporal assignment was contained within the form. It should also be noted that the topographic setting of the sites shown on Table 1 is based primarily on the USGS topographic map information in V-CRIS and, because of the map scale and configuration, the setting and hydrologic information is often difficult to ascertain.

As shown in 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. Many of the surveys that identified these sites were not systematic, and some were based solely on surface finds. In addition, historic period sedimentation and/or erosion has likely buried sites within the floodplain settings.

However, a small number of sites have yielded temporally diagnostic materials. As previously mentioned, 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 Hooffs Run. Woodland period materials were also found at site 44AX0194; this site is located on Daingerfield Island. Site 44AX0127 was located within a floodplain setting 100 feet west of Taylor Run. The site yielded 19th and 20th century artifacts as well as quartz debitage and fire cracked rock (FCR).

Table 1: 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

Table 1: Prehistoric Sites in Alexandria (continued)

DHR Site Number	Temporal Affiliation	Topographic Setting
44AX0038	prehistoric, unknown	floodplain of tributary of Holmes Run
44AX0039	prehistoric, unknown	floodplain of tributary of Holmes Run
44AX0052	Middle Archaic through Late Woodland	floodplain overlooking confluence of Hunting Creek and Potomac River
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
44AX0205	Early through Late Archaic	
44AX0210	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking Potomac River
44AX0220	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking Potomac River
44AX0221	prehistoric, unknown	upland overlooking Potomac River
44AX0229	prehistoric, unknown	Floodplain of Potomac River

HISTORIC CONTEXT

Settlement to Society (1607-1750)

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 study 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 study 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 study 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 study area.

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 (Jones et al. 1997:19-20).

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 study area throughout most of the known prehistoric past.

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 1823:57-75). 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 1823:88].

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 (see Exhibit 4). 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 (Hening 1823:173). 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 1823:293; 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 influenced 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 farther 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 three able fighting men, respectively (Hodges 1993:28-29). English concepts of land ownership were alien to the Native Americans and led ultimately 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.

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 1823:119-129).

The study 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 1823:224). 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 1823:352-353).

From 1645 until 1653, the study 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 study area remained part of Stafford County until 1730, when Prince William County was formed (Hiden 1980:11-15; Sweig 1995:2). In 1742, the present-day Potomac Yard 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 1975:13-14).

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).

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 study 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.

Colony to Nation (1751-1789)

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. 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 east 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).

In 1754, the Fairfax County courthouse was moved to Alexandria from its location near the current town of Vienna. In the 1750s, 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.

By 1770, the town of Alexandria was the largest on the Potomac River and was becoming an important center for maritime trade with Europe and the Caribbean. In 1774, John Alexander laid out and sold 18 new lots and gave the town land for Wilkes and St. Asaph Streets. The Alexander family further allowed for the extension of the town between 1785 and 1786 when they sold the adjoining tracts (Crowl 2002:124). The new streets within the expanded area were named for Revolutionary War heroes including Greene, Lafayette, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Washington and Wythe. 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 (Smith and Miller 1989:14). 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 Fairfax County. A second extension of the boundaries 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 1823:44-45).

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. Much of this land appears to have been acquired by absentee landowners, some of whom were wealthy Quaker merchants living in Philadelphia or who had migrated from Philadelphia to 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.

Early National Period (1790-1829)

In 1791, Alexandria was ceded to the federal government to become part of the newly established District of Columbia, though it was not official until February 27, 1801, at which time the town continued to govern itself. 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 (Smith and Miller 1989:51). The 1798 Plan of the Town of Alexandria by George Gilpin shows that by that time, the town extended north to Montgomery Street (Figure 3). In 1803, the western boundary of Alexandria was West Street, the southern boundary was Hunting Creek, and on the east it was the wharves on the Potomac River east of Union Street. Montgomery Street marked the northern boundary.

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 to work as merchants, hotel proprietors, and cooks in local restaurants. Between 1790 and 1798, Alexandria's population grew by about 2,000 individuals or 41%. During the 1790s, the study 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. By 1795, Alexandria had closed its tobacco warehouses. From 1800 to 1820, it was fourth behind Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York in wheat exports (MacKay III 1995:55; Alexandria Archeology Museum 1999a).

C:\WSSI-L\DocStudy\04_1798 Alexandria Plan Gilpin.mxd

Map Source: Gilpin, George. "Plan of the town of Alexandria in the District of Columbia, 1798." 1798. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. 20540-4650 USA dcu.
Call Number: G3884.A3 1798 .G5
Digital Id: g3884a ct001432 http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3884a.ct001432

Figure 3
Plan of the Town of Alexandria in the District of Columbia, George Gilpin 1798

Beginning around 1799 and lasting through 1842, Alexandria suffered a prolonged economic decline. 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). Despite the depressed economy, commerce remained steady on the waterfront while small farms persisted in the western lots of the town (Figure 4).

Antebellum Period (1830-1860)

In the late 1840s, several major railroad construction projects were being planned for Alexandria, which would alter the economy and spur continued growth. 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. By the beginning of the Civil War, this line was only constructed as far as Leesburg. The same railroad was reorganized three more 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 (Bianculli 2001:24).

The second major railroad project was 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 O&A 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 O&A 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). Tracks associated with the O&A surrounded the study area.

C:\WSSI-L\DocStudy\06_1845_Ewing.mxd

Figure 4
1845 Ewing Map of Alexandria, VA

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 enslaved people. In 1858, with the approval of a new charter, Alexandria officially became a city (Alexandria Archeology Museum 1999b).

Civil War (1861-1865)

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"(Scott 1880:23-27).

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 O&A, 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 passage of the Railways and Telegraph Act of January 31, 1862, granted the federal government authority to control all Northern and captured Southern railroads, considered key to victory in the war. The O&ARR offices and rail yards behind ASBC were developed into the operation headquarters of the United States Military Railroads (USMRR), which expanded tracks and warehouses into the study area, where ASBC was being used as a hospital and recruiting station. 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 O&A and the A&W 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. Haupt 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 (Barber 1988:103).

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 (Figure 5 - Figure 6).

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" (Frobel 1992:219, 226, 229, 230).

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 (Scott et al. 1894:1286, 1293).

Reconstruction and Growth (1866-1916)

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 A&W, 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).

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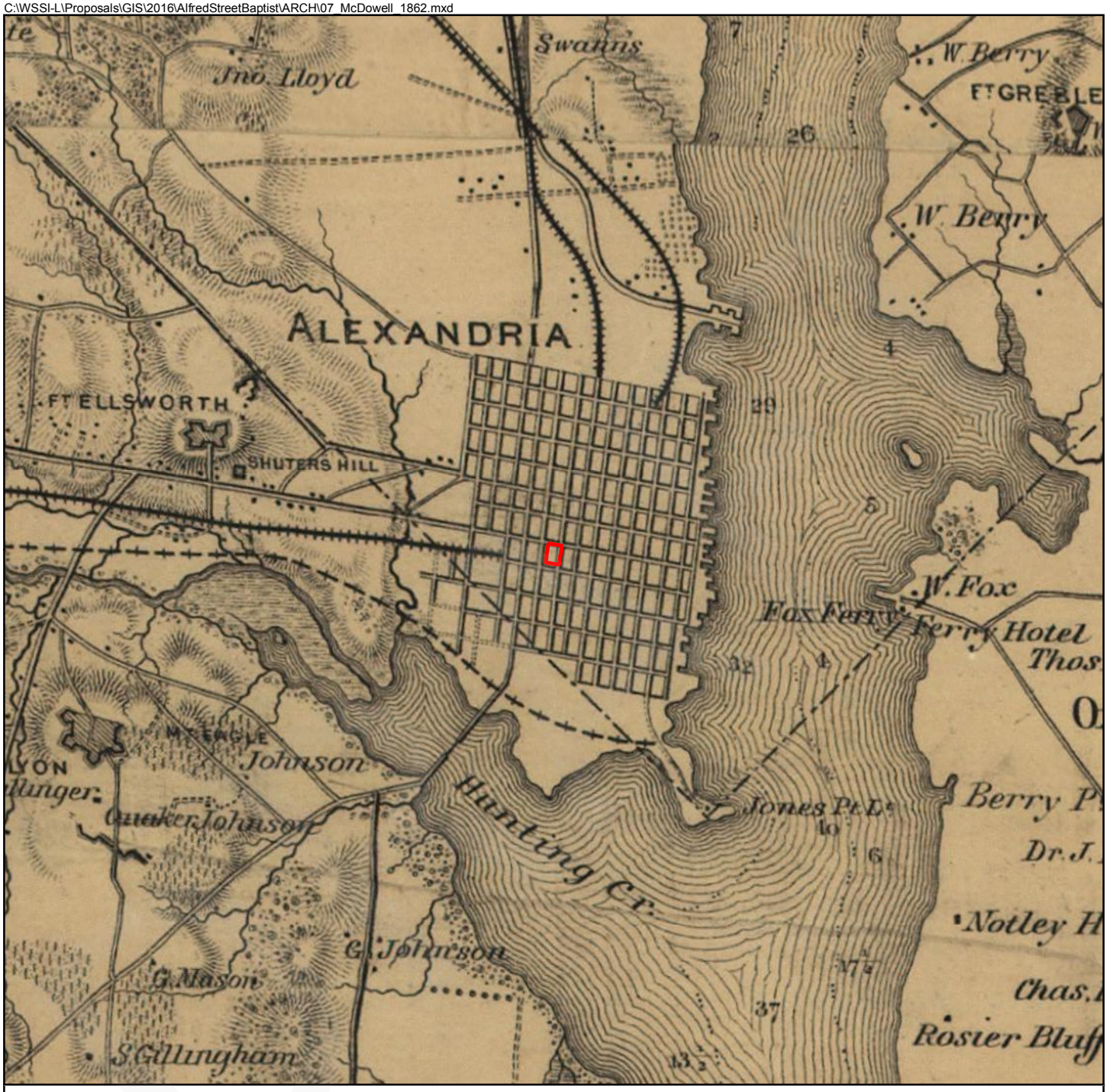

Figure 5
1862 McDowell Map

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Figure 6
1864 Plan of Alexandria, Virginia

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.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN CULTURAL CONTEXT

Enslaved Labor on Plantations

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 enslaved people were dispersed along small, scattered quarters (Walsh 2001:149). Virginia planters on the Potomac evaded the higher duties that Virginia assessed on enslaved people by purchasing them in Maryland (Walsh 2001:147). 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 (Walsh 2001:145).

As detailed in the property history included later in this report, members of the Alexander family owned the land in the study area in the late 1600s and early 1700s. Documentary evidence indicates that the Alexander family owned enslaved people 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 enslaved people of the Alexander family were growing tobacco in the vicinity of the study 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.

Migration of Free and Formerly Enslaved People (1790-1830)

Until the end of the 18th century, almost all African Americans living within the boundaries of Alexandria were enslaved. By 1790, 525 enslaved African Americans lived within Alexandria; these comprised more than one-fifth of the population of the city (Bertsch 2006:1). Most resided within the homes of their owners during this period (Cressey et al 1982:149).

Beginning in the 1790s, free and emancipated blacks began migrating to the city due to its location between the North and the South and its relatively lax restrictions on black residents when it was ceded to Washington, D.C. (Cressey et al 1982:46). With the shift from a tobacco economy to a wheat economy, some enslaved laborers were no longer needed on plantations and were manumitted. Those who were not manumitted were "hired out" by plantations to business owners and manufacturers in the rapidly growing port town (Bloomburg 1998:57-62). Migrant to the town sought employment on the 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.

Alexandria's earliest African American neighborhood, the Bottoms, where ASBC is located, 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. 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 or leased from progressive Quaker and Baptist landowners, such as James and Alice Lawrason on the ASBC block, who came from Northern regions and rejected slavery and the Anglican/Episcopalian faith associated with it.

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. There were also a few alley dwellings, which were more common in Washington, D.C. Free black property owners in the Bottoms often operated businesses, such as laundries, tailor's and grocer's shops, from their home. The Colored Baptist Society, Alexandria's first black religious congregation formed in the Bottoms in 1803, conjoined to the white Baptist Society, which Alice Lawrason helped establish. In 1818, the members built a church at the site of present-day Alfred Street Baptist Church at 313 South Alfred Street (VFH n.d.).

Another African American neighborhood developed in the early 1800s 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. The Hayti neighborhood began as a cluster of free black homes in the 1790s and remained predominantly residential with only a few grocery shops. 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 and Baptist Soceity figured in the development of Hayti. Free African Americans rented inexpensive houses in Hayti from Quaker and Baptist landlords 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 (VFH n.d.).

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. 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). Depending on the number of members within churches, blacks attended the same service as whites, but in a segregated section. With larger congregations, a separate service might be held for the black members with a set number of white attendees to monitor activities.

In 1807, Congress voted to ban the importation of enslaved people into the United States, effective January 1, 1808. The ban discouraged manumissions by raising the value of enslaved people; the illicit importation of the enslaved 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 enslaved people 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.

Tightening Laws in the Antebellum Period (1830-1860)

In 1831, restrictions on free African Americans tightened further after Nat Turner, an enslaved minister, led a rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia, where over 60 white people were killed. Still within the District of Columbia, curfews were reinforced, and free blacks in Alexandria were 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). Alexandria was retroceded to Virginia in 1846, subjecting Alexandria's free African American residents to the even more strictly enforced racial laws. One such law forbade all people of color from receiving an education or preaching and required one white person for every black person in a congregation or gathering. Little changed in these worship patterns before the Civil War (1861 – 1865) (Wallace 2003:37).

The Uptown neighborhood began as a small cluster of African American homes in the antebellum period. Uptown was the first black 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 African-American neighborhood 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 the Parker-Gray Historic District (DHR 100-0133).

In 1840, over 64 percent of the city's African-American population had free status. During this time, fishing became one of Alexandria's major commercial activities, along with slave trading, following the decline in the city's manufacturing sector in the 1830s. 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 shipbuilding employed large numbers of African-American laborers. African Americans also worked as dock hands, bricklayers, carpenters, glaziers, and builders in the wharf district. 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. 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 (VFH n.d.).

Contraband and Servicemen in the Civil War (1861-1865)

The Union army's occupation of Alexandria during the Civil War effected 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 enslaved people 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 rive,…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 (American Antiquarian Society, n.d.).

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 enslaved people 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 free 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.

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 *Cross Canal, 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.

The Berg neighborhood was founded as Petersburg by African Americans refugees came 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 A&W. Although, 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 (VFH n.d.).

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, but there are African-American neighborhoods of that name in Washington, D.C., and in Charlottesville, Virginia (VFH n.d.).

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).

The Freedmen's Bureau (1865 – 1896)

In 1865, all enslaved people were freed under the 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution. The U.S. War Department established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (the Freedmen's Bureau) to provide "assistance to tens of thousands of former slaves and impoverished whites in the Southern States and the District of Columbia. It issued food and clothing, operated hospitals and temporary camps, helped locate family members, promoted education, helped freedmen legalize marriages, provided employment, supervised labor contracts, provided legal representation, investigated racial confrontations, settled freedmen on abandoned or confiscated lands, and worked with African American soldiers and sailors and their heirs to secure back pay, bounty payments, and pensions" (Freedmen's Bureau 2016). In the face of progress towards racial equality through the Bureau's work, the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875, and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution in 1868 and 1870, white leaders in the South passed a variety of laws known as black codes in an attempt to continue to oppress black free people in the early years of Reconstruction (VHS 2004). On the local level, white individuals terrorized blacks, through harassment, public torture, lynching, and arson (EJI 2016). At the end of the war, the African American population of Alexandria County had increased to more than 8,700, or about half the total population.

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.).

Early Jim Crow Era (1896 – 1917)

Following an economic depression in the 1890s, racial tension escalated in the South. Whites saw blacks as a threat to their jobs and papers exaggerated or fabricated black crime. In 1896, the Supreme Court upheld racial segregation instituted by individual states' black codes in Plessy v. Ferguson by introducing the "separate but equal" doctrine. In Virginia, this "both confirmed the status quo and gave impetus to even more rigid segregation laws" (VHS 2004). In 1902, Virginia amended the state Constitution to require segregation in schools though they already were. Segregation on streetcars followed, and in 1912, the Virginia General Assembly enacted enabling legislation that allowed cities and towns to segregate neighborhoods and districts through zoning ordinances (Henderson and Hussey 1965:1). Spurred by the long agricultural recession and increasing restrictions and violence, African Americans began leaving the rural south for the urban north in what became known as the Great Migration before the onset of World War I (Schweninger 1989:52). As a northern most city in the South, Alexandria attracted many new black residents during this period.

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 (VFH n.d.).

The Hump developed in the late 19th century, and was one of five new African-American neighborhoods formed in Alexandria during and after the Civil War. The Hump neighborhood 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 working-class blacks and whites who settled there, many of whom worked at the nearby brewery and glassworks.

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.

World War I to World War II (1917-1945)

"When war erupted in Europe in August 1914, most Americans, African Americans included, saw no reason for the United States to become involved. The black press sided with France, because of its purported commitment to racial equality, and chronicled the exploits of colonial African soldiers serving in the French army" (Williams 2011). The U.S. did eventually enter the war and, after fighting overseas, black veterans returned home with a new sense of confidence and set of skills for battling inequality on the home front. The national NAACP membership jumped from 9,000 in prewar years to 100,000 with the establishment of a large number of branches in the American South. In 1919, whites reacted in a series of anti-black riots in numerous cities across the country, including Washington, D.C. Involving extreme violence, the events became known as Red Summer due to the bloodshed. With a growing sense of fear and resentment of black progress, whites targeted returning veterans in hate crimes and lynchings, and despite their service, many veterans were denied medical care and other assistance, particularly if they were known to participate in protests and groups such as the NAACP. In 1917, Senator James K. Vardaman of Mississippi, warned, "'Impress the negro with the fact that he is defending the flag, inflate his untutored soul with military airs, teach him that it is his duty to keep the emblem of the Nation flying triumphantly in the air, and it is but a short step to the conclusion that his political rights must be respected'" (EJI 2016).

Very little changed in the way of civil rights for African Americans between the wars, though a number of antiquated schools throughout the South were replaced with assistance from the Rosenwald Fund, created by Booker T. Washington, a Hampton Institute graduate and Tuskegee Institute founder, and Julius Rosenwald, a German Jew and philanthropist, who was president of Sears. Other privately funded philanthropic funds, such as the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, paid for similar efforts.

As World War II began in Europe in 1938, in the U.S. initially "black recruits refused to enlist without assurances that they would have full access to the military's varied roles and rewards… and created the 'Double V' Campaign, which called for victory over fascism abroad and victory over racism at home" (EJI 2016). However, the Selective Service of Act of 1940 limited African-American participation and maintained segregation in the U.S. armed forces. Though a select few received flight training (the Tuskegee Airmen), most African American recruits were assigned janitorial or orderly work and were barred from the frontlines initially. On the home front, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 in 1941, which forbade racial discrimination in hiring for the domestic war industry, yet the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), which it created, lacked authority and met resistance, particularly in the South. By 1942, less than three percent of war workers were African American. In the military, despite the continuance of discriminatory practices, due to the universal draft, the number of blacks serving increased from fewer than 4,000 in 1941 to 1.2 million in 1945 (EJI 2016).

Urban Renewal in the New Dominion (1946-1991)

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:1999:57).

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 tenants 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.

The history of public housing in the City of Alexandria may be traced to the last years of the 1930s, beginning with the Alexandria Housing Authority (AHA) 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. Its first mission was clearing slums and creating new affordable housing in the Berg and Parker-Gray neighborhoods where little investment had occurred since before the Depression (Woodbury 1940:140). In the early 1940s, several temporary public housing projects for defense workers - war trailer camps - were established in the city. Several permanent public housing projects were acquired or constructed by 1945. Segregation of the city's public housing appears to have been a constant component of the system. In 1965, with the integration of two African American families into the previously "whites only" Cameron Valley Homes, efforts to remedy this situation were made (Reft 2013; WP 1965:C1).

During the 1940s and 1950s, the Authority constructed new units and acquired ones built for the war effort. It was renamed the Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority (ARHA) by 1956 as it was granted authority to issue bonds. New developments continued in throughout the coming decades. The City established a Housing Office in 1975, when the DIP Urban Renewal was underway in the Bottoms and on the ASBC block, and increasingly received federal Community Development Block Grants (CDBG), which funded infrastructure development and anti-poverty programs in affordable housing areas. Though ARHA received no funding from the City, in 1972, ARHA and the City jointly adopted Resolution 99 with the City agreeing that it must maintain units or engage in one-for-one replacement for any units that are removed from its affordable inventory. This was enacted because public development or redevelopment activity made the elimination of existing housing desirable. Resolution 830 superseded Resolution 99 in 1982 to incorporate publicly assisted housing occupied by the elderly and disabled persons.

Since inception, the primary mission of the agency has been to provide sanitary and safe dwelling accommodations to persons of low income at affordable rents in the city. ARHA's annual operating cost and capital funding for the upkeep and maintenance of ARHA properties are primarily funded by the U.S Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The City appoints the nine members of the ARHA Board of Commissioners.

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… (Stevens 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 1941a: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 1944b: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). Former defense housing, including Ramsey Homes, was acquired by ARHA for use as public housing in the 1950s, and additional public housing was constructed in the 1950s and throughout the latter half of the 20th century to address the housing needs of low-income families.

In addition, there was a general housing crisis for all classes of African American with deed restrictions not allowing black people to buy and forcing them to live in Washington, D.C. "The city's eighteenth- and nineteenth-century urban core was seen as dilapidated and overcrowded, while its western portions were largely rural and underdeveloped. With the post–World War II suburban construction boom taking place in nearby counties, local leaders were especially concerned that white middle-class families would avoid Alexandria" rather than concerning themselves over the black middle-class (Moon 2016:29).

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). They filed a complaint 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 (WP 1985:F2). Among other things, they complained that the city was:

> 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.

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 1984:C1).

PROPERTY HISTORY

1654-1674: Margaret Brent and Robert Howson Overlapping Land Grants

In 1638, Margaret, Mary, Giles, and Fulke Brent emigrated from Gloucestershire, England to St. Mary's, Maryland. Four of 13 children born into nobility, they immediately acquired large land grants and prominent positions with Dame Margaret becoming the first female landowner in Maryland. She and Mary received the first grant in St. Mary's and called it the Sister's Freehold. Margaret became an ally and executrix to Governor Leonard Calvert. Together, they became guardians to the daughter of a Piscataway chief, Mary Kittamaquund, after she converted to Catholicism and entered colonial schools at the age of seven. Giles Brent eventually married Kittamaquund and acted as governor when Calvert traveled back to England, where he was introduced to and married their sister Ann. While Giles moved to Virginia to escape political, religious, and financial controversy, Margaret continued to acquire vast lands and served as Lord Baltimore's attorney, quelling Native American conflict, managing patents, and collecting rents during the English Civil War in the 1640s (Helms, ed. 1977:43-46; Pulliam 2011:7).

After losing favor with Lord Baltimore and Governor William Stone, Margaret followed her brother and acquired "700 acres within the freshes of Potomack River, Beginng. at the mouth of Hunting Creek" on September 6, 1654 (Virginia Land Office Patent [VLOP] 3:275). On November 20, 1662, Brent renewed the patent (VLOP 5:240). After her death ca. 1671, the land transferred to Giles, who then sold it to John Fitzherbert (Mitchell 1977:35). In the meantime, on October 20, 1669, Sir William Berkeley, then governor of the Virginia Colony, granted an overlapping "6000 acres upon the freshes of Potomack River" to a Welsh sea captain, Robert Housing (alternatively spelled Howson and Howsing), in return for his transportation of 120 persons and ten "Negroes" into the Virginia Colony (VLOP 6:262; Harrison 1987:60).

1669-1795: The Alexander Family

On November 13, 1669, a little over a month after Robert Howson obtained the 6,000-acre patent, he sold it for 6,000 pounds of tobacco to John Alexander (1603-1677), a son of Scottish nobility (Prince William County Land Causes 1789-1793:220). The land included present-day Old Town Alexandria, Washington National Airport, the Pentagon, and Arlington National Cemetery. After the overlap came to the attention of John Fitzherbert, his attorney George Brent oversaw Alexander's payment of 10,5000 pounds of tobacco for the original 700-acre Brent grant in 1674 (Mitchell 1977:35; Pulliam 2011:7).

John Alexander emigrated to Virginia prior to 1653 (Pippenger 1990:8-9). He became a prosperous planter and surveyor and served as justice of the peace, sheriff, and captain of the militia in Stafford County. He and his wife Elizabeth Graham had three sons, John (who predeceased his father without heirs), Robert, and Philip (1664-1706), and possibly two

daughters, Elizabeth and Sarah (Mitchell 1977:60). In order to secure the Brent-Howson patent in 1674, he was required to settle a tract within three years. The only record of settlement is a 200-acre tenant farm (later bequeathed to Elizabeth Holmes) leased to a Mr. Coggins in 1677. Alexander also likely established a quarter, which in 17th- and 18th-century terminology, was a portion of a larger tract of land where enslaved or indentured servants lived and worked under the supervision of an overseer (Walker and Harper 1989; Pippenger 1990; Stetson 1935; Alexandria Archaeology Museum 1999c).

John Alexander died with an unsigned will, dated October 25, 1677, which conveyed most of the land within the Brent-Howson patents to his surviving sons, Robert and Philip (Pippenger 1990:28-29, citing Prince William County Land Causes 1789-1793:221). Samuel Hayward and Elizabeth Cather made an oath regarding its validity, and it was recorded on November 14, 1677 (Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture 1902:179). 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 (Prince William County Land Causes 1789-1793:217).

Philip's 500 acres included the present-day ASBC and was bound by Hooffs Run to the west, Great Hunting Creek to the south, the Potomac River to the east, and land owned by Hugh West on the north. He is thought to have established a quarter on the banks of the Potomac, just north of Great Hunting Creek. Appraised after his death in 1705 at the age of 41, his estate provides an example of who lived at a quarter and what kinds of goods they kept (Stafford County Will Z:269-272):

shock bed & bolster [mattress and pillow] & 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 [woodworking tool used for making staves and shingles]

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 their origin, names, or whereabouts after they completed their indenture are unknown.

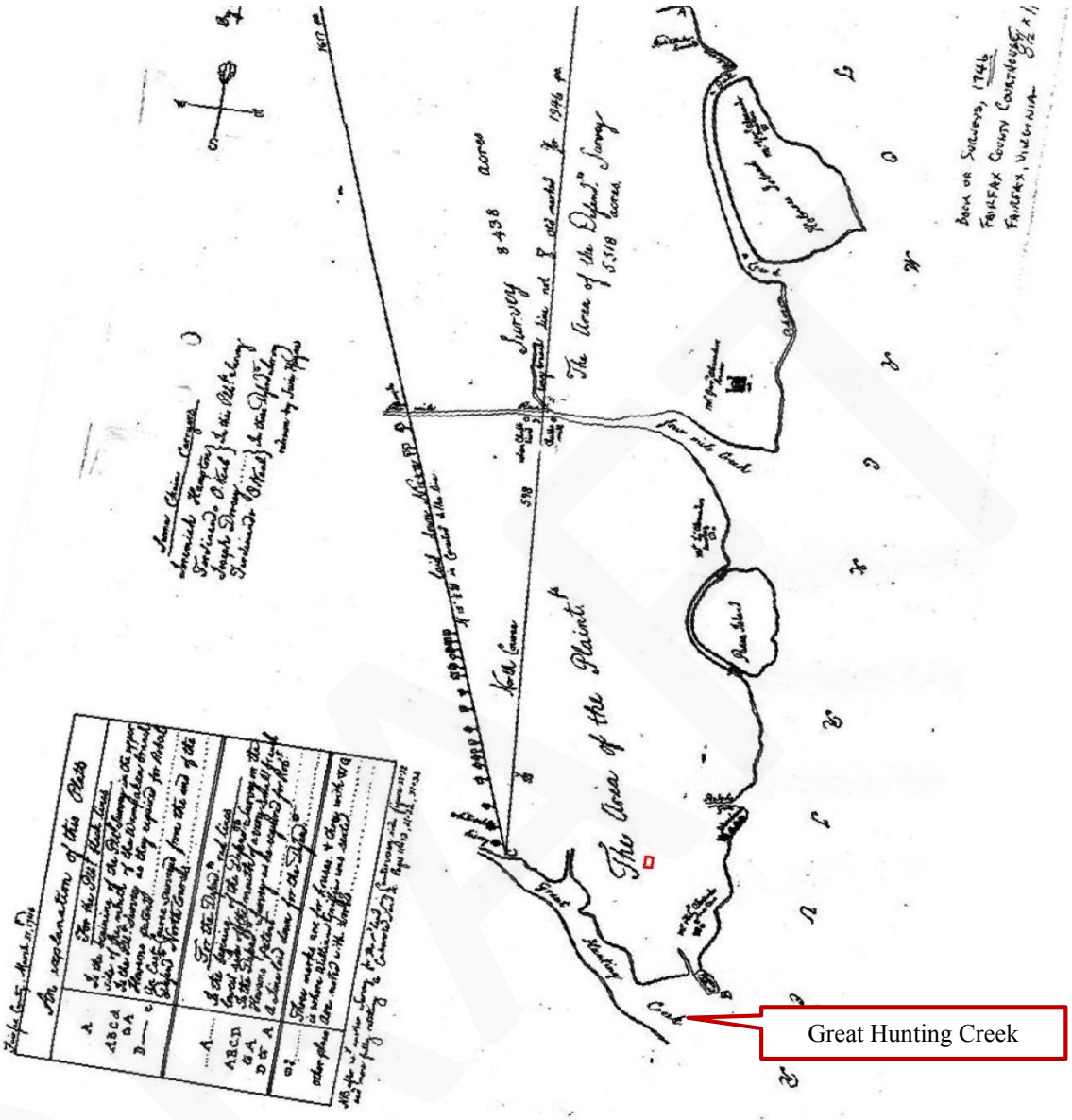

Figure 7: 1746 Brent-Howson Patent
Showing Study Area Vicinity

Philip Alexander, Jr. (1704-1753), who was a captain and justice, eventually inherited his father's 500 acres. He married Sarah Hooe who came from another local prominent family. He and his cousin John, Robert Alexander's son, reluctantly gave up agricultural land in 1748 for the founding of Alexandria after a group of local merchants, including Hugh West who operated a tobacco warehouse and inspection station, petitioned Virginia for its establishment. In 1749, John West, a Fairfax County surveyor, and his young assistant, George Washington, laid out the 60-acre town, which did not extend to present-day ASBC (Mitchell 1977:61).

Within a few years, Philip died and left his remaining land to his son, John Alexander (1735-1775). In May 1775, John Alexander willed his property to his son, William

Thornton Alexander (1744-1814), who rose in ranks to a Lieutenant Colonel. In the 100-plus years that the Alexanders owned the land, only one settled in the area in a farmhouse once located at present-day Washington National Airport.

1795-1820: James and Alice Lawrason Subdivision

On September 14, 1795, James Lawrason, a local shipping merchant, acquired the right to £20 annual rent for "two lots or half acres of ground" comprising the eastern half of the block bound by Alfred, Wolfe, Patrick, and Duke from William and Lucy Alexander, who lived in King George County (Alexandria County Deed Book [DB] G:349) (see Figure 3). James and his wife, Alice, lived on St. Asaph Street, and beginning in 1800, leased lots on the west side S. Alfred St. to prosperous African Americans (DB L:99; Will Book 3:319; Wallace 2003) (

Table 2).

James was born in Sussex, New Jersey on December 2, 1753, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Lawrason (Spencer 1919:614; Sinks 1992). Little is known about his parents or his childhood, and he moved to Virginia by 1779. James married Alice Levering in Leesburg on June 23, 1779. Alice, born April 25, 1756 in Philadelphia, was the daughter of Septimus and Mary Thomas Levering. The Levering family had deep roots in the Roxborough, Pennsylvania area, where they settled after leaving Germany in the late-1600s (Spencer 1919:615). Alice's father was a seaman, and an involved member of the Baptist Church (Miller 1995, 421, 469; Spencer 1919:618).

During the Revolutionary War, James Lawrason served as a steward for the Alexandria Military Hospital and was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant (Sinks 1992). His profession as a merchant also served him well: he stored perishable crops in his warehouses for the Continental Army (Sinks 1992). He cemented his legacy in Alexandria in 1778 when he signed a petition to incorporate Alexandria as a city with House of Delegates representation (Sinks 1992).

James and Alice Lawrason owned a variety of properties in Alexandria in the late 1700s and early 1800s. James was a shipping merchant, and operated warehouses on both sides of Union, formerly Water, Street (Riker 2009: 5). One on the west side of Union Street, south of Prince Street, James owned a three-story brick warehouse and a 167-foot wharf, appraised in 1820 for $2,000 (Miller 1995:215, 478).

Other lots included the center parcel on Prince between Union Street and the Potomac River, the northwest corner of Prince & Fairfax, the lots on both sides of St. Asaph Street south of Duke, and the southeast corner of Duke and Fairfax Streets (Ring and Pippenger 2008). Farther from the wharfs, James Lawrason owned an undeveloped lot on Columbus Street, a two-story warehouse northeast of King and Payne Streets, and a schoolhouse on St. Asaph Street by 1820 (Miller 1995, 531). The Lawrasons lived on the St. Asaph property, at number 305. They had a two-story brick house "of the best workmanship," with several brick dependencies, a well, and cistern all appraised for $3,000 (Miller 1995, 215 & 531).

Table 2: List of Tenants of James Lawrason on 1820 Plat
Will of James Lawrason on October 20, 1820, Describing Lots from North to South
(Will Book [WB] 3:319)

Lot #	Size	Value	Beneficiary	Date Leased	Yearly Rent	Tenants
14	26' by 110'	$260	for Alice Lawrason Jr.	1/9/1803	$26.00	Archilles Richardson
13	25' by 110'	$208	for Mercy Lawrason	4/1/1804	$20.83	Sampson Sunby
12	25' by 110'	$208	for Ann [Lawrason] Levering	4/1/1817	$25.00	Limey Johnston
11	25' by 110'	$192	for Polly Levering	4/1/1800	$18.75	William Gordon
10	25' by 110'	$208	for James Lawrason Jr.	7/14/1802	$20.83	Pompey Power
9	25' by 110'	$208	for Alice Lawrason Jr.	7/1/1802	$20.83	Henry Johnston
8	25' by 110'	$208	for Polly Levering	4/1/1805	$20.83	John Colbert
7	25' by 110'	$250	for Ann [Lawrason] Levering	8/20/1816	$25.00	William Berkley
6	26' by 110'	$250	for Mercy Lawrason	10/1/1818	$32.50	Jesse Henderson, Evan Williams, and Daniel Taylor, In Trust, for the Colored Baptist Society

The Lawrasons had several children, five of whom lived to adulthood (Themines1 2017). Their eldest son Thomas (1780-1819) lived near 305 St. Asaph Street with his wife Elizabeth Carson, in a residence appraised for $8,000 in 1820 (Themines1 2017; Miller 1995:531). Thomas followed his father into the merchant business and partnered with William Fowle, in the early 1800s, to become Lawrence & Fowle. For twenty years following Thomas's death, Fowle bought up several Lawrason properties in Alexandria (Riker 2009:2). James Lawrason died on April 20, 1824 in Alexandria (Alexandria Gazette; Themines1 2017). Alice Lawrason died on her birthday in 1821 in Alexandria; both are buried at Christ Church Episcopal Cemetery (Themines1 2017).

Alexandria's earliest African-American neighborhood, the Bottoms was established around Lawrason's land in a low-lying area of the expanded street grid, west of Washington Street, south of Prince Street, east of Henry Street, and north of Franklin Street (Figure 8). Free and formerly enslaved persons migrated to Alexandria seeking employment on the waterfront, in factories, or as skilled laborers, such as trunk maker, house joiner, ship carpenter, potter, baker, and soap maker. Others opened businesses of their own as tavern keepers, bakers, draymen, or laundresses in small frame buildings (Cressey 1985:74).

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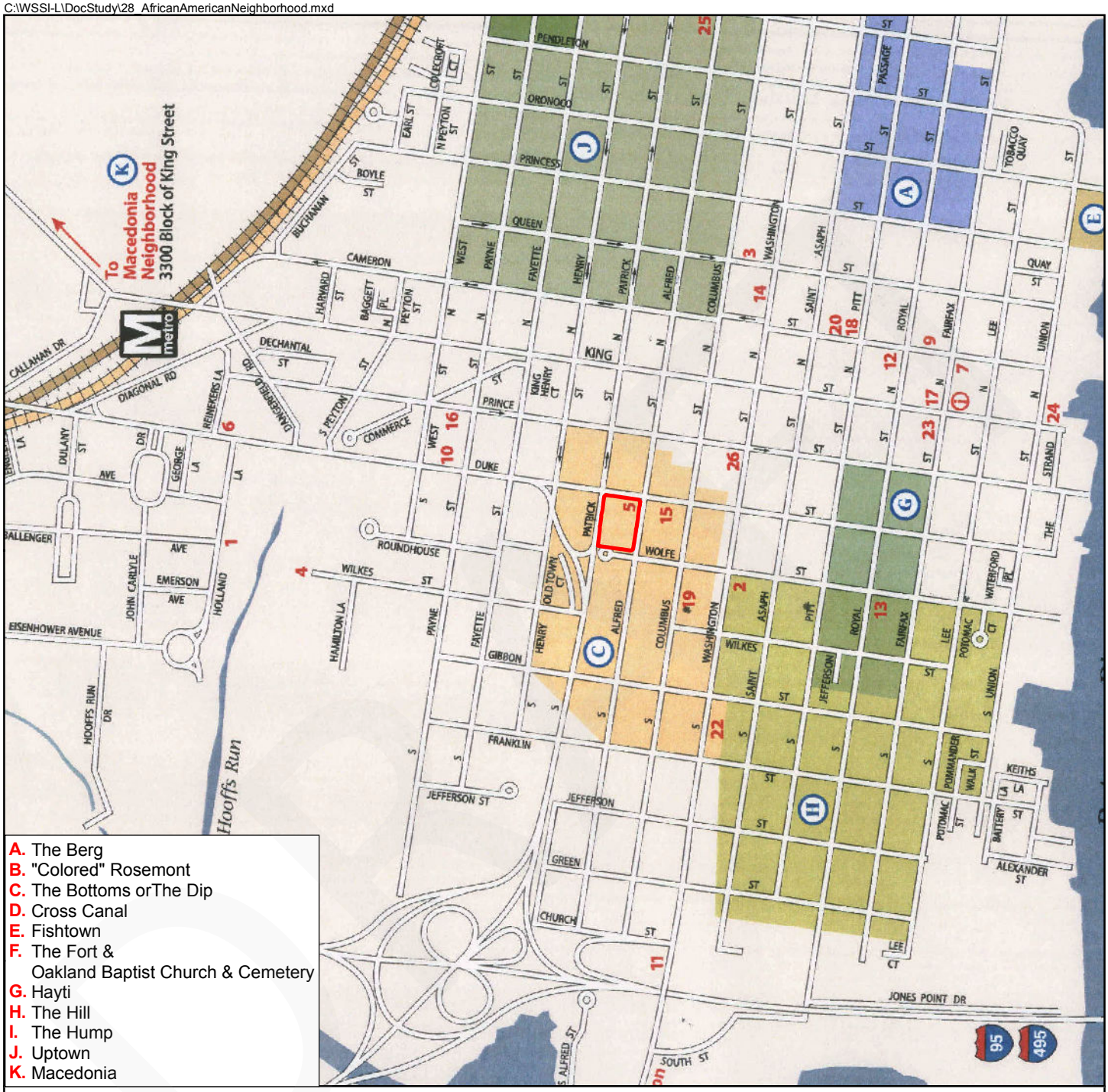


Figure 8
African American Neighborhoods
Alexandria, Virginia

Despite opportunity, since 1793, the city required mandatory registration of free blacks, and in November 1799, a curfew was imposed (Bloomburg 1988:57).

In 1803, Alice Lawrason was one of twelve people who petitioned to leave Back Lick Church in Washington to create the first Baptist congregation in Alexandria. Called the Alexandria Baptist Society, the group met in City Hall and in May of 1803 baptized Susan Black, who was both the 18th member and first black member. While African Americans continued to join the Alexandria Baptist Society, it is likely that they led a parallel life with secret worship services in private homes or forests. The city's first official black congregation, the Colored Baptist Society of Alexandria (predecessor of ASBC), was formed in the Bottoms in 1806 and was conjoined to the white Alexandria Baptist Society due restrictive assembly laws. The Reverend William Evans served as the black congregation's leader (1806-1859). Enslaved members came from among other locations throughout the city and region, Arlington House Plantation, owned by George Washington Parke Custis, and Mount Vernon Plantation, inherited by Bushrod Washington (Wallace 2003:9-11).

Lots No. 6 and 7: Historic Church Lot

<u>1818-1842: Colored Baptist Society of the Town of Alexandria</u>

By October 1, 1818, the Colored Baptist Society of Alexandria membership had grown enough that they were able to lease Lot No. 6 from the Lawrasons at the present-day site of ASBC for $1 and annual rent of $32.50 (DB H-2:327; WB 3:319) (see

Table 2; Figure 9). Soon after, a "Baptist Colored Society Meeting House" was built, though it does not appear on tax assessments until 1836 (Walker et al 1992:14). According to minutes taken from a meeting on January 1, 1819, "…The White and Colored Brethren of the Town of Alexandria, dominated Baptist, constituted but one Church. As our color'd Brethren have just erected a Brickhouse for public worship…" (Wallace 2003:23).

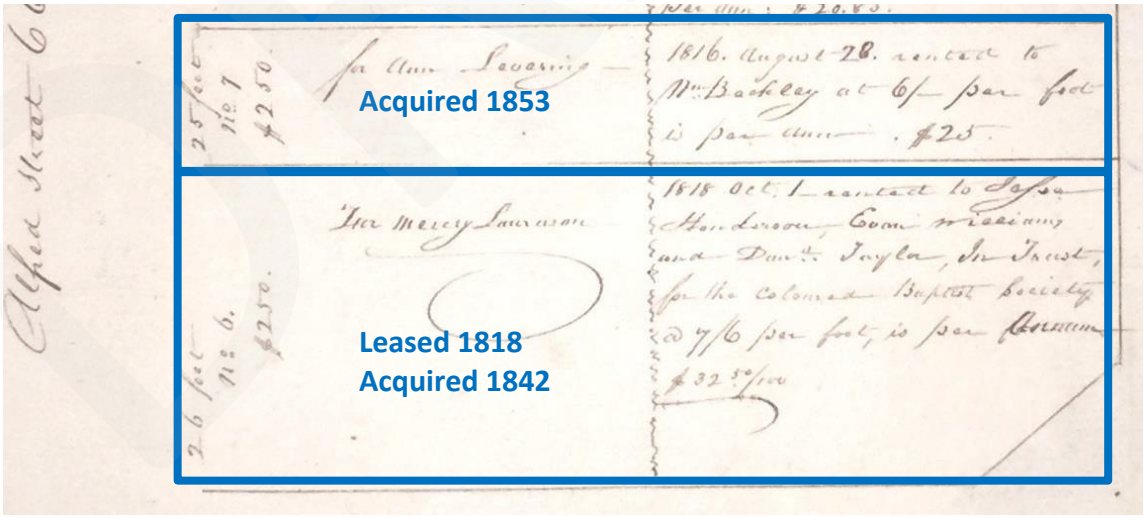


Figure 9: Portion of Plat from James Lawrason's Will (Not to Scale) Showing Two Lots Where the Historic Church Stands Today (WB 3:319)

On October 23, 1820, J. Lawrason's will transferred the land and annual ground rent to his daughter, Mercy Ann Riggs (DB C-3:230). By this time, blacks accounted for more than a third of the city's total population (Bloomburg 1988:51). The congregation grew and, in 1823, their parent church, the Alexandria Baptist Society, permitted the Colored Baptist Society to hold public worship services at their meetinghouse, though a white member was required to be present due to local laws (Wallace 2003:24). In 1833, a school was opened in the meetinghouse and "[flourished]…for two or three years" until it closed (African-American Institute 1978:90).

1842-1850: African Baptist Church of Alexandria

On September 1, 1942, Romulus and Mary Ann Lawrason Riggs, then living in Philadelphia, conveyed the land and annual rent of $32.50 to William Evans on behalf of the Baptist Society, which was then referred to as the African Baptist Church of Alexandria (DB C-3:230) (see Figure 9). On March 17, 1846, Beverly Yeates, William Weaver, and James Webster purchased the right to the land and annual ground rent for $5 "for the benefit, use and behoof of the said congregation and its successive members the African Baptist Church and holder of the above tenets forever" (DB G-3:325). Alexandria was retroceded to Virginia in 1846; subjecting Alexandria's free African-American residents to more strictly enforced racial laws of Virginia. One such law forbade more than five black persons meeting without the presence of a white man, which dramatically affected the church's gatherings (Wallace 2003:37).

1850-1855: Colored Baptist Church of Alexandria

On June 24, 1850, after being conjoined for 44 years, the white Baptist Church voted to allow the black Baptist Church to become a fully separate entity "under the name of the Colored Baptist Church of Alexandria" (Wallace 2003:33). Three years later, trustees of the church, James Webster, William Weaver, and William Evans, purchased Lot No. 7 to the south from James Lawrason's daughter, Ann Levering, who had inherited several of his lots and lived in Baltimore at the time (Wallace 2003:38) (see Figure 9).

1855-1861: First African Baptist Church of Alexandria

Doubling their frontage on Alfred Street, the Colored Baptist Church removed the ca. 1819 historic structure and erected the brick building, much of which survives today at 313 South Alfred Street. The cornerstone is engraved with the date June 28, 1855, and on August 23, 1855, the *Alexandria Gazette* described the replacement for the old brick meetinghouse as a larger, "…handsome and commodious brick church" (Wallace 2003:39). The building was "constructed with molded brick laid in common bond" with "windows on the sides...detailed with flat arches" and a shallow roof pitch (Walker et al 1992:17) (Figure 10). With 200 members, the congregation changed their name to the First African Baptist Church. Within two years, the church had paid off the mortgage, but had not yet found a preacher. Reverend Sampson White arrived as the first official pastor in 1859 (Wallace 2003:234).

1861-1865: Civil War Hospital and Recruiting Station

During the Civil War (1861-1865), the church building was closed to worship and like much of the city was taken over by Union soldiers, who used it as a hospital and recruiting station (Wallace 2003). The Union army's occupation had an impact on 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. Many freedmen crowded into abandoned buildings, army barracks, or temporary shanties without heat. Some were able to purchase building lots. Food and clothing were in short supply, and disease and sickness, including small pox, respiratory problems, and influenza, were rampant. Most churches went "underground" and met in homes or businesses and helped to provide escaped enslaved people with food and shelter (Wallace 2003:46).

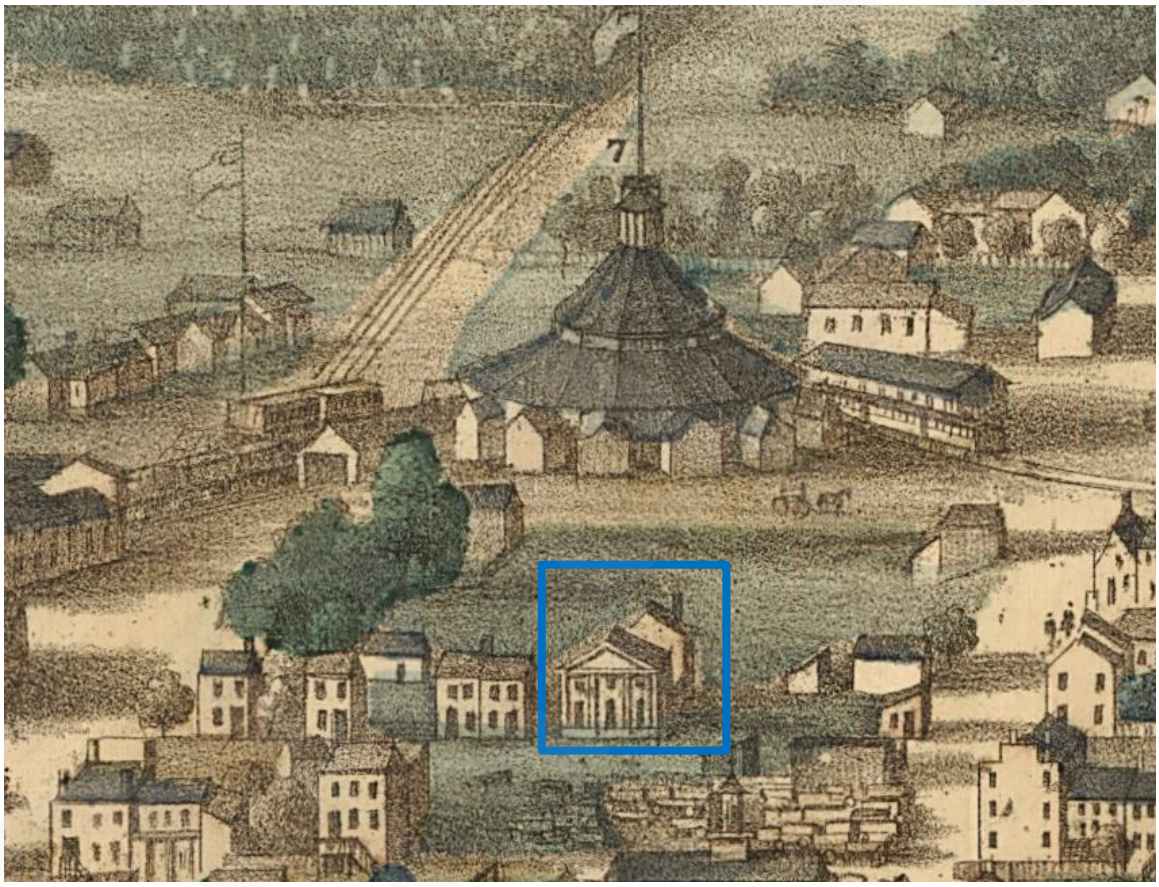


Figure 10: Portion of Bird's Eye View of Alexandria, Va., Showing the Church Outlined in Blue (Magnus 1863)

The U.S. Military Railroad ran from an engine house constructed near the church during the war (Figure 11 - Figure 12). The railroad was chartered by the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Virginia in 1848, and construction started in 1850 (Siegel 2012). The engine house supported the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, an important supply line for the Union that went from Alexandria southwest to Orange, Virginia (Pfeiffer 2016). There was also a seven-mile rail line from Alexandria to Washington, D.C., the only railroad in Federal control. By May 1862, the railroad was called the Manassas Gap Railroad, covering the areas of Manassas Junction, Front Royal, and Strasburg. The railroads from Alexandria sent trains of food, ammunition, and troops to Union holdings throughout northern Virginia and the District of Columbia.

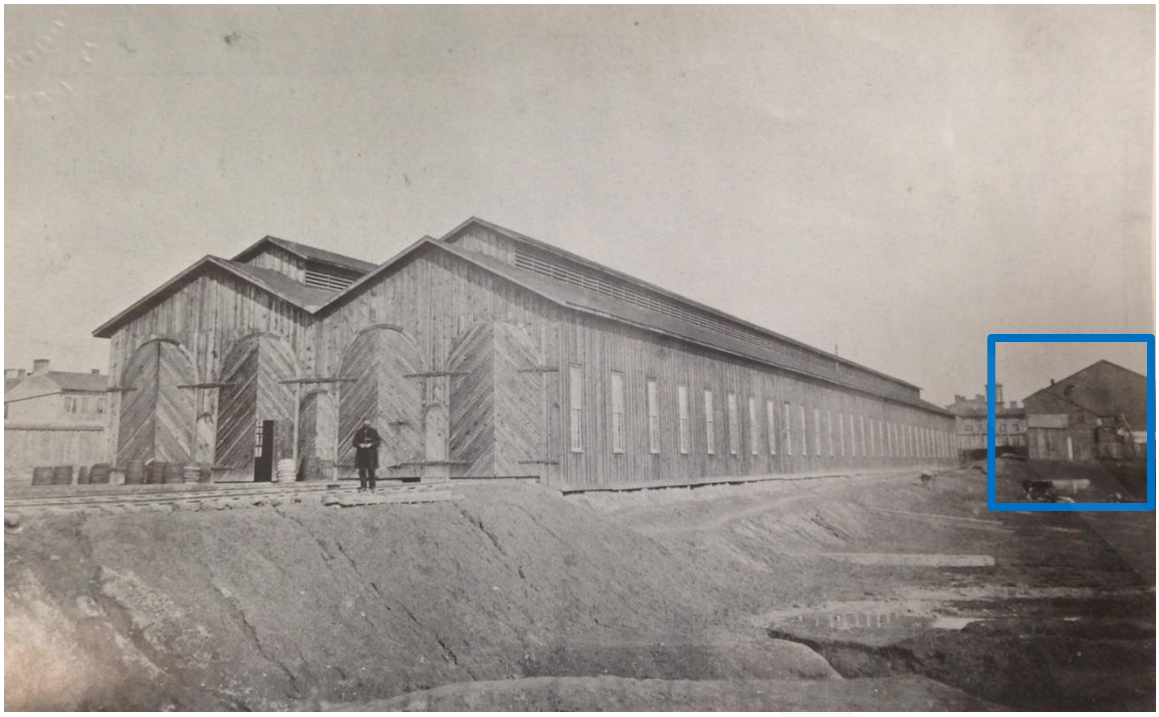


Figure 11: 1861-1865 Photo of Alexandria Engine House Facing East, Showing the Church and Sheds Outlined in Blue (Russell 1982)

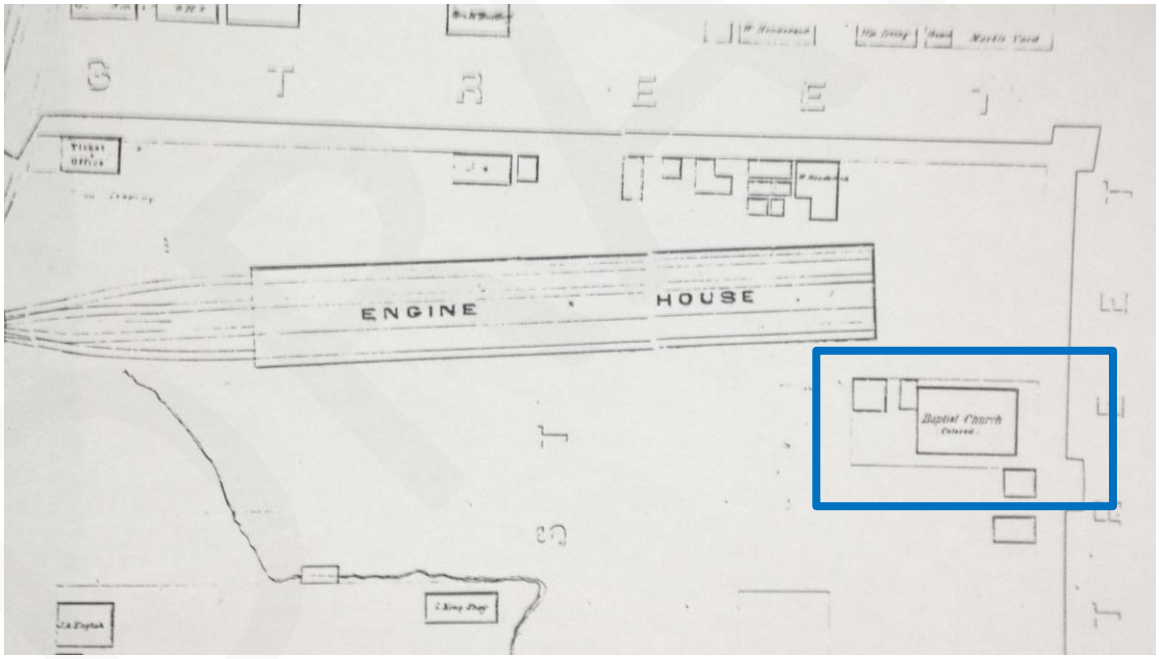


Figure 12: U.S. Military Railroad Station Map Showing Church (Merrick 1865)

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. On January 1, 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation was issued by President Abraham Lincoln and freed more than 3 million enslaved people (National Endowment for the Humanities 2016). Reverend Samuel Madden, commissioned by the Executive Mansion as a Union chaplain, replaced Rev. White at ASBC in 1863 (Wallace 2003:49).

1865-1870: First African Baptist Church

In 1865, slavery was abolished and all enslaved people were freed under the 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution. Over 250 African-American men who had been killed in action were interred in a corner of the Arlington National Cemetery. At the end of the war, the African-American population of Alexandria County had increased to more than 8,700 or about half the total population (Miller 1998:1).

On January 17, 1867, a fire broke out from the carpenter's shop in the lot directly behind the church. The fire burnt down the shop and adjoining dwelling, belonging to James Webster, but the church, which was insured, was saved by firefighters, and the damage sustained was "comparatively light" (AG 17 January 1867). The Civil War-era engine house may have been damaged by the fire or was demolished after the war, as it is no longer depicted on a map of the city in 1877 (Figure 13).

1870-1888: First Colored Baptist Church

In the 1870s, the membership decided yet again to rename from First Colored Baptist Church to First Baptist Church (Wallace 2003), a decision that often seemed to coincide with expansion or improvements to the building. The church had hosted several academic lectures throughout the 19th century and prepared for more space due to their popularity. One such event was advertised in the papers; the well-traveled Prof. A. E. Soloder, a native of the Fiji Islands, lectured in 1885 (Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser [AG&VA] 17 November 1885). On April 9, 1873, the *Gazette* reported that the congregation had completed an addition, extending the front by 10' to the sidewalk to create a narthex or vestibule and raising the auditorium's floor to create a lecture room in the basement. The addition is not reflected on 1877 mapping (see Figure 13), and another detailed map was not published until 1891 (AG&VA 9 April 1873). The 1891 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map (Figure 14) exhibits the new footprint with a small addition centered on the western or rear elevation, which housed organ equipment. The *History of Alfred Street Baptist Church* (Wallace 2003) has estimated dates for the construction of a new brick shell around the entire building around 1881-1884 and the addition of a foyer and basement around 1897 based on mapping; however, this likely all occurred in 1873 as reported in the recently identified article (Figure 15).

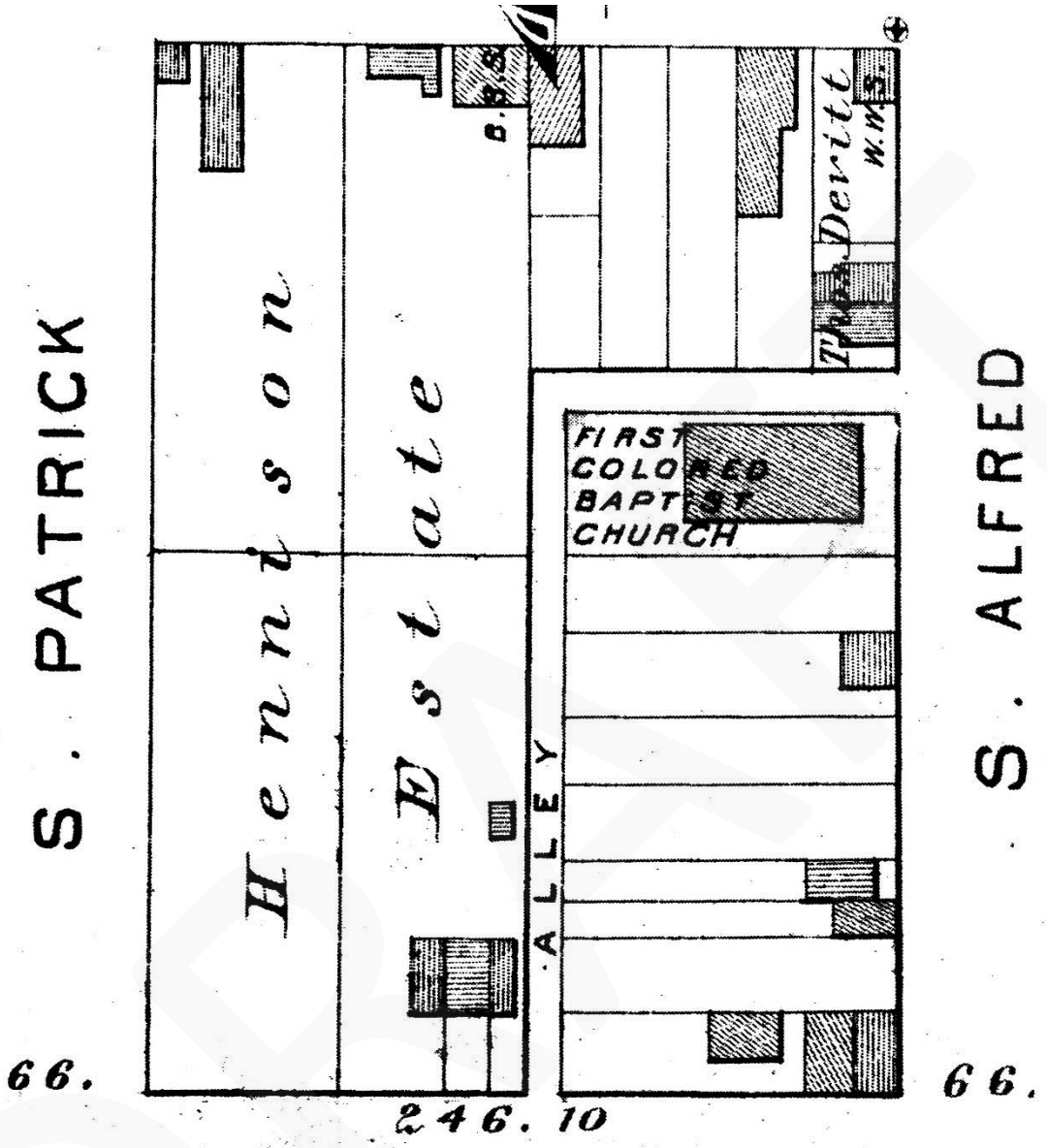


Figure 13: 1877 Hopkins Map Showing Church Before Addition of Narthex

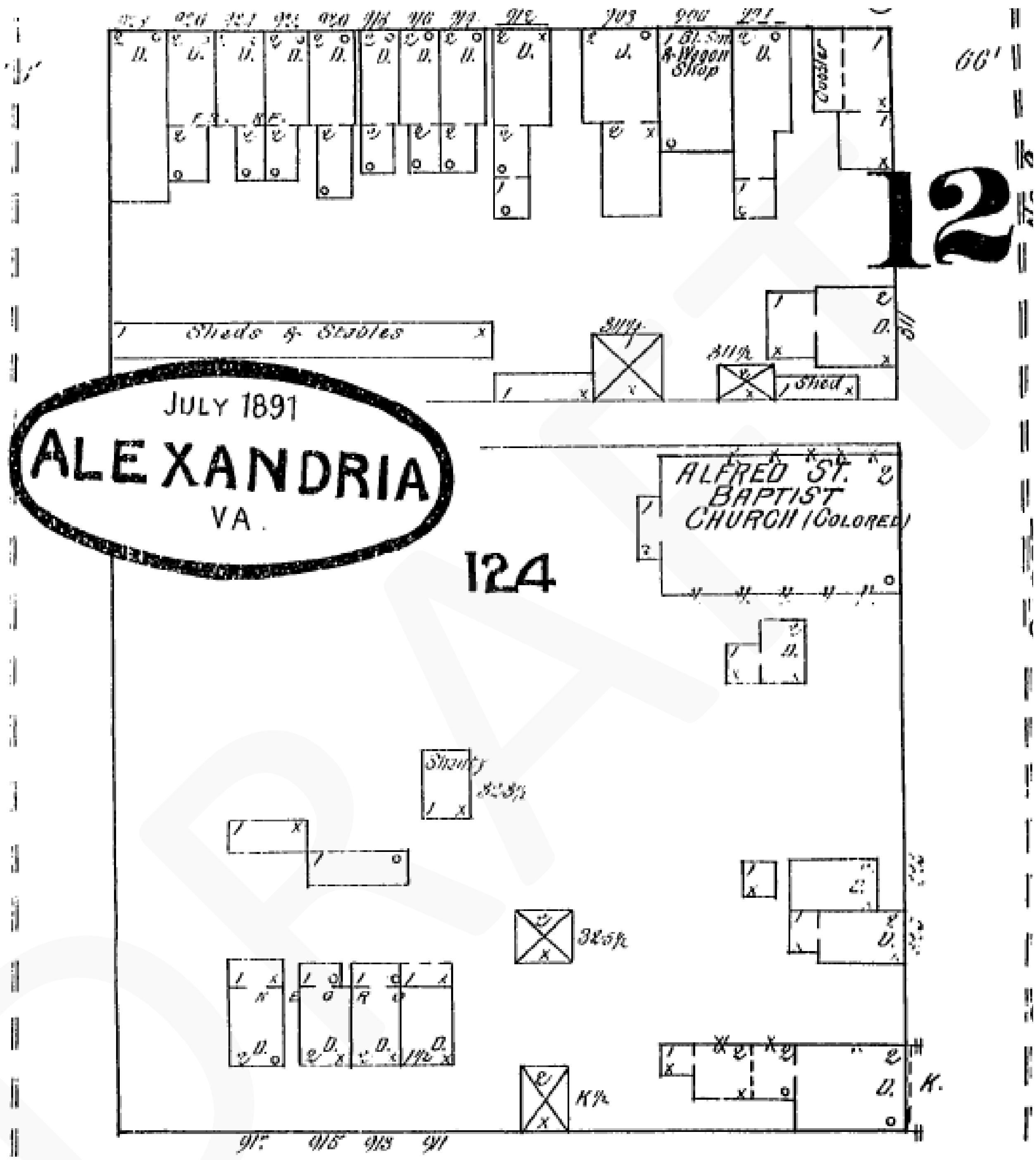


Figure 14: 1891 Sanborn Map Showing Study Area

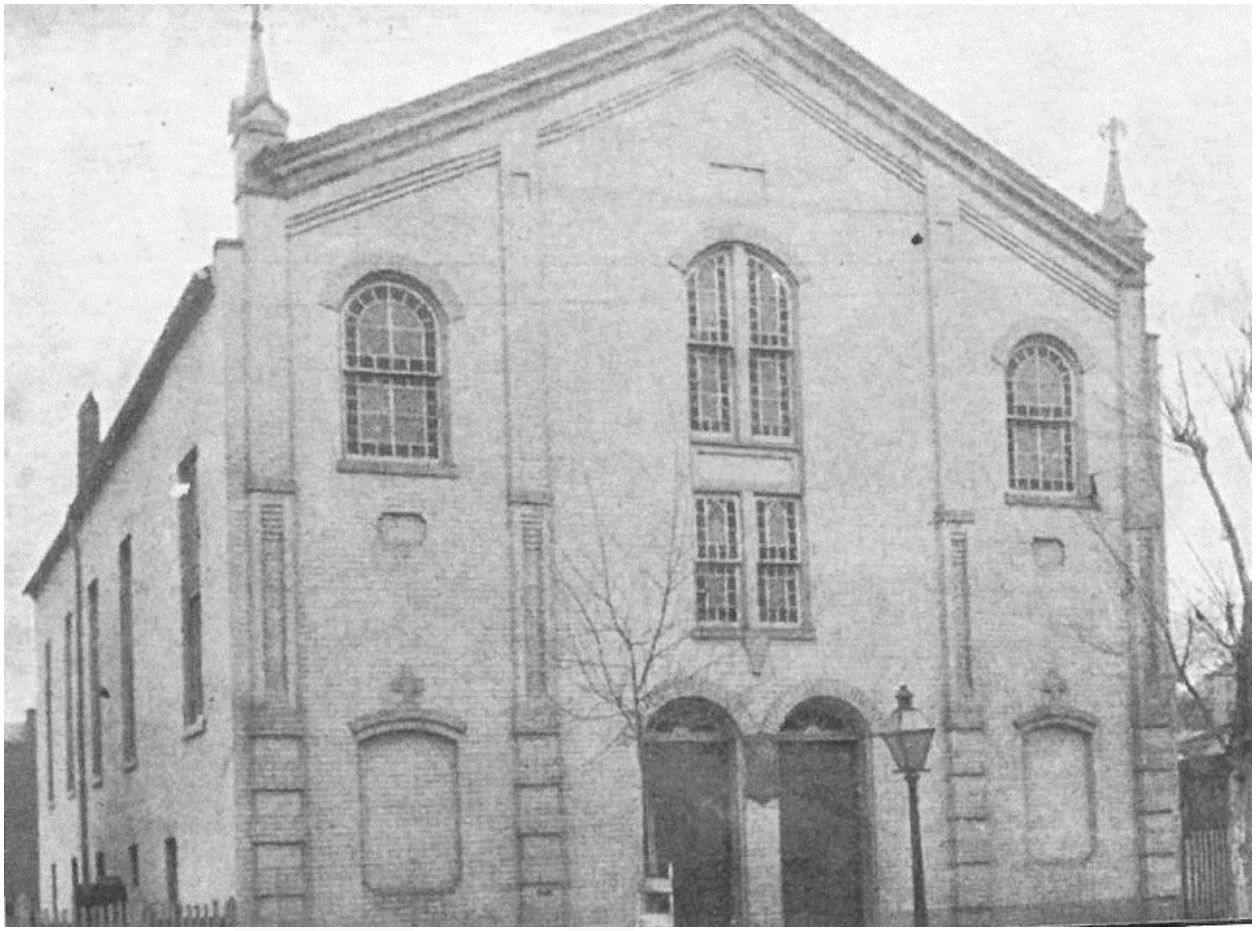


Figure 15: Circa 1880 Façade of Remodeled Church
View to the West (Wallace 2003:64)

These changes are visible on the building in brick irregularity today (Figure 16 - Figure 17), and in a 1992 architectural and archeological investigation, Engineering-Science, Inc. noted that "vertical seams… indicate that a new front (eastern) vestibule/façade was added" (Walker et al 1992). Because of the contrasting upper and lower windows in the church's façade, investigators indicated "the lower windows were later additions," and due to "seams in the exterior brick around lower level windows," investigators believed "the lower level windows were not original" and "the floor was raised" (Walker et al 1992:17). Evidence of the brick veneer was also discovered in the 1992 excavation, which revealed a brick wall behind what is visible today (Figure 18 - Figure 20). The 1873 *Gazette* article also reported that the members planned to have the building "surmounted by a steeple one hundred and thirty-two feet high" (AG&VA 9 April 1873). Additions to the church resulted in a façade with an eclectic vernacular mix of Italianate, a style hugely popular in houses and commercial buildings from the 1850s to 1890s, and Romanesque Revival, popular in early Victorian churches in the mid-19th century due to an emphasis on verticality towards the heavens. The style was famously employed on the Smithsonian Castle in D.C. in the 1850s.

Figure 16: Historic Church Outlining 1873 Addition View Northeast (Thunderbird Archeology 2016)

Figure 17: Historic Church, Outlining Late-19th-Century Addition Where Rev. Madden Memorial Window was Installed in 1900 View Northeast (Thunderbird Archeology 2016)

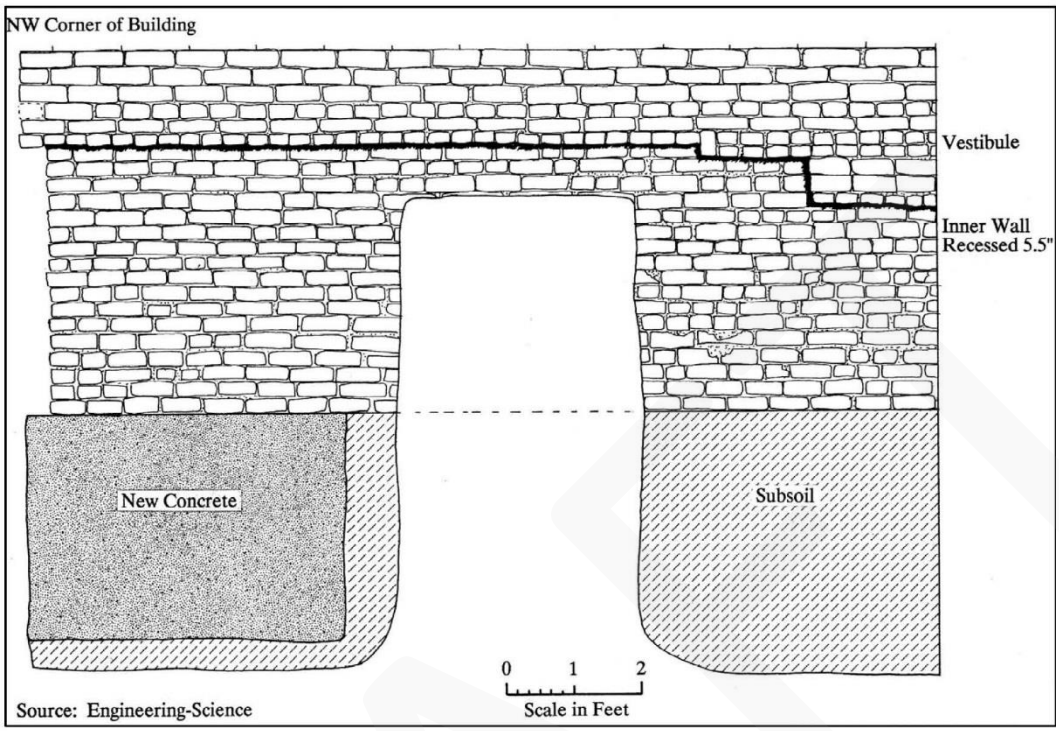


Figure 18: Profile West Wall North of Vestibule (Walker et al 1992:75)

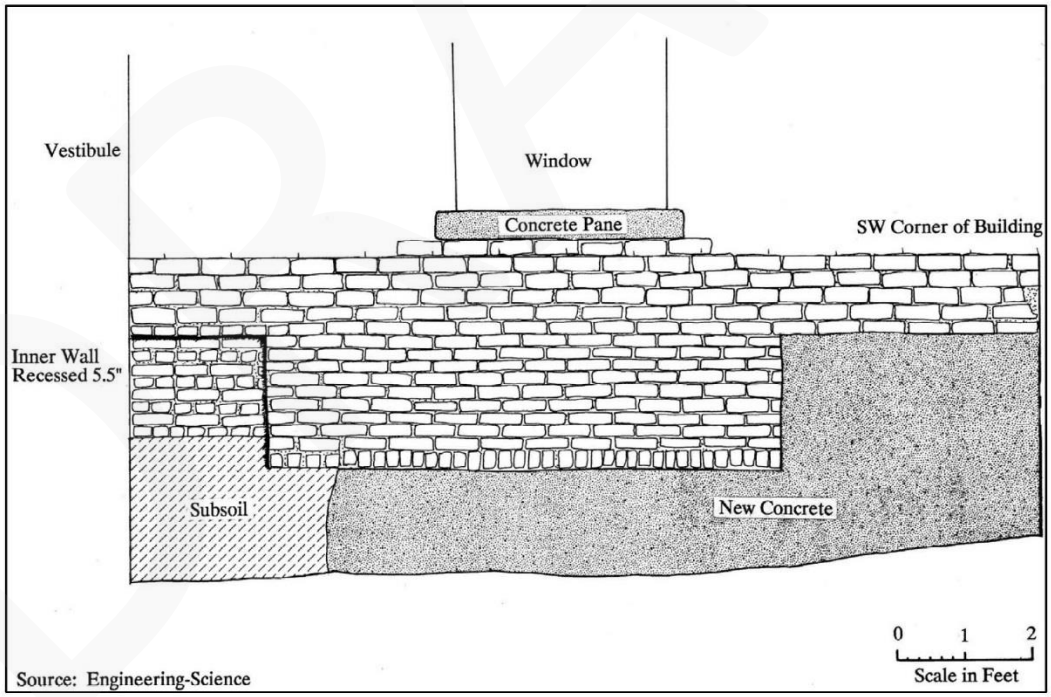


Figure 19: Profile West Wall South of Vestibule (Walker et al 1992:76)

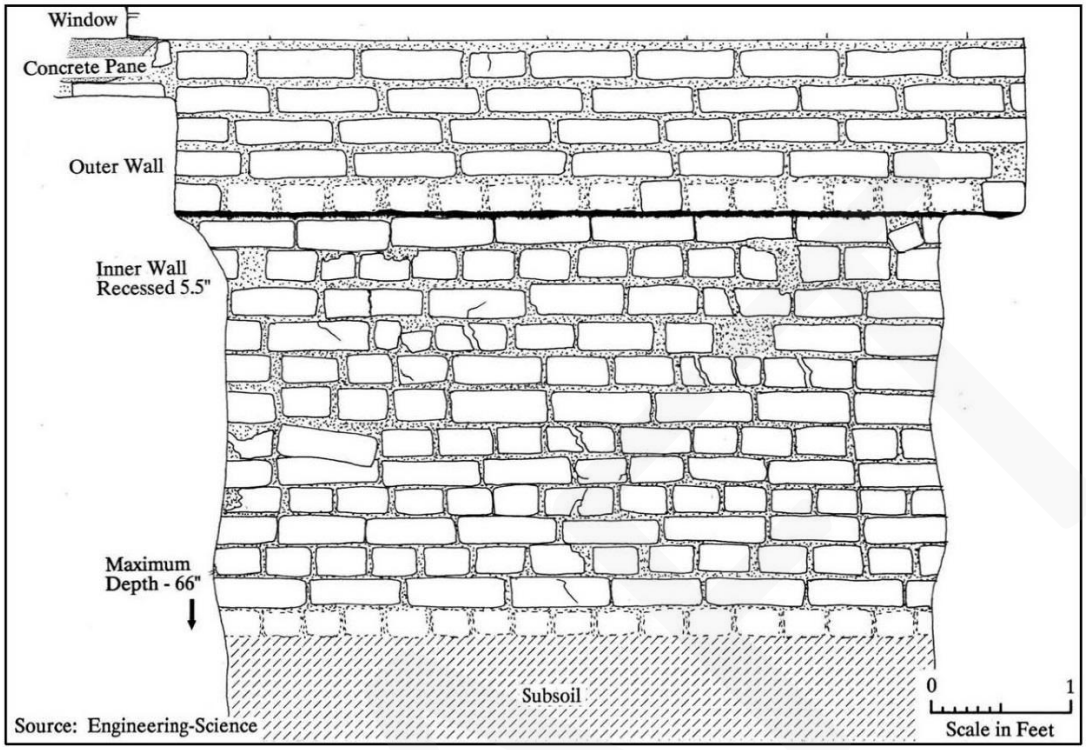


Figure 20:South Profile, North Wall, Construction Pit No. 2 (Walker et al 1992:74)

1888-1948: Alfred Street Baptist Church

Around 1888, the church changed names for the last time to Alfred Street Baptist Church because people called it the Baptist Church on Alfred St. and to avoid confusion with the white First Baptist Church (Wallace 2003:235). Mr. W.H. McCuen was contracted to reroof the building with metal in 1888 (The Evening Star [ES] 1 August 1888). Early in 1896, the church's 1870s steeple and "a portion of the roof was blown off" and the steeple never replaced (AG and VA 10 January 1896).

After the hugely popular Rev. Madden died in 1896, Rev. Alexander Truatt succeeded him and oversaw installation of a stained glass window dedicated in Rev. Madden's honor in 1900 in the small addition on the west wall; the window is visible in an area, which currently serves as the choir room (Wallace 2003:235) (Figure 21).

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, and by the turn of the 20th century, African-American residential neighborhoods were expanding in the study area vicinity, attracted by employment opportunities associated with the railroad and industrial development (Office of Historic Alexandria n.d.).

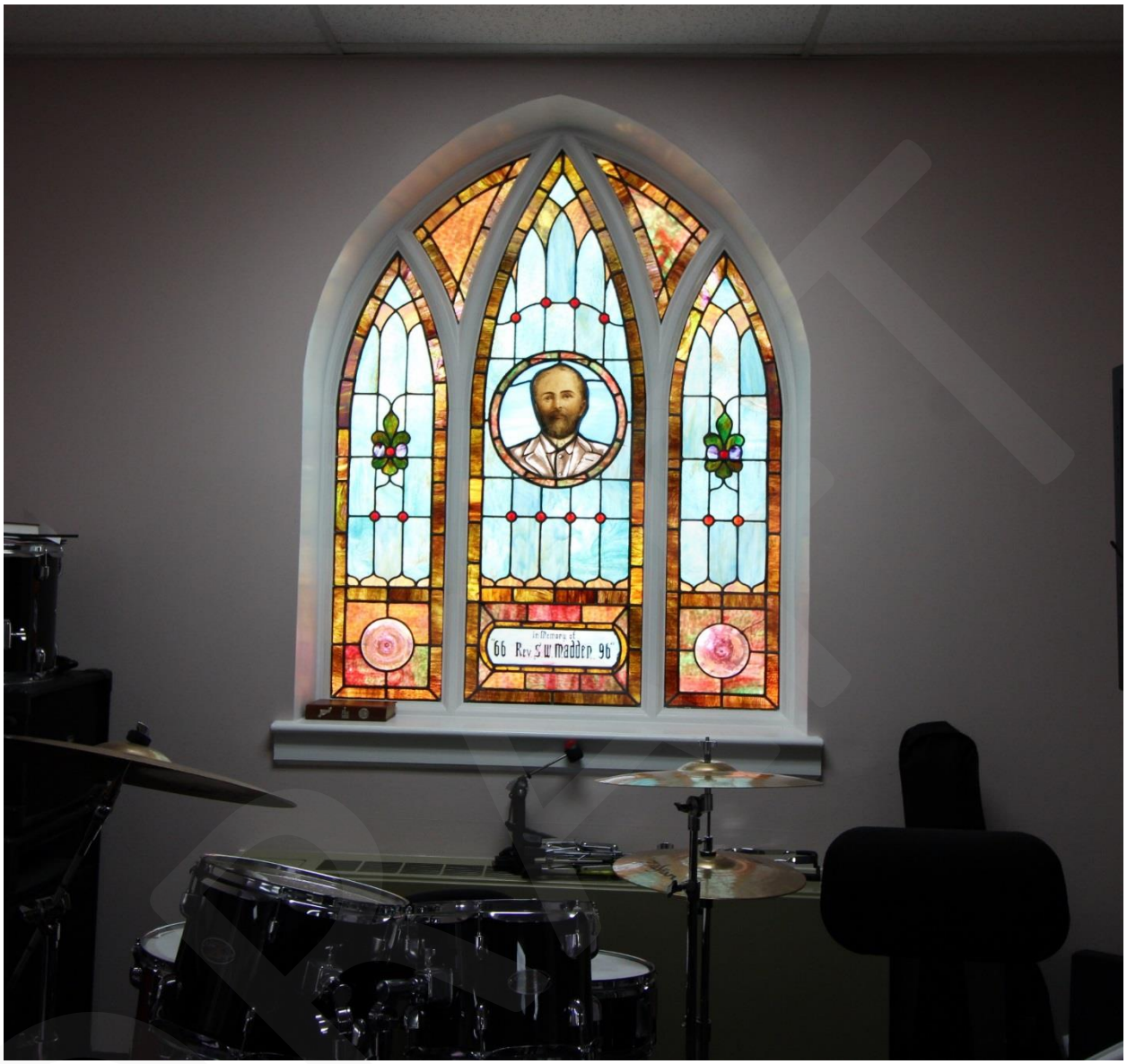


Figure 21: Stained Glass Window of Reverend Madden
View to the West (Thunderbird Archeology 2016)

In 1906, the federal government settled its claim over use of the church as a hospital during the Civil War and paid the church $900 in Civil War reparations (Wallace 2003:236). With that, the church was remodeled again in 1907 and installed a large pipe organ (AG&VA 8 September 1907; The Washington Herald [WH] 28 September 1907) (Figure 22), though the square footage remained the same evident in Sanborn maps in 1896, 1902, 1907, and 1912, which exhibit 22-foot eaves, a furnace, and gas lights. It was reported that "the revivals meeting at Alfred Street Baptist Church continue to meet with great success" in 1912 (WB 27 January 1912). The Rev. W.H.R. Powell replaced the Rev. Truatt in 1914, and the church built a parsonage for him on Queen Street in 1917 (Wallace 2003).

Figure 22: Post 1907 Interior of Sanctuary, Showing New Organ Stained Glass Window of Rev. Madden, Painted Ceiling and Chandelier (Wallace 2003:113)

The photograph dating to this period shows pews with curved arms and backs with two side aisles typical of this era. The pipe organ is on the west wall north of the pulpit behind which the Rev. Madden memorial window is visible. A chandelier hangs from an elaborately painted ceiling. Walls exhibit a motif mimicking the arches of the windows. The decorative paint likely dates to renovations made in the late 19th century and is typical of the Victorian era.

> Victorians tended to use high gloss clear (or tinted) finishes such as varnish or shellac on much of their wood trim and to use flat or oil paints on walls and ceilings in the Victorian period, many prominent buildings such as town halls and churches, the wood trim was given a realistic graining to resemble quarter sawn oak, walnut, or a host of other exotic woods… Churches, courthouses, and state capitols frequently received yet another remarkable use of paint: trompe l'oeil decoration. Applied by skilled artists and artisans, painted designs—most often using distemper paints or oils—could replicate three dimensional architectural detailing such as ornate molded plaster moldings, medallions, panels, and more (Chase 1992).

The Rev. Andrew Warren Adkins took over as pastor of ASBC in 1920 (Wallace 2003:236). In 1921, Rev. Adkins began instructing students beyond the secondary school level and founded the first black high school in Alexandria, Parker Gray High School (Afro-American Institute 1978:91). The church building continued to undergo interior changes from the early to mid-20th century. Electric lighting was installed by the time the 1922 Sanborn was published (Figure 23). In 1928, stained glass windows were added in some places (Wallace 2003).

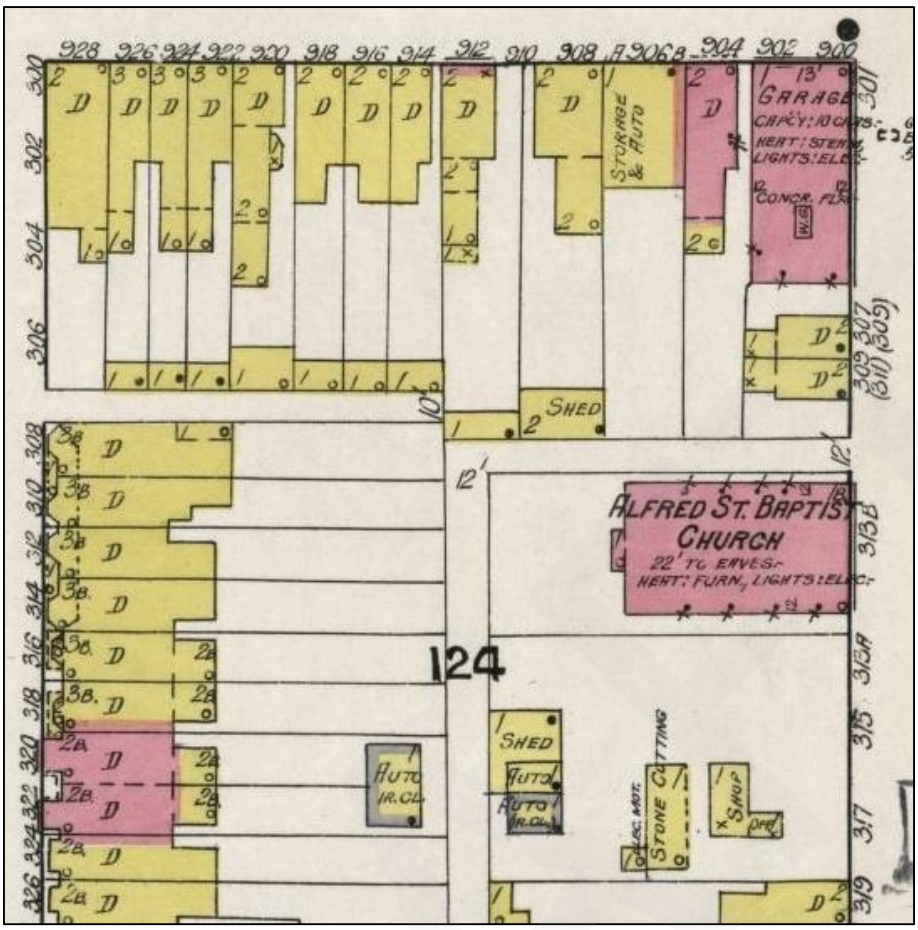


Figure 23: 1921 Sanborn Map Showing Study Area

1948-Present: Alfred Street Baptist Church Expansion and the DIP Urban Renewal

ASBC celebrated its 115th anniversary in 1948, assuming the church's founding was in 1833, and held a week-long rally that raised $435 (Figure 24). That year, the church replaced old pews (see Figure 22) with new ones, moved the organ, and installed new heating, glass windows, and electrical wiring (Figure 25). The Rev. Adkins purchased two lots south of the church with his own money for ASBC (Wallace 2003:133). The church also bought an adjacent lot from a tombstone manufacturer for $10,000 and paid off the mortgage in four years (Wallace 2003:237). The property had a building with two rooms that were sometimes used as classrooms.

Other celebrations and anniversary were to follow. In 1956, ASBC celebrated its 150th Anniversary, since 1806 was the year of the Colored Baptist Society's founding (Wallace 2003:142) (Figure 26). Rev. Adkin's 40th anniversary at ABSC was celebrated in 1960 (Figure 27). The Church planned for the addition of the Andrew W. Adkins Educational Annex, in his honor, but after Rev. Adkins passed the following year, the addition was never constructed (Wallace 2003:237)
Figure 28). Rev. John O. Peterson became the ASBC's 7th pastor in 1964 (Wallace 2003). In 1966, a Planning and Survey Committee formed to explore building a new church and purchased the lot at the rear; however, construction did not begin until 1980 (Wallace 2003:237), and services continued to be held in ASBC's 1855 building (Figure 29).

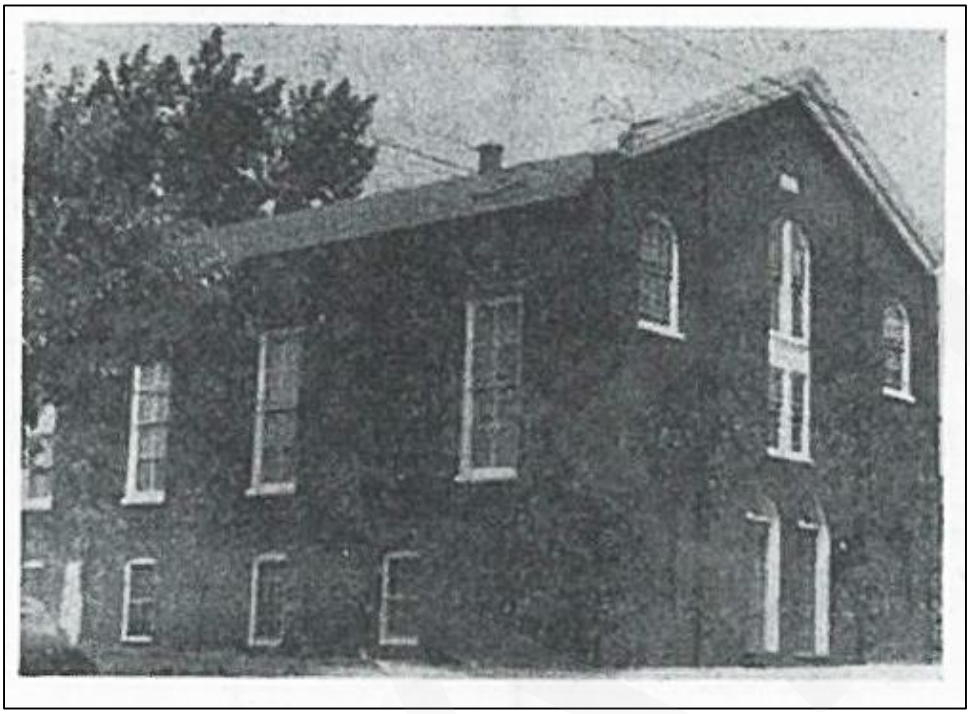


Figure 24: 1948 View of Alfred Street Baptist Church
Photograph on Cover of 115th Church Anniversary Pamphlet (Wallace 2003:133)

Figure 25: 1948 Interior of Sanctuary
(Alton Wallace, personal communication 2016)

Figure 26: 1956 150th Anniversary Banquet
Interior of Basement, View to the East (Wallace 2003:142)

Figure 27: 1960 Rev. Adkins' 40th Anniversary Celebration
Interior of Basement, View to the South (Wallace 2003:146)

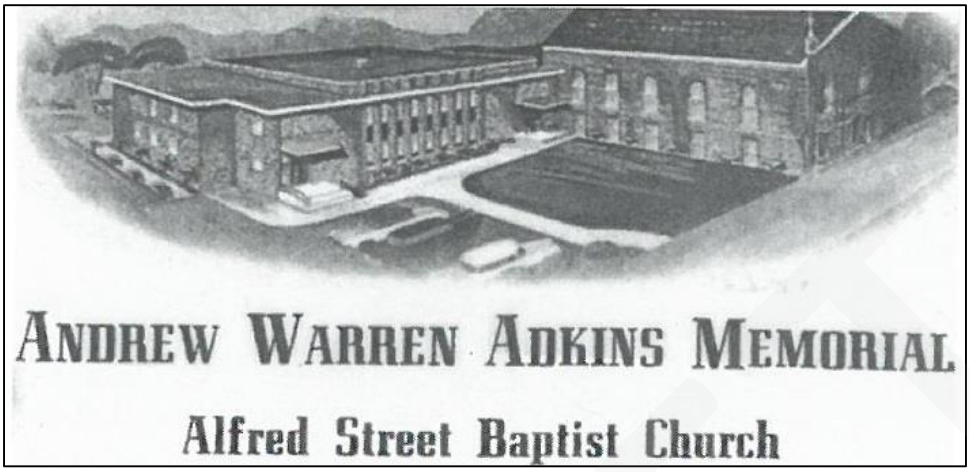


Figure 28: 1962 Proposed Adkins Educational Wing (Wallace 2003:148)

Figure 29: Circa 1970 Interior of Sanctuary View to East (Wallace 2003:166)

Following national trends to rid cities of perceived blight, the Alexandria Housing Redevelopment Authority (ARHA) began an urban renewal project in the 1970s in the Bottoms, which is now better known as "The Dip" due to the name of the project. With plans underway for a new church along Duke Street, members hoped to remove the old church for parking and work with ARHA on proposed affordable housing.

The Old and Historic Alexandria District (OHAD) Board of Architectural Review (BAR) first met at its regular meeting on December 15, 1976 to consider ASBC's demolition application and decided to defer (City of Alexandria Archives and Record Center [ARC]). At a Continued Regular Meeting on December 21, the BAR again deferred to discuss with City Council (ARC). The next month, the BAR discussion resolved that the age of the building could not be determined and had been rebuilt. "The applicant therefore withdrew his request for demolition and the permit [could] be processed" (ARC 12 January 1977). An outcry for saving the building erupted from a small group within the congregation and preservation advocates on the outside with op-ed pieces and petitions circulating and a

memo from the City Director of Historic Resources. In March of 1977, City Council met concerning demolition yet resolved nothing (The Washington Post [WP] 17 March 1977). The controversy continued for four years.

On January 5, 1979, ARHA and ASBC entered into an agreement stipulating ARHA would demolish several buildings on the block and ASBC would serve as the redeveloper of the site, building housing on the southern half and the new church on the northern half, in accordance with DIP Urban Renewal Project, VA R-64 (Referenced in a later deed 1034:246). On September 14, 1979, ARHA conveyed the following to church trustees: all of lot 600 containing 41.120 square feet. shown on a plat recorded in a "Deed of Resubdivision, Dedication and Vacation" (DB 921:804), known as Parcel 5A in the DIP Urban Renewal R-64 (DB 963:385). Following the sale on September 14, 1979, the ownership of "the building formerly used by the church as its house of worship" was challenged as the DIP plan stipulated the creation of 21 parking spaces in its place (Referenced in a later deed 1034:246; Mantague et al 1980:1) (Figure 30).

By late 1980, the new sanctuary was well underway and the issue of the historic church had not been resolved. The BAR denied demolition early that year, and Council was to meet again to determine whether to overturn the BAR's decision (WP 27 November 1980) (Figure 31). On January 7, 1981, Suzanne Schell, the City Director of Historic Resources prepared a memo regarding potential adaptive reuse and preservation grants (Alfred Street Baptist Church Vertical File [ASBCVF], Alexandria Library Special Collections), yet, Douglas Harman, who was both the City Manager and ARHA Executive Director recommended that City Council overturn the BAR's decision, a recommendation that they did not take (ASBCVF 22 April 1981). On September 16, 1981, ARHA released all rights and title to the building to ASBC for $1 and the building was saved (DB 1034:246) (Figure 32).

In 1986, an Expansion, Parking, and Renovation Committee was appointed in response to a growing influx of Maryland members (Wallace 2003:237). By 1992, yet another building expansion was underway. Prior to construction, Engineering-Science, Inc. conducted architectural and archaeological investigations as noted (Walker et al 1992). In November 1991, the 1855 building's interior and exterior and the surrounding landscape were tested. An early to mid-19th century intact stratum was found in the yard and determined to be present across the site.

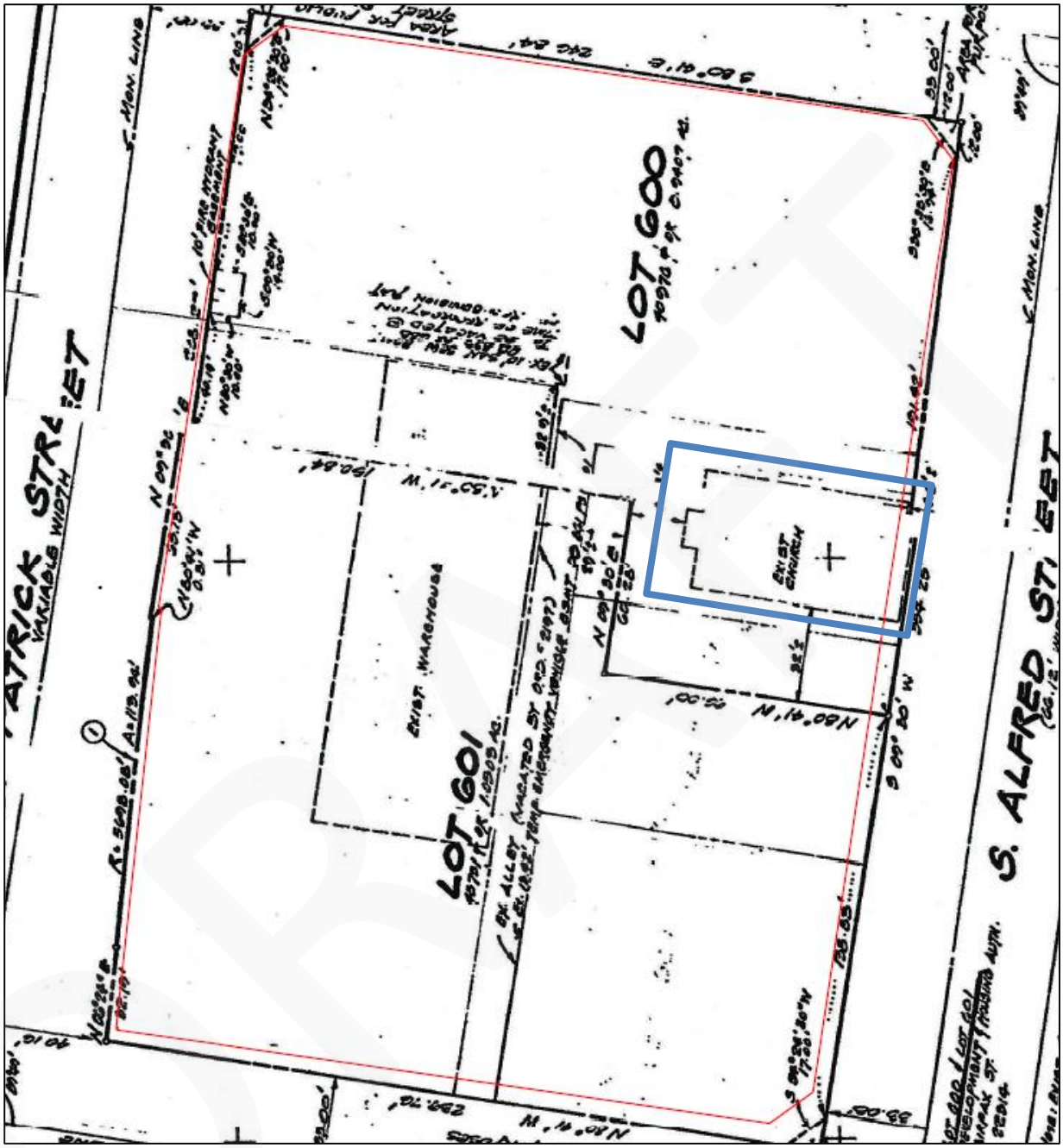


Figure 30: November 16, 1978 Plat of Study Area
"Deed of Resubdivision, Dedication and Vacation" (DB 921:810-812), known as Parcel 5A in the DIP Urban Renewal R-64 (DB 963:385)

Figure 31: 1981 Sanctuary at Alfred Street Baptist Church
View to the Northwest (WP 27 November 1980)

Figure 32: 1855 Sanctuary at Alfred Street Baptist Church
View to the Northwest (AG 13 April 1981:4)

Figure 33: 1981 New Sanctuary on Duke and S. Alfred Street
View to the Southwest (Wallace 2003:180)

A builder's trench was found along the old church's west wall (see Figure 18 – and see Figure 19). The north wall was documented and profiled by investigators (see Figure 20). Engineer-Science also performed construction monitoring during the ASBC's 1992 expansion. A buried well was exposed during construction. The well was excavated down to about 6.5', to the depth of the construction impact. Fill from the well dated to 1934, indicating it was completely filled around the mid-20th century). Construction also graded the historic church's north wall. No further archaeological investigations were recommended for "the yard area west of the historic church, around the perimeter of the historic church or north of the historic church and east of the modern church" (Walker et al 1992:ii).

Construction on the expansion was completed in 1994 (Figure 33 - Figure 34). The 2003 NRHP nomination noted the following:

> While the exterior shell of the historic sanctuary was preserved during the 1994 adaptive reuse and new sanctuary addition, the historic interior spaces have been modified extensively several times since the church was originally constructed. The 1994 interior renovation gutted the original sanctuary, lowered the basement floor level several feet and inserted an additional floor in the previous two-story tall sanctuary space. The present interior consists of a: chapel and reception area on the basement level; a music and choir rehearsal area on the main level; and classrooms in the attic. The original roof framing is intact and unaltered except for the addition of steel angle braces. The building system consists of queen post trusses at 8'-6" on center with principal chords measuring 9"xl2".
>
> The organ pipes were removed and relocated to the new adjacent sanctuary. A tripartite stained glass window, in memory of Reverend S.W. Madden, was relocated during the 1994 renovation from the northwest comer of the church to the west wall niche formerly occupied by a fresco and the organ pipes.
>
> The late Victorian period stained margin glass windows used on all four walls of the historic church building were removed, set in new wood sash and reinstalled in the original frames during the 1994 renovation. The brick north wall of the 1855 building, now encapsulated in the hyphen connection to the 1994 addition, is exposed in the new interior space and the full height of the stained glass windows are exposed by the use of a cut-out through the new second floor. Additional stained glass windows, previously removed from the historic sanctuary when the new sanctuary was constructed, were returned to the historic portion of the building. Early-20th-century, oak, side aisle pews, purchased used in 1923 for use in the historic sanctuary, were reused in the new first-floor chapel (Calvit and Ballentine 2003).

The NRHP was completed the year that ASBC celebrated its bicentennial and published *I Once Was Young: History of Alfred Street Baptist Church (1803-2003)* written by Alton S. Wallace. As the church continues to thrive over 200 years later, plans are now underway for yet another sanctuary along S. Patrick Street and the rehabilitation of the 1855 church.

Figure 34: 1994 Addition on Duke and S. Alfred Street
View to the Southwest (Wallace 2003:202)

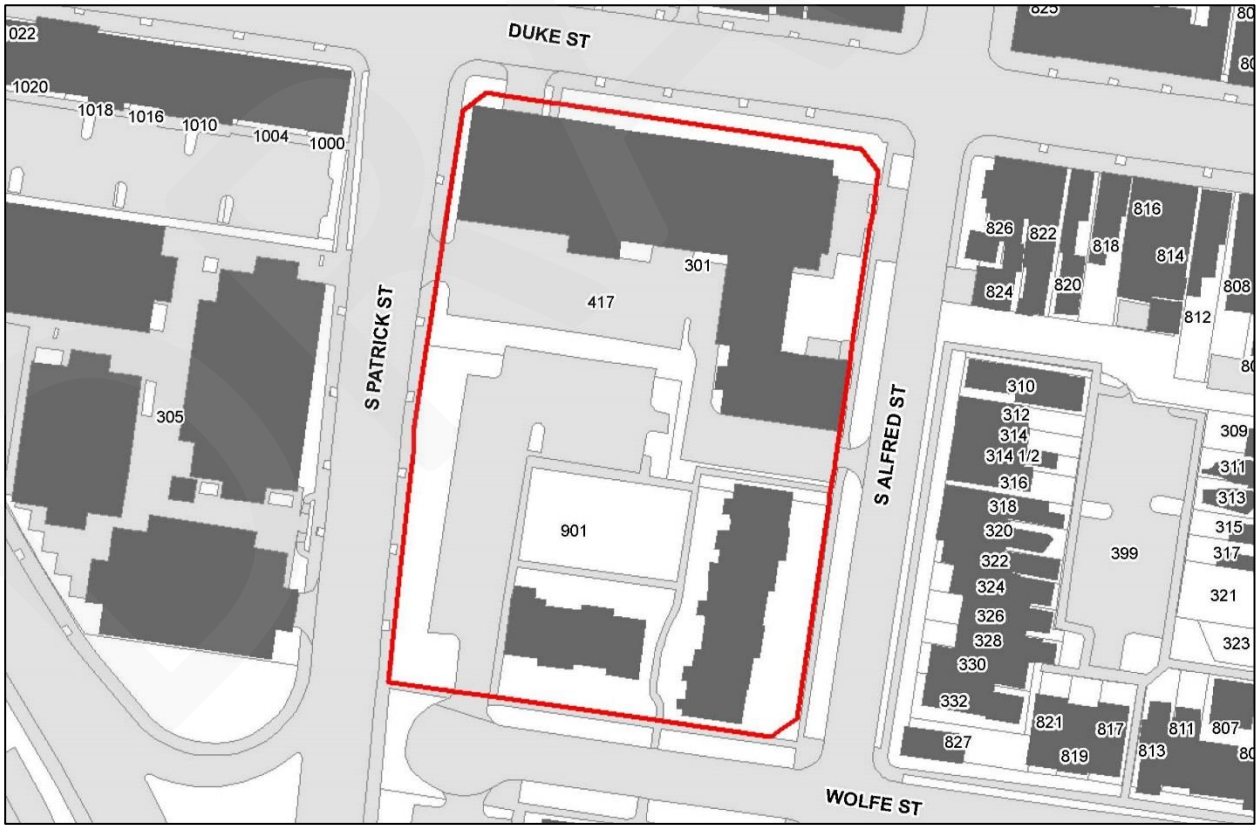


Figure 35: 2016 Parcel Viewer Map (not to scale)

1820-Present, ARHA DIP Block 5

900-928 Duke Street

Lot No. 1 – 900 and 902 Duke Street, also known as 301 Alfred Street

On October 20, 1820, James Lawrason bequeathed Lot 1, measuring 27 by 114 feet, to James Lawrason Jr. (WB 3:319). Thomas Devitt eventually purchased the property in the mid-19th century and constructed a building on the northeast corner of the block (1877 Hopkins Map). After Thomas's passing in 1887, his son, James Devitt, inherited the land on the east corner of Duke and Alfred Streets (DB 23:335). James died a few years later in 1893 and Mary A. Devitt inherited the property (DB 30:424; DB 41:188). This lot eventually became 900 and 902 Duke Street and, by the 20th century, was known as 301 Alfred Street. Maps from 1891 identify the building at the address as a one-story shingle roof frame structure with a cobbler shop in the west most attachment (Figure 36). In 1896, the building was labeled on maps as a drugstore (Figure 38). The drugstore was robbed in 1900; the owner was listed as C.J.W. Summers according to the newspaper account (Alexandria Gazette, 6 November 1900:3).

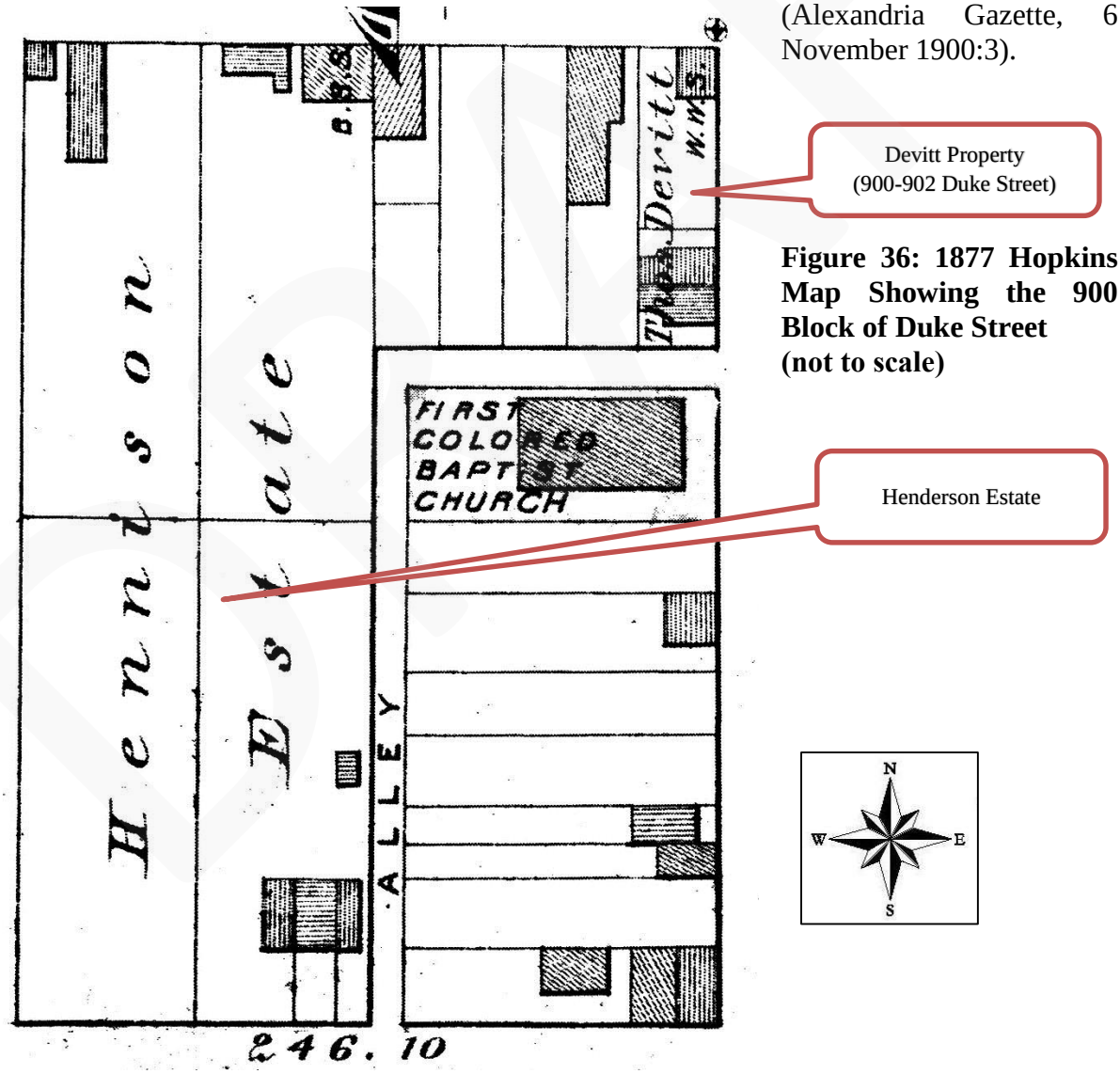


Figure 36: 1877 Hopkins Map Showing the 900 Block of Duke Street (not to scale)

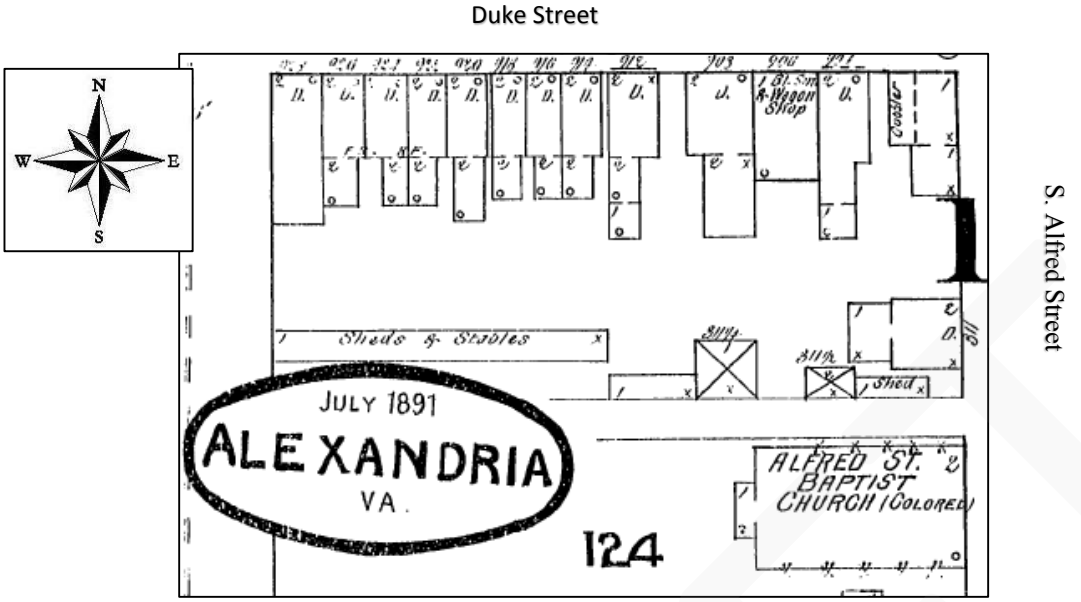


Figure 37: 1891 Sanborn Map Showing 900 Block of Duke Street (not to scale)

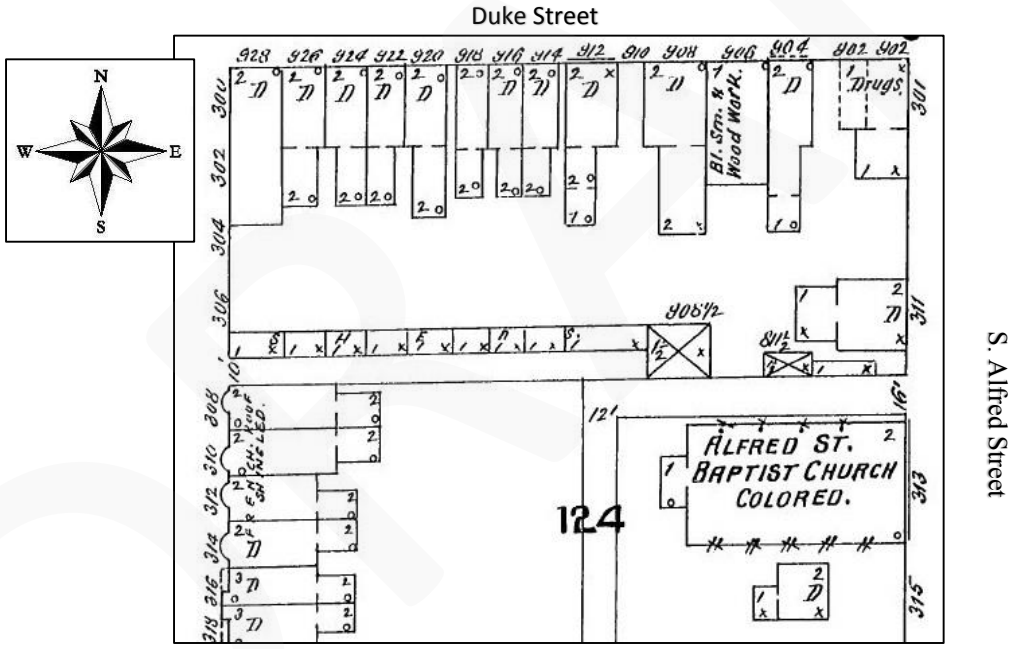


Figure 38: 1896 Sanborn Map Showing 900 Block of Duke Street (not to scale)

By 1902, the drugstore had added another attachment on the building's southwest corner, a little structure was built on the lot south of the drugstore, and the southeastern attachment was documented as a sort of chemical laboratory where drugs were most likely mixed (Figure 39). The addition was also of frame construction as indicated on the 1907 and 1912 maps (Figure 40 - Figure 41). The property had drastically altered by 1921. The drugstore's one-story frame structure had been removed and replaced 13' by 12' brick garage with a concrete floor, wire glass skylights, steam heating, electric lights, and a ten car capacity (Figure 42).

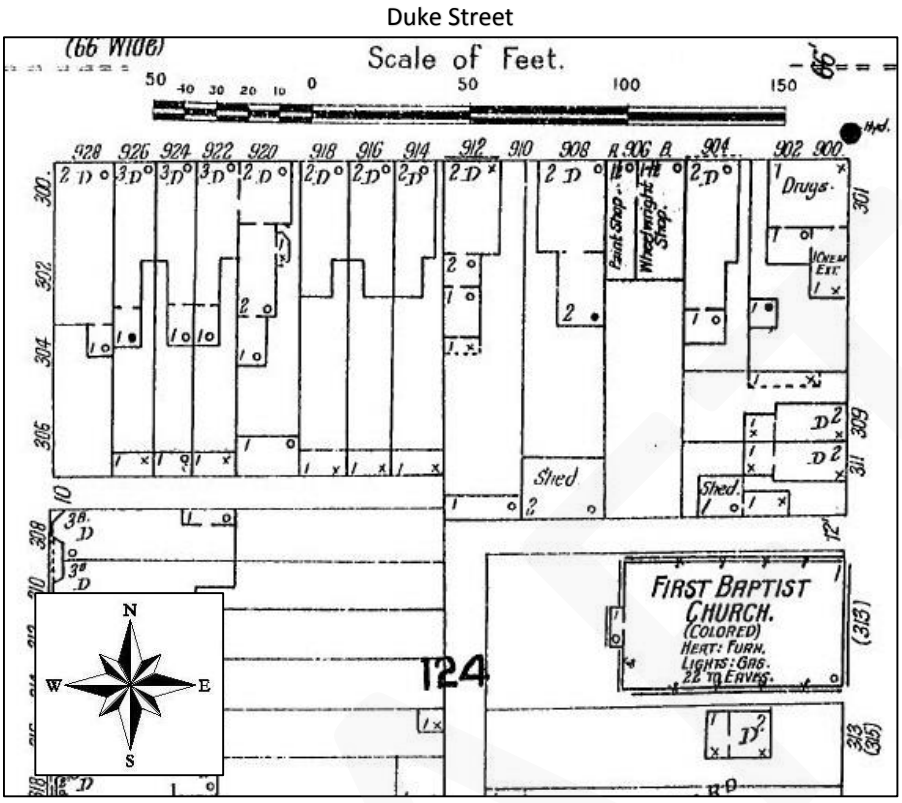


Figure 39: 1902 Sanborn Map Showing 900 Block of Duke Street (not to scale)

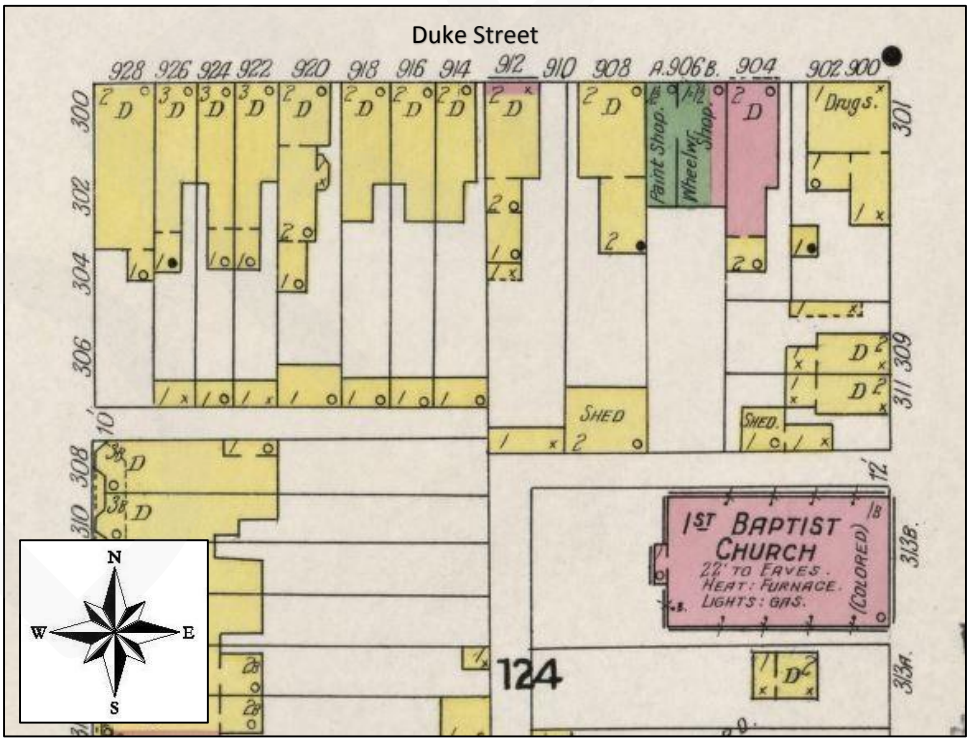


Figure 40: 1907 Sanborn Map Showing 900 Block of Duke Street (not to scale)

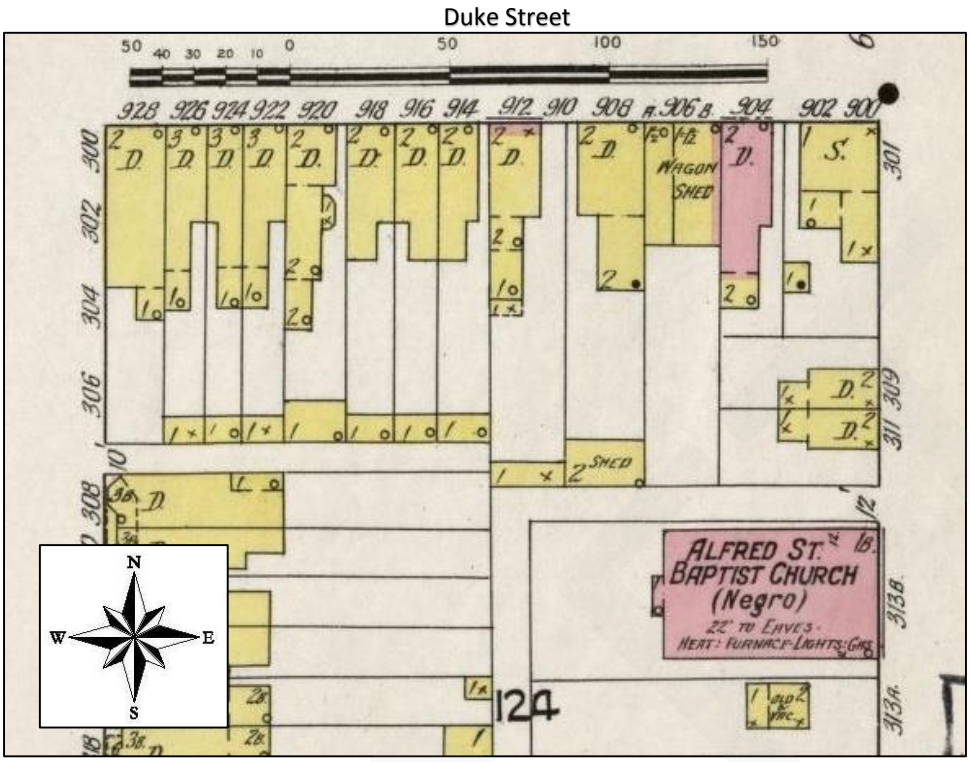


Figure 41: 1912 Sanborn Map Showing 900 Block of Duke Street (not to scale)

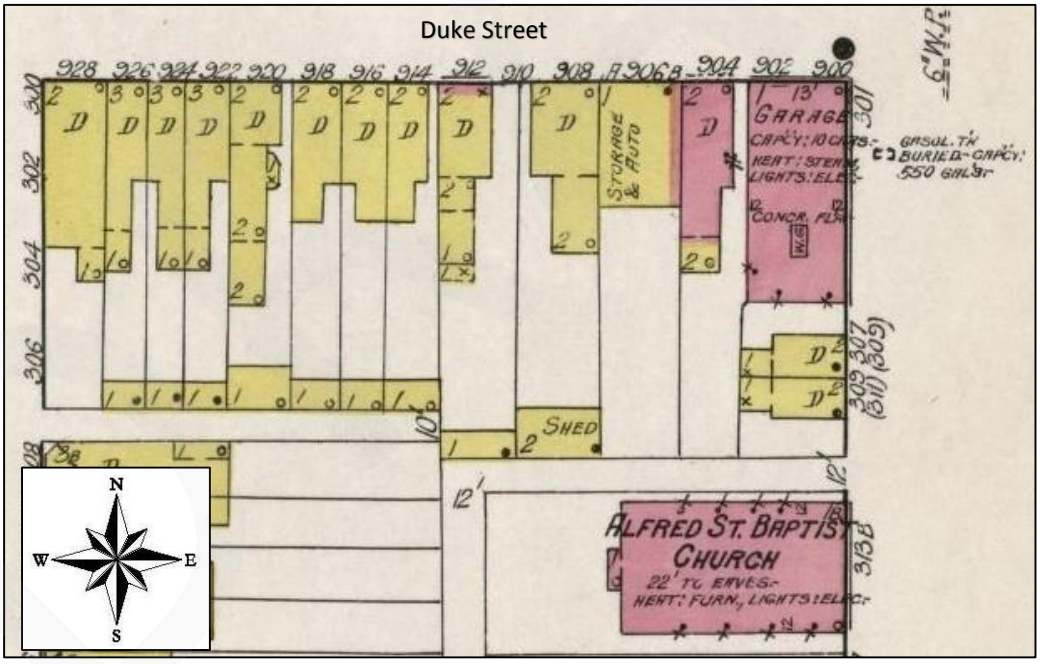


Figure 42: 1921 Sanborn Map Showing Study Area (not to scale)

By 1941, the brick building had become a storefront again and retained its wire glass skylights but now had pilaster walls (Figure 43). Various tenants and owners occupied the property throughout the mid-20th century. In 1947, Hatter F. Parker had the building on the property re-roofed and insulated (Repair and Alterations Permits No. 7747). In 1959, A. &

S. Glass Co., an auto glass shop, occupied the property and applied to repair the building's garage (Repair and Alterations Permits No. 15557).

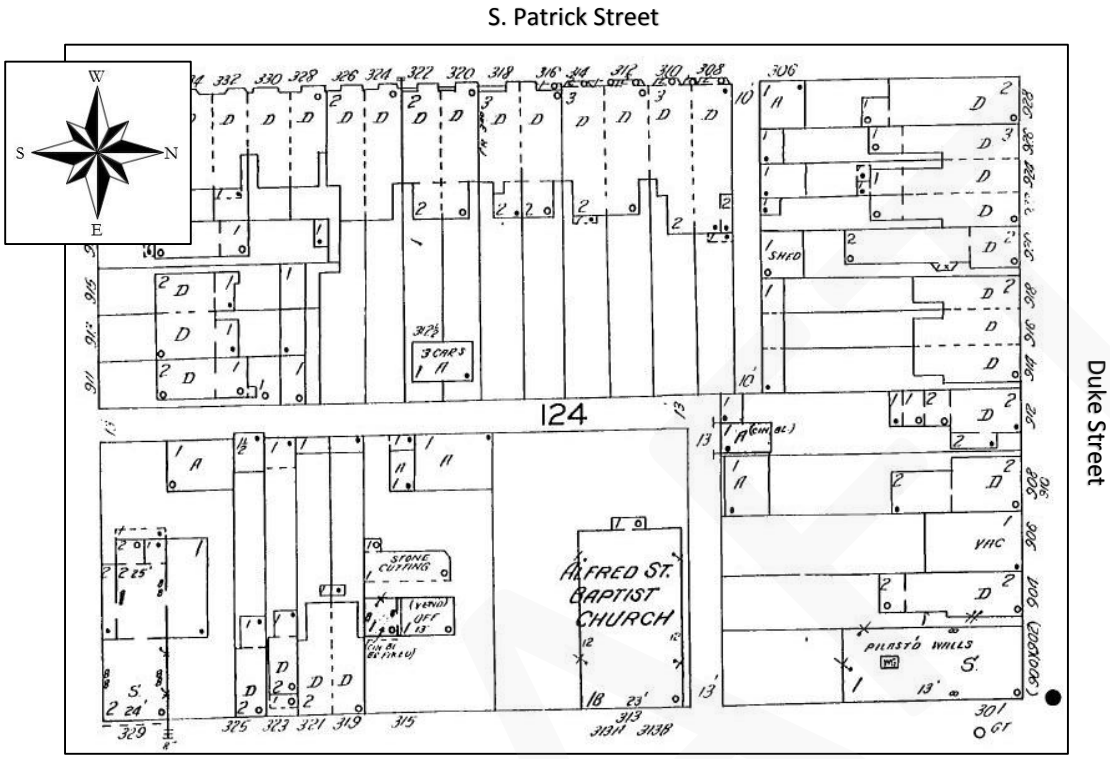


Figure 43: 1941 Sanborn Map Showing 900 Block of Duke Street (not to scale)

In 1961, The Alexandria Development and Housing Authority (ARHA) ultimately purchased the lot from trustees of the Alfred Street Baptist Church (ASBC) (DB 963:385). ARHA returned the property to the church trustees in 1981 (DB 1034:246). In 2014, church trustees turned the deed over to the ASBC (DB 140015265).

Lot No. 2 – 904 Duke Street

On October 20, 1820, James Lawrason bequeathed Lot 2, measuring 24' by 114', to Polly Levering (WB 3:319). This lot was addressed as 904 Duke Street by the late 19th century. In 1877, a large building was documented on the property (see Figure 36). This building was later recorded in 1891 as a two-story slate roof brick dwelling with a small one-story slate roof frame attachment in the back (see Figure 37). The building's small attachment had a second story added to it by 1907 (see Figure 40). The brick dwelling had windows noted on the second story in 1921 (see Figure 42).

Many occupied and owned the property from the late 19th century and throughout the 20th century (see Appendix II, Table 4). According the 1897 Alexandria City Directory (ACD), Alfred Owens, a bricklayer, and John Owens, a carpenter, lived at the address (1897 ACD). The 1903 ACD recorded Annie Owens, a widow, at 904 Duke Street (1903 ACD). In 1910, William Baker, laundryman, William Baker Jr., and Miss Emma Summers were listed at the address. (1910 ACD). C.E. Keller occupied the address in 1920 and 1924 (1920 ACD;

1924 ACD). In 1928, Robert and Stella Gallaham inhabited the property (1928 ACD). Then in 1936, Henry Barden was documented at the address (1936 ACD). From around 1938-1942, Albert Williamson dwelled there (1938 ACD; 1940 ACD; 1942 ACD). From around 1954-1959, Mary Williamson resided at the address (1954 ACD; 1955 ACD; 1959 ACD).

In 1972, Martin Adem applied to repair the floors, plaster, basement walls, wood siding and front and basement stairs of the house situated on the property (Repair and Alterations Permit No. 28991). Millard Seay is noted at 904 Duke Street in 1975 and was likely a tenant of Martin Adem (1975 ACD). Martin Adem sold the property to ARHA in 1976 along with several other lots along Duke and South Patrick Streets (DB 817:385; DB 817:389). ARHA turned the property over to trustees of the Alfred Street Baptist Church in 1979 (DB 963:385). Tenants continued to occupy the property. P. Kaufman was listed at the address in 1978 and E. Cameron was listed in 1980 (1978 ACD; 1980 ACD). All rights to the property were given to trustees of ASBC by ARHA in 1981 (DB 1034:246). Trustees deeded the land to ABSC in 2014 (DB 140015265).

Lot No. 3 – 906a and 906b Duke Street

On October 20, 1820, James Lawrason bequeathed Lot 3, measuring 24' by 114', to Alice Lawrason Jr. (WB 3:319). This lot was addressed as 906 Duke Street by the late 19th century. In 1877, the property was a vacant, empty lot (see Figure 36). During the 1890s, the property contained a one-story slate roof building used as a blacksmith and woodwork shop to repair wagons (see Figure 37 and Figure 38). In 1897, John Chauncey, a blacksmith, occupied the property (1897 ACD; see Appendix II, Table 5). Joseph Chauncey, a coach painter, was listed at the address in 1904 (1904 ACD). By 1902, the building had been divided into two one-and-one-half story shops: a print shop on the east side, and a wheelwright shop on the west side (see Figure 39). In 1907, the building was noted as having a special frame with brick siding on its eastern exterior (see Figure 40). By 1912, the building had become solely a wagon shop (see Figure 41). The building became one-story again by 1921 but with a composite roof and was noted as a "Storage & Auto" store (see Figure 42). The building was vacant in 1941 and was recorded as a car garage in 1959 (see Figure 43).

The address was documented as a vacant property from around 1936-1959 (1936 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1940 ACD; 1942 ACD; 1959 ACD). Murry Goldberg applied to demolish on the property in 1959, and Mollie Richwold applied to build on the property a little over a week later (Demolition Permit No. 401; New Construction Permit No. 7112). In 1962, Martin Adem applied to repair install joists, replace glass, and paint the building (Repair and Alterations Permit No. 18411). Linda Garvin inhabited the address in 1975 (1975 ACD). Martin Adem sold the property to ARHA in 1976 along with several other lots along Duke and South Patrick Streets (DB 817:385; DB 817:389). ARHA turned the property over to trustees of the Alfred Street Baptist Church in 1979 (DB 963:385). Tenants continued to dwell at the property. Kanas was noted at the address in 1978 and Getrude Holman was listed in 1980 (1978 ACD; 1980 ACD). All rights to the property were given to trustees of ASBC by ARHA in 1981 (DB 1034:246). Trustees deeded the land to ABSC in 2014 (DB 140015265).

Lot No. 4 – 908 Duke Street

On October 20, 1820, James Lawrason bequeathed Lot 4, measuring 24' by 114', to Ann [Lawrason] Levering (WB 3:319). This lot was addressed as 908 Duke Street by the late 19th century. In 1877, the property was vacant (see Figure 36). By 1891, a two-story slate roof dwelling with a two-story shingle roof attachment was situated on the property (see Figure 37). The attachment was reroofed multiple times over the decades: with a composite roof by 1902, slate by 1921, and composite again by 1941 (see Figure 39; Figure 42; Figure 43). In 1959, the building had become a store.

Various tenants and owners resided the property throughout the 20th century (see Appendix II, Table 6). John Chesser, a carpenter, Elmer Kyle, a conductor, Arthur Smith, a machinist, Buena Williams, a widow, and John L. were listed at the addressed in 1904 (1904 ACD). In 1910, Herman Chesser, a messenger, John Chesser, a mill hand, Ephriam Chesser, a carpenter, Leonard Chesser, a brakeman, and Mary Chess, a widow, occupied the address (1910 ACD). John E. Chesser continued to dwell at the address from around 1920-1936 (1920 ACD; 1924 ACD; 1936 ACD). He applied to repair the dwelling's door and windows in 1930 (Repair and Alterations Permit No. 979). Allen Elicott and Jesse Green lived there in 1938 (1938 ACD). Jay duVon was noted at the address in 1940 (1940 ACD). Francis Hillhouse inhabited the dwelling in 1942 (1942 ACD). A.R. Schreiner applied to re-shingle the "rear part" of the residence in 1945 (Repair and Alterations Permit No. 6516). Dr. & Mrs. N. Breslauer applied to repair the building in 1950 (Repair and Alterations Permit No. 9464). From around 1954-1955, the address was occupied by Colonial Animal Hospital (1954 ACD; 1955 ACD). Murray Goldberg applied to repair the residence's plastering, plumbing, electrical, flooring, siding, and outside stairway in 1958 (Repair and Alterations Permit No. 13999). Fred Powell was documented at the address in 1959 (1959 ACD). In 1964, Marty's Floor Covering applied to build on the property, and in 1965, Martin L. Adem applied to demolish on the property (New Construction Permit No. 8008; Demolition Permit No. 748). Getrude McConnell resided at the address in 1975 (1975 ACD).

Martin Adem sold the property to ARHA in 1976 along with several other lots along Duke and South Patrick Streets (DB 817:385; DB 817:389). ARHA turned the property over to trustees of the Alfred Street Baptist Church in 1979 (DB 963:385). The address was recorded as vacant in 1978, and a tenant, Patricia Casey, was listed at the address in 1980 (1978 ACD; 1980 ACD). All rights to the property were given to trustees of ASBC by ARHA in 1981 (DB 1034:246). Trustees deeded the land to ABSC in 2014 (DB 140015265).

Lot No. 5 – 910 and 912 Duke Street

On October 20, 1820, James Lawrason bequeathed Lot 5, measuring 24' by 114', to Mercy Lawrason (WB 3:319). A building was located on the property in 1877 (see Figure 36). In the 1890s, the building was documented as a two-story shingle roof dwelling and acquired two attachments extending from the back of the dwelling. The first was a two-story slate roof attachment and the second, a one-story slate roof attachment, was connected to back

of the first (see Figure 37 and Figure 38). Another tiny shingle roof attachment was added to the back of the second by 1902 (see Figure 39). In 1907, the dwelling was documented as a frame building with a brick facade (see Figure 40). The main two-story dwelling had an eastern two-story composite roof attachment put in by 1941 (see Figure 43). The building and its attachments were addressed as 910 and 912 Duke Street.

During the 20th century, many tenants and owners occupied 910 and 912 Duke Street (see Appendix II, Tables 7-8). In 1897, John Ronway, a painter, dwelled at 912 Duke Street (1897 ACD). John E. Chesser was listed at 910 Duke Street in 1903 (1903 ACD). Mabel Mason, a tailoress, lived there in 1903 (1903 ACD). In 1904, John Eaton, a painter, and clerks, Cora Lee Eaton and George Eaton, occupied the address (1904 ACD). John Eaton continued to reside there in 1910 as well as Miss Katie Eaton and John Eaton of Elk Potomac Yards (1910 ACD). Katie Eaton solely inhabited the address in 1920 (1920 ACD). From around 1924-1940, Carlton Apperson dwelled at the residence (1924 ACD; 1936 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1940 ACD). In 1932 and 1934, Carlton applied for permits to repair the dwelling (Repair and Alterations Permit No. 417; Repair and Alterations Permit No. 854). From 1941-1946, Clarence Acres applied for permits to repair and renovate the residence (Repair and Alterations Permit 8969; Repair and Alterations Permit No. 4882; Repair and Alterations Permit No. 7060). Jesse Berry was listed at the address in 1942 and may have been one of Clarence's tenants (1942 ACD). Doris Keyes inhabited the residence in 1954 and 1955 (1954 ACD; 1955 ACD). Ruby Folmer applied to repair the building in 1954 (Repair and Alterations Permit No. 11725). Anna Pollard lived at 912 Duke Street in 1959 (1959 ACD). Ardith Collins applied to repair the residence in 1961 and 1969 (Repair and Alterations Permit No. 17465; Repair and Alterations Permit No. 18170). In 1975, William Durkin occupied the 910 Duke Street (1975 ACD). Sherry Paul resided at the address in 1975 (1975 ACD).

Martin Adem sold 910 and 912 Duke Street to ARHA in 1976 along with several other lots along Duke and South Patrick Streets (DB 817:385; DB 817:389). ARHA turned the property over to trustees of the Alfred Street Baptist Church in 1979 (DB 963:385). Tenants continued to occupy the properties. Shawn Brook was recorded at 910 Duke Street in 1978, and Cassandra Byrd was listed at the address in 1980 (1978 ACD; 1980 ACD). Chris Lynch was noted at 912 Duke Street in 1978, and Laura Dupnis was listed at the address in 1980 (1978 ACD; 1980 ACD). All rights to the property were given to trustees of ASBC by ARHA in 1981 (DB 1034:246). Trustees deeded the land to ABSC in 2014 (DB 140015265).

<u>Corner of Duke & Alley, 914 – 920 Duke Street</u>

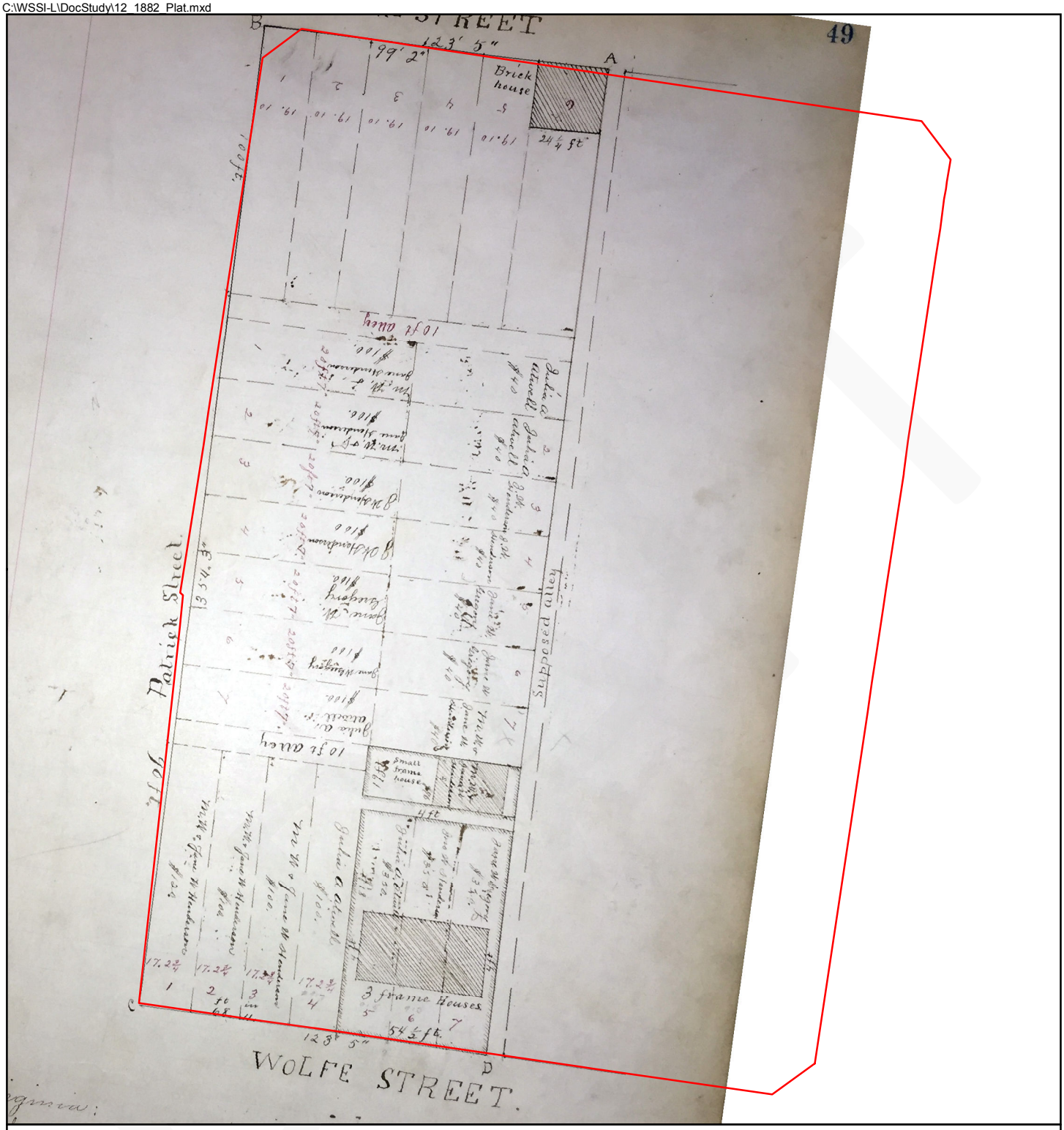
On September 14, 1795, Benjamin Shreve purchased two one-half acre lots in Alexandria on the south side of Duke, north side of Wolfe, and the east side of Patrick from William T. Alexander (DB G:362). By the end of the 18th century, Shreve owned the western half of the block, which encompassed the west half of the Duke St. Shreve died in 1801 and willed that the lot held jointly with James Lawrason was to be sold to pay off his remaining debts (WB A:48). Sometime during the mid-to-late 19th century, Peter and Hibbie Henderson [Hennison] purchased the entirety of the late Shreve's property and owned the

west half of the block (see Figure 36). On Peter and Hibbie's passing in 1882, the property was distributed amongst their heirs and included the lots that would become 914-920 Duke St. (DB 23:46). A plat map from 1882 shows how the estate was divided amongst heirs: Jane W. Gregory, J.W. Henderson, Julia A. Atwell, and M.W. & Jane W. Henderson (Figure 44; DB 23:49). Two buildings were located within the vicinity of these addresses in 1877, and one building is noted on the 1882 plat at what would be 914 Duke St. (see Figure 44).

In 1891, 914-920 Duke Street was a series of two-story slate roof frame dwellings with two-story slate roof attachments (see Figure 37). By 1902, 914-918 Duke St. had incorporated their attachments into the main dwelling (see Figure 39). 920 Duke St. was altered to enlarge the two-story attachment; two additions were also built off of it. A one-story tiny addition to the east was round and had a shingle roof. The other one-story addition to the south had a composite roof. This southern addition was developed into a two-story attachment with a slate roof by 1912 and was incorporated into the original two-story attachment by 1941 (see Figure 41; Figure 42; Figure 43). Unlike 920 Duke St., 914-918 Duke St. remained visibly unchanged on maps into the late 20th century.

On June 4, 1882, John Henderson, Special Commissioner of the Alexandria Circuit Court, deeded two lots, which would become 914-918 Duke St., over to Joseph E. Chauncey (DB 11:440). Chauncey rented out 914-918 Duke St. to several tenants (see Appendix II, Tables 9-11). Willis Goodrich, a carpenter, lived at 914 Duke St. from 1897-1903 (1897 ACD; 1903 ACD). Charles Lyles, a carpenter and wheelwright, inhabited 916 Duke St. from about 1897-1904 (1897 ACD; 1904 ACD). George Kidwell, a woodworker, and his wife, Laura, occupied 918 Duke St. from 1897-1903 (1897 ACD; 1903 ACD; 1904 ACD). Lester Bowman was listed at 918 Duke St. from 1920-1928 (1920 ACD; 1924 ACD; 1928 ACD). Thomas Yancey lived at 918 Duke St. from 1936-1942 (1936 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1940 ACD; 1942 ACD). Robert Brown resided at 914 Duke St. from 1938-1940 (1938 ACD; 1940 ACD). In 1946, Joseph Chauncey's widow and heirs sold to Ruth and Earl Cragg (DB 228:102). Later that year, the Craggs sold the lots, subdivided as 914-918 Duke St., to William and Ruth Reynolds (DB 237:43; DB 245:91). The lots were individually sold and had multiple owners and tenants until ARHA acquired the properties in the 1970s (DB 741:475; DB 744:644; DB 764:235; Demolitions Permit No. 1345).

On June 17, 1882, Special Commissioner John Henderson granted one lot, which would become 920 Duke St., to John and Amelia Nalls (DB 12:539). In 1884, the Nallses sold the property to Emma Pitcher (DB 14:539). John W. Hook bought 920 Duke St. from Emma Pitcher in 1892 (DB 27:266). Fannie Hook inherited the property on John's passing in 1909 (WB 4:255). Cecil Leake, a fireman, who had lived as a tenant at the property from about 1924-1940, purchased 920 Duke St. from Fannie in 1946 (see Appendix II, Table 12; 1924 ACD; 1928 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1940 ACD; DB 236:30). Leake and his wife, Elizabeth, sold the lot to Robinson Moncure and Courtland Davis soon after (DB 236:32). J.T. Moton Realty later acquired the lot and sold it to Jane Colton Thomas in 1963 (DB 582:319). Two years later, in 1965, Philip and Phyllis Shapiro and Burton and Anne Borden bought the property from Jane (DB 619:23). On the 1965 deed, 920 Duke St. was described as a 112



Approximate Location of Project Area

N
W
E
S

0 50
Feet
Original Scale: 1 " = 50 '

City of Alexandria Courthouse, Deed Book 23 Page 49, April 10, 1882

Figure 44
1882 Alexandria Plat Map
Alexandria, VA

sq. ft. lot with a two-story cinderblock building. ARHA procured the lot from the Shapiros and Bordens in 1973 (DB 758:201).

In 1981, ARHA turned over 914-920 Duke St. to trustees of the ASBC (DB 1034:246). The trustees deeded the lots over to the church in 2014 (DB 140015265).

Corner of Duke & South Patrick, 922 – 928 Duke Street

In 1795, Benjamin Shreve owned the western half of the block, which comprised the west half of the Duke St. lots (DB G:362). In Shreve's will, enacted on his death in 1801, he stated that the lot held jointly with James Lawrason was to be sold to pay off his remaining debts (WB A:48). In the mid-to-late 19th century, Peter and Hibbie Henderson [Hennison] purchased the entirety of the late Shreve's property and owned the west half of the block (see Figure 36). On the Henderson's deaths in 1882, the property was distributed amongst their heirs and included the lots that would become 922-928 Duke St. (DB 23:46). A plat map from 1882 shows how the estate was divided among heirs: Jane W. Gregory, J.W. Henderson, Julia A. Atwell, and M.W. & Jane W. Henderson (see Figure 44; DB 23:49). Two buildings are noted in the vicinity of 926-928 Duke St. in 1877 (see Figure 36). No buildings are shown within 922-928 Duke St. on the 1882 plat.

In 1891, 922-926 Duke Street were a row of two-story slate roof frame dwellings with two-story slate roof attachments; 928 Duke St. was a larger two-story slate roof dwelling with no additions (see Figure 37). By 1902, the two-story attachments on 922-926 Duke St. were incorporated into the main buildings and 922-926 Duke St. had become three-story slate roof dwellings. All dwellings at 922-928 Duke St. had added small one-story slate or composite roof attachments to the south (see Figure 39 and Figure 40). By 1912, 926 Duke St.'s one-story attachment was reroofed with slate (see Figure 41). 924 Duke St. had two tiny one-story composite additions joined to the back of the one-story attachment by 1921 (see Figure 42). 922-928 Duke St. remained visibly unchanged on maps into the late 20th century.

922-928 Duke St. had various owners and tenants throughout the late 19th-late 20th century (see Appendix II, Tables 13-16). From around 1897-1910, Herbert Fairfax, an engineer, occupied 922 Duke St. (1897 ACD; 1904 ACD; 1910 ACD). Edward Grove, a motorman, lived at 928 Duke Street from about 1910-1924 (1910 ACD; 1920 ACD; 1924 ACD). In 1920 and 1924, G. Gorham was listed at 926 Duke St. and M.H. Sprouse was listed at 924 Duke St (1920 ACD; 1924 ACD). Mary McDonough was recorded at 922 Duke Street from 1920-1936 (1920 ACD; 1924 ACD; 1928 ACD; 1936 ACD). Bessie Grove inhabited 928 Duke St. from around 1936-1959 and was documented as the property owner (Repair Permit No. 1903; 1936 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1940 ACD; 1942 ACD; 1954 ACD; 1955 ACD; 1959 ACD). Thomas Economou lived at 926 Duke St. from about 1936-1940 (1936 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1940 ACD). Francis McClay owned and occupied 924 Duke St. from 1953-1955 (Repair Permit No. 10702; 1954 ACD; 1955 ACD). Maude Davis was listed at 928 Duke St. from 1954-1959 (1954 ACD; 1955 ACD; 1959 ACD). In the 1970s, ARHA procured 922-928 Duke St. through a series of purchases and court orders (DB 758:201; DB 772:709; DB 773:438; DB 772:708; Demolition Permit No. 1345). ARHA granted

914-920 Duke St. to trustees of the ASBC in 1981 (DB 1034:246). The trustees deeded the lots over to the church in 2014 (DB 140015265).

309-329 South Alfred Street

Lot No. 1 - 309-311 South Alfred Street

James Lawrason bequeathed Lot 1, measuring 27' by 114', to James Lawrason Jr. in 1820 (WB 3:319). Thomas Devitt eventually purchased the property in the mid-19th century (see Figure 36). The 1877 Hopkins Map documented two buildings at 311 Alfred St. Part of Devitt's property would become 309 and 311 S. Alfred Street. James Devitt inherited this portion of Devitt's estate in 1887, described within legal records as the "east corner of Duke and Alfred Streets" (WB 1:480; DB 23:335). Mary A. Devitt inherited the land on James's death in 1893 (DB 30:424; DB 41:188). By 1891, the two buildings recorded at 311 S. Alfred St. in 1877 had become one two-story shingle roof dwelling with a one-story shingle roof addition in the back (see Figure 37).

Figure 45: 1877 Hopkins Map Showing 300 Block of S. Alfred Street (not to scale)

By the start of the 20th century, the dwelling at 311 S. Alfred St. had been separated into 309-311 S. Alfred St., each with a two-story shingle roof dwelling and one-story shingle roof attachment (see Figure 46; Figure 47; Figure 48). Various tenants and owners occupied the properties (see Appendix II, Tables 17-18). For instance, in 1903, 311 S. Alfred St. was occupied by James A. Sinclair, a boilermaker, Mollie Sinclair, a dressmaker, Martha Willson, a domestic worker, and William Wilson, a janitor (1903 ACD). Charles Butler, a laborer, and Alice Campbell, a domestic worker, lived at 309 S. Alfred St. in 1904 (1904 ACD). Frank Williams, a driver, inhabited 309 S. Alfred and Effie Williams, a laundress, resided at 311 S. Alfred St. in 1910 (1910 ACD). The Southern Aid Society of Virginia Mary purchased 309 and 311 S. Alfred Street from Mary Devitt in 1919 (DB 69:6). In 1927, the Southern Aid Society of Virginia sold the property to R.R. Gillingham (DB 89:585). R.R. Gillingham applied to construct on the property in 1936 (New Construction Permit No. 955). Jacob and Mollie Shapiro bought the lot from R.R. Gillingham in 1937 (DB 138:90). In 1941 and 1959, the lots at 309-311 S. Alfred St. were vacant, devoid of buildings (see Figure 49). ARHA procured 309 and 311 S. Alfred Street from the Shapiros in 1974 (DB 791:448).

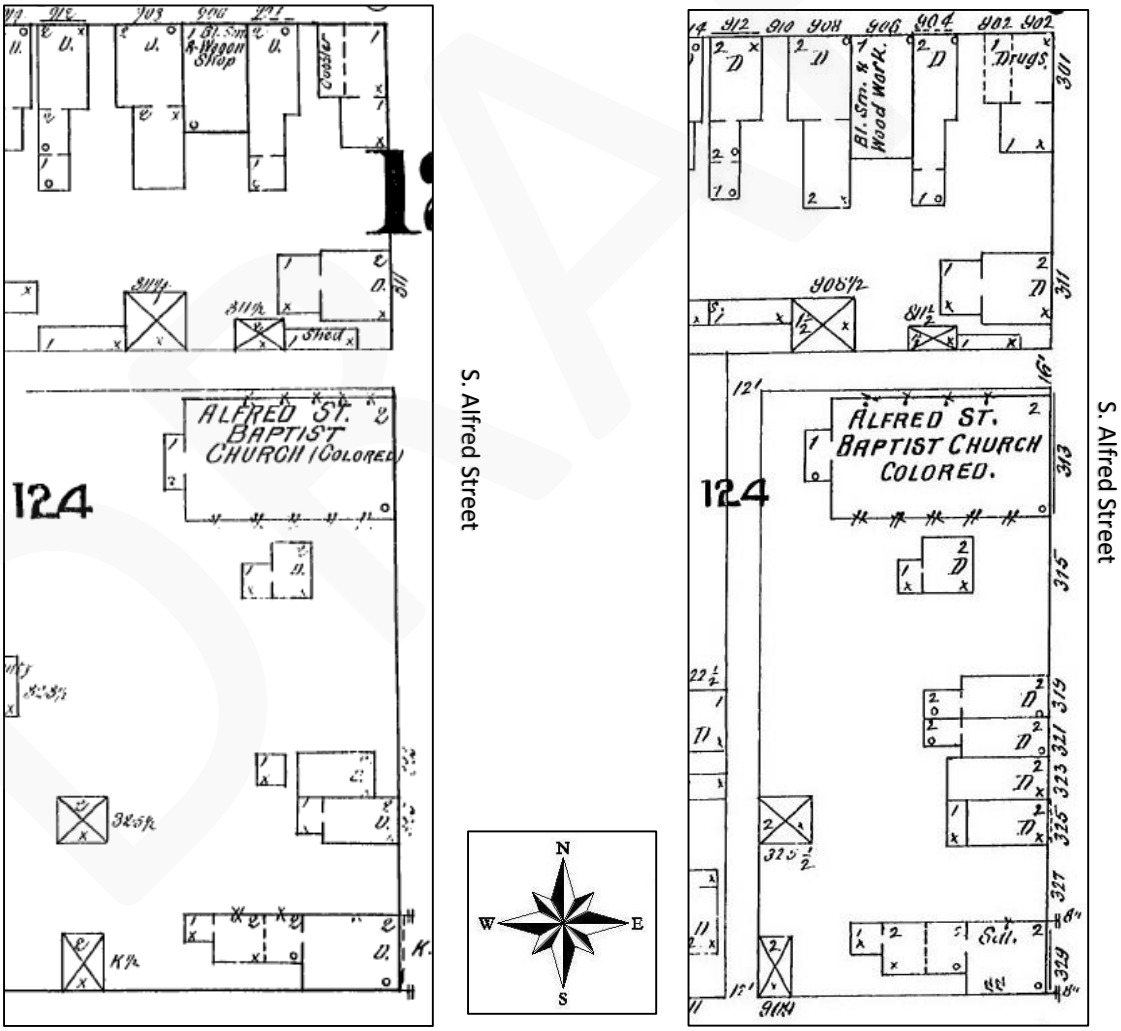


Figure 46: 1891 and 1896 Sanborn Maps Showing 300 Block of S. Alfred Street (not to scale)

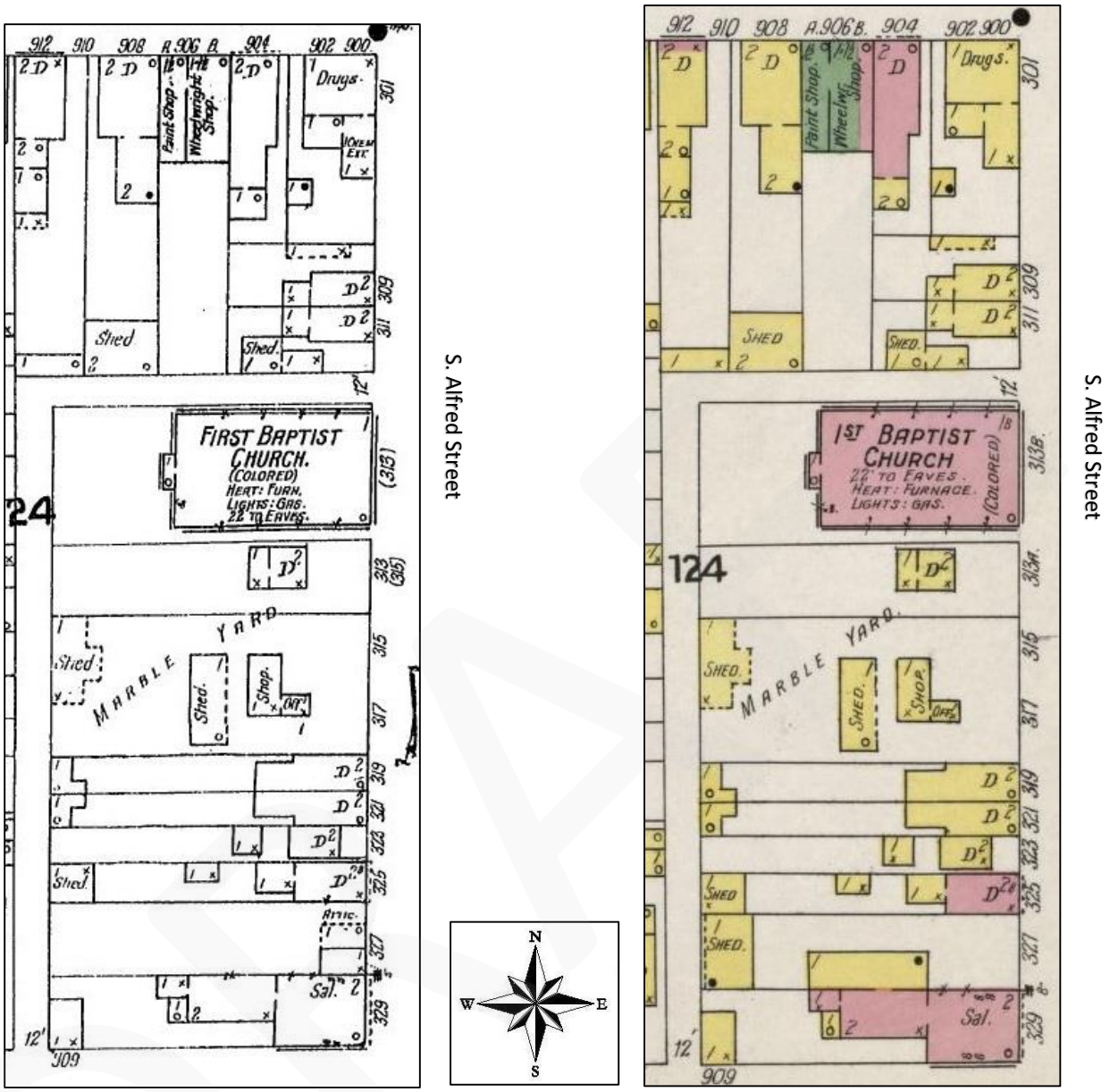


Figure 47: 1902 and 1907 Sanborn Maps Showing 300 Block of S. Alfred Street (not to scale)

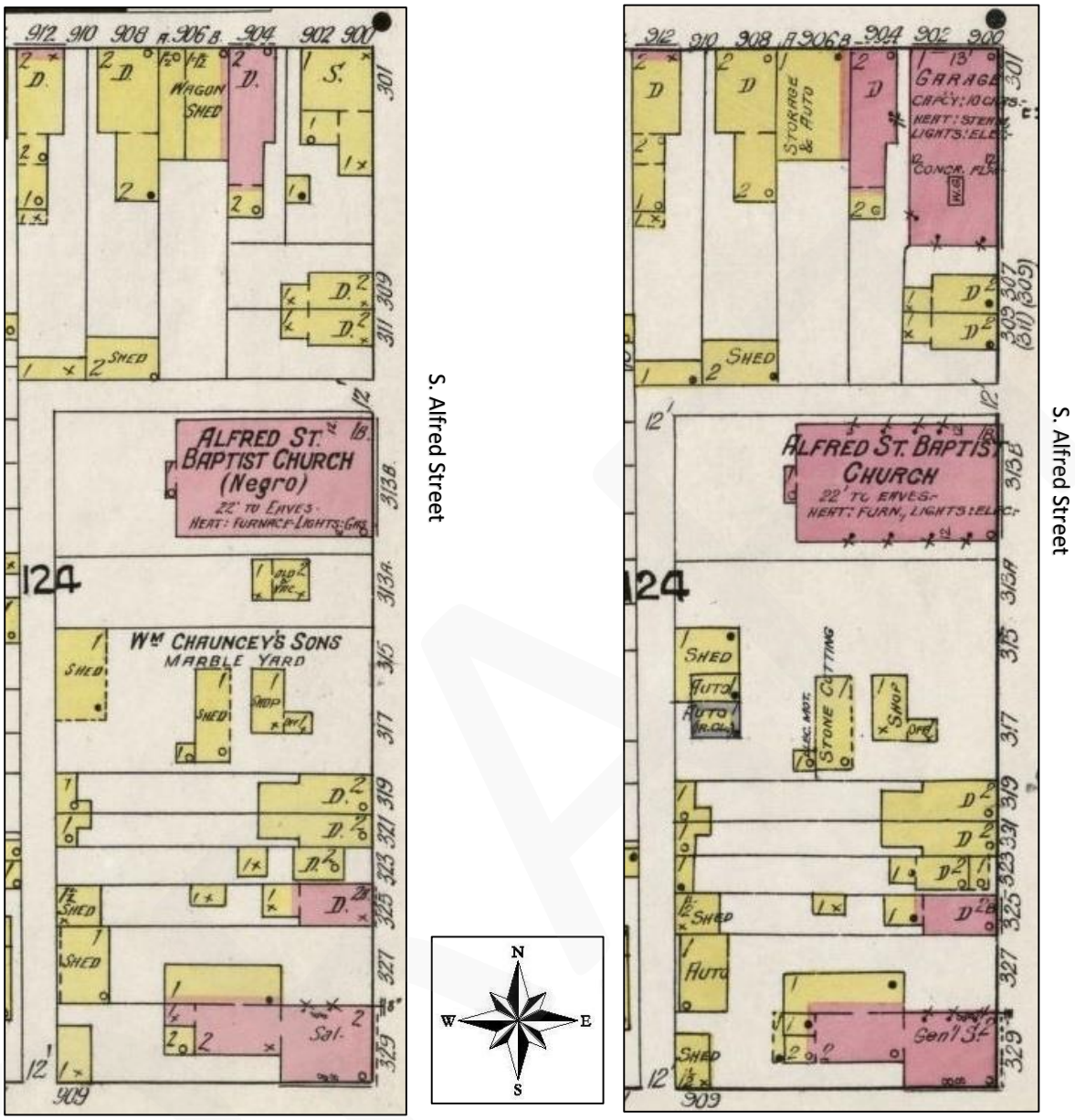


Figure 48: 1912 and 1921 Sanborn Maps Showing 300 Block of S. Alfred Street (not to scale)

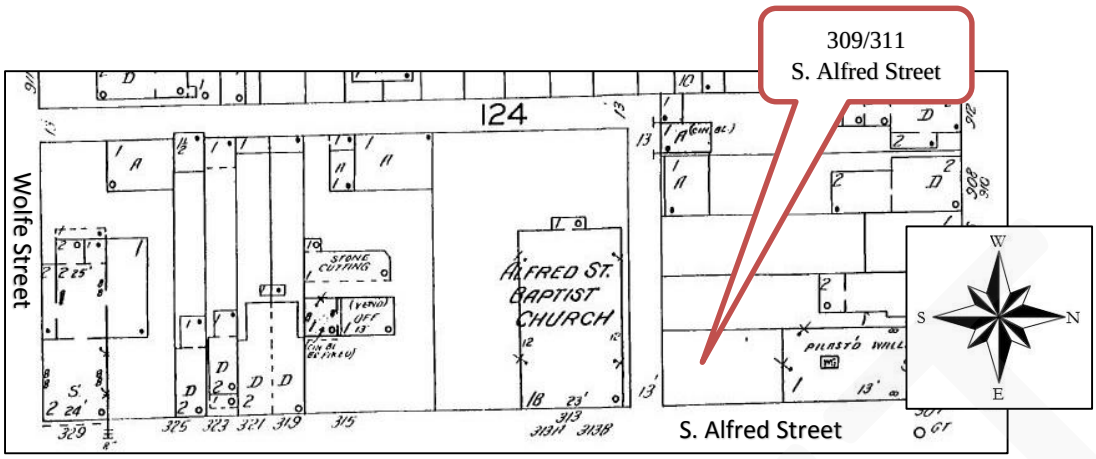


Figure 49: 1941 Sanborn Map Showing 300 Block of S. Alfred Street (not to scale)

Lots No. 7-8 - 313 South Alfred Street

Ann [Lawrason] Levering received Lot 7, which measured 25' by 110' from James Lawrason, in 1820 (WB 3:319). A few days later her brother, James Lawrason Jr., turned the property, part of the lot rented by the Colored Baptist Society, over to Mercy Ann Riggs, and the property was eventually purchased in 1853 by the organization that would become ASBC (C-3:320). The 1877 Hopkins Map recorded "First Colored Baptist Church" within the lot, which would become 313 S. Alfred Street (see Figure 45). Please refer to the church property historic for additional details.

Polly Levering received Lot 8, measuring 25' by 110', from James Lawrason in 1820 (WB 3:319). In 1833, Julia Ann Levering and others of the Levering family sold the property was Charles and Amanda Seales (DB 23:430; DB 39:232). A two-story shingle roof dwelling with a one-story shingle roof attachment was located just south of 313 S. Alfred St. in 1891 (see Figure 46). The Seales's children, Charles Seales and Rose Russell, inherited the property on their mother's passing then sold the lot to Thomas and William Chauncey in 1912 (DB 62:177). Trustees of ASBC purchased the property from the Chaunceys in 1919 (DB 69:111). By 1921, the dwelling directly south of 313 S. Alfred St. had been demolished, and the lot had become part of 313 S. Alfred St. by 1941 (see Figure 48 and Figure 49 and Figure 42).

Lots No. 9-10 - 315-317 South Alfred Street

In 1820, James Lawrason bequeathed Lot 9, measuring 25' by 110', to Alice Lawrason Jr. and Lot 10, measuring 25' by 110', to James Lawrason Jr. (WB 3:319). Richard Jarboe eventually acquired both lots in the mid-19th century. The 1877 Hopkins Map documented one building at what would become 317 S. Alfred St (see Figure 45). On his passing in 1879, Richard's wife, Rachael sold the lots, described in legal documents as the house and lot on Alfred Street, between Duke and Wolfe Street, at public auction (DB 10:274). William Chauncey purchased these lots at auction (DB 35:417). In 1891, the building recorded at 317 S. Alfred St. in 1877 was gone and the lot was vacant (see Figure 46). After William died, his widow, Virginia, sold the property, known as the "Marble Works" on South Alfred Street, to Thomas and William Chauncey in 1900 (DB 44:595).

The "Marble Yard" contained a one-story shingle roof shop with an office and a one-story slate roof shed and was addressed as 315 and 317 S. Alfred Street in 1902 (see Figure 47; see Appendix II, Tables 19-20). The shop was known as "Wm. Chauncey's Son, Monuments and Headstones". William and Thomas's partnership dissolved in 1919 and Thomas took full control of the business (Alexandria Gazette, 7 Aug 1919). By 1921, the shed at 317 S. Alfred St. had become a stone cutting workshop (see Figure 48). Around the 1930s, the business's name had changed to "Thos. Chauncey Monuments" (1936 ACD).

In 1941, the front office and shop at 315-317 S. Alfred St. had been enlarged with a cinderblock extension to the south and the storefront acquired a brick façade (see Figure 49). Thomas Chauncey appeared to have continued ownership of the lots until 1954 when 315 and 317 S. Alfred Street are listed as vacant (1945 ACD; 1954 ACD). By 1967, ABSC owned the property (Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 24985). ARHA took ownership of 315 and 317 Alfred Street by 1978 and filed to demolish on the property (Demolitions Permit No. 1463).

Lots No. 11-14 - 319-329 South Alfred Street

On October 20, 1820, James Lawrason bequeathed his properties on Alfred Street to his heirs (WB 3:319). Polly Levering inherited Lot 11, measuring 25' by 110', which would become 319 and 321 South Alfred Street. Ann [Lawrason] Levering received Lot 12, measuring 25' by 110', which would become 323 and 325 South Alfred Street. These properties would be purchased by various people throughout the 19th century. The 1877 Hopkins Map documented one building at 323 S. Alfred St. and one building at 325 S. Alfred St (see Figure 45). George T. Klipstein purchased 319 and 321 S. Alfred St. from J.B. Glancies in 1891 (DB N-2:346; DB 26:496). The building recorded in 1877 at 325 S. Alfred St. remained there in 1891 and was noted as a two-story shingle roof dwelling with a small one-story shingle roof attachment in the back (see Figure 46). The building recorded in 1877 at 323 S. Alfred St. also remained in 1891 and was noted as a two-story shingle roof dwelling with a small, separate one-story structure behind it. By 1896, two-story slate roof dwellings with two-story slate roof additions had been constructed at 319 and 321 S. Alfred St. (see Figure 46).

319-321 S. Alfred Street continued to have an array of tenants during the 20th century (see Appendix II, Tables 21-25). Richard Diggs, a driver, lived at 325 S. Alfred St. from 1897-1904 (1897 ACD; 1903 ACD; 1904 ACD). Andrews Curry, a porter, occupied 323 S. Alfred St. from 1903-1904 (1903 ACD; 1904 ACD). In 1902, the one-story attachment at 325 S. Alfred St. had been expanded and a separate one-story shingle roof structure had been built behind it (see Figure 47). The dwelling at 323 S. Alfred St. was divided into a smaller two-story shingle roof dwelling with a small standing one-story shingle roof structure behind it. The attachments at 319-321 S. Alfred St. had been incorporated into the main dwelling structure. Thomas Kelly purchased 319-321 S. Alfred St. from George Klipstein in 1915 (DB 64:542). Ella Smith inhabited 321 S. Alfred St. from 1920-1924 (1920 ACD; 1924 ACD). In 1921, dwelling at 323 S. Alfred St. had expanded to connect with the one-story structure behind it (see Figure 48). An addition was added to the front of the 323 S. Alfred St. dwelling by 1941 (see Figure 49). Mamie Fields resided at 325 S.

Alfred St. from 1924-1928 (1924 ACD; 1928 ACD). Grayson Cross was listed at 323 S. Alfred St. from 1936-1945 (1936 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1940 ACD; 1942 ACD; 1945 ACD). In 1959, 325 S. Alfred St. was recorded as a brick structure with a frame attachment and became the "Compatible Barber Shop" in 1965 (1965 ACD).

In 1820, from James Lawrson's estate, Mercy Lawrason inherited Lot 13, measuring 25' by 110', which would become 327 South Alfred Street, and Alice Lawrason received Lot 14, measuring 26' by 110', which would become 909 Wolfe Street and 329 South Alfred Street. James Lawrason Jr. sold a lot at the intersection of Alfred and Wolfe (i.e. 329 S. Alfred St.) to Lenas Kinsey in 1824. The 1877 Hopkins Map documented three buildings at 329 S. Alfred St. (see Figure 45). By 1891, the three buildings recorded in 1877 at 329 S Alfred St. were merged into one two-story slate roof dwelling with a small one-story addition in the back (see Figure 46). By 1896, the building was identified as a saloon (see Figure 46). A small one-story shingle roof structure with a one-story slate roof attachment was erected at 327 S. Alfred St. by 1902 (see Figure 47). By 1907, 327 S. Alfred St. had a larger one-story composite roof structure adjoined on the north side of the saloon at 329 S. Alfred St. and the lot became part of the 329 S. Alfred St. address (see Figure 47). Thomas F. Kelly owned this saloon by the end of 19th century.

According to newspapers, unsavory characters frequented the Kelly's saloon. One man, Solomon Green, favored Kelly's saloon and was imprisoned for extorting money from women who lived on Louse Alley (an alley in Washington D.C. known for its prostitutes and brothels) by threatening them to have them arrested if they did not give him money (The Evening Star, 18 Nov 1894:12). Green once called a policeman on Lula Taylor, a resident of Louse Alley, and she was arrested as soon as she stepped out of Kelly's saloon. In 1909, Thomas Kelly had to testify that a suspect, on trial for murder, had visited not the saloon on the night of the homicide (The Evening Star, 28 May 1909). John Allen, a "colored" man, who had been on duty in Kelly's poolroom, verified the suspect had not played pool at the saloon that evening. In 1915, Thomas Kelly was fined $50 under the Byrd Law for selling beer to women in a "palm garden" on his property, about 30-40 ft. away from his saloon, though Mr. Kelly pointed out the law "stated that no liquors were to be sold or delivered to a woman in any 'bar-room' or 'saloon' and…[the] 'palm garden' was neither of these" (Alexandria Gazette, 26 Jan 1915:2). With prohibition instituted from 1920-1933, by 1921, Kelly had turned 329 S. Alfred St. into a general store (see Figure 48). Sometime before 1938, Kelly made the store into a restaurant (1938 ACD). By 1954, the restaurant was known as "Kelly's Inn" (1954 ACD). In 1959, 329 S. Alfred St.'s building was recorded as a brick structure with frame attachments, and the restaurant had become "Billy's Café" (1959 ACD) (Figure 50).

Figure 50: Circa 1950s photograph of 329 S. Alfred Street (Alexandria Library Special Collections)

By 1952, Thomas F. Kelly owned 319-329 S. Alfred Street (WB 26:562). On his death, the lots were divided between his children, Dr. Thomas Kelly and Mrs. Frances Helmerich (WB 26:562). Tenants continued to occupy the properties (Alexandria City Directories). The Kelly children sold off their inheritances in due course (DB 504:288). Philip Fagelson bought 323-329 S. Alfred Street in 1963, and Norman M. Reynolds purchased the properties from Fagelson in 1968 (DB 578:255; DB 571:400; DB 683:219). On March 28, 1972, ARHA purchased 323-329 S. Alfred Street from Norman M. Reynolds (DB 738:711). By the end of 1972, ARHA owned 319-329 S. Alfred Street (Demolitions Permit No. 1212; DB 752:259; DB 839:691; Demolitions Permit No. 1461).

308-338 South Patrick Street

On September 14, 1795, Benjamin Shreve purchased two one-half acre lots in Alexandria on the south side of Duke, north side of Wolfe, and the east side of Patrick from William T. Alexander (DB G:362). By the end of the 18th century, Shreve owned the western half of the block, along S. Patrick Street, while James Lawrason owned the eastern half of the block, along S. Alfred Street. Shreve passed away in 1801 and willed that the lot held jointly with James Lawrason was to be sold to pay off his remaining debts (WB A:48). In 1864, the east edge of the Alexandria Engine House extended into the northern portion of the block along S. Patrick Street and the entire block was enclosed within the USMRR stockade (Figure 51).

Around the mid-to-late 19th century, Peter and Hibbie Henderson [Hennison] eventually purchased the entirety of Shreve's property and owned the western half of the block (see Figure 45 and Figure 51). On the Henderson's deaths in 1882, the property was distributed

amongst their heirs and included the lots that would become 308-338 South Patrick Street (DB 23:46). A plat map from 1882 shows how the estate was divided among heirs: Jane W. Gregory, J.W. Henderson, Julia A. Atwell, and M.W. & Jane W. Henderson (see Figure 44; DB 23:49). Besides a series of sheds and stables alongside an alleyway connected to S. Patrick St., the South Patrick Street side of the block contained vacant, empty lots in 1891 (Figure 52). By 1896, a row of dwellings had been build and were addressed as 308-338 S. Patrick St. (Figure 52). 308-338 S. Patrick St had varieties of owners and tenants from the late 19th century and into the late 20th century (Alexandria City Directories).

Corner of South Patrick & Alley - 308-316 South Patrick Street

In 1896, 308-314 S. Patrick St. were two-story French shingled roof dwellings with two-story slate roof attachment in the back (see Figure 52). 316 S. Patrick St. was a three-story slate roof dwelling with a two-story slate roof attachment in the back. By 1902, the buildings along S. Patrick St. had transformed. All of 308-314 S. Patrick St. had basements built-in (see Figure 53 and Figure 54). 308-316 S. Patrick St. were three-story structures with two-story round foyers in the front. 308-314 S. Patrick St. had the rear attachments merged into the main building. 308 S. Patrick St. added a small one-story attachment to the dwelling's northeast corner. Little one-story composite roof attachments were affixed to the backs of the buildings at 308 and 314 S. Patrick St. by 1941 (see Figure 55). 308-314 S. Patrick St. remained visibly unchanged on maps into the late 20th century.

From the late 19th century and into the mid-20th century, no tenants consistently occupied 308-316 S. Patrick St. Names listed at these addresses changed practically every year until the 1960s (see Appendix II, Tables 26-30). Francis Walker was listed as the owner of 308 and 310 S. Patrick St. in 1929 (Repairs and Alterations Permits No. 698-699). Mr. Heinrich was the owner of 312 S. Patrick St. and B. Walker was the owner of 314 S. Patrick St. in 1935 (Repairs and Alterations Permits No. 1291-1292). Walter Michlin owned 312 S. Patrick St. in 1936 (Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 1719). Harold Faggelson owned 312 S. Patrick in 1956 (Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 12903). Lucille and William Stewart were listed as property owners for 308 S. Patrick in 1958 (Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 14064; Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 14466). Barbara Ward owned 312-314 S. Patrick Street from about 1959-1962 (Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 15247; Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 15362; Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 18702). Samuel Taylor owned 315 S. Patrick St. around 1961-1962 (Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 16955; Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 18035). Ellis Jones was the owner of 308 S. Patrick St. in 1963 (Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 19892). In 1966, the Virginia Highways Department filed a demolitions permit for 308-316 South Patrick Street in order to expand the road (Demolitions Permit No. 939). By 1969, Gerber Enterprises, Inc. had bought up and owned 308-316 S. Patrick St. (New Construction Permit No. 8593; DB 742:182). On June 19, 1972, ARHA purchased 308-316 S. Patrick St from Gerber Enterprises, Inc. (DB 742:182).

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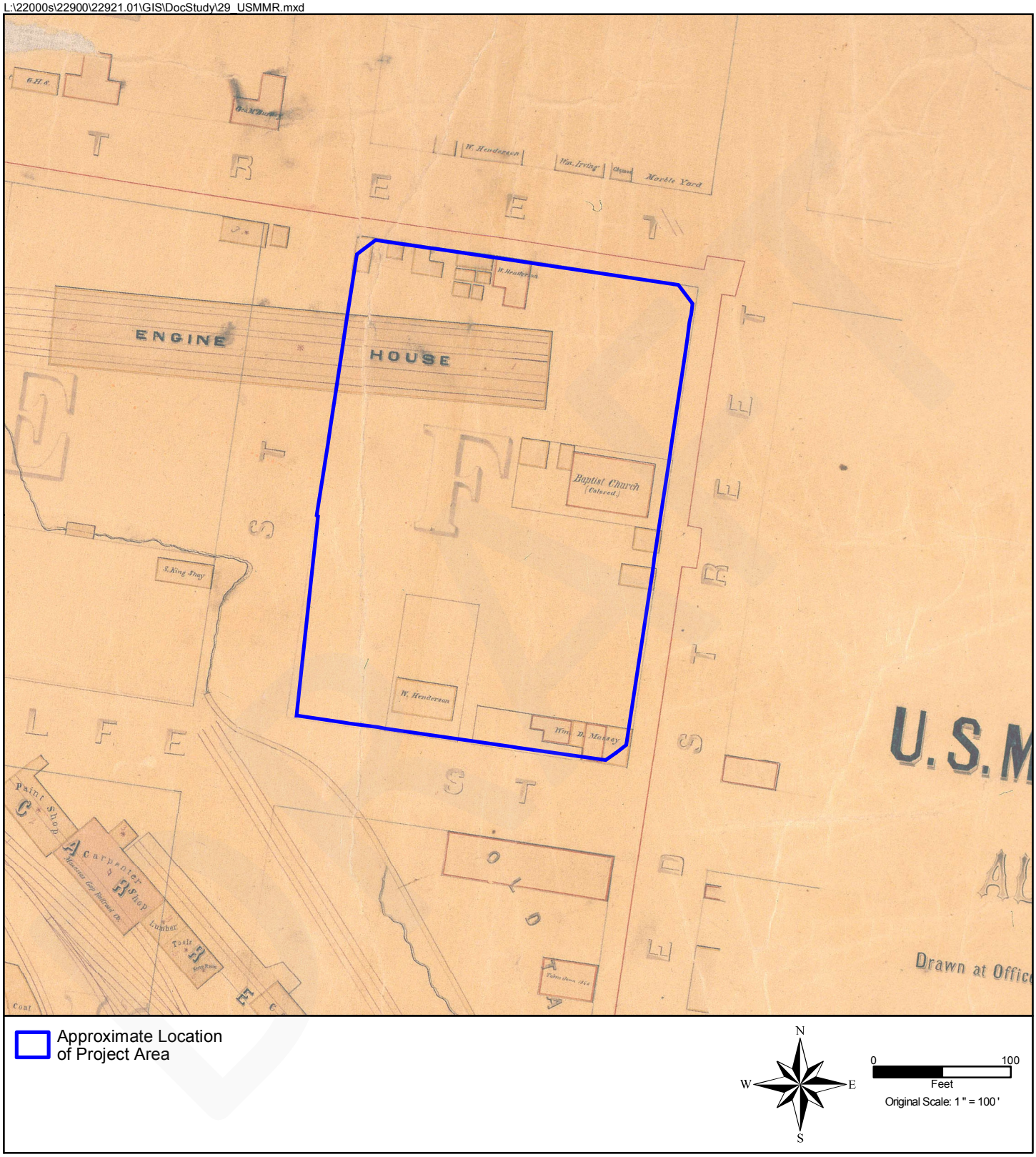


Figure 51

Map of the United States Military Railroad at Alexandria, Virginia

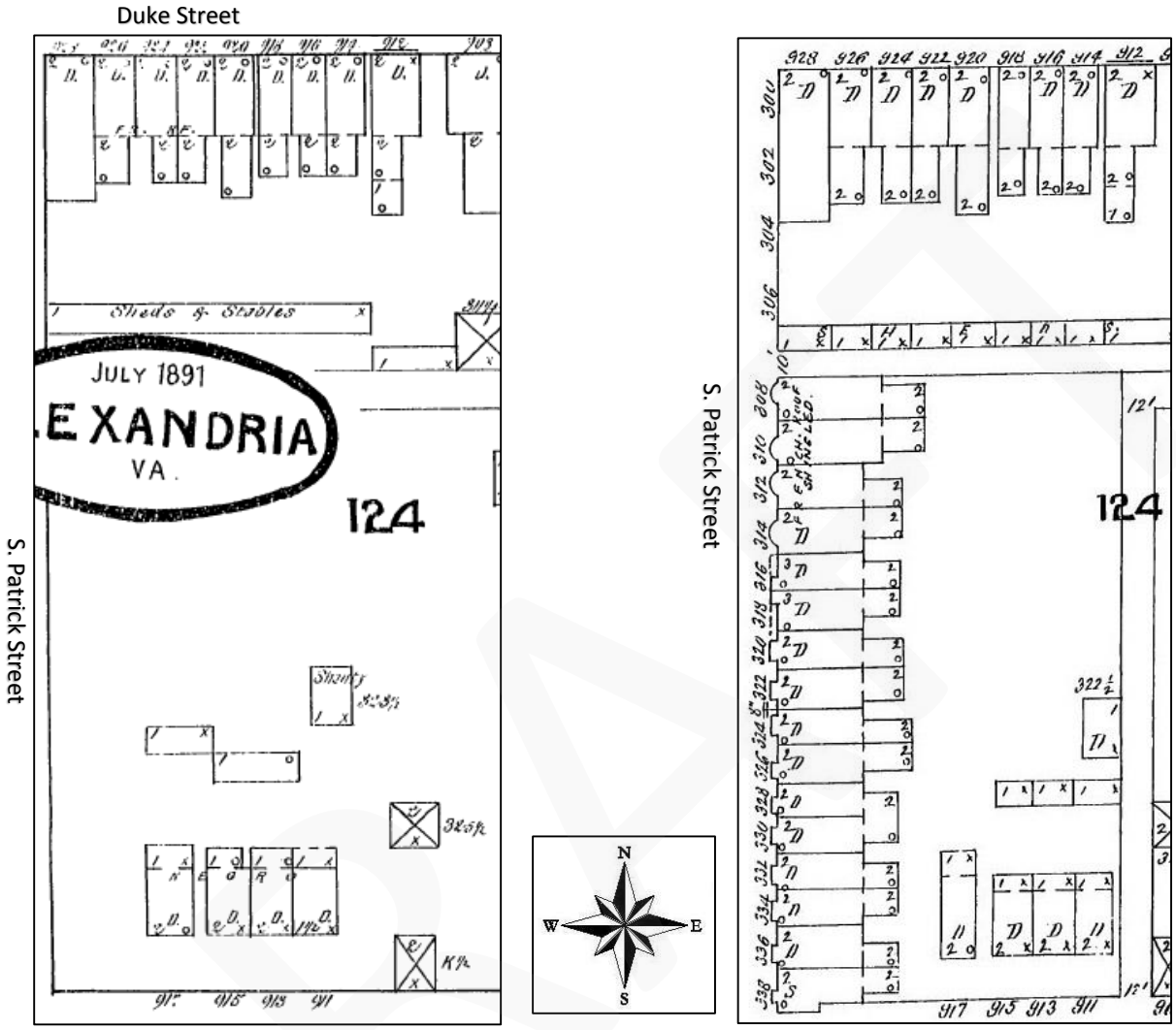


Figure 52: 1891 and 1896 Sanborn Maps Showing 300 Block of S. Patrick Street (not to scale)

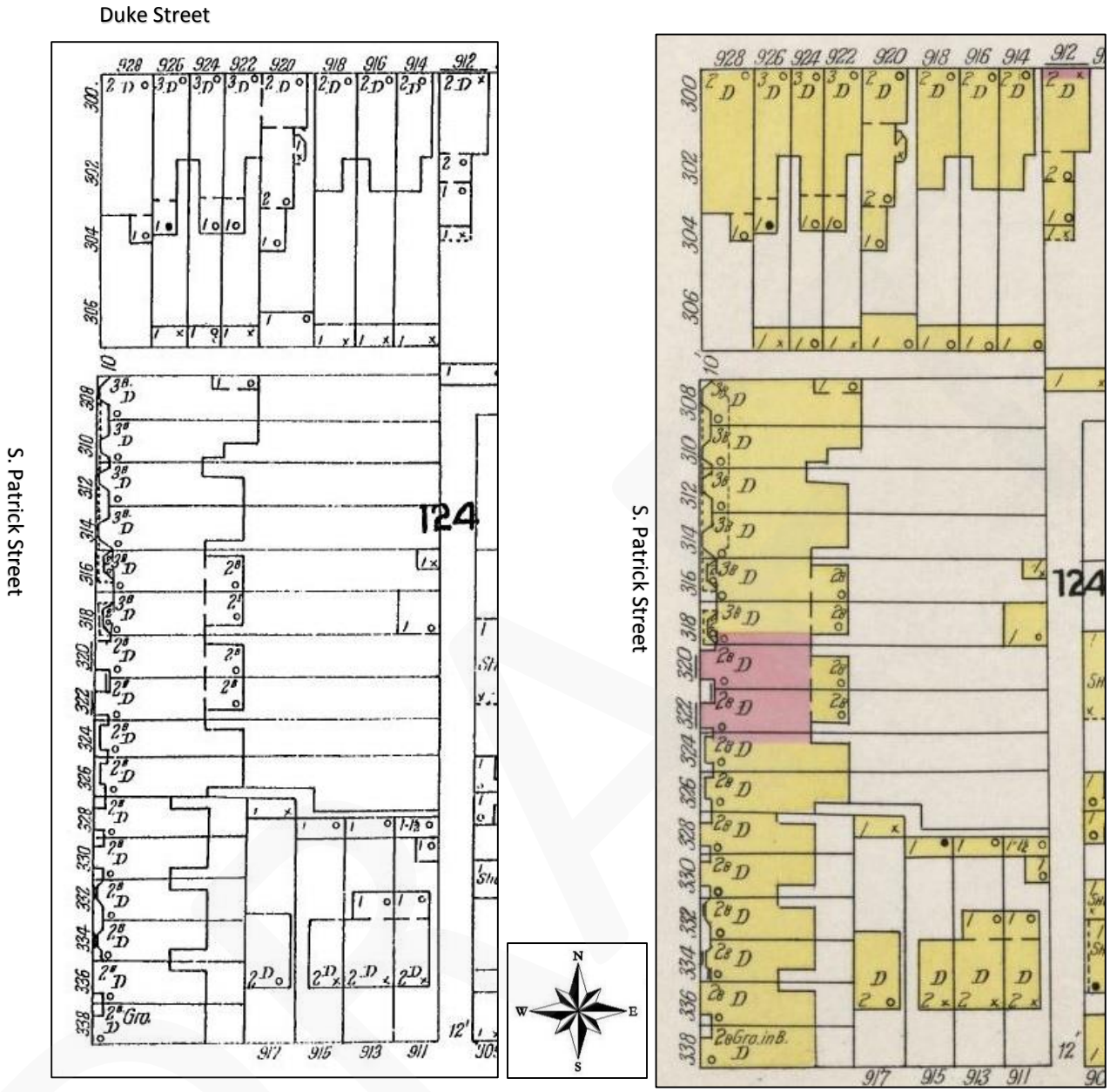


Figure 53: 1902 and 1907 Sanborn Maps Showing 300 Block of S. Patrick Street (not to scale)

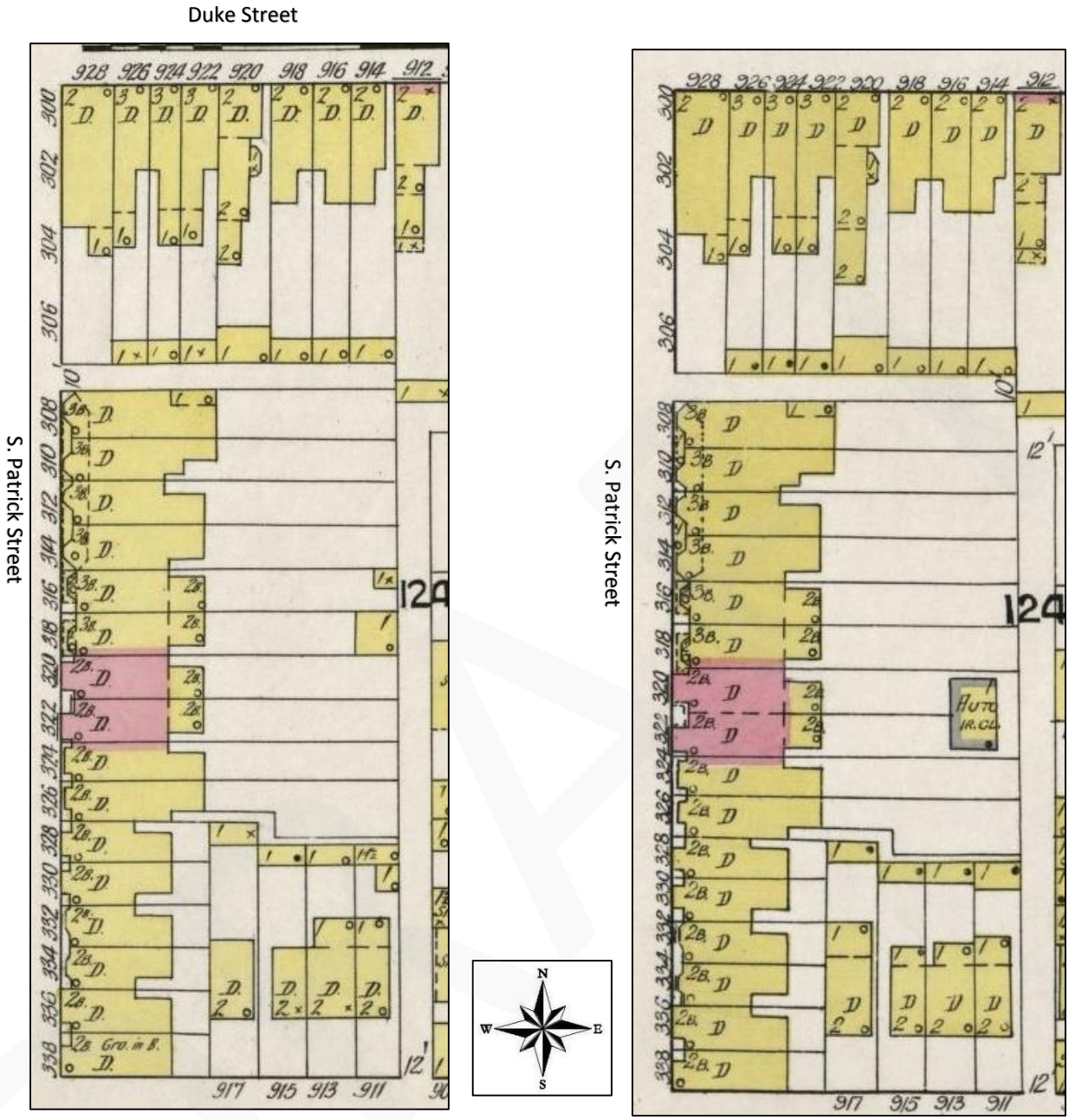


Figure 54: 1912 and 1921 Sanborn Maps Showing 300 Block of S. Patrick Street (not to scale)

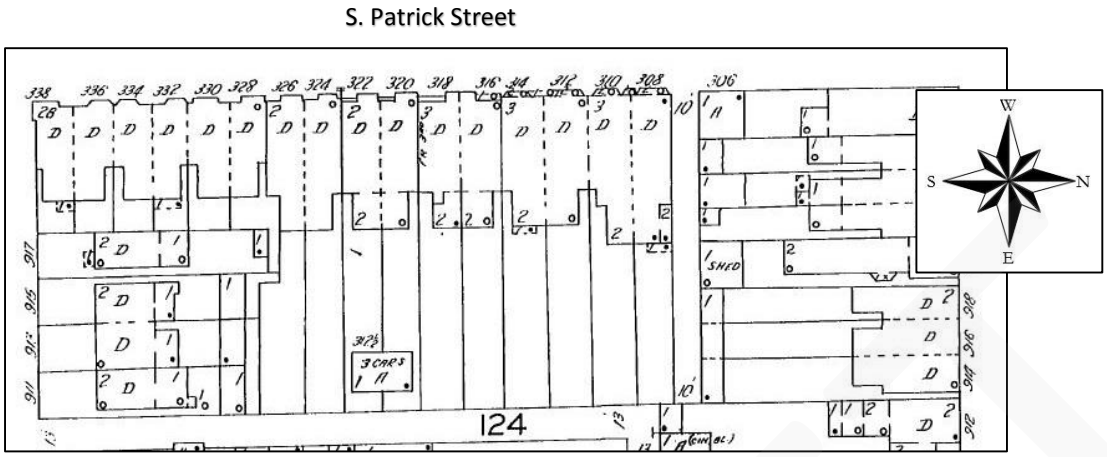


Figure 55: 1941 Sanborn Map Showing 300 Block of S. Patrick Street (not to scale)

318-326 South Patrick Street

In 1896, 316-318 S. Patrick St. were three-story slate roof dwellings with two-story slate roof attachments in the back (see Figure 52). 320-326 S. Patrick St. were two-story slate roof dwellings with two-story slate roof attachments in the back. By 1902, the buildings along S. Patrick St. had changed drastically. 318-326 S. Patrick St. contained basements (see Figure 53). 318 S. Patrick St. was a three-story structure with a two-story round foyer in the front. 324-326 S. Patrick St had the rear attachments incorporated into the main structure. 318-326 S. Patrick St. remained visibly unchanged on maps into the late 20th century, but in 1959, 320-322 S. Patrick St. were noted as brick buildings while the rest were documented as frame structures.

From the late 19th and into the 20th century, 318-326 S. Patrick St. was inhabited by several different tenants and owners (see Appendix II, Tables 31-35). Harry and Annie Pettit were listed at 318 S. Patrick St. from 1936-1942 (1936 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1940 ACD; 1942 ACD). Evangeline Thompson and Lorenzo McNear inhabited the address from 1954-1955 (1954 ACD; 1955 ACD). Frank Carr occupied 320 S. Patrick St. from 1938-1942, and Harriet Wood lived there from 1954-1959 (1936 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1940 ACD; 1942 ACD; 1954 ACD; 1955 ACD; 1959 ACD). John O'Neil inhabited 322 S. Patrick St. from 1936-1942 (1936 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1940 ACD; 1942 ACD). From 1954-1955, John Finley lived at the address. (1954 ACD; 1955 ACD). In 1931, Robinson Moncure purchased 324 and 326 S. Patrick St. and rented out the properties (DB 103:139). Arthur Groves lived at 324 S. Patrick St. from around 1936-1942 (1936 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1940 ACD; 1942 ACD). Luther Gunner occupied and owned 324 S. Patrick St. from about 1947-1965 (Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 7789; 1954 ACD; 1955 ACD; 1959 ACD; 1965 ACD). Margaret and A.S. Robertson bought 326 S. Patrick St. from Robinson Moncure in 1937 (DB 134:200). In 1945, the Robertson's sold the property to John and Pearl O'Neil, who sold it to Warren and Emma Hayes, who owned 326 S. Patrick St. until 1965 (DB 346:28; DB 626:75). In 1966, the Virginia Highways Department filed a demolitions permit for 324 South Patrick Street in order to expand the road (Demolitions Permit No. 939). By 1970, 318-326 S. Patrick St. had come into the ownership of Martin L. Adem (Installations Permit

No. 2774). ARHA purchased 318-326 S. Patrick St. from Martin L. Adem and others on January 5, 1976 (DB 817:385).

Corner of South Patrick & Wolfe - 328-338 South Patrick Street

In 1896, 328-330 S. Patrick St. were two-story slate roof dwellings with an adjoined one-story slate roof attachment in the back (see Figure 52). 332-336 S. Patrick St. were two-story slate roof dwellings with two-story slate roof attachments in the back. 338 S. Patrick St. was a two-story slate roof store with two-story slate roof attachment in the back. By 1902, the buildings along S. Patrick St. had considerably altered. 328-338 S. Patrick St. had acquired basements (see Figure 53). 328-338 S. Patrick St had the rear attachments incorporated into the main structure (see Figure 53 and Figure 54). Little one-story composite roof attachments were affixed to the backs of the buildings 332 and 338 S. Patrick St. by 1941 (see Figure 55). 328-338 S. Patrick St. remained visibly unchanged on maps into the late 20th century. Many occupied and owned these properties from the late 19th century and into the late 20th century (see Appendix II, Tables 36-41).

In 1931, Mary F. Davis sold 328 South Patrick St. to Robinson Moncure (DB 107:295). Margaret and A.S. Robertson bought the lot from Robinson Moncure in 1937 (DB 134:200). 338 S. Patrick St. had had a consistent tenant, Grover Williams, who lived there from around 1936-1942 (1936 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1940 ACD; 1942 ACD). The lot was sold to Dollie and Landon Strong in 1952 (DB 340:581). The Strong's occupied the address until they sold it to Martha Taylor in 1965 (1954 ACD; 1955 ACD; 1959 ACD; 1965 ACD; DB 633:42). Martha Taylor sold 338 S. Patrick St. to ARHA in 1972 (DB 748:441).

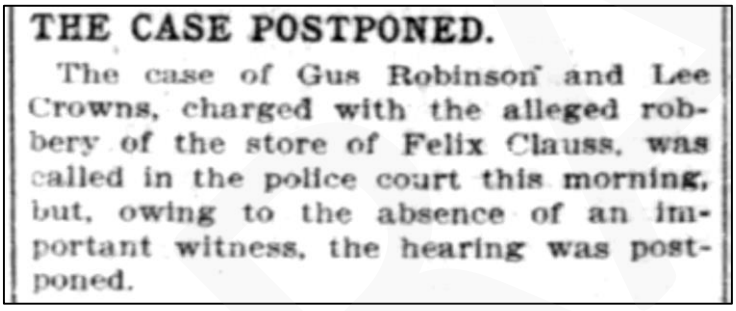
William Walker occupied 330 S. Patrick St. from about 1936-1942 (1936 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1940 ACD). The property was owned by Mrs. Herbert (Maebell) Lucas in the early to mid-1950s with Harrison Fayne as her tenant (Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 10256; 1954 ACD; 1955 ACD; Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 12074). Sometime in the late 1950s and into the early 1960s, ownership passed onto Arthur Freeman, who also lived at the address (1959 ACD; Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 18101). Albert H. Grenadier owned the lot by the 1970s, and Herman and Sonia Grenadier sold 330 S. Patrick St. to ARHA in 1972 (DB 749:311).

In the 20th century, 332 S. Patrick Street was one of the more consistently settled lots. From around 1920-1928, Francis J. Gorman occupied the property (1920 ACD; 1924 ACD; 1928 ACD). By 1936 to sometime in the 1940s, Bernard and Sadie Penn inhabited the lot (1936 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1940 ACD; 1942 ACD). Around 1952-1962, Samuel Carroll lived at the address (Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 10644; 1954 ACD; 1955 ACD; 1959 ACD; 1965 ACD). Eustace E. and Octavia Carroll sold 332 S. Patrick Street to ARHA in 1973 (DB 755:23).

From around 1924-1928, Bernard and Sadie Penn lived at 334 S. Patrick St (1924 ACD; 1928 ACD; 1928 ACD). Beverly Ludlow inhabited the address from about 1938-1942 (1938 ACD; 1940 ACD; 1942 ACD). Jesse Sword lived there from 1954-1955 (1954 ACD; 1955 ACD). Herman Martin owned the property by 1957 (Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 9626). Melissa L. Hill purchased it from Martin in 1958 (DB 480:251). George Hill inherited the lot on Melissa's death in 1961 (WB 87:605). George sold 334 S. Patrick St. to ARHA on April 20, 1973 (DB 756:71).

Thomas Harlow, a flagman, inhabited 336 S. Patrick St. from 1903-1904 (1903 ACD; 1904 ACD). M. K. Hammill lived at the address for over twenty years, from about 1920-1942 (1920 ACD; 1924 ACD; 1928 ACD; 1936 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1940 ACD; 1942 ACD). The Tripletts owned and lived at the property from around 1951-1955 (Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 9811; 1954 ACD; 1955 ACD). Herman Grenadier owned 336 S. Patrick by 1961 (Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 17904). ARHA acquired the lot by 1980 (Demolitions Permit No. 1512).

In 1902, 338 S. Patrick St was documented as a dwelling and a grocery (1902 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map). Frederick Clauss, a grocer, lived there in 1897 (1897 ACD). In 1904, Charles Adam, a jeweler; Elizabeth Clauss, a boarder; Felix Clauss, a grocer; John Clauce, a helper; Albert Finks; Alexander Garrison, a watchman; William Kelly, a helper; and Robert Smith, a laborer, were listed at the address in 1904 (1904 ACD). The store was described in newspapers as Felix Clauss's store when it was robbed in 1903 (Figure 56).



THE CASE POSTPONED.

The case of Gus Robinson and Lee Crowns, charged with the alleged robbery of the store of Felix Clauss, was called in the police court this morning, but, owing to the absence of an important witness, the hearing was postponed.

Figure 56: Robbery at Felix Clauss's Store (The Washington Times, 11 December 1903)

338 S. Patrick St. became more dwelling than store by 1912 with the grocery solely in the basement (1912 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map). The dwelling no longer included a grocery in 1921 (1921 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map). Bessie Shelton occupied 338 S. Patrick St. from around 1936-1942 (1936 ACD; 1936 ACD; 1940 ACD; 1942 ACD). Lucille Griffin was listed as the owner in 1951 (Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 9865). From 1954-1955, Helen Moore lived there (1954 ACD; 1955 ACD). Ella Jackson inhabited the lot in 1959 (1959 ACD). In 1966, the Virginia Highways Department filed a demolitions permit for 338 South Patrick Street in order to expand the road (Demolitions Permit No. 939). ARHA acquired the lot by 1980 (Demolitions Permit No. 1512).

909-917 Wolfe Street

As previously stated, by the end of the 18th century, Benjamin Shreve owned the western half of the block, including the west half of Wolfe Street, while James Lawrason owned the eastern half of the block, including the east half of Wolfe Street (DB G:362; DB G:349).

Lot 14 - 909 Wolfe Street

James Lawrason's part of Wolfe Street would become 909 Wolfe Street and 329 South Alfred Street. Alice Lawrason Jr. inherited the lot in 1820 on her father's death (WB 3:319). Lenas Kinsey purchased the lot from Alice's brother, James Lawrason Jr., in 1824 (DB N-2:346). 909 Wolfe Street was vacant in 1877 (see Figure 45). A two-story shingle roof stable was placed at the address in 1891 and 1896 (see Figure 57 and Figure 58). Margaretta Nalls inherited the lot on her husband, John's, death in 1906 (WB 1:196). She sold the lot of west of Alfred and north of Wolfe to Thomas F. Kelly in 1914 (DB 63:307). From 1902 through 1912, a one-story shingle roof building stood at the address (
Figure **59**; Figure 60; Figure 61). The building was finally identified as a shed in 1921 (Figure 62). By 1941, 909 Wolfe Street contained no structures and was vacant, no longer listed on maps, but was included with the 329 S. Alfred St. property (Figure 63; see Appendix II, Table 42). Please refer to the earlier history of S. Alfred Street for details of the 329 S. Alfred St. lot.

Before Benjamin Shreve died in 1801, he willed that the lot held jointly with James Lawrason was to be sold to pay off his remaining debts (WB A:48). A 1864 plan of Alexandria displays a large building from the corner of S. Patrick St. and Wolfe St. to the middle of the block with a smaller building attached to the north (see Figure 6). Shreve's half of the block was eventually purchased by Peter and Hibbie Henderson [Hennison] by 1877 (see Figure 45). Shreve and Henderson's part of Wolfe Street would become 911-917 Wolfe Street. In 1877 and 1882, three attached frame houses are noted on the maps at 911-915 Wolfe Street (see Figure 44; DB 23:49). Sometime after the Henderson estate is divided among heirs in 1882, another frame dwelling was built just west of the three attached houses and became 917 Wolfe Street. In 1891, all four address, 911-917 Wolfe Street, were documented as two-story shingle or composite roof dwellings with one-story additions in the back. The dwellings are labeled "Negro," which could mean the houses were rented out to or purchased by black individuals (Figure 57). The building at 917 Wolfe St. was modified by 1896 and again by 1902 with its one-story addition removed (
Figure 58 and
Figure 59).

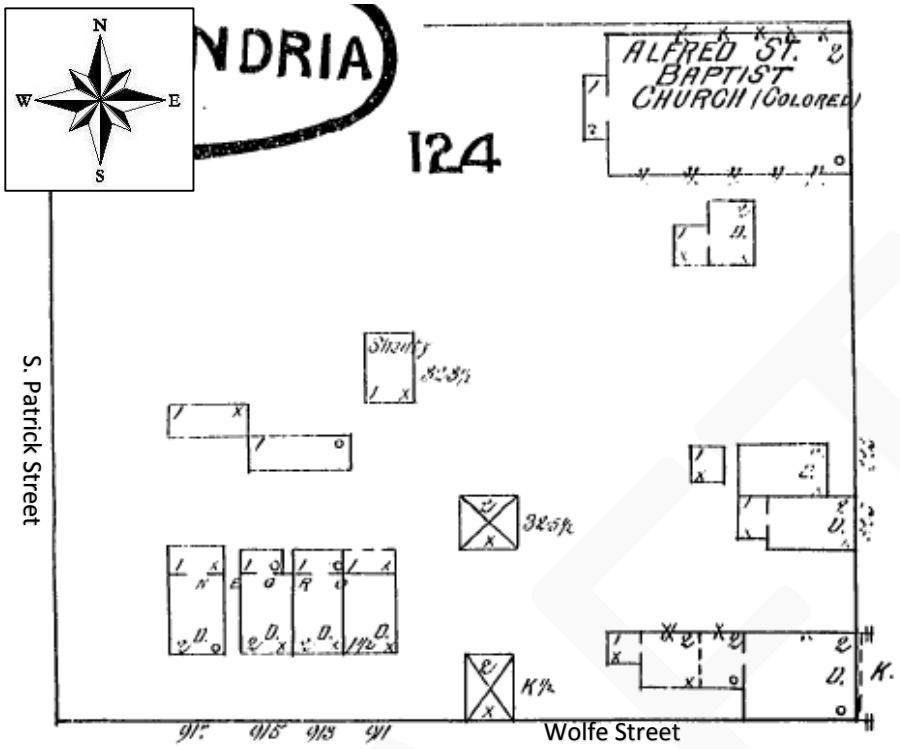


Figure 57: 1891 Sanborn Map Showing 900 Block of Wolfe Street (not to scale)

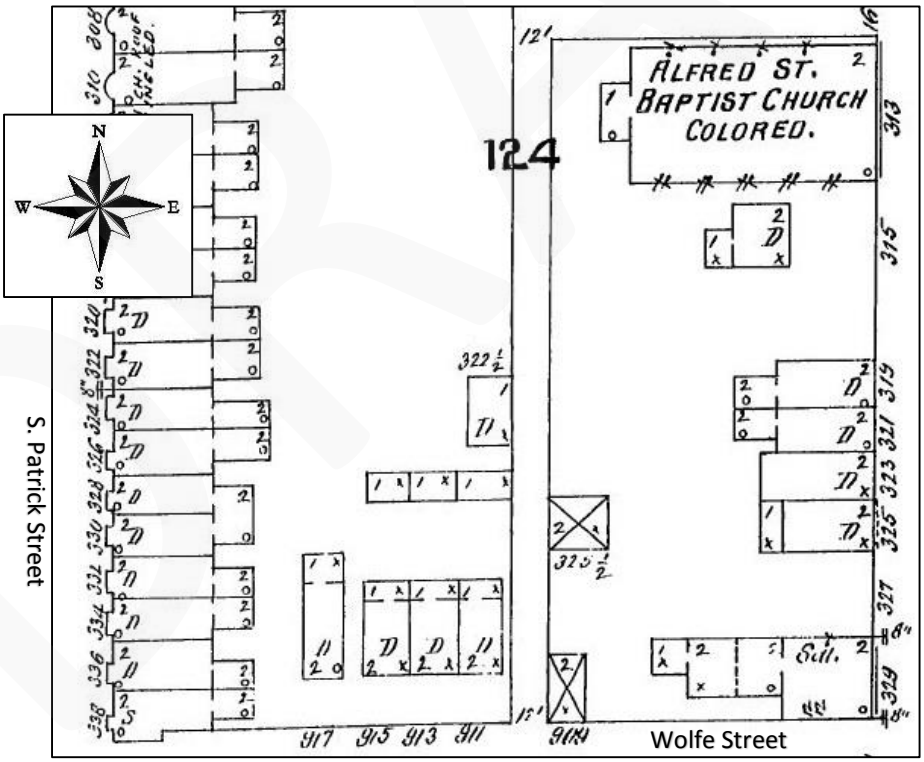


Figure 58: 1896 Sanborn Map Showing 900 Block of Wolfe Street (not to scale)

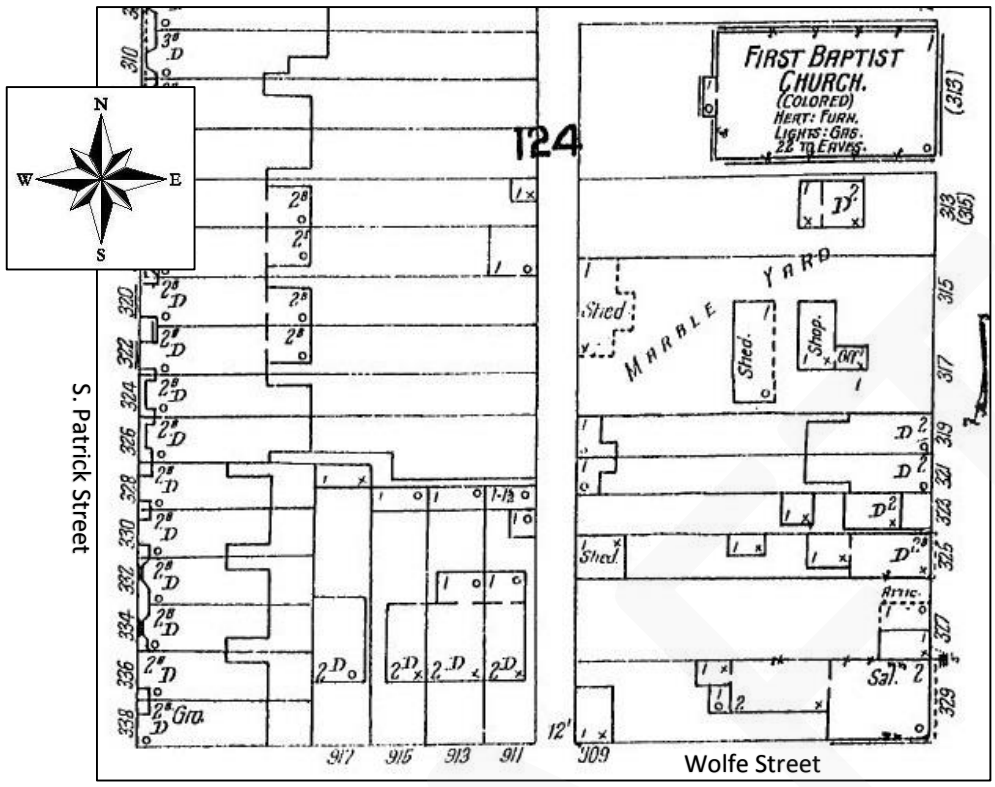


Figure 59: 1902 Sanborn Map Showing 900 Block of Wolfe Street (not to scale)

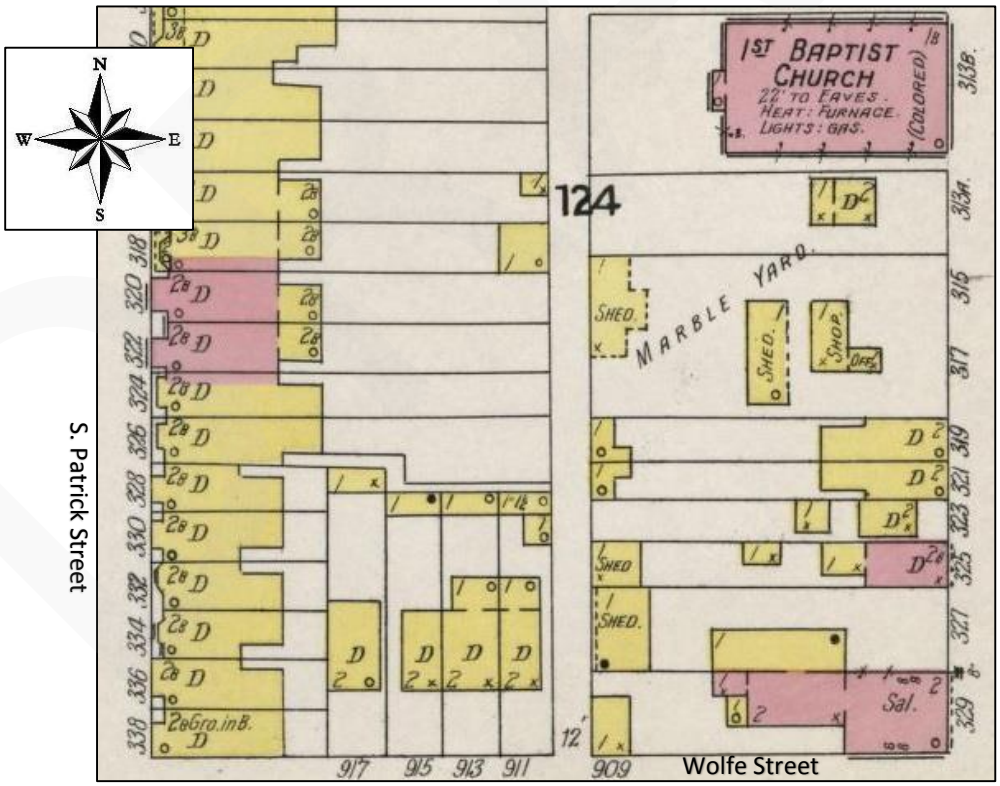


Figure 60: 1907 Sanborn Map Showing 900 Block of Wolfe Street (not to scale)

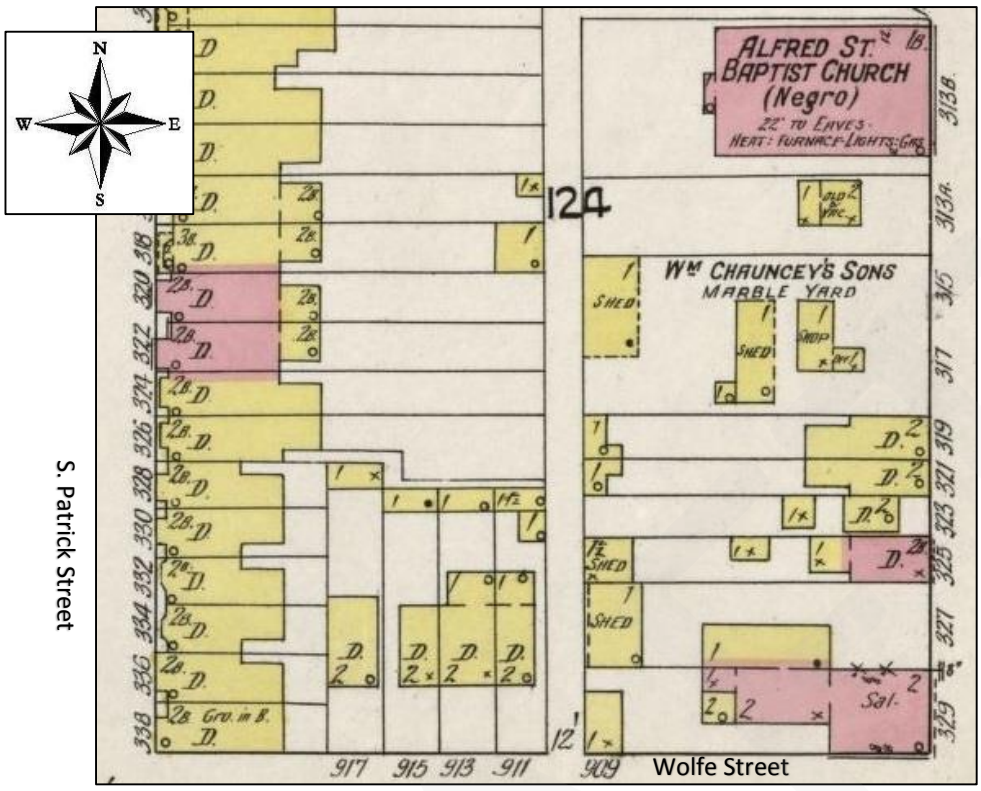


Figure 61: 1912 Sanborn Map Showing 900 Block of Wolfe Street (not to scale)

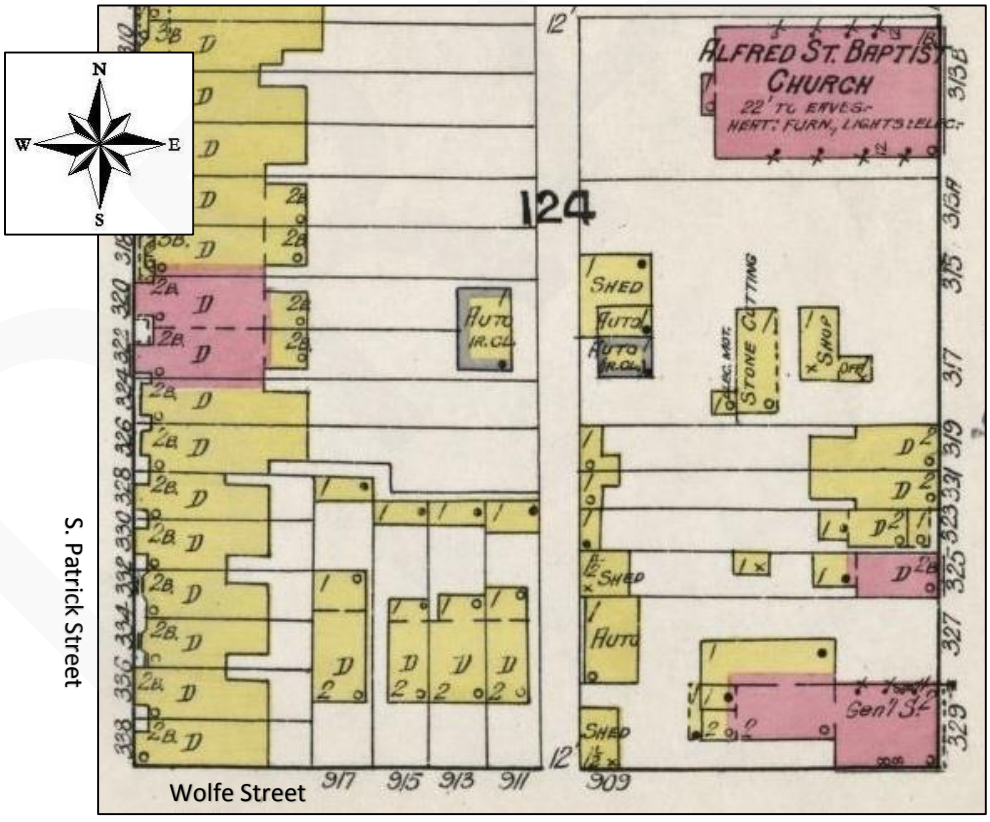


Figure 62: 1921 Sanborn Map Showing Study Area (not to scale)

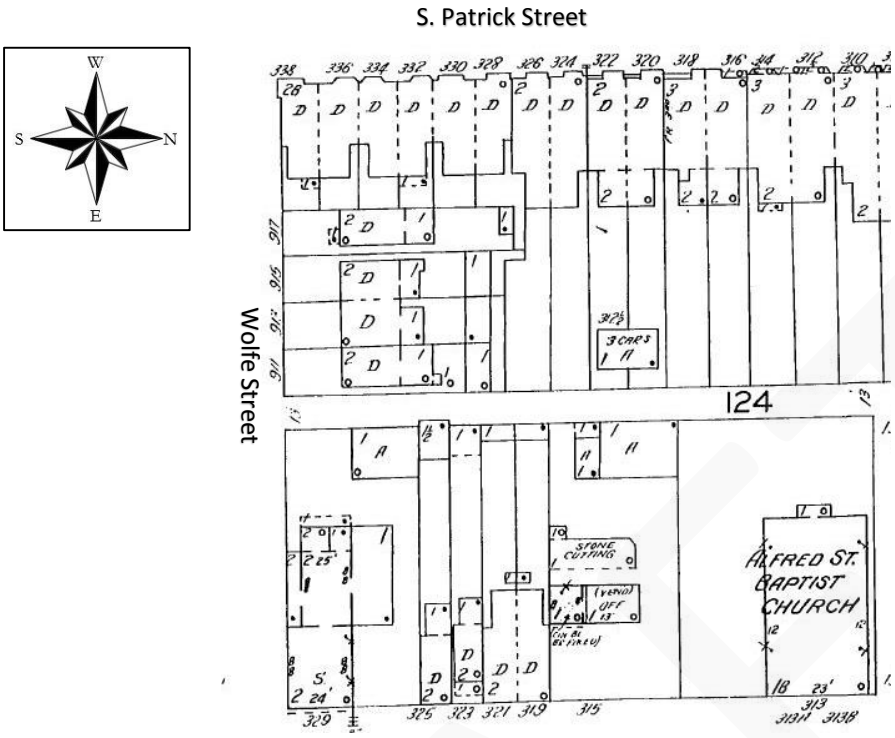


Figure 63: 1941 Sanborn Map Showing 900 Block of Wolfe Street (not to scale)

Corner of Wolfe and Alley – 911-917 Wolfe Street

911-917 Wolfe St. had a variety of owners and tenants throughout the early-mid 20th century that frequently changed from year to year and had very few consistent owners or tenants (see Appendix II, Tables 43-46). William Watson inherited 915 and 917 Wolfe Street in 1895 (DB 35:39; DB 51:344). Thomas F. Kelly purchased 917 Wolfe St. in 1908 (DB 61:56). Kelly sold the property in 1928 to Bernard Brown (DB 96:537). By 1921, the dwellings at 917 and 915 Wolfe St. had attached one-story composition roof frame additions in the back (see Figure 62).

From about 1924-1942, Melissa Pointdexter was listed at 911 Wolfe St. (1924 ACD; 1936 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1940 ACD; 1942 ACD). Nathaniel Ferguson, a porter, inhabited 913 Wolfe St. from around 1928-1942 (1928 ACD; 1936 ACD; 1938 ACD; 1942 ACD). Edith Ward was documented as the owner of 915 Wolfe St. in 1946 and 1950 (Repairs and Alterations Permit No. 7483; Repairs Alterations Permit No. 9191). Malinda Hollins lived at 911 Wolfe St. from 1954-1961 (1954 ACD; 1957 ACD; 1959 ACD; 1961 ACD). Etheridge and Jessie Mae Jones bought 917 Wolfe St. from Bernard Brown in 1953 (DB 361:353).

The Jones sold 917 Wolfe St. in 1956 to Dora G. Bresler (DB 423:224). Philip Fagelson bought 911-915 Wolfe Street in 1963, and Norman M. Reynolds purchased the properties from Fagelson in 1968 (DB 578:255; DB 571:400; DB 683:219). On March 28, 1972, ARHA purchased 911-915 Wolfe Street from Norman M. Reynolds (DB 738:714). ARHA acquired 917 Wolfe St. from Dora Bresler in September of 1972 (DB 746:576).

Alleyways

From the early 19th century to the late 20th century, the block had a series of alleyways. A 1818 plat map shows an 13.5' alleyway going through the middle of the Lawrason and Shreve estates, starting at the southern edge of the block between their lots on Wolfe Street (specifically between what would later be 911 and 909 Wolfe Street), extending north, then turning east at the northwest corner of Lot 6 of Lawrason's estate and straight to Alfred Street (Figure X; WB 3:319). This north-south running alleyway is also recorded on an 1845 map of Alexandria (see Figure 4). The alleyway illustrated on the 1818 plat is similar to the one on the 1877 Hopkins Map (see Figure 36). A small frame house is shown facing the alleyway on the 1877 Hopkins Map and the 1882 plat of the Henderson estate (DB 23:49). This small frame house is the first known structure built on any of the block's alleys and is not shown in later maps. The 1882 plat also shows smaller alleys that have developed on the west half of the block. There was an east-west running 10' alley behind the lots on Duke Street and went from S. Patrick St. to the block's central alleyway. Another 10' east-west running alley was in the south behind the lots on Wolfe St. and goes from S. Patrick St. then connected to a smaller 4' alley that led to the central alleyway.

By the end of the 19th century, more small structures were erected on the alleyways. In 1891, shingle roof two-story and one-story stables, one-story sheds, unidentified one-story structures, and a one-story shanty were noted along the alleys (see Figure 52). In 1896, a series of one-story shingle roof sheds lined the alley behind the western Duke St. lots. Stables and unidentified structures still persisted along the alleys, but a one-story shingle roof frame dwelling appeared slightly north of where the small frame house was documented on the 1882 Henderson plat (see Figure 44). This dwelling was demolished sometime before 1902. Though the smaller alleys on the Henderson 1882 plat disappear on late 19th century maps, they reappear on maps in 1902 (see Figure 53). By 1902, small one-story shingle and slate roof buildings as well as a two-story shed had been constructed on these smaller alleys with a few along the central alleyway. Four sheds still faced the central alleyway but no stables were recorded on the block (see Figure 53). Structures on the alleys remained unchanged on 1907 and 1912 maps (see Figure 53 and Figure 54).

Alleyway structures, like the ones on this block, were not uncommon for the Alexandria and Washington D.C. areas in the late 19th century to early 20th century. In Washington D.C., African Americans and recent immigrants in the late 19th century would often live "in the hastily built and crowded alley dwellings" (Little 2003). Small structures were built and faced alleys running through blocks to develop more "living space" (Smithsonian Institution 2016). The living conditions were poor. Garbage was dumped into alleyways and many living in the alleys would make it their occupation to pick through the trash and peddle or trade their findings (Little 2003). These structures were frequently rented out to prostitutes. Louse Alley, as previous mentioned, was an alley in Washington D.C. that contained prostitutes and brothels, once described as "bawdy houses of colored women" (Smithsonian Institution 2016). A reporter called Louse Alley one of the "wickedest alleys in the world" and "a place of human congestion and crime" (The Washington Herald, 14 Nov 1918). The Women's Anthropological Association of Washington investigated Louse Alley in 1896 and found residents had no access to running water and box privies sat beneath the alley dwellings' back windows (Smithsonian Institution 2016). Due to the terrible living conditions, alley dwellings were outlawed in D.C. in 1914. The small

unidentified structures on this particular Alexandria block may have been used as alley dwellings up to the early 20th century.

Coinciding with the rise of the automobile industry in the 1920s, on 1921 maps of the block, two ironclad one-story frame and two wooden one-story frame "auto" or car garages appear along the central alleyway (see Figure 54). A few more car garages were built in the alleys by 1941 (see Figure 55). A couple of the previously unidentified buildings in the alleys were converted to sheds. In 1959, the structures in the alleys were mostly unaltered, but the building materials of the newer car garages shown in the 1941 map were identified as mostly ironclad frame structures and one stone structure. By the 1970s, ARHA planned redevelop the majority of the block.

ARHA DIP Block 5

Once ARHA had acquired the entirety of the block in the 1970s to redevelop the land and create low-income housing, the block was labelled DIP Block 5 (after the historic "Dip" neighborhood) and new lots were subdivided (Figure 64; Figure 65; Figure 66). All of the original alleys (described above) were demolished by 1979 (see Figure 66).

Lot 600 was the north third of the block while Lot 601 was the remainder of the block with the exception of ABSC property. ARHA turned over all of Lot 600 to ABSC in 1979 (DB 963:385). ARHA filed to demolish 317 S. Alfred St and 325-327 S. Alfred St. in 1978 (Demolitions Permit No. 1461; Demolitions Permit No. 1463). In 1979, ARHA applied to demolish 310-320 S. Patrick St. (Demolitions Permit No. 1502). In 1980, ARHA filed to demolish on 308-338 S. Patrick St, all of the S. Patrick St. addresses along the block (Demolitions Permit No. 1512). ABSC acquired the entire block in 2014 (DB 140015265).

In 1979, ARHA, ASBC, and Georgetown Washington University partnered to have archaeological investigations performed on the southeast corner of DIP Block 5. A ceremony was held to mark the start of the excavations (Figure 67 and Figure 68). Historic dwelling foundations and house lots and cultural materials dating to the 19th and 20th centuries were uncovered. The site was located at the northwest corner of S. Alfred and Wolfe, and the site number was recorded as 44AX005.

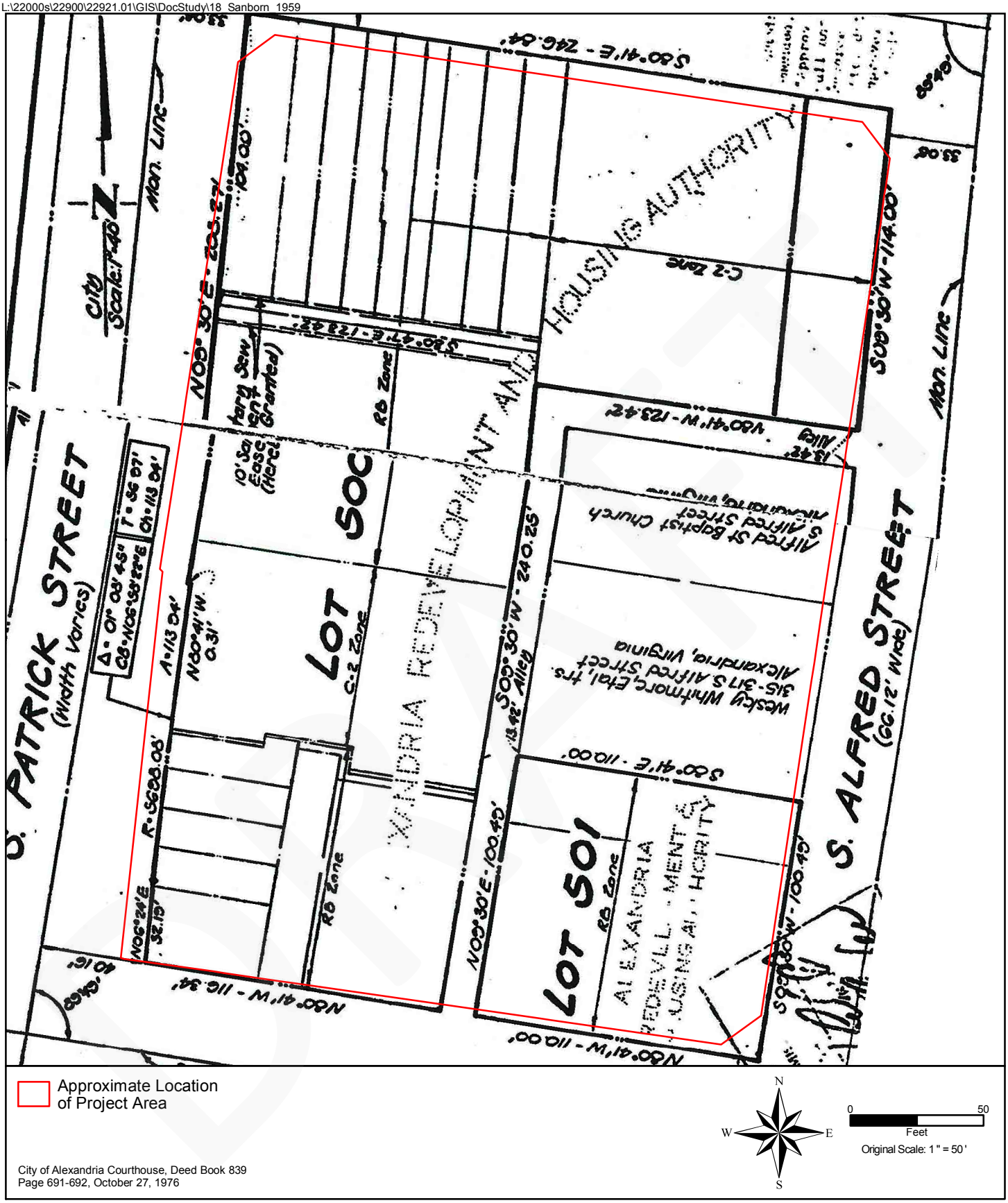
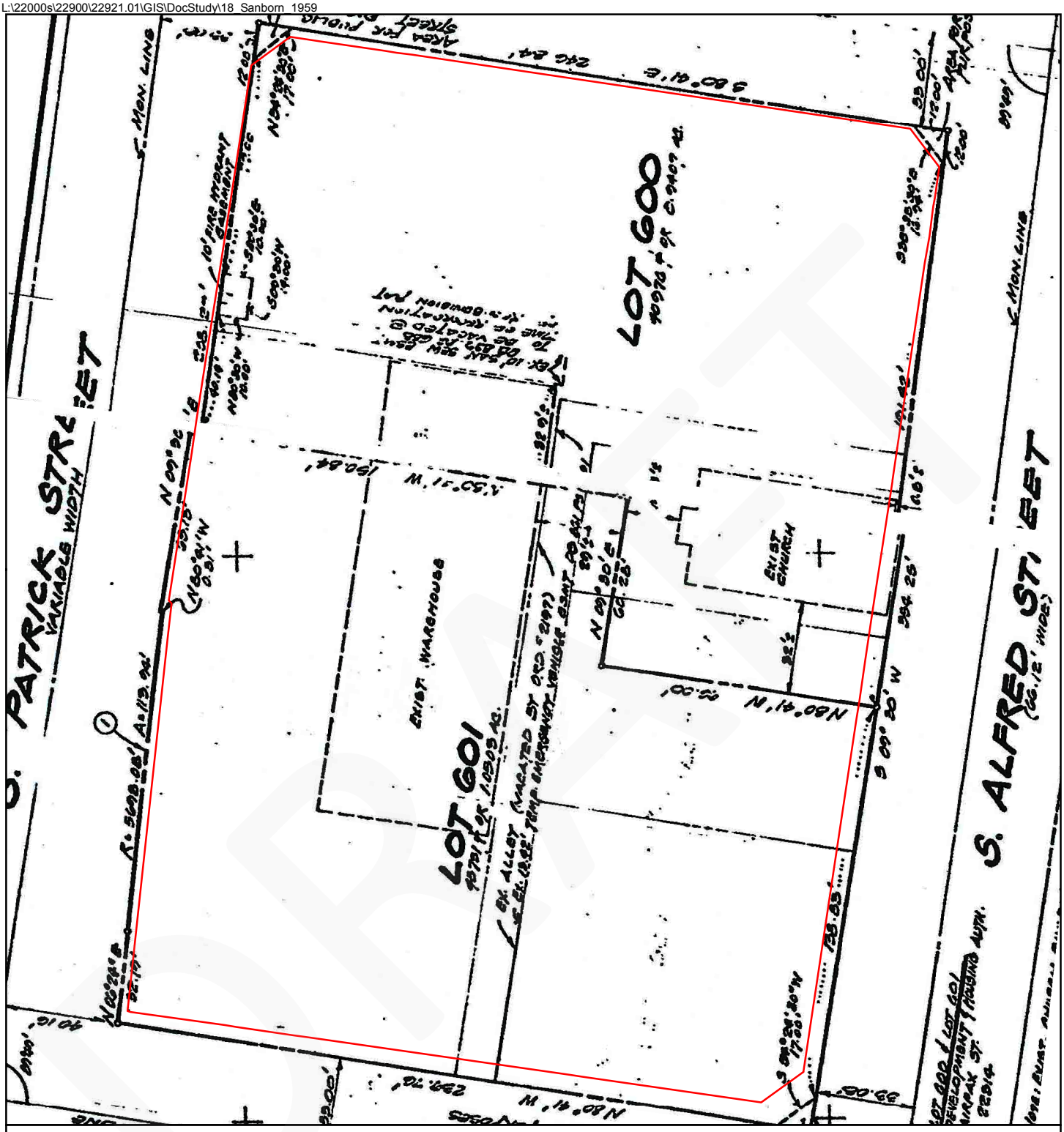
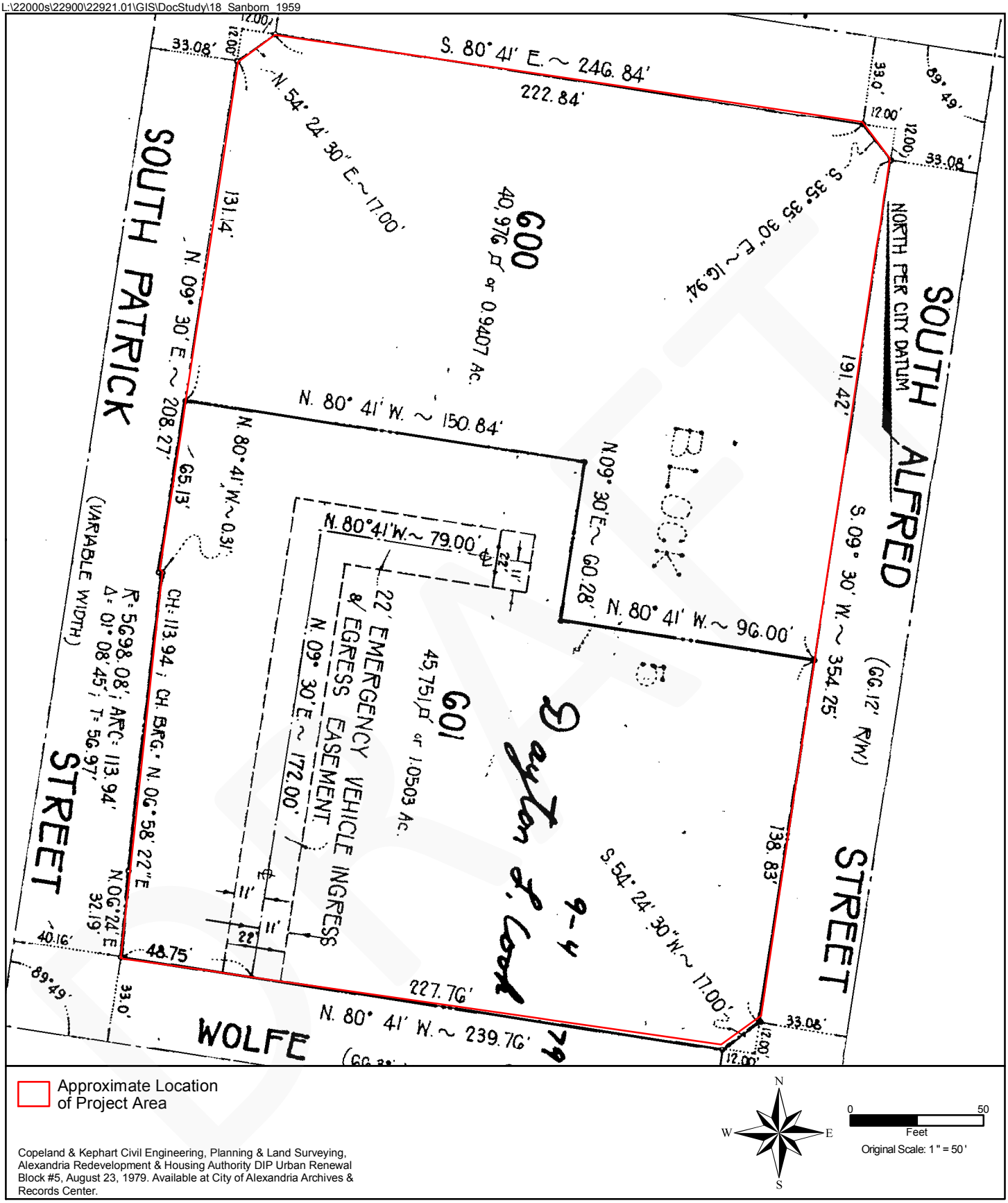


Figure 64
1976 Alexandria Plat Map



City of Alexandria Courthouse, Deed Book 921
Page 810-812, November 16, 1978

Figure 65
1978 Alexandria Plat Map



Approximate Location of Project Area

Copeland & Kephart Civil Engineering, Planning & Land Surveying, Alexandria Redevelopment & Housing Authority DIP Urban Renewal Block #5, August 23, 1979. Available at City of Alexandria Archives & Records Center.

N W E S

0 50 Feet

Original Scale: 1 " = 50 '

Figure 66
1979 Alexandria Plat Map

Figure 67: 44AX005, Groundbreaking Ceremony (Alexandria Archaeology)

Figure 68: 44AX005, Groundbreaking Ceremony (Alexandria Archaeology)

PREVIOUS ARCHEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

Three previously recorded archeological sites are located within the study area (Table 1); the first two sites were investigated by Alexandria Archaeology in 1979; and the latter was recorded by Engineering Science in 1991 in association with improvements to the historic Alfred Street Baptist Church. Although the sites have not been evaluated by the Virginia DHR as to their eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places, they are considered locally significant to by Alexandria Archaeology.

Table 3: Recorded Archeological Resources within the Study Area

DHR Number	Resource Type	Temporal Affiliation	Archeological Signatures
44AX0005	Dwellings	19th century	Brick foundations, builder's trenches, and artifacts from domestic occupation
44AX0018	Dwellings	19th century	Wall foundations and artifacts from domestic occupation of the city block
44AX0161 (100-0049)	Church	1825 - 1874	Brick foundations and builder's trenches, brick walkway, brick-lined well,

Site 44AX0005 represents the tangible evidence of the 19th century occupation of this corner of the city block, prior to its redevelopment in the early 1980s. The site was investigated by Alexandria Archaeology and by George Washington University field school students in 1979 and was actively under redevelopment at the time, as they noted landfill from the recently demolished dwellings at the site. The site limits encompass the lot lines of the four prior row houses that fronted Alfred Street; excavations were limited to the rear of these lots in the expectation of finding trash middens, wells, and privies (Figure 69). The area of investigation measured approximately 70 by 34 meters (230 x 112 feet) and was located east of an alley and south of the main church building lot. Recovered artifacts included ceramics (such as whiteware, pearlware, stoneware, and redware), glass, pipe stems, nails, faunal bone, oyster shell, and brick fragments. These features and artifacts were determined to be the remains of 19th century dwellings and possible associated structures and domestic use of the property.

The southwestern corner of this city block was likewise investigated by Alexandria Archaeology in 1979, but few details regarding the excavation have been located. At least two test squares were excavated beneath the asphalt and gravel parking lot in this quadrant, which revealed a wall foundation and artifacts (ceramics and glass fragments) associated with the 19th century domestic occupation of the dwellings in this quadrant. The site was recorded as 44AX0118 and was noted as being located west of site 44AX0005 (see Figure 69).

Finally, in 1991 Engineering Science conducted Phase I and II archeological investigations within and around the original ASBC building (Walker et al 1992); the site was recorded as 44AX0161. The purpose of the archeological work was to determine the construction date of the church building, and to explore the surrounding yard for evidence of the earlier occupation of the city block.

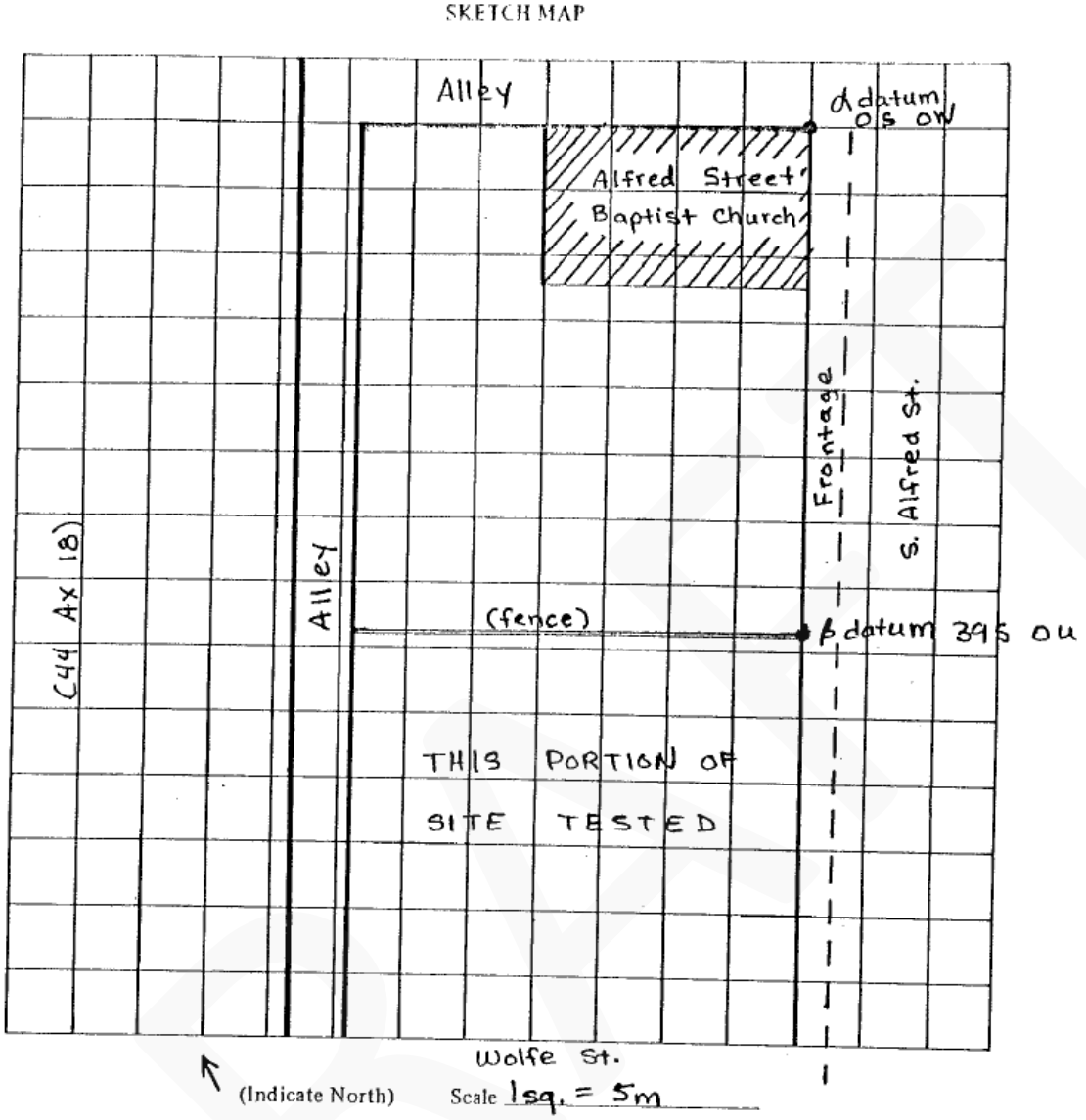


Figure 69: Sketch Map of Site 44AX0005 and 44AX0018 (Alexandria Archaeology files)

The Phase I testing around the yard of the church revealed an intact 19th century layer of soil (stratum) that was capped by 20th century deposits; the intact layer contained artifacts from the domestic occupation of this lot by the Beckley family, prior to its acquisition by the church. However, no features associated with the Beckley occupation were located during the subsequent Phase II evaluation testing in the yard and no further work was recommended in this immediate area.

The Phase I/ II testing within the interior of the church basement and along the exterior walls revealed builder's trenches that helped date the construction dates for various elements of the building. The artifacts recovered from the builder's trench indicate that the main church building was constructed in the second quarter of the 19th century, and the rear addition and front 10-foot section of the church were constructed toward the end of the 19th century (Walker et al 1992:105). Differences in construction foundations were also

observed. Test units against the church's outer south wall also revealed a herringbone brick walkway that was laid in sometime after 1720 (Walker et al 1992:65).

Archeological monitoring during construction of the new church revealed several features: a brick-lined well, which was last filled in during the early-to-mid 20th century; and two brick piers, two brick-lined cellars, brick walls, and a builder's trench (Features 27-31) that were interpreted as associated with the former buildings at 900-904 Duke Street (Figure 70). No further work was recommended for any of these discoveries or with site 44AX0161.

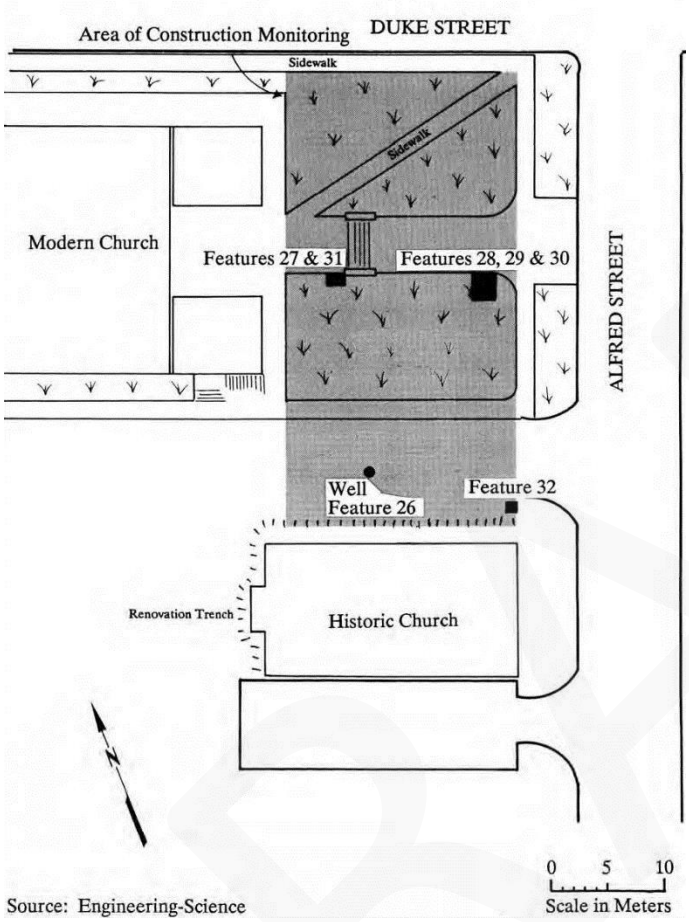


Figure 70: Area of Construction Monitoring and Feature Location (Walker et al 1992:84)

CURRENT CONDITIONS AND PROPOSED CONSTRUCTION

The block bounded by Duke, S. Alfred, Wolfe and S. Patrick Streets currently encompasses 22 affordable housing units in the southeastern end of the block and the ASBC church buildings in the northern half of the property. Parking lots cover the remainder of the property. The majority of the block (with the exception of the original church building) was demolished and graded prior to redevelopment in the 1980s. This Documentary Study was initiated in anticipation of the planned construction of a new buildings covering the entire block; three-story underground parking is planned beneath the buildings (Figure 71; Figure 72; Figure 73; Figure 74; Figure 75).

Figure 71: Current Conditions: 900 Block Duke Street Looking South and Proposed Construction: Duke Street Elevation

(BAR 2nd Concept Review February 15, 2017 - Kerns Group Architects & HCO Architects Inc.)

Figure 72: Current Conditions: 300 Block S. Alfred Street Looking West and Proposed Construction: S. Alfred Street Elevation

(BAR 2nd Concept Review February 15, 2017 - Kerns Group Architects & HCO Architects Inc.)

Figure 73: Current Conditions: 300 Block S. Patrick Street Looking West and Proposed Construction: S. Patrick Street Elevation

(BAR 2nd Concept Review February 15, 2017 - Kerns Group Architects & HCO Architects Inc.)

Figure 74: Current Conditions: 900 Block Wolfe Street Looking North and Proposed Construction: Wolfe Street Elevation
(BAR 2nd Concept Review February 15, 2017 - Kerns Group Architects & HCO Architects Inc.)

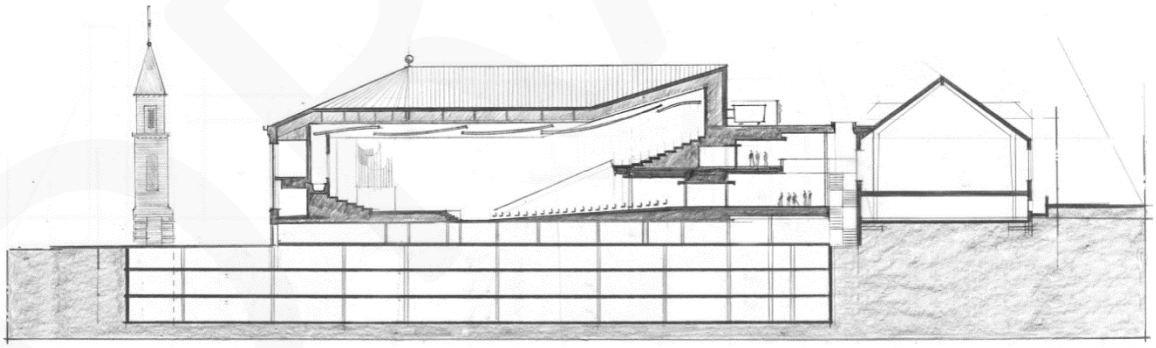


Figure 75: Proposed Construction: Three-story Underground Parking
(BAR 2nd Concept Review February 15, 2017 - Kerns Group Architects & HCO Architects Inc.)

ARCHEOLOGICAL RESOURCE ASSESSMENT

The Alfred Street Baptist Church site is located within the City of Alexandria's Archaeological Resource Area 1 (Old Town), which encompasses the 1798 town limits. This historic core has yielded archeological remains that span the entire development of the city, including evidence of early Freed Black settlements, which is relevant as the Church property is located in the historic African-American neighborhood known as the Bottoms. The results of the documentary research were used to determine the potential for locating archeological resources within the property, and are presented below.

Prehistoric Archeological Resources

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. Plowing and other historic or modern disturbances lessen the significance of archeological sites by disturbing soil stratigraphy, thereby mixing artifact contexts and disturbing potential features. The 1845 Ewing map shows the property was drained by a stream just off the southwest corner of the block, which eventually emptied into Little Hunting Creek seven blocks to the southeast, so prehistoric occupation of the study area was probable; however, the potential for locating significant and intact prehistoric resources within the study area is low, due to long-term, historic occupation of the block starting in the late-18th century and into the present day.

Historic Archeological Resources

The block was likely inhabited by enslaved African-American laborers, free African-American tenants and property owners from the late 18th century through the mid-19th century. During the Civil War, formerly enslaved African Americans may have sought refuge within a recognized free black community and may have found shelter on the block, particularly since local churches, like ASBC, were known to house them (Wallace 2003:46). After the Civil War, tenants and property owners continued to reside within the study area. Several of the dwellings on the block appear to have been built by the late 19th century. Free blacks certainly lived on the block and were noted in 1891 along Wolfe St., where a row of dwellings were labelled "Negro" (1891 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map). The dwellings along S. Patrick St. included basements, which may go deeper than modern disturbance.

Possible historic features include deep features, which are more likely to have remained undisturbed by modern activity, such as foundations, trash pits, privies, cellars, and wells; all of which were found in at least three previous archaeological investigations on the block, including the 19th century brick piers, cellars, founded discovered by Engineering Science in the 1990s at 900-904 Duke Street. These intact features are tangible examples of what could be revealed during archeological excavations and provide significant data and information on the residents who lived in the Bottoms.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Thunderbird Archeology, a division of Wetland Studies and Solutions Inc.(WSSI) of Gainesville, Virginia conducted a Documentary Study on the ASBC property; comprising one entire city block bounded by Duke, South Alfred, Wolfe, and South Patrick Streets in Alexandria, Virginia. The research was conducted in anticipation of the planned redevelopment on portions 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 ASBC and the historic African American neighborhood in which it is located; and to evaluate the potential for locating intact archeological resources on the property.

Based on the archival research and previous archeological research presented above, the following resources were present or are currently located within the city block; an assessment of their potential archeological signature is also addressed below.

The study area has a moderate to high probability of containing early 19th century – 20th century artifact deposits and archeological features that could potentially provide significant information about the residents living within the Bottoms, a historic free black neighborhood the City of Alexandria, Virginia. Three known archeological sites are located within the study area that represent the earlier occupation on this city block, and similar archeological features, such as foundations and intact 19th century surfaces, as well as wells and privy features, are expected.

The demolition, grading, and construction of parking lots and buildings in the late 20th century likely disturbed historic contexts, though the degree of disturbance is unknown. Thus, archeological testing is recommended to evaluate the degree and locations of disturbance.

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Alexandria County birth and marriage records
Alexandria County chancery court cases
Arlington County Deed Books
Arlington County Will Books
City of Alexandria building permits
City of Alexandria land tax records
City of Alexandria personal property tax records
DHR Resource Forms
Fairfax County Deed Books
National Register of Historic Places Parker Gray PIF
Northern Neck Land Grants
Prince William County Land Causes
Stafford County Order Book
Stafford County Wills
United States. Bureau of the Census

APPENDIX I
Scope of Work for Documentary Study

Scope of Work
Documentary Study and *Archeological Assessment*
Alfred Street Baptist Church
City of Alexandria, Virginia

October 26, 2016

Introduction

This Scope of Work is for a *Documentary Study and Archaeological Assessment* of the entire city block containing the Alfred Street Baptist Church, bounded by Duke, South Alfred, Wolfe, and South Patrick Streets (Exhibits 1 and 2). The Alfred Street Baptist Church (ASBC) is significant as the oldest African-American congregation in the City of Alexandria and is located in the what has been identified as Alexandria's earliest African American neighborhoods, called the Bottoms. In the 19th century, the residents within the study area and vicinity likely included a mixture of African-Americans tenants and white absentee landlords – although some early white owners resided within the vicinity (Exhibits 3-5). The ASBC was (and continues to be) an essential part of the growth and development of the neighborhood and larger community.

The scope is based on an October 14, 2016 meeting with Francine Bromberg of Alexandria Archaeology. This work is being done to satisfy requirements of the City of Alexandria Archaeological Protection Code prior to new construction. The goal of this scope of work is to complete a Documentary Study and provide a recommendation as to whether an archeological investigation is needed on the property prior to development. The documentary study shall present the historical significance of the property and provide a historic context for the interpretation the site. 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. All aspects of this investigation will comply with the *City of Alexandria Archaeological Standards* dated January 1996 and the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archaeology and Historic Preservation.*

Previous Recorded Resources

The Alfred Street Baptist Church is listed on the Virginia Landmarks Register (Resource 100-0049) and is associated with African-American Historic Resources of Alexandria, Virginia multiple property listing (Resource 100-5015-0001). Three archeological sites have also been recorded within the block. Sites 44AX0005 and 44AX0018 were recorded in 1979 by the City Archeologists as the location of 19th century dwellings. More recent work was conducted for the ASBC in 1991 by Engineering-Science resulted in the recordation of Site 44AX0161. The site consisted of 19th century yard deposits and features, including a brick-lined well.

Documentary Study and Archaeological Assessment

The Documentary Study will consist of maps, plus primary and secondary source information. The ultimate goal of the research is to identify, as precisely as possible, the potential locations of archeological resources that may be preserved within the project area and to develop a historical context for the interpretation of these potential resources.

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 archeological 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. It will include the development of research questions that could provide a framework for the archeological work and the development of historic contexts for the interpretation of the site. The work will present the potential for the archeological work to increase our understanding of Alexandria's past and will highlight the historical and archeological significance of the property.

In addition to the narrative, the work 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 archeological resources that could provide insight into Alexandria's past, and presents specific recommendations for the archeological testing strategy. This map shall indicate locations for backhoe scraping or trenching, hand excavation, and/or monitoring. The recommendations will be based upon the specific criteria for evaluating potential archeological 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. All required preservation measures shall be completed prior to development.

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. Visit Alexandria Archaeology to gather information, including to-scale historical maps, site reports, and secondary compilations and indexes, and complete research on primary sources.

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.

5. Make required revisions and deliver one (1) unbound and three (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

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Exhibit 1
Vicinity Map

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Exhibit 2
April 2016 Natural Color Imagery

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Exhibit 10
1864 Plan of Alexandria, Virginia

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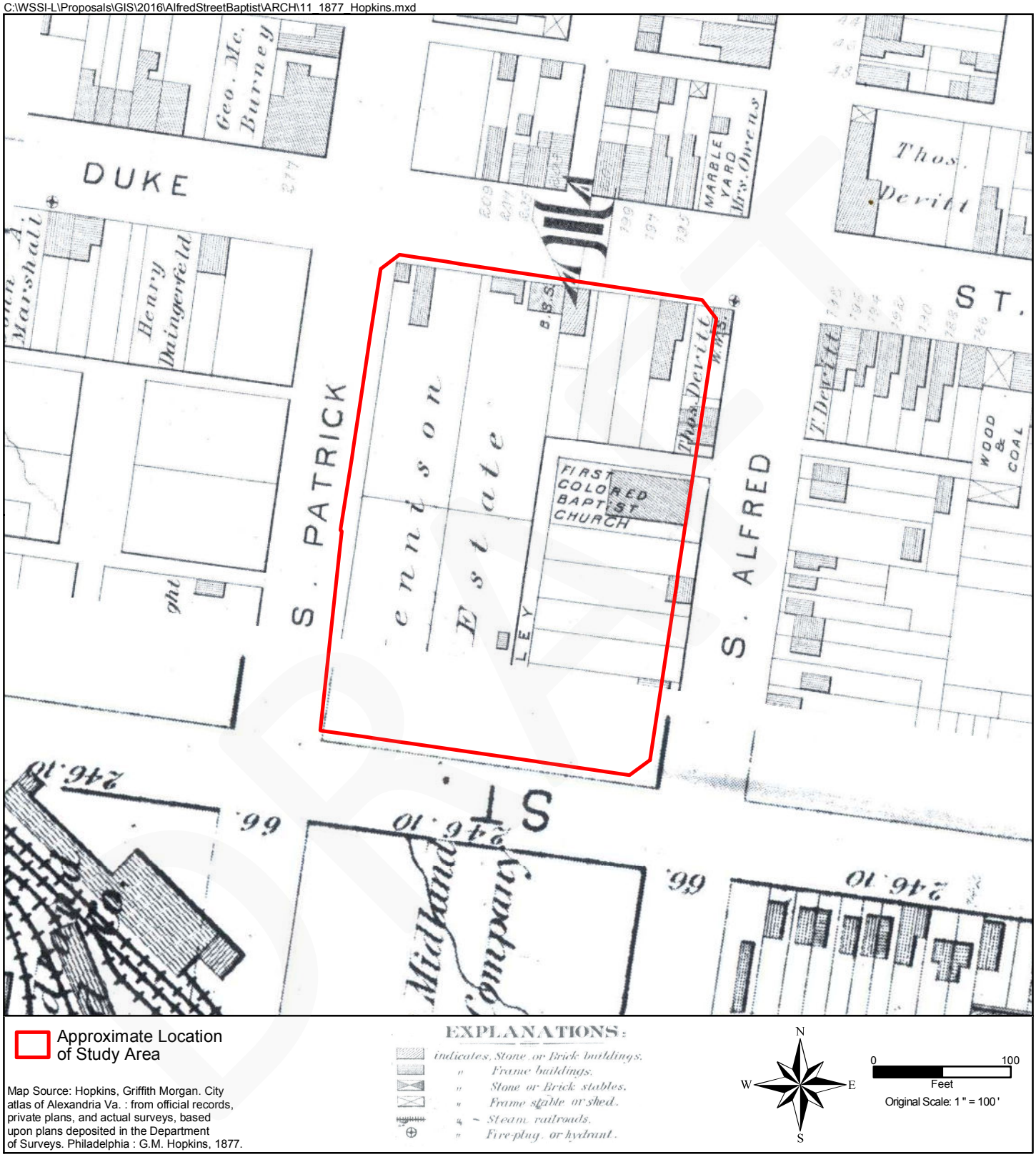

Map Source: Hopkins, Griffith Morgan. City atlas of Alexandria Va. : from official records, private plans, and actual surveys, based upon plans deposited in the Department of Surveys. Philadelphia : G.M. Hopkins, 1877.

Exhibit 11
1877 Hopkins Map

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Approximate Location of Study Area

Map Source: "Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Alexandria, Independent Cities, Virginia." Sanborn Map Company, November 1912. Sheets 1 Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C.

Exhibit 18
Sanborn Fire Insurance Map - Alexandria 1912

APPENDIX II
Alexandria City Directory Tables

Table 4: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 904 Duke St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Owens, Alfred	Resident	Bricklayer
	Owens, John	Resident	Carpenter
1903	Owens, Annie	Resident	Widow
1910	Baker, William	Resident	Laundryman
	Baker, William Jr.	Resident	Not Listed
	Summers, Emma	Resident	Not Listed
1920	Keller, C.E.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Keller, C.E.	Resident	Not Listed
1928	Gallaham, Robert	Resident	Not Listed
	Gallaham, Stella	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Barden, Henry T.	Tenant	Not Listed
1938	Williamson, Albert	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Williamson, Albert	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Williamson, Albert	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Williamson, Mary E.	Owner	Not Listed
1955	Williamson, Mary E.	Owner	Not Listed
1959	Williamson, Mary E.	Owner	Not Listed
1975	Seay, Millard	Near Resident	Not Listed
1978	Kaufman, P	Near Resident	Not Listed
1980	Cameron, E.A.	Near Resident	Not Listed

Table 5: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 906 Duke St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Chauncey, John	Resident	Blacksmith
1904	Chauncey, Jos. E.	Not Listed	Coach Painter
1936	Vacant	-	-
1938	Vacant	-	-
1940	Vacant	-	-
1942	Vacant	-	-
1959	Vacant	-	-
1975	Garvin, Linda	Resident	Not Listed
1978	Kanas	Near Resident	Not Listed
1980	Holman, Gertrude	Resident	Not Listed

Table 6: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 908 Duke St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1904	Chesser, John E.	Resident	Carpenter
	Kyle, Elmer M.	Resident	Conductor
	Smith, Arthur L.	Resident	Machinist
	Williams, Buena	Resident	Widow
1910	Chesser, Herman	Resident	Messenger
	Chesser, John E.	Resident	Mill Hand
	Chesser, Ephriam	Resident	Carpenter
	Chesser, Leonard	Resident	Brakeman
	Chesser, Mary	Resident	Widow
1920	Chesser, J.E.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Chesser, J.E.	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Chesser, John E.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Elicott, Allen A.	Resident	Not Listed
	Green, Jesse H.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	duVon, Jay	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Hillhouse, Francis B.	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Colonial Animal Hospital	Resident	Animal Hospital
1955	Colonial Animal Hospital	Resident	Animal Hospital
1959	Powell, Fred	Resident	Not Listed
1975	McConnell, Gertrude	Near Resident	Not Listed
1978	Vacant	-	-
1980	Carey, Patricia	Resident	Not Listed

Table 7: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 910 Duke St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1903	Chesser, John E.	Not Listed	Carpenter
1975	Durkin, Wm. P.	Resident	Not Listed
1978	Brook, Shawn	Resident	Not Listed
1980	Byrd, Cassandra A.	Resident	Not Listed

Table 8: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 912 Duke St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Ronway, John H.	Resident	Painter
1903	Mason, Mabel E.	Resident	Tailoress
1910	Eaton, John H.	Resident	Painter
	Eaton, John S.	Resident	Elk Potomac Yards
	Eaton, Katie V.	Resident	Not Listed
1920	Eaton, K. H.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Apperson, C.Y.	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Apperson, C.Y.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Apperson, C.Y.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Apperson, C.Y.	Owner	Not Listed
1942	Berry, Jesse G.	Owner	Not Listed
1954	Keyes, Doris	Owner	Not Listed
1955	Keyes, Doris	Owner	Not Listed
1959	Pollard, Anna M.	Resident	Not Listed
1978	Lynch, Chris	Near Resident	Not Listed
1980	Dupnis, Laura	Resident	Not Listed

Table 9: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 914 Duke St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Goodrich, Willis H.	Resident	Carpenter
1903	Goodrich, Willis H.	Resident	Carpenter
1920	Apperson, C.Y.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Leake, C.H.	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Brown, Lee E.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Brown, Robt. L.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Brown, Robt. L.	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Brown, Besse	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Vacant	-	-
1955	Vacant	-	-
1959	Pollard, Wade	Owner	Not Listed
1975	Fifer, Linton	Resident	Not Listed
1978	Vacant	-	-
1980	Porter, Willie D.	Resident	Not Listed

Table 10: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 916 Duke St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Lyles, Charles W.	Resident	Carpenter
1903	Johnson, Sarah	Resident	Not Listed
	Lyles, Ettie	Resident	Clerk
1904	Lyles, Charles W.	Resident	Wheelwright
1910	Johnson, Sallie	Resident	Not Listed
	Lyles, Ada	Resident	Widow
1920	Lyles, Ada	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Reece, Michael	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Harrison, Herbert G.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Linthicum, Norman O.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Littleton, Clarence	Resident	Not Listed
1942	McCleary, Nora E.	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Cochran, Margt.	Resident	Not Listed
1955	Cochran, Margt.	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Cochran, Margt.	Owner	Not Listed
1975	Saia, Joseph	Resident	Not Listed
1978	Vacant	-	-
1980	Alverez, Louis	Resident	Not Listed

Table 11: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 918 Duke St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Kidwell, George	Resident	Woodworker
	Kidwell, Laura E.	Resident	Not Listed
1903	Kidwell, George F.	Not Listed	Woodworker
1904	Kidwell, George	Resident	Woodworker
	Kidwell, Laura E.	Resident	Not Listed
1910	Callan, James	Resident	Elk
	Aitcheson & Bro	Resident	Not Listed
1920	Bowman, Lester	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Bowman, Lester	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Yancey, Thos. W.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Yancey, Thos. W.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Yancey, Thos. W.	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Yancey, Thos. W.	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Bayne, Alma P.	Resident	Not Listed
1955	Bayne, Alma P.	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Lowe, O'Dell J.	Resident	Not Listed
1975	Griser, Glenn	Resident	Not Listed

Table 12: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 920 Duke St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Pope, Lawrence	Resident	Fireman
1903	Hook, John W.	Resident	Engineer
1910	Fletcher, Cirrue W.	Resident	Elk
	Fletcher, Elizabeth	Resident	Not Listed
	Fletcher, James R.	Resident	Apprentice
	Fletcher, Rena	Resident	Not Listed
	Fletcher, Richard	Resident	Not Listed
1920	Baggett, G.C.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Leake, C.R.	Resident	Not Listed
1928	Leake, Cecil R.	Resident	Fireman
	Nugent, Annie M.	Resident	Elk
	Nugent, Frank	Resident	Elk
	Nugent, Katie	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Nugent, Frank R.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Nugent, Frank R.	Resident	Not Listed
	Leake, Cecil R.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Williams, Ferrell T.	Resident	Not Listed
	Leake, Cecil R.	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Williams, Ferrell T.	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Butler, Eliz.	Owner	Not Listed
1955	Butler, Eliz.	Owner	Not Listed
1959	Taylor, Llewellyn	Owner	Not Listed
1975	Greenweld	Near Resident	Not Listed

Table 13: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 922 Duke St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Fairfax, Herbert	Resident	Fireman
1904	Fairfax, Herbert S.	Resident	Engineer
	Johnson, Julia	Near Resident	Domestic
1910	Fairfax, Addie	Head of Household	Not Listed
	Fairfax, Herbert	Resident	Engineer
	Fairfax, Simpson	Resident	Pipetr.
1920	McDonough, J.H.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	McDonough, J.H.	Resident	Not Listed
1928	McDonough, Mary J.	Resident	Widow
1936	McDonough, Jos. L.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Conard, Mary E.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Conard, Mary E.	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Bayne, Mary	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Skeens, Beacher J.	Resident	Not Listed
1955	Skeens, Beacher J.	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Washington, Milton E.	Resident	Not Listed
1975	McKeller, Gregg	Resident	Not Listed

Table 14: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 924 Duke St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Pitcher, Emma M.	Resident	Widow
	Pitcher, George	Resident	Carpenter
	Pticher, Harry	Resident	Clerk
1903	Holland, Charles W.	Resident	Carpenter
	Holland, Henry B.	Resident	Carpenter
1904	Holland, Bertha B.	Head of Household	Shoemaker
	Holland, Henry	Resident	Carpenter
	Johnson, Harry	Resident	Engineer
1910	Kellert, Charles F.	Resident	Elk
	Lacey, Richard	Resident	Driver
1920	Sprouse, M.H.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Sprouse, M.H.	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Leake, Clarence	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Lamb, Egar	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Lamb, Egar	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Graves, Theo. R.	Resident	Not Listed
1954	McClay, Francis B.	Owner	Not Listed
1955	McClay, Francis B.	Owner	Not Listed
1959	Oliver, Wm. H.	Resident	Not Listed
1975	Morell, Chas.	Near Resident	Not Listed

Table 15: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 926 Duke St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Fairfax, Thomas U.	Resident	Clerk
1904	Butler, William	Resident	Electrician
1920	Gorham, G.A.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Gorham, G.A.	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Economu, Thos.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Economu, Thos.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Economu, Thos.	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Economu, Davis	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Davis, Maude H.	Resident	Not Listed
1955	Davis, Maude H.	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Davis, Maude H.	Resident	Not Listed
1975	Hendley, James	Near Resident	Not Listed

Table 16: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 928 Duke St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1903	Davis, Virgil C.	Resident	Telegrapher
1904	Wayland, Clifford O.	Resident	Brakeman
1910	Grove, Edward V.	Resident	Motorman
1920	Grove, V.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Grove, E.V.	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Grove, Bessie M.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Grove, Bessie M.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Grove, Bessie M.	Owner	Not Listed
1942	Grove, Bessie M.	Owner	Not Listed
1954	Grove, Bessie M.	Owner	Not Listed
1955	Grove, Bessie M.	Owner	Not Listed
1959	Grove, Bessie M.	Owner	Not Listed
1975	Hasan, Nadin	Near Resident	Not Listed

Table 17: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 309 S. Alfred St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Waters, Benjamin Jr.	Resident	Saloon
1903	Campbell, Alice	Resident	Domestic
	Thomas, William	Resident	Laborer
1904	Butler, Charles W.	Resident	Laborer
	Campbell, Alice	Resident	Domestic
1910	Williams, Frank	Resident	Driver
1920	Brown, Tillie	Near Resident	Not Listed
1924	Burgess, Albert	Near Resident	Not Listed
1928	Bargress, Albert	Resident	Laborer

Table 18: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 311 S. Alfred St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Simpson, Julian A.	Resident	Inspector
	Simpson, Thomas	Resident	Laborer
1903	Sinclair, James A.	Resident	Boilermaker
	Sinclair, Mollie	Resident	Dressmaker
	Wilson, Martha	Near Resident	Domestic
	Wilson, William A.	Near Resident	Janitor
1904	Colena, Agnes	Resident	Domestic
	Wilson, Martha	Resident	Widow
	Wilson, Wadsworth	Near Resident	Clerk
1910	Williams, Effie	Near Resident	Laundress
1924	Jones, Emma	Near Resident	Not Listed
1928	Carter, Emma	Near Resident	Not Listed

Table 19: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 315 S. Alfred St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1903	Jackson, Lindsay	Near Resident	Plumber
1920	Chauncey, Thomas	Owner	Not Listed
1924	Chauncey, Thomas	Owner	Not Listed
1936	Chauncey Thos. monuments	Owner	Not Listed
1938	Chauncey Thos. monuments	Owner	Not Listed
1940	Chauncey Thos. monuments	Owner	Not Listed
1942	Chauncey Thos. monuments	Owner	Not Listed
1945	Chauncey Thos. monuments	Owner	Not Listed
1954	Vacant	-	-
1959	Vacant	-	-

Table 20: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 317 S. Alfred St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1920	Chauncey, Thomas	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Chauncey, Thomas	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Chauncey Thos. monuments	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Chauncey Thos. monuments	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Chauncey Thos. monuments	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Chauncey Thos. monuments	Resident	Not Listed
1945	Chauncey Thos. monuments	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Vacant	-	-
1959	Vacant	-	-

Table 21: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 319 S. Alfred St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Langford, James H.	Resident	Clerk
	Langford, Sarah	Resident	Widow
	Langford, Warner	Resident	Laborer
1904	Hall, Thomas L.	Resident	Painter
1920	Murray, W.H.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Mitchell, John	Near Resident	Not Listed
1928	Cunningham, Estelle	Resident	Cook
	Yeager, Milton	Resident	Laborer
1936	Thomas, Wm.	Corner	Not Listed
1938	Thomas, Wm.	Corner	Not Listed
1940	Thomas, Wm.	Corner	Not Listed
1942	Thomas, Wm.	Corner Owner	Not Listed
1945	Thomas, Wm.	Corner	Not Listed
1954	Thomas, Wm.	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Thomas, Lelia M.	Resident	Not Listed
1965	Cook, Eliz.	Resident	Not Listed

Table 22: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 321 S. Alfred St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Simpson, Effie V.	Resident	Operator
	Simpson, Julian A.	Resident	Inspector
	Simpson, Thomas A.	Resident	Driver
	Suthard, John T.	Resident	Molder
1904	Simpson, Julian A.	Resident	Car Inspector
	Simpson, Thomas A.	Resident	Driver
1910	Simpson, Peter W.	Resident	Flagman
1920	Smith, Ella	Near Resident	Not Listed
1924	Smith, Ella	Near Resident	Not Listed
1928	Pearson, Henry	Corner	Laborer
1936	Bell, Sebron	Corner	Not Listed
1938	Bell, Sebron	Corner	Not Listed
1940	Bell, Theresa	Corner	Not Listed
1942	Bell, Theresa	Corner	Not Listed
1945	Bell, Theresa	Corner	Not Listed
1954	Bell, Theresa	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Bell, Theresa	Resident	Not Listed
1965	Brown, Eug. L.	Resident	Not Listed

Table 23: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 323 S. Alfred St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1904	Curry, Andrew	Resident	Porter
1910	Trunnel, Susan	Resident	Widow
1920	Jenkins, Mellissa	Near Resident	Not Listed
1924	Cross, Grayson	Near Resident	Laborer
1936	Cross, Grayson	Corner	Not Listed
1938	Cross, Grayson	Corner	Not Listed
1940	Cross, Grayson	Corner	Not Listed
1942	Cross, Grayson	Corner	Not Listed
1945	Cross, Grayson	Corner	Not Listed
1954	Cross, Grayson	Owner	Not Listed
1959	Cross, Grayson	Resident	Not Listed
1965	Brown, Mary E.	Resident	Not Listed

Table 24: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 325 S. Alfred St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Diggs, Richard	Near Resident	Driver
	Diggs, Richard A.	Near Resident	Teacher
1903	Diggs, Richard	Near Resident	Driver
1904	Diggs, Richard	Near Resident	Driver
	Diggs, Richard A.	Near Resident	Teacher
1910	Leach, Joshua	Resident	Lab.
1920	Fields, Mamie	Near Resident	Not Listed
1924	Fields, Mamie E.	Near Resident	Not Listed
1928	Fields, Mamie	Corner Resident	Not Listed
1936	Potter, Wm.	Corner	Not Listed
1938	Potter, Mamie E.	Corner	Not Listed
1940	Potter, Mamie E.	Corner	Not Listed
1942	Potter, Mamie E.	Corner	Not Listed
1945	Potter, Mamie E.	Corner	Not Listed
1954	Potter, Mayme E.	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Potter, Mayme E.	Resident	Not Listed
1965	Compatible Barbor Shop	Resident	Barber Shop

Table 25: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 329 S. Alfred St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Kelly, Michael	Resident	Firement
	Kelly, Thomas	Resident	Not Listed
	Kelly, William J.	Resident	Fireman
	O'Neil, John W.	Resident	Brakeman
	O'Neil, Michael P.	Resident	Clerk
1903	Moore, William E.	Resident	Machinist
	Kelly, John B.	Resident	Clerk
	Kelly, George W.	Resident	Clerk
	Kelly, William J.	Resident	Laborer
	Kelly, Thomas	Resident	Not Listed
1920	Kelly, T.F.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Kelly, T.F.	Resident	Not Listed
1928	Kelly, Thos. F.	Resident	General Merchandiser
	Kelly, Thos J. (Willie M.)	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Kelly, Thos. F.	Resident	Confr.
1938	Kelly, Thos. F.	Resident	Restaurateur
1940	Kelly, Thos. F.	Resident	Restaurateur
1942	Kelly, Thos. F.	Corner	Restaurateur
1945	Kelly, Thos. F.	Owner	Restaurateur
1954	Kelly's Inn	Restaurant	Restaurateur
	Ayers, Fred	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Billy's Café	Not Listed	Not Listed
1965	Billy's Café	Not Listed	Not Listed

Table 26: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 308 S. Patrick St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Gaines, Maury	Resident	Clerk
	Tanner, Frederick M.	Resident	Mason
1903	Gaines, Maury W.	Resident	Clerk
1904	Dunham, John	Resident	Engineer
	Rourk, Morris	Head of Household	Engineer
	Rourk, Thomas	Head of Household	Clerk
	Rowork, Norris	Resident	Engineer
	Tanner, Frederick M.	Resident	Stonemason
	Utterback, Susie	Resident	Widow
1910	McDoungh, Grace	Resident	Not Listed
	Mount, James H.	Resident	Elk
	Mount, Lucy V.	Resident	Elk
	Henly, Rosa	Resident	Not Listed
	Mount, William H.	Resident	Carpenter
	Shelton, Lawrence	Resident	Elk
1920	Williams, B.V.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Hale, E.C.	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Harlow, Wm. L.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Harlow, Wm. L.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Shaver, Stanley J.	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Hammond, Raymond	Resident	Not Listed
	Garrison, Wm.	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Steward, Wm	Owner	Not Listed
1955	Steward, Wm	Owner	Not Listed
1959	Jones, Ellis	Owner	Not Listed
1965	Jones, Ellis	Owner	Not Listed
	Wood, Wm.	Corner Resident	Not Listed

Table 27: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 310 S. Patrick St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Colvin, Robert M.	Resident	Yardmaster
	Colvin, Virginia	Resident	Widow
1903	Peterson, Elijah T.	Resident	Painter
	Poland, Clement V.	Resident	Conductor
1904	Bryant, William H.	Resident	Fireman
	Chattman, Edward E.	Resident	Flagman
	Houghton, James E.D.	Resident	Flagman
	Kenda, J.W.	Resident	Engineer
	Spivey, Henry	Resident	Confuctor
	Truitt, Mary F.	Resident	Boarding
	Truitt, Willis C.	Resident	Not Listed
1910	Kidwell, Albert T.	Resident	Not Listed
	Kidwell, Lester B.	Resident	Lab.
	Kidwell, William A.	Resident	Carpenter
1920	McClary, J.R.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Harlow, W.H.	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Harlow, Woodie	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Harlow, Woodie	Resident	Not Listed
	Glass, Jas. C.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Harlow, Woody	Resident	Not Listed
	Gaines, Bertie M.	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Harlow, Woody	Resident	Not Listed
	Martin, Lillie	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Tibbs, Melvin	Owner	Not Listed
1955	Tibbs, Melvin	Owner	Not Listed
1959	Weatherspoon, Pearl E.	Owner	Not Listed
1965	Weatherspoon, Pearl E.	Owner	Not Listed

Table 28: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 312 S. Patrick St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Almond, Albert	Resident	Fireman
1903	Bell, Robert B.	Resident	Clerk
	Harrington, Samuel	Resident	Engineer
	Stunkel, Mary E.	Resident	Widow
1904	Harington, Maggie	Resident	Not Listed
	Topping, Thomas H.	Resident	Laborer
1910	Leap, Theodore L.	Resident	Carpenter
	Peyton, Wilbur	Resident	Mehst.
	Peyton William F.	Resident	Mehst.
1920	Gray, W.T.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	French, L.H.	Resident	Not Listed
1928	Henrich, Harry M.	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Henrich, Henry H.	Resident	Not Listed
	Vaughan, Ralph	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Henrich, Henry H.	Resident	Not Listed
	Taylor, Walter	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Henrich, Henry	Owner	Not Listed
1942	Henrich, Henry	Owner	Not Listed
1954	Henrich, Henry H.	Owner	Not Listed
	Burns, Mary M.	Resident	Not Listed
1955	Henrich, Henry H.	Owner	Not Listed
	Burns, Mary M.	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Ward, Barbara	Resident	Not Listed
1965	Ward, Oscar K.	Owner	Not Listed

Table 29: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 314 S. Patrick St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Carter, George W.	Resident	Machinist
	Edwards, Jesse	Resident	Brakeman
	Hahn, Raymond	Resident	Woodworker
	James, Jesse	Resident	Laborer
	Riner, Annie E.	Resident	Widow
1903	Vawter, Graves P.	Resident	Brakeman
1910	Foley, Chas.	Resident	Watchman
	Corby, Bakery	Resident	Not Listed
	Zimmerman, Ida A.	Resident	Widow
1920	Vacant	-	-
1924	Mitchell, C.S.	Resident	Not Listed
1928	Demasters, Kimbroach V. (Erma)	Resident	Lab.
1936	Kykendall, Wm. W.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Kykendall, Wm. W.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Kykendall, Wm. W.	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Shelton, Gordon	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Bradford, Geo. E.	Owner	Not Listed
1955	Bradford, Geo. E.	Owner	Not Listed
1959	Bradford, Geo. E.	Owner	Not Listed
1965	Bradford, Geo. E.	Owner	Not Listed

Table 30: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 316 S. Patrick St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	McGinniss, Richard W.	Resident	Agent
	Wright, Charles E.	Resident	Fireman
	Wright, Jane E.	Resident	Widow
	Wright, Julia	Resident	Widow
1903	Chilcott, Harry R.	Resident	Carpenter
	Chilcott, Joseph H.	Resident	Contractor
	Chilcott, Joseph H. Jr.	Resident	Carpenter
1904	Chilcott, Harry R.	Resident	Carpenter
	Chilcott, Joseph H.	Resident	Contractor
	Chilcott, Joseph H. Jr.	Resident	Carpenter
	Chilcott, Bessie I.	Resident	Not Listed
1920	Toombs, C.L.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Toombs, C.L.	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Harlow, Wesley H.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Harlow, Wesley H.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Harlow, Wesley H.	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Harlow, Wesley H.	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Johnson, Geo.	Resident	Not Listed
1955	Johnson, Geo.	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Jenkins, Sam. H.	Resident	Not Listed
	Hylton, John	Resident	Not Listed
1965	Thompson, Edw.	Resident	Not Listed

Table 31: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 318 S. Patrick St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Ellis, Malinda	Resident	Widow
1904	Suthard, John T.	Resident	Molder
1910	Fiddesop, Jacob	Resident	Brakeman
	Litchford, Harry L.	Resident	Colr.
	Litchford, John W.	Resident	Lab.
	Litchford, Manning	Resident	Flagman
	Litchford, William C.	Resident	Condr.
1920	Litchford, J.W.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Litchford, Mattie	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Pettit, Harry O.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Pettit, Harry O.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Pettit, Annie L.	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Pettit, Annie L.	Resident	Not Listed
1954	McNear, Lorenzo	Resident	Not Listed
	Thompson, Evangeline R.	Resident	Not Listed
1955	McNear, Lorenzo	Resident	Not Listed
	Thompson, Evangeline R.	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Moore, Jas.	Resident	Not Listed

Table 32: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 320 S. Patrick St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Padgett, Carlton	Resident	Letter Carrier
1903	Cole, George R.	Resident	Optician
1904	Goodrich, John S.	Resident	Clerk
	McKnight, Frank J.	Resident	Engineer
1910	Walker, Raymond L.	Resident	Paperhanger
	Walker, William	Resident	Painter
1920	Powell, T.W.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Powell, T.W.	Resident	Not Listed
1928	Foster, Susannah	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Vaughen, Philip N.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Carr, Frank J.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Carr, Frank J.	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Carr, Frank J.	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Wood, Harriet E.	Owner	Not Listed
1955	Wood, Harriet E.	Owner	Not Listed
1959	Wood, Harriet E.	Owner	Not Listed
1975	Marty's Floor Covering Co. Inc.	Resident	Floor Covering Company

Table 33: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 322 S. Patrick St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Devres, Silas	Resident	Laborer
	Mobley, Sarah E.	Resident	Domestic
1904	Brown, Sadie E.	Resident	Widow
	Keyes, Arthur T.	Resident	Fireman
1910	Connell, Cary A.	Resident	Paperhanger
	Connell, Floy	Resident	Dressmaker
1920	Dawson, G.W.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Miles, E.P.	Resident	Not Listed
1928	Bowen, Geo	Resident	Wrapper, US Creamery
	Hales, Richard	Resident	Lab.
1936	O'Neil, John	Resident	Not Listed
1938	O'Neil, John	Resident	Not Listed
1940	O'Neil, John	Resident	Not Listed
1942	O'Neil, John.	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Finlay, John	Resident	Not Listed
1955	Finlay, John	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Eaves, Wm.	Resident	Not Listed

Table 34: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 324 S. Patrick St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1903	Walker, William H.	Resident	Painter
1920	Smith, E.E.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Baumgardner, W.R.	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Groves, Arth. C.	Resident	Not Listed
	Baumbach, Geo. L.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Groves, Arth. C.	Resident	Not Listed
	Bourne, Hirace	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Groves, Arth. C.	Resident	Not Listed
	Bourne, Horace	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Groves, Arth. C.	Resident	Not Listed
	Peyton, Thos. R.	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Gunner, Luther	Owner	Not Listed
1955	Gunner, Luther	Owner	Not Listed
1959	Wilson, Robt	Resident	Not Listed
1965	Gunner Luther W.	Owner	Not Listed

Table 35: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 326 S. Patrick St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Talbot, Horace	Resident	Foreman
	Talbot, William J.	Resident	Clerk
1903	Curtis, Raymond	Resident	Brakeman
1920	Wise, H.L.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Holden, H.M.	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Gorham George A.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Gorham George A.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Gorham George A.	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Hammill, Raymond	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Hayes, Warren	Owner	Not Listed
1955	Hayes, Warren	Owner	Not Listed
1959	Hayes, Warren	Resident	Not Listed
1965	Archie, James L.	Not Listed	Not Listed

Table 36: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 328 S. Patrick St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1904	Robinson, Emma	Resident	Not Listed
1920	Evans, J.T.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Berlo, Lilly	Resident	Not Listed
1936	Williams, Grover	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Williams, Grover	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Williams, Grover	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Williams, Grover	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Strong, Landon	Owner	Not Listed
1955	Strong, Landon	Owner	Not Listed
1959	Strong, Landon	Owner	Not Listed
1965	Strong, Landon	Owner	Not Listed

Table 37: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 330 S. Patrick St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Beatley, John W.	Resident	Brakeman
	Rawlett, Henry E.	Resident	Carpenter
1904	Nalls, Jackson	Resident	Not Listed
1920	King Edna	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Fleet, C.B.	Resident	Not Listed
1928	Fitzgerald, Norman P.	Resident	Helper
1936	Walker, Wm B.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Walker, Wm B.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Walker, Wm B.	Owner	Not Listed
1942	Arnold, John B.	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Fayne, Harrison L.	Resident	Not Listed
1955	Fayne, Harrison L.	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Freeman, Arthur	Not Listed	Not Listed
1965	Galloway, Joyce	Tenant	Not Listed

Table 38: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 332 S. Patrick St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1904	Beach, Elmer	Resident	Glassblower
	Beach, France	Resident	Widow
	Beach, Julian	Resident	Apprentice
1910	Ayers, John E.	Resident	Fireman
	Fields, Alice	Resident	Widow
	Fields, James H.	Resident	Lab.
	Fields, Joseph	Resident	Lab.
1920	Gorman, J.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Gorman, F.J.	Resident	Not Listed
1928	Gorman, Francis J.	Resident	Engineer
1936	Penn, Bernard A.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Penn, Bernard A.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Penn, Bernard A.	Owner	Not Listed
1942	Penn, Bernard A.	Owner	Not Listed
1954	Carroll, Saml.	Owner	Not Listed
1955	Carroll, Saml.	Owner	Not Listed
1959	Carroll, Saml.	Owner	Not Listed
1965	Carroll, Saml.	Owner	Not Listed

Table 39: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 334 S. Patrick St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1904	Shinn, William A.	Resident	Teamster
1910	De Vaughen, Lewis	Resident	Elk
	Windsor, Cordelia	Resident	Widow
	Windsor, Laura	Resident	Not Listed
1920	Spence, Alma	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Penn, B.A.	Resident	Not Listed
1928	Penn, Bernard A.	Resident	Helper
1936	Hammill, Chester R.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Ludlow, Beverly A.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Ludlow, Beverly A.	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Ludlow, Beverly A.	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Sword, Jesse V.	Resident	Not Listed
1955	Sword, Jesse V.	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Callahan, Willie	Resident	Not Listed
1965	Carter, Robt. R.	Not Listed	Not Listed

Table 40: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 336 S. Patrick St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1903	Harlow, Thomas H.	Resident	Flagman
1904	Harlow, Thomas H.	Resident	Flagman
1920	Hammill, M.K.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Hammill, M.K.	Resident	Not Listed
1928	Hammill, Bernard	Resident	Painter
	Hammill, Mitchell K.	Resident	Cigarmaker
	Hammill, Raymond K.	Resident	Helper, Alexandria Iron Works Inc.
1936	Hammill, Machen K.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Hammill, Machen K.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Hammill, Machen K.	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Hammill, Machen K.	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Triplett, John W.	Owner	Not Listed
1955	Triplett, John W.	Owner	Not Listed
1959	Williams, Annie L.	Resident	Not Listed

Table 41: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 338 S. Patrick St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Clauss, Frederick	Resident	Grocer
1904	Adam, Charles F.	Resident	Jeweler
	Clauss, Elizabeth	Resident	Boarding
	Clauss, Felix	Resident	Grocer
	Clauce, John W.	Resident	Helper
	Finks, Albert	Resident	Not Listed
	Garrison, Alexander	Resident	Watchman
	Kelly, William	Resident	Helper
	Smith, Robert	Resident	Laborer
1910	Butler, John	Resident	Lab.
1920	Foster, W.A.	Resident	Not Listed
1924	Larman, A.E.	Resident	Not Listed
1928	Brown, Wm.	Resident	Not Listed
	Crockett, Malcolm F.	Resident	Chauffer
1936	Shelton, Chas. H.	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Shelton, Bessie R.	Resident	Not Listed
1940	Shelton, Bessie R.	Resident	Not Listed
1942	Shelton, Bessie R.	Resident	Not Listed
1954	Moore, Helen M.	Resident	Not Listed
1955	Moore, Helen M.	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Jackson, Ella	Resident	Not Listed

Table 42: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 909 Wolfe St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1954	Kelly's Inn	Restaurant	Restaurateur
	Ayers, Fred	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Billy's Café	Resident	Not Listed

Table 43: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 911 Wolfe St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Robinson, William B.	Resident	Driver
1904	Walker, Albert	Resident	Laborer
1910	Loving, Spotswood	Resident	Lab.
1924	Poindexter, Matilda	Near Resident	Not Listed
1936	Poindexter, Matilda	Near Resident	Not Listed
1938	Poindexter, Matilda	Corner Resident	Not Listed
1940	Poindexter, Matilda	Corner Resident	Not Listed
1942	Poindexter, Matilda	Corner Resident	Not Listed
1954	Hollins, Malinda C.	Resident	Not Listed
1957	Hollins, Malinda C.	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Hollins, Malinda C.	Resident	Not Listed
1961	Hollins, Malinda C.	Resident	Not Listed

Table 44: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 913 Wolfe St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Bulter, George	Resident	Laborer
1903	Williams, Elisha M.	Near Resident	Dyer
1904	Hughes, Albert	Resident	Laborer
1910	Brown, Henry	Near Resident	Lab.
1924	Light, Andrew	Near Resident	Not Listed
1928	Ferguson, Nathaniel	Corner Resident	Porter
1936	Ferguson, Nathaniel	Corner Resident	Not Listed
1938	Ferguson, Nathaniel	Corner Resident	Not Listed
1940	Ferguson, Nathaniel	Corner Resident	Not Listed
1942	Ferguson, Nathaniel	Corner Resident	Not Listed
1954	White, John H.	Resident	Not Listed
1957	Turner, Mary F.	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Turner, Mary F.	Resident	Not Listed
1961	William, Jessie	Resident	Not Listed

Table 45: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 915 Wolfe St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Lawrence, David	Near Resident	Laborer
	Smith, Wylie	Resident	Laborer
1904	Smith, Kate	Near Resident	Widow
1910	Gibson, Charles	Resident	Driver
	Scott, Henry	Resident	Driver
1924	Watson, W.F.	Near Resident	Not Listed
1928	Slaughter, Lillie	Corner Resident	Not Listed
	Slaughter, Mamie	Corner Resident	Not Listed
1936	Jordan, Green	Resident	Not Listed
1938	Jordan, Green	Corner Resident	Not Listed
1940	Robins, Janie	Corner Resident	Not Listed
1942	Robins, Janie	Corner Resident	Not Listed
1954	Ward, Edith M.	Resident	Not Listed
1957	Ward, Wallace	Resident	Not Listed
1959	Stone, Paul F.	Resident	Not Listed
1961	Jole, Albert	Resident	Not Listed

Table 46: Alexandria City Directory, Residents and Businesses, 917 Wolfe St.

Year	Name	Status	Occupation
1897	Thomas, Henry	Near Resident	Waiter
1903	Diggs, Andrew	Near Resident	Laborer
1904	Diggs, Andrew	Near Resident	Laborer
1910	Ford, Alfred	Resident	Lab.
1924	Brent, Annie	Near Resident	Not Listed
1936	Wilson, Albert	Corner Resident	Not Listed
1938	Wilson, Albert	Corner Resident	Not Listed
1940	Wilson, Albert	Corner Resident	Not Listed
1942	Wilson, Albert	Corner Resident	Not Listed
1954	Brown, Leo.	Resident	Not Listed
1957	No Return	-	-
1959	Hancock, Mary	Resident	Not Listed
1961	Vacant	-	-