FINAL REPORT

DOCUMENTARY STUDY OF BRADDOCK WEST ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

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ABSTRACT

West Street Acquisitions, LLC contracted AECOM to conduct a Documentary Study of the proposed Braddock West development on the following parcels in Alexandria, Virginia: 1352, 1356, 1360, and 1362 Madison Street; 711, 715, 719, and 727 N. West Street; and 1319, 1321, 1323, 1325, 1327, and 1329 Wythe Street. This project proposes to replace the existing twentieth century residential building stock with a seven-story apartment building. It is anticipated that the proposed undertaking will require ground disturbing activities that could potentially impact subsurface archaeological resources. Furthermore, the City of Alexandria's Archeological Protection Code (Zoning Ordinance Section 11-411) requires that any development project consider the potential impacts it could have on archaeological resources. The project area encompasses the parcels noted above and is approximately 1 acre in size.

This study was undertaken to develop a historic context for the project area, to aid in understanding and interpreting its history of occupation and use, and to identify areas that have the potential to contain significant archaeological resources. The study also includes identifying significant historical themes related to the occupation and use of the project area, providing recommendations for additional investigations, if necessary, and developing a public summary document to aid public interpretation and understanding of the project and the project area and to potentially be used for public education materials and proposed project design.

AECOM conducted background research using a variety of materials available from the physical and/or digital repositories of the Alexandria Archaeology Museum, Library of Congress, and City of Alexandria Circuit Court, among others. The project area appears to have remained undeveloped until real estate developer Virginia Thomas, who advocated for African-American homeownership in Alexandria, subdivided it in 1926 and sold lots to African-American families. First-generation owner-occupants included members of the Jackson, Hickman, Churchill, Johnson, McCray, Watson, Burke, Dundas, Berry, and Morrison families. According to early census and city directory information, the project area's initial residents were by and large working-class families, some of which were comprised of just a pair of newlyweds, while others were multigenerational.

These individuals were part of a burgeoning neighborhood known as "Colored" Rosemont, so named at a time when housing segregation laws prevented most African Americans from owning homes in established white communities, such as neighboring Rosemont. Bound by Pendleton, Fayette, Madison, and N. West Streets, Colored Rosemont was part of the larger Uptown neighborhood, in turn part of the National Register Uptown/Parker-Gray Historic District. This area was one of Alexandria's largest African-American communities during the era of segregation and figured centrally in African-American business and social life.

AECOM also assessed the project area's potential to contain significant archaeological resources. There is a low potential for significant prehistoric resources due to historic and modern disturbances associated with urbanization. There is also low potential for significant historic resources given that the area was not developed/occupied prior to the late 1920s; that most of the built environment has remained stable since initial construction; and that potentially archaeologically rich features such as middens, wells, and privies are not expected given that the dwellings likely had water and refuse collection services. While a scatter of historic debris is expected throughout the project area, potentially significant features and associated deposits are not anticipated. No additional archaeological work is recommended.

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SECTIONONE Introduction

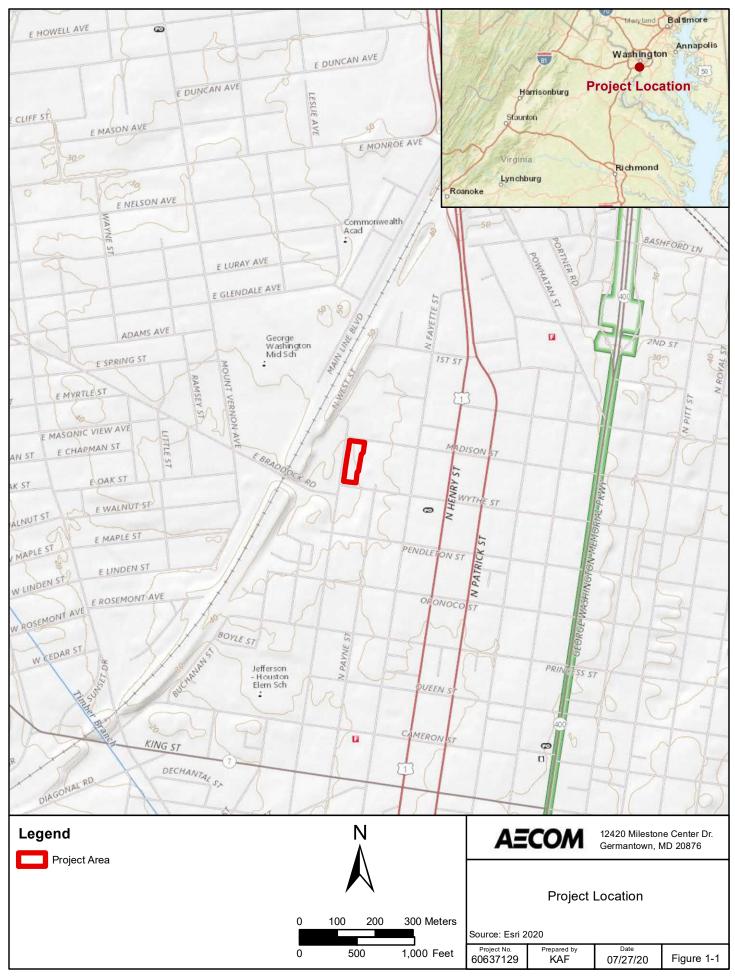
1.0 INTRODUCTION

West Street Acquisitions, LLC (WSA) is seeking to redevelop the approximately 1-acre (ac) property known as Braddock West in Alexandria, Virginia. Specifically, the property includes 711, 715, 719, and 727 N. West Street; 1352, 1356, 1360, and 1362 Madison Street; and 1319, 1321, 1323, 1325, 1327, and 1329 Wythe Street. This property currently contains several twentieth century dwellings, all of which are proposed to be demolished and replaced with an apartment building. As part of this redevelopment, WSA is seeking cultural resources consulting services to assist them in meeting regulatory requirements pursuant to a City of Alexandria Development Special Use Permit (DSUP).

As part of the DSUP process, the project is under review by the City of Alexandria Board of Architectural Review and Alexandria Archaeology. While the project area is not within a City of Alexandria-designated historic district, it is within the Uptown/Parker Gray National Register Historic District. The City of Alexandria Board of Architectural Review has requested a Documentary Study of the project area. Additionally, Alexandria Archaeology has requested a Documentary Study and an Archaeological Evaluation.

Under contract to WSA, AECOM conducted a Documentary Study and Archaeological Evaluation of the project area, which encompasses approximately 1 ac of the contiguous parcels noted above (Figure 1-1 and 1-2). The objectives of this documentary study are to develop an historic context for the project area, to aid in understanding and interpreting its history of occupation and use, and to identify and delineate areas within the project area that have the potential to contain significant archaeological resources. The study also includes identifying significant historical themes related to the occupation and use of the project area within specific and wider contexts, providing recommendations for additional investigations, if determined necessary, and developing a public summary document to aid in public interpretation and understanding of the project and the project area and which may be used in the development of public education materials and project design. All work is consistent with the City of Alexandria Archaeological Standards, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources' *Guidelines for Conducting Cultural Resource Survey in Virginia* (DHR 2017), and the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards and Guidelines for Archaeology and Historic Preservation*.

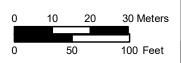
Documentary research was conducted in July 2020. Peter Regan served as the Principal Investigator and Historian, and Kathy Furgerson served as the geographic information systems (GIS) specialist. Following this Introduction, the report contains seven sections of text: Project Location and Description; Cultural Context; Previous Investigations; Research Design; Results; Summary and Recommendations; and References Cited. Appendix A contains the Qualifications of the Investigators and follows the body of the report.











AECOM

12420 Milestone Center Dr. Germantown, MD 20876

Project Area Boundaries

Source: VGIN 2020

Project No. 60637129 Prepared by Date 07/27/20

Figure 1-2

2.0 PROJECT LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION

2.1 GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

The project area is located within the Atlantic Coastal Plain physiographic province, which consists of low-relief terrain characterized by terraced landscapes rising west from the Atlantic Ocean to a maximum elevation of around 250 feet (ft; 75 meters [m]) above mean sea level near the Fall Line. The landscape is the product of geologically recent oceanic advances and retreats that have sculpted it over the last few million years. The Coastal Plan consists of unconsolidated sediment layers including sand, sandstone, silt, clay, and gravels that gradually thicken from the Fall Line to the Atlantic Ocean (Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation 2016). To the west, the landform gradually rises as it approaches the Fall Line while to the east, it gradually descends to the Potomac River.

2.2 HYDROLOGY

The closest drainage to the project area is a remnant of Hooff's Run, which flows south from Duke Street into Hunting Creek. Historically, a tributary of Hooff's Run approached the project area. The Potomac River is the nearest major waterbody, draining 14,670 square miles (mi) (38,000 square kilometers [km]) in Virginia, Maryland, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia. The river flows 383 mi (616 km) from its headwaters near Fairfax Stone, West Virginia to its discharge near Point Lookout, Maryland. Forest cover and agricultural areas make up the vast majority of the watershed, with developed areas accounting for less than 5 percent of the watershed (Interstate Commission on the Potomac River Basin 2009).

2.3 PROJECT AREA SOILS

The United States Department of Agriculture's Natural Resources Conservation Service (USDA NRCS 2020a) has mapped the Urban land and Urban land-Grist Mill soil complexes within the project area (Figure 2-1). Urban soils generally represent disturbed deposits with a high degree of taxonomic variability and may be redeposited from local material or entirely exogenous. Because urban soil structure and formation cannot be predicted, it is not possible to define the structure of a typical soil column, though it is expected that non-native urban soils will present as mottled, compacted horizons possibly containing modern debris, cobbles, and gravel superposed above natural strata. Grist Mill soils are well-drained, earthy fill or fluviomarine deposits that occur on slopes of 0 to 25 percent and which are typically found on the slopes, shoulders, or summits of marine terraces. Table 2-1 provides a summary of the typical Grist Mill pedon (USDA NRCS 2020b).

Horizon	Depth (cm)	Color	Texture
A1	0-15	Very Dark Grayish Brown (10YR 3/2)	Loam
C1	15-43	Strong Brown (7.5YR 5/6)	Sandy Clay Loam
C2	43-102	Yellowish Brown (10YR 5/6)	Sandy Clay Loam
C3	102-114	Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR 4/6)	Sandy Clay Loam
2C4	114-132	Gray (2.5Y 5/1)	Clay
3C5	132-147	Yellowish Red (5YR 4/6)	Clay
4C6	147-152	Grayish Brown (2.5Y 5/2)	Sandy Loam

Table 2-1. Grist Mill Typical Pedon



2.4 CURRENT CONDITIONS AND LAND USE

The project area currently consists of several detached residences on individual parcels featuring mature trees and modestly sized yards. Single-story frame outbuildings are commonly located at the rear of the properties. Most appear to be of early twentieth century construction, though some have been updated or replaced with more modern construction. Impervious surfaces are minimal and restricted to sidewalks and a few parking areas. Two narrow, overgrown public alleys are present as well at the north and south ends of the N. West Street properties.

3.0 CULTURAL CONTEXT

The DHR has developed historic contexts, which provide a framework for the description and analysis of known or expected cultural resources and the basis for evaluating the significance of those resources. These contexts are organized by geographic region, time/developmental period, and theme.

3.1 PREHISTORIC CONTEXT

The prehistory of the Middle Atlantic region is traditionally divided into the Paleoindian (10,000–8,000 B.C.), Archaic (8,000–1,000 B.C.), and Woodland (1,000 B.C.–A.D. 1600) periods. The Archaic and Woodland periods are further subdivided into Early, Middle, and Late periods. These periods are defined by changes in subsistence strategies, settlement patterns, and material culture, such as projectile point styles, and the introduction and development of ceramics and agriculture. A brief summary of the prehistoric era is presented because no prehistoric artifacts were found during the course of this study.

3.1.1 Paleoindian Period (10,000–8,000 B.C.)

While definitive evidence of human occupation in the Middle Atlantic region is generally attributed to the Clovis culture with its signature fluted points, beginning about 10,000 B.C., traces of earlier occupation are present at a number of regional sites. The Cactus Hill site in southern Virginia (McAvoy and McAvoy 1997), the Meadowcroft Rockshelter site in southwestern Pennsylvania (Adovasio et al. 1988), and the Barton site in western Maryland have all yielded carbon-dates pre-dating Clovis occupation, although no clear diagnostic artifacts have been identified in the earliest deposits at these sites. Although there is much to be learned about the pre-Clovis toolkit, micro-blade technology appears to be a defining characteristic.

The Paleoindian period represents the earliest definitive prehistoric occupation in Virginia. Paleoindian sites are defined by the presence of diagnostic lithic tools, including fluted projectile points and end scrapers manufactured from lithic raw materials such as jasper, chert, or chalcedony, quartz, and quartzite (Dent 1995). The traditional view of Paleoindian settlement and subsistence in Virginia is that inhabitants were idealized foragers, with small bands moving through the landscape hunting, fishing, and foraging for other materials and food stuffs (Binford 1980). Smaller bands may have come together to form larger groups during certain times of the year at valuable resource sites such as lithic outcrops (Dent 1995).

3.1.2 Archaic Period (8,000–1,000 B.C.)

The Archaic period is conventionally divided into the Early (8,000–6,500 B.C.), Middle (6,500–3,000 B.C.), and Late (3,000–1,000 B.C.) periods. Archaic sites in the Middle Atlantic area are more numerous, larger, and richer in artifacts than earlier Paleoindian sites. The Archaic period as a whole is defined by a series of adaptations that include increased sedentism and a shift in settlement focus to larger rivers and major tributaries.

The Archaic period represents the gradual shift from a foraging subsistence base toward a more collector-based system characterized by large base camps and smaller resource procurement sites. Resources obtained at smaller sites were brought back to larger base camps, which moved resources to the consumer rather than the consumer to the resource. The Paleoindian foraging system is believed to have continued through the Early and into the Middle Archaic period with the shift towards a collector-based system occurring in the late Middle through Late Archaic

periods (Dent 1995). Custer (1990) interpreted Early Archaic settlement as a cyclical settlement system designed to exploit regionally and seasonally available resources. Technological innovation in the Early Archaic included the development of notched projectile points, which reflects the development of the atlatl, or spear thrower, and detachable shaft lances (Gardner 1980). Increased reliance on seasonally available plant foods from newly emerging environments is reflected in the addition of ground stone tools to the toolkit in the Middle Archaic (Barse and Harbison 2000; Chapman 1975). Increasing territoriality and regional diversity throughout the Archaic period are reflected in the increased variety of artifacts, especially projectile points.

The Late Archaic period in the Middle Atlantic is characterized by the exploitation of riverine and estuarine resources, including upstream anadromous fish runs resulting from rising sea levels. Late Archaic semi-sedentary base camps appear to represent multi-seasonal occupations near stable, predictable riverine/estuarine resources (Barse et al. 2006; Klein and Klatka 1991). These sites were occupied for longer periods of time, and Late Archaic populations began to invest labor in constructing permanent features, such as platform hearths, storage pits, and fish weirs, that were used year after year (Dent 1995). The appearance of the Broad Blade or Broadspear Tradition ca. 2,500 B.C. in the Middle Atlantic marks a departure from previous settlement and technological systems. New projectile point types, ground stone implements, steatite bowls, and shifts in settlement patterns associated with the appearance of this tradition have caused many authors to argue for a separate period, the Transitional period, separating the Late Archaic and Early Woodland. Steatite bowls recovered from Late Archaic sites represent the first archaeologically visible, durable container technology in the Middle Atlantic region.

3.1.3 Woodland Period (1,000 B.C.–A.D. 1600)

The Woodland period dates from 1,000 B.C. to A.D. 1600, and is conventionally divided into the Early (1,000 B.C.–A.D. 500), Middle (A.D. 500–1000), and Late (A.D. 1000–1600) periods based on changes in ceramic types, lithic technologies, subsistence patterns, and social development. The Woodland period is marked by the introduction of ceramics, population growth, and an increasingly sedentary way of life. An increased focus on estuarine resources, especially shellfish, is manifested in numerous shell middens, especially in the lower reaches of the Potomac estuary. Natural floral and faunal resources remained important, but horticulture, based on maize cultivation, eventually formed an important part of the Woodland period subsistence base.

Settlement patterns in the Early Woodland period were similar to those of the Late Archaic, and at numerous sites Early Woodland occupations succeed earlier Late Archaic occupations with little to no evidence of a break in occupation. Sites are typified by large base camps located in riverine settings, especially near the junction of fresh and brackish water streams (Barse and Harbison 2000). The earliest ceramic types from the area are the steatite-tempered Marcey Creek and Selden Island varieties, which are followed by sand or crushed quartz-tempered Accokeek wares. These ceramics are associated with fishtail and corner-notched projectile point/knife types (Wesler et al. 1981).

The introduction of net-impressed ceramics and the development of new vessel sizes and forms characterize the Middle Woodland period. Two distinctive ceramic types characterize the period: sand or crushed quartz-tempered, net-impressed Popes Creek wares; and shell-tempered Mockley wares with net-impressed, fabric-impressed, and/or cordmarked exteriors (Barse and Harbison 2000). Middle Woodland settlement and subsistence patterns are viewed as a transition between

the more mobile collectors of earlier periods and the fully sedentary villages of the Late Woodland period (Sperling 2008).

Major changes that define the Late Woodland period in the Chesapeake region include: the appearance of large villages made possible by the cultivation of maize; a shift towards the use of local lithic resources and triangular point production, and the use of ossuaries in mortuary practice. Hunting, gathering, and fishing were still practiced but to a lesser extent than before. The trend toward a more sedentary lifestyle culminated in the first large villages in the region during the Late Woodland period. Subsistence based on agriculture supported these large village communities (Barse et al. 2006). There is also evidence of chiefdom-level socio-political units within the Coastal Plain of Virginia and Maryland after A.D. 1500 (Dent 1995; Potter 1993). The shell-tempered, fabric-impressed ceramic tradition that began with Middle Woodland Mockley wares continued with the appearance of shell-tempered Townsend wares ca. A.D. 950 (Barse et al. 2006; Egloff and Potter 1982). Potomac Creek ceramics appeared along the lower Potomac River Valley ca. A.D. 1300 (Egloff and Potter 1982; Potter 1993). Potomac Creek is interpreted as an intrusive quartz/stone-tempered ceramic in areas where shell temper was dominant for a minimum of 1,000 years.

3.1.4 Contact Period

The contact period begins with the first European exploration of the Chesapeake Bay region in the A.D. 1520s and ends with the establishment of the English colony at Jamestown in 1607. English exploration of the Chesapeake Bay area began in 1585 with an expedition sent by Roanoke colony governor Ralph Lane (Dent 1995). This group spent the majority of its time around the mouth of the James River, but they are believed to have sailed as far north as the Chesapeake Bay (Potter 1993).

The earliest European contact with Middle Atlantic native populations consisted of sporadic landfalls made by European explorers, traders, missionaries, and slavers. These early forays had two significant impacts on Native peoples: the introduction of European trade goods and the introduction of European disease. New diseases devastated native populations that lacked European immunities (Hodges 1993), but the scale of this depopulation has been called into question (Dent 1995; Potter 1993).

The impact of European trade goods on native societies is another hotly debated issue. The introduction of these goods may have caused large-scale social change and population movements. Axtell (1988) suggests that competition over European trade goods led to increased conflict and the rise of Native confederacies in Virginia. Pendergast (1991) suggests that the primary reason for the migration of the Susquehannocks into the lower Susquehanna Valley was to gain access to European goods.

Potter (1993) questions both assertions by citing the archaeological evidence of the appearance of chiefdom-level societies in Virginia and Maryland prior to the mid-sixteenth century, and the relatively low number of European trade goods found at Contact period sites. Potter suggests that exchange in, and conflict over, European trade goods may have accelerated the formation of the large-scale Powhatan chiefdom, but the cultural framework for chiefdom-level, sociopolitical organization was the result of a cultural pattern that had developed prior to contact.

3.2 REGIONAL HISTORIC CONTEXT

3.2.1 Settlement to Society (A.D. 1607-1750)

In 1607 the first permanent English colony was established at Jamestown, Virginia, and European exploration and settlement of the Chesapeake area continued from that time onward. Captain John Smith's explorations of the Chesapeake Bay area during the years 1608 to 1610 marked the first documented contact between European explorers and Native Americans in the region. Captain Smith's journal describes his travels and maps Indian village sites along the extensive estuaries of the Potomac River. Captain Smith noted six tribes living on the northern side of the Potomac River, with the largest population of Native Americans found at the community of Moyaone (Clark 1980; Toogood 1969). By the 1650s European settlers were taking an aggressive role in claiming lands and driving out Native Americans. Disease and warfare virtually exterminated the chiefdoms of Maryland and Virginia, and those that survived were eventually forced out of their homelands or lived among the Europeans.

The location of the City of Alexandria was originally part of a 700-ac patent that was issued to Margaret Brent (1601–1671) of Maryland on September 6, 1654, by Virginia Royal Governor Richard Bennett. Although Brent had re-patented her 700 ac "in the Freshes of Potomac River beginning at the Mouth of Hunting Creek" in 1662, Governor Berkeley had also issued an overlapping patent of 6,000 ac to Robert Howson, a Welsh sea captain in October 1669 (Moxham 1974:6-7; 262). Howson quickly resold his real estate to John Alexander, a Stafford County planter, on November 13, 1669, for 6,000 pounds of crop tobacco. Alexander, who did not realize that Brent's 700 ac were encompassed in his grant, had to pay for the parcel twice. He paid the heirs of Margaret Brent 10,500 pounds of tobacco in 1674 for a clear title to the same. John Alexander leased the land to tenant farmers (Barse and Harbison 2000). Upon John Alexander's death, his holdings were devised to his two sons, Robert and Philip, and a portion became the site of Hugh West's Hunting Creek Warehouse – thence Alexandria.

Virginia quickly became an important tobacco-producing colony, and the Tidewater Potomac River area was intrinsic in the development of the Chesapeake tobacco culture (Kulikoff 1986; Middleton 1984). In 1730, the Virginia Legislature passed a tobacco inspection act that called for the construction of tobacco warehouses along the major tributaries to allow for the regulated inspection, packaging, and shipping of tobacco to Great Britain. The first tobacco station in Alexandria, then known as West's Point, was established in 1732. The station consisted of a tobacco warehouse to be used as a public inspection facility. The construction of this facility occurred after a protracted battle over the proposed location. Charles Broadwater petitioned for the tobacco station to be built on his land south of Hunting Creek. This location was found to be insufficient as it lacked deep water for ocean going vessels. Instead, the tobacco warehouse was built on 220 ac of Hugh West's land approximately 1 mi (1.6 km) up the Potomac (City of Alexandria 2015a).

In 1748, a dispute arose when the residents of Fairfax County petitioned the Virginia House of Burgesses for a charter to build a town near the tobacco inspection site. The location of the town was debated, and a decision was finally reached in May of 1749 (City of Alexandria 2015b). John West, Jr., assistant surveyor for Fairfax County, laid out the town on 60 ac formerly owned by Philip and John Alexander and Hugh West; the town was divided into 84 one-half-ac lots.

3.2.2 Colony to Nation (A.D. 1750–1789)

The eighteenth century saw a significant increase in population and wealth in Fairfax County, including the formation of port towns like Colchester and Alexandria. The population of the county increased by 85 percent between the 1742 formation of Fairfax County, and 1754. The population of Fairfax County increased by an additional 95 percent between 1757, when Loudon County was formed from western Fairfax County, to 1773 (Netherton et al. 1992).

As a port city, Alexandria took a central place in the commerce, trade, and economy of Fairfax County. The Fairfax County courthouse was moved to Alexandria in 1753, encouraging new business and settlement in the town. Alexandria boasted a courthouse, jail, six ordinaries, warehouses, a kiln, and both small, rustic houses and more substantial brick, Georgian style houses owned by wealthy men, like John Carlyle in the 1750s. By the 1760s, the town included carpenters, merchants, doctors, wig makers, and a school. Shipbuilding also became a thriving industry along the Potomac, and shipyards were first established in Alexandria at West's Point and Point Lumley in the 1760s. By the end of the eighteenth century, Alexandria ranked third in traffic among port cities in the new United States (Miller 1998).

Tobacco was the chief export of the Alexandria region prior to the Revolution, but grain production increased throughout the second half of the century (Barse et al. 2006; Netherton et al. 1992). Grain, most notably wheat, soon surpassed tobacco as the primary export. Exported grains frequently made their way to the British West Indies, although new markets in Europe opened once independence was declared (Barse et al. 2006). In order to process this grain, grist mills sprang up along the Fall Line across the region. These mills continued to be prevalent in the region well into the nineteenth century. The water-powered mills often spawned new communities as other merchants began to locate near the mills. The landscape underwent change as cultivated fields replaced forests and new infrastructure led to the development of burgeoning communities (Netherton et al. 1992).

On July 18, 1774, several townsmen including George Washington met at the courthouse in Alexandria to approve the Fairfax Resolves. Penned by George Mason, these resolutions were a firm statement of the Colonists' position regarding their constitutional rights under British law. With the outbreak of hostilities at Lexington, Massachusetts on April 19, 1775, many Alexandrians enlisted in the Continental Army. The town soon became a logistical supply center for the American forces, including supplying grain and foodstuffs to the army. The advent of the Revolutionary War altered the landscape, including construction of a gun battery on Jones Point for the protection of Alexandria (Barse and Harbison 2000; Miller 1984). Generals Washington and Rochambeau and their troops traveled along the King's Highway en route to and from the battle of Yorktown. They camped at Alexandria and Colchester in Fairfax County (Rochambeau 1782).

3.2.3 Early National and Antebellum Periods (A.D. 1789–1860)

In 1789, Alexandria and a portion of Fairfax County were ceded by the State of Virginia to become a component of the newly created 10-square-mi District of Columbia. The first cornerstone of the District was laid at Jones Point in Alexandria on April 15, 1791 (Barse et al. 2006; Brockett and Rock 1883). Formally accepted by the U.S. Congress in 1801, Alexandria remained under the aegis of the new federal government until it was retroceded back to Virginia in 1846 (Brockett and Rock 1883). It then became the seat of government for the newly formed Alexandria County (Hurd

1983). Alexandria became a chartered city in the 1850s, and the city limits were expanded (Barse et al. 2006).

Alexandria's position as a major Virginia seaport made it vulnerable to epidemics during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Residents of Alexandria were stricken with malaria, typhoid, yellow fever, and smallpox, some of which were brought on arriving merchant vessels (Miller 1984). The strong economy was gone by the late 1820s and 1830s, and a depression extended to 1843. No longer a prime exporter of grain and flour, the export of shad and herring became a major industry.

Alexandria was retroceded to Virginia in 1847. This action corresponded with a period of economic prosperity and the rise of industries. The completion of a number of railroads, including the Orange and Alexandria, the Manassas Gap, the Alexandria, Loudoun and Hampshire, and the Alexandria and Washington, further spurred economic development (Hurst 1991). The railroads transported the agricultural riches of the Virginia hinterland to the docks and wharves at Alexandria. In addition to these four railroads, Alexandria was home to the Smith and Perkins Locomotive Works. Located on Wolfe Street near the Potomac River, the Smith and Perkins Locomotive Works employed between 160 and 200 men and expended from 12,000 and to 15,000 dollars per month.

From 1850 to 1860, Alexandria experienced another period of growth. The city's population increased from 8,795 to 12,652, and more than 500 houses were constructed in the five year period from 1850 to 1860 (Hurst 1991). Among the many internal improvements during this epoch were a new gas and waterworks. The Alexandria Water Company was incorporated in March 1850, and by summer 1852, water flowed from the reservoir on Shuter's Hill to downtown through 7 mi (11.3 km) of pipelines (Hurst 1991). Gas lighting soon followed.

3.2.4 The Civil War (A.D. 1861–1865)

On May 24, 1861, one day after Alexandrians had voted to withdraw from the Union, the city was occupied by federal forces. Because of its strategic importance, Alexandria became a major logistical supply center for the federal Armies fighting in Virginia. Private homes, land, churches, and local public buildings were commandeered for military barracks, hospitals, and prisons. The U.S. quartermaster department built substantial warehouses along the bustling waterfront, and it was during this era that several forts were constructed in Alexandria as a part of the defenses of the City of Washington. The African-American population grew during the war as people came to the city for protection; this resulted in establishment of several new African American communities on the edges of the city (Miller 1987). By the war's end, Alexandria's economy and commerce were ruined, its harbor damaged and many of its buildings destroyed.

3.2.5 Reconstruction and Growth (A.D. 1865–1914)

The post-Civil War period was a difficult time for Virginia. Although efforts were made to repair the damage caused by the war, the devastation was too extensive to make that task either easy or short. Farmers resumed production, but the cash needed to rebuild the buildings and for necessary improvements was not always available. The labor force had also been severely stressed by losses during the war and by the loss of slave labor. Plantation agriculture was replaced with tenant farming. For the first post-war years, farm produce brought good prices, but prices fell to pre-war levels within a few years. As time passed, improvements were made in agricultural techniques and

machinery, and new animal breeds were introduced. The state began to improve its economic situation by the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Although Alexandria was slow to recover from the Civil War, once the Alexandria Canal and the railroads began operation again, the city once again saw significant merchant and manufacturing activity (Miller 1987). By 1882, Alexandria industries included tanneries, iron foundries, shoe factories, machine shops, paper mills, breweries, railroad car works, cement mills, textile mills, bakeries, brickmaking, and other industries employing up to 2,480 people (Brockett and Rock 1883). During the 1880s Alexandria began to acquire modern conveniences with the introduction of the telephone in 1881, rural free mail delivery in 1887, and electricity by 1889.

As Alexandria prospered and became more populous, housing developments and suburban communities sprang up in the environs surrounding the city. Among the neighborhoods were the Uptown and Parker-Gray districts; the project area falls within the Uptown neighborhood and is now part of the broader Uptown/Parker-Gray district as discussed in section 4.3 below (Alexandria Convention & Visitors Association n.d.; Necciai and Drumond 2007). While the street plan of this area was laid out by 1797, most of the land was developed after the Civil War (Necciai and Drumond 2007).

3.2.6 World War I to Present (A.D. 1915-Present)

The Alexandria of the early twentieth century was a town of many manufacturing industries and commercial enterprises, including glass works and the Potomac Yards, the nation's largest railroad classification facility at that time (Miller 1987). World War I (WWI) resulted in an influx of workers to the city to support new industries, such as the U.S. Naval Torpedo Factory and the Virginia Shipbuilding Company (Barse et al. 2006).

In 1915 a segment of what had been Alexandria County was annexed into the City of Alexandria. After WWI, Alexandria's restoration was facilitated during the "New Deal" era, resulting in the flow of money into the city's economy. World War II (WWII) provided economic opportunities for Alexandria through the placement of government military installations and industries of defense in the city. Cameron Station, built between 1941 and 1945, was a large war-period addition to the Western Alexandria landscape. The station functioned as a quartermaster depot during the war and upgraded and enhanced Alexandria's rail transportation.

The growth of the federal government in the twentieth century resulted in an increase in suburban development. To protect its historic resources, Alexandria created an old and historic district in 1946. Modeled after Charleston, South Carolina's preservation ordinance, Alexandria's law created the third such historic district in the country. Today, Alexandria is a vibrant community which boasts boutiques and shops, historical museums, art galleries, and delightful gourmet restaurants. Each year thousands of tourists crowd Alexandria's cobblestone streets and alleys to enjoy the city's living history.

4.0 PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS

Research on previous investigations was conducted using DHR's Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (V-CRIS) electronic database. The primary goal of this research was to identify previous cultural resource investigations and previously recorded archaeological sites and above-ground resources within a 0.5-mi (0.8-km) radius of the project area. These data comprise a cultural resources profile of the surrounding area and aid in the contextualization of the project area's archaeological potential.

4.1 PREVIOUS CULTURAL RESOURCE SURVEYS

Eighteen cultural resource surveys have been registered with DHR within 0.5 mi (0.8 km) of the project area, though there may be others not documented in V-CRIS (Table 4-1; Figure 4-1). No cultural resource surveys to date have included any investigation of the current project area.

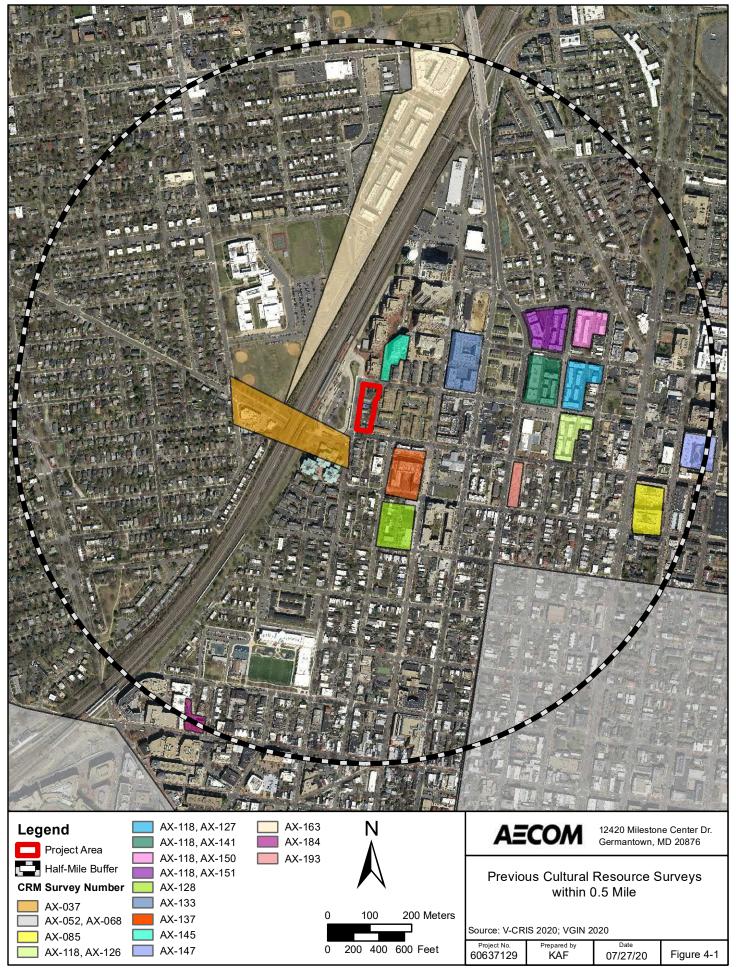
Table 4-1. Previous Cultural Resources Surveys within 0.5 Mile of the Project Area

Report No.	DHR Report Title		Report Author(s)	
AX-037	Phase I Cultural Resource Survey of the Proposed Braddock Road Improvement in the City of Alexandria, Virginia	1992	Dr. Kay Simpson et al.	
AX-052	Woodrow Wilson Bridge Improvement Study, Integrated Cultural Resources Technical Report (and Appendices)	1996	J. Sanderson Stevens, Alice Crampton, Diane Halsall, Elizabeth Crowell and J. Lee Cox Jr.	
AX-068	Supplemental Historic Architectural Survey of the Revised Area of Potential Effects for the Woodrow Wilson Bridge Improvement Project, I-95/I-495 from Telegraph Road to MD 210, Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia	1999	Mary Sayers	
AX-085	Archaeological Investigations of the Robert Portner Brewing Company Site (44AX0196), Alexandria, Virginia	2002	Petar Glumac, Elizabeth Crowell	
AX-118	Archeological Evaluation Report (Phase I Archeological Investigation) and Research Management Plan for the James Bland Development Property, City of Alexandria, Virginia	2009	Boyd Sipe	
AX-126	James Bland Development Property (Block 1), City of Alexandria, Virginia: Addendum to the November 2010 Archeological Evaluation Report (Phase I Archeological Investigation) and Research Management Plan	2012	John Mullen	
AX-127	James Bland Development Property (Block 2), City of Alexandria, Virginia: Addendum to the November 2009 [Revised February 2010] Archeological Evaluation Report (Phase I Archeological Investigation) and Research Management Plan	2012	John Mullen	
AX-128	Archaeological Investigations of the Colross Site (44AX0197), Alexandria, Virginia	2012	Suzanne Sanders, Martha Williams, Lori Ricard	
AX-133	Archeological Evaluation of Site 44AX0215: The Belle Pre Bottle Company, 800 North Henry Street, City of Alexandria, Virginia	2012	John Mullen, Jeremy Smith	
AX-137	Archaeological Investigations, 621 North Payne Street, Alexandria, Virginia	2012	Kerri Holland, Lynn Jones, Charles Cheek	

Report No.	DHR Report Title	Year	Report Author(s)
AX-141	James Bland Development Property (Block 5), City of Alexandria, Virginia: Addendum to the November 2009 (Revised February 2010) Archeological Evaluation Report (Phase I Archeological Investigation) and Research Management Plan	2012	John Mullen
AX-145	Phase IB Archeological Testing for the Proposed Braddock Metro Place Development, Alexandria, Virginia	2013	Suzanne Sanders, Kathleen Child
AX-147	Old Town North Property, City of Alexandria, Virginia: Results of Archeological Monitoring	2013	John Mullen, Craig Rose
AX-150	James Bland Development Property (Block 3) City of Alexandria, Virginia: Results of Archeological Monitoring and Trench Excavations: Addendum to Archeological Evaluation Report (Phase I Archeological Investigation) and Research Management Plan	2013	Jeremy Smith
AX-151	James Bland Development Property (Block 4) City of Alexandria, Virginia: Results of Archeological Monitoring and Trench Excavations: Addendum to Archeological Evaluation Report (Phase I Archeological Investigation) and Research Management Plan	2013	Jeremy Smith
AX-163	Letter Report: Archeological Investigations within Landbay L (±47 acres) Potomac Yard Property, City of Alexandria, Virginia	2012	Edward W. Johnson, Tammy Bryant
AX-184	Hyatt Centric, 1619 and 1711 King Street, Archaeological Investigation, Alexandria, Virginia	2018	Heather Crowl, Peter Regan, Scott Seibel
AX-193	Ramsey Homes, City of Alexandria, Virginia: Archeological Evaluation (Phase I/II Archeological Investigations)	2016	Jeremy Smith, David Carroll

4.2 PREVIOUSLY RECORDED ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESOURCES

Thirty-four archaeological sites have been registered with DHR within 0.5 mi (0.8 km) of the project area (Table 4-2; Figure 4-2). These include 28 historic sites and one multicomponent site. The historic sites include dwellings, commercial and institutional facilities, infrastructure, and a cemetery. The multicomponent site is an artifact scatter that includes nondiagnostic lithics as well as historic artifacts. According to VCRIS, one site is listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), four have been determined not eligible by DHR staff, and the others have not been evaluated by DHR. One site, 44AX0208-0001, has been mapped as partially overlapping the southern end of the project area. This site represents a possible location of a Revolutionary Warera French infantry campsite, but it has not been archaeologically verified and the site form suggests it has likely been obliterated by centuries of urban development. The site's location is based on historical knowledge that the infantry camped somewhere in Alexandria, not necessarily within the site boundaries or anywhere near the project area. The site boundaries in VCRIS are arbitrary according to the site form and were randomly selected in order to meet certain criteria for registering the site on VCRIS. Therefore, no deposits associated with this campsite are anticipated, and the site will not contribute appreciably to the archaeological potential assessment.



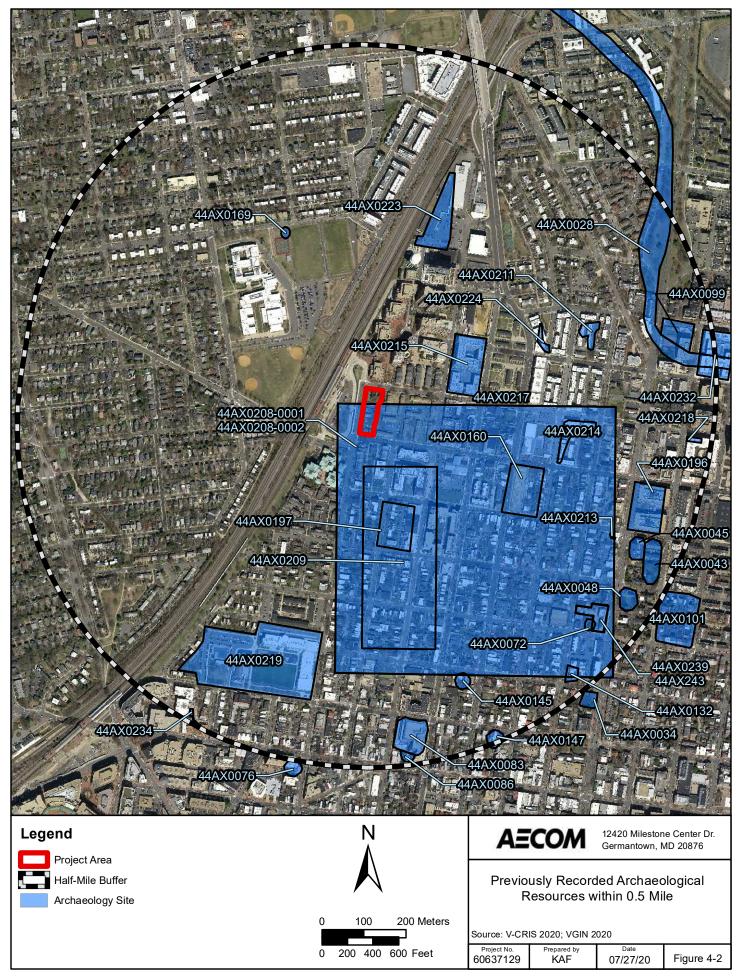


Table 4-2. Previously Recorded Archaeological Sites within 0.5 Mile of the Project Area

Site Number	Site Name	Site Type	Temporal Affiliation	NRHP Status
44AX0028	Alexandria Canal	Canal	Late 18th to Early 20th C.	Unassessed
44AX0034		Dwelling, single	20 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0043		Dwelling, single	19 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0045		Factory	19 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0048	Lee-Fendell House	Dwelling, multiple	No Data	Listed
44AX0072		Dwelling, single	19 th to 20 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0076		Kiln, pottery	19 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0083		Dwelling, single	Mid-19 th to Early 20 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0086		Kiln, pottery	Early 19 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0099		Canal	Mid- to Late 19th C.	Unassessed
44AX0101	Alexandria Jail site	Jail, Police station	Late 18 th to 20 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0132		Cemetery	Mid-18 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0145		Dwelling, single, Store	Unknown	Unassessed
44AX0147			Early 19 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0160	Ramsey Homes	Military base/facility	17 th to Early 19 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0169		Other	Early to Mid-20 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0196	Robert Portner Brewery	Distillery	Late 19 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0197	Colross	Dwelling, single	Late 18 th to 20 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0208- 0001	French Infantry campsite No. 16 at Alexandria in July 1782	Camp, temporary	Late 18 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0208- 0002	Campsite No. 8 of Lauzun's Legion in Alexandria in July 1782	Camp, temporary	Late 18 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0209	French Wagon Train Camp No. 1 in Alexandria	Camp, temporary	Late 18 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0211		Other, Trash scatter	19 th to Early 20 th C.	Not Eligible
44AX0213		Dwelling, single	19 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0214		Dwelling, multiple	19 th to Mid-20 th C.	Not Eligible
44AX0215	Belle Pre Bottle Company	Factory	Early to Mid-20 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0217		Store	Early to Mid-20th C.	Not Eligible
44AX0218		Well	Early to Mid-20th C.	Unassessed
44AX0219	Townsend Baggett Slaughterhouse	Dwelling, multiple, Meat house, Other	19 th to 20 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0223		Artifact scatter, Lithic scatter, Other	Unknown Prehistoric / Mid-18 th to 20 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0224		Dwelling, multiple	19 th to Mid-20 th C.	Not Eligible
44AX0232	Alexandria Canal Turning Basin & E. Francis Lime Kiln	Kiln, lime, Other	Early 19 th to Early 20 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0234	Hyatt King Street 1	Artifact scatter, other	Late 18 th to Early 20 th C.	Unassessed
44AX0239	400 North Washington Street	Dwelling, multiple	Late 18th to Early 20th C.	Unassessed
44AX0243		Dwelling, multiple	Mid-18th to Early 20th C.	Unassessed

4.3 PREVIOUSLY RECORDED ABOVE-GROUND RESOURCES

Over 150 above-ground resources and over 1,000 individual historic district properties have been registered with DHR within 0.5 mi (0.8 km) of the project area. These include a variety of residential, commercial, transportational, religious, municipal, and other resources dating from the eighteenth through twentieth centuries. Many of these resources are contributing elements of several NRHP-listed historic districts, including the Rosemont Historic District, the Uptown/Parker-Gray Historic District, and the Alexandria Historic District.

Eleven above-ground resources are located partially or wholly within the project area. The northwestern extent of the Uptown/Parker-Gray Historic District (100-0133) encompasses the entirety of the project area. This portion of the city, though mapped as part of the eighteenth century large-block grid, remained largely vacant until the 1860s. From the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, the neighborhood developed into one of the City's historic African-American communities. During the second half of the twentieth century, the neighborhood experienced a decline before redevelopment efforts started in the mid-1980s (Necciai and Drumond 2007).

Each of the 10 existing dwellings within the project area are considered contributing resources of the Uptown/Parker-Gray Historic District (Table 4-3). The dwellings are also considered significant for their association with the community historically known as "Colored" Rosemont and which is encompassed within the broader Uptown neighborhood. It is important to note that the construction dates listed in the Temporal Affiliation column are derived from the VCRIS forms and based upon field observations during resource recordation. As will be discussed in section 6.1.2, the project area was subdivided for residential development in 1926, and no dwellings are known to have existed prior to that time. While the individual dates of construction could not be confirmed via documentary records, it appears that most were built between 1926 and 1930 based on when they were subdivided for residential use and when they first appear as occupied on the 1930 U.S. Federal Census (Census 1930).

DHR Number	Name	Туре	Temporal Affiliation	NRHP Status
100-0133	Parker-Gray Historic District	District	Ca. 1810-1959	Listed
100-0133-0580	House, 1352 Madison Street	Dwelling	Ca. 1900	Unassessed
100-0133-0581	House, 1356 Madison Street	Dwelling	Ca. 1900	Unassessed
100-0133-0582	House, 1360 Madison Street	Dwelling	Ca. 1900	Unassessed
100-0133-1286	House, 711 West Street North	Dwelling	Ca. 1940	Unassessed
100-0133-1287	House, 715 West Street North	Dwelling	Ca. 1940	Unassessed
100-0133-1288	House, 719 West Street North	Dwelling	Ca. 1940	Unassessed
100-0133-1289	House, 727 West Street North	Dwelling	Ca. 1940	Unassessed
100-0133-1307	House, 1321 Wythe Street	Dwelling	Ca. 1920	Unassessed
100-0133-1308	House, 1327 Wythe Street	Dwelling	Ca. 1920	Unassessed
100-0133-1309	House, 1329 Wythe Street	Dwelling	Ca. 1920	Unassessed

Table 4-3. Above-Ground Resources within the Project Area

Nos. 1352, 1356, and 1360 Madison Street are all nearly identical single-story, two-bay brick dwellings with shed roofs and covered porches. Nos. 711 through 727 N. West Street share similar design elements, though 715 N. West Street has been heavily modified from its original form. Most are single-story, two-bay, side- or front-gabled brick dwellings with front porches built in

the Colonial Revival style. At the rear of 727 N. West Street is a one-story multiple-bay outbuilding with half-light wood doors. As will be discussed in section 6.1.2.2.7, this building served as a rental property and/or other temporary lodgings for the use of family and friends. The dwelling at 1321 Wythe Street was built as a one-story, three-bay bungalow and is one of only a few frame bungalows extant in Old Town Alexandria. The home at 1327 Wythe Street was originally a one-and-a-half-story, five-bay frame bungalow built in the Craftsman tradition and significantly altered by an extensive two-and-a-half-story addition built ca. 1990. Lastly, 1329 Wythe Street is a two-story, two-bay, front-gabled frame house built in a style not commonly found in Old Town Alexandria but which was popular elsewhere in the U.S.

5.0 RESEARCH DESIGN

5.1 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this Documentary Study are to develop an historic context for the project area to aid in understanding and interpreting its history of occupation and use as well as identify and delineate areas within the project area that have the potential to contain significant archaeological resources.

5.2 BACKGROUND RESEARCH

Background research was conducted using various cultural resources surveys, environmental data, historic mapping, primary and secondary narratives, archival materials, and other sources as appropriate to develop a property history and determine the project area's archaeological potential. Information on previously recorded cultural resources and surveys was available from V-CRIS. Environmental data was gathered from the USDA NRCS, United States Geological Survey (USGS), and other sources as appropriate. Historic maps/aerial photographs available from the Library of Congress, the National Archives and Records Administration, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, USGS, USDA, Alexandria Archaeology, and other repositories were examined to chart changes in land use practices and the historic built environment through time. The APE boundaries were georeferenced with historic imagery, but it is important to note that historic maps often incorporate spatial inaccuracies that affect the precision of georeferencing. Therefore, the APE's location relative to features illustrated on historic maps is understood to be approximate. Lastly, historical and archival material, including deeds, taxes, directories, census records, periodicals, secondary histories, genealogical information, and other pertinent data points were examined to identify property ownership and occupants' bibliographic information. Archival repositories included the Clerk of Circuit Court Offices for the City of Alexandria, Alexandria Archaeology, Ancestry.com, GenealogyBank, and others.

Note that due to in-person research restrictions arising from the ongoing Covid-19 public health crisis, some repositories could not be consulted due to indefinite closure. This has placed limits on the background research, leaving some records unavailable for review.

5.3 ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBABILITY

Archaeological probability was modeled on historic and modern environmental data, current conditions, information from previously recorded cultural resources and surveys, and historical developments within the project area. These attributes were examined individually and synthesized to identify areas with the potential to contain significant archaeological resources. Areas of low potential may contain archaeological resources but lack evidence for intensive prehistoric/historic occupation and/or are expected to have been heavily disturbed by modern developments. Areas of moderate potential exhibit good evidence for intensive prehistoric/historic occupation, but the presence/integrity of associated archaeological deposits cannot be characterized with a high degree of confidence. Areas of high potential include known archaeological sites or are very likely to include undocumented archaeological resources, and do not appear to have been subjected to a significant degree of ground disturbance. Only areas of low potential were identified.

6.0 RESULTS

This section first addresses the project area history, charting what is known of its ownership and utilization as a cohesive property until it was subdivided in 1926. It then follows the trajectories of the individual parcels that comprise the project area, including information on the built environment, property transfers, and the families who lived at each address. This historical context will show that the project area most appropriately articulates with the theme of African-American neighborhood development in Alexandria. This section closes with a discussion of the project area's potential to contain significant archaeological resources, drawing from the environmental, cultural, and historical information presented in this report.

6.1 PROJECT AREA HISTORY

The following project area history has been drafted from available deeds, tax records, census and genealogical information, periodicals, and other data sources as available. The project area's chain-of-title serves scaffolds the more detailed narrative, using information about the owners, occupants, and the built environment to develop as rich a profile as possible. However, there are data gaps that cannot be resolved at this time and which place limitations on the level of detail available for certain time periods. Repository closures due to the ongoing Covid-19 health crisis (e.g., Barret Branch Library) negatively affect the ability to access some tax records and other potential resources. Data gaps that may persist regardless of Covid-19 closures include those arising from missing or incomplete land records as well as genealogical/census data. Few reliable genealogical records were found, and public access to all census data from 1950 onward is legally restricted to protect living individuals' privacy.

6.1.1 Pre-Development History (1654–1926)

Little is known about the project area before the nineteenth century. Few archival documents were available for review that directly address ownership or land use practices, though some general assumptions can be made. Prior to Margaret Brent's 1654 acquisition of the 700-ac tract on which Alexandria would eventually be founded, the project area was undoubtedly an unimproved part of the broader natural landscape that was more or less unaltered until plantations were established in the vicinity. Given that the Virginia colony was only a few decades old by 1654, and much of northern Virginia remained unexplored, no agricultural activities or intensive historic occupation is anticipated prior to Brent's ownership. It is expected that early colonial activities, if any, would have been limited to hunting, trapping, trading, and/or exploration at this time.

As discussed in section 3.2.1, John Alexander received clear title to what was formerly Margaret Brent's property in 1674, a transaction that would have placed the project area under his ownership. Following his death in 1677, his real estate was devised to his sons, Robert and Philip. The land that would eventually become Alexandria was subdivided and descended among members of the Alexander family until the mid-eighteenth century when three adjacent landowners agreed to establish a town on their properties. These included descendent members of the Alexander family—Philip Alexander, Jr. and John Alexander—along with Hugh West, who jointly owned property with John Alexander. In 1749, an act authorizing the establishment of Alexandria was passed, and George Washington drafted an initial plan for the future town's lot and street grid. This early map, however, did not include the project area, and no maps produced during or prior to the mid-eighteenth century show the project area in any meaningful detail.

SECTIONS IX Results

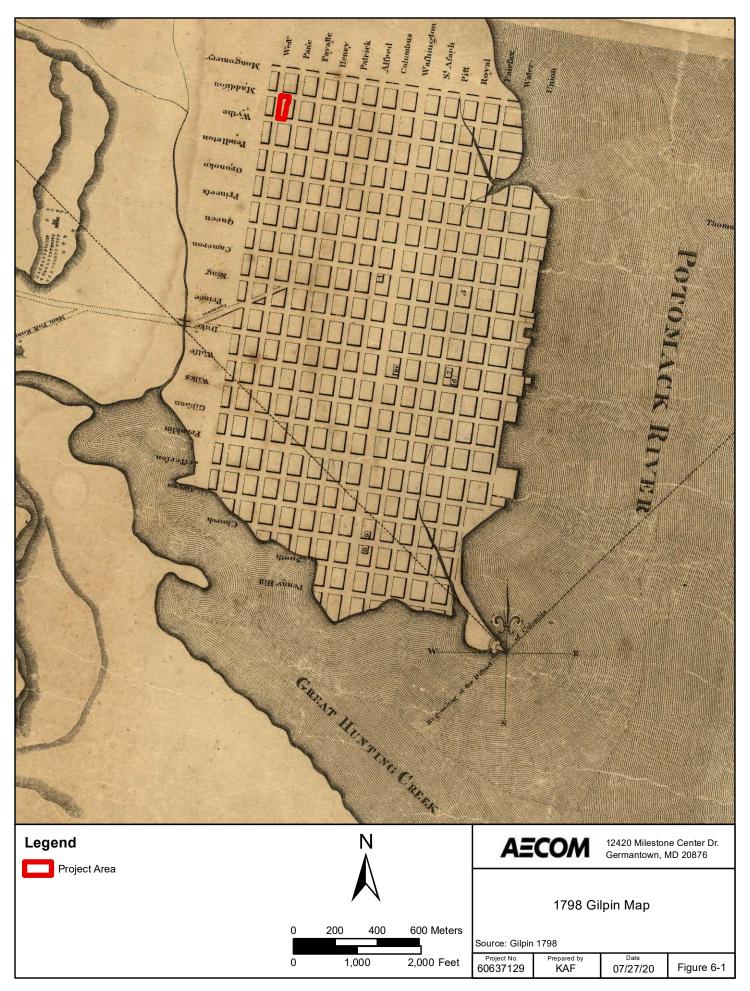
It was not until Gilpin's 1798 plan of Alexandria that the N. West-Madison-Payne-Wythe Street block was first depicted (Figure 6-1). No built improvements are shown, though the map was not intended as a detailed rendering of the contemporaneous built environment. However, by virtue of its location in the far northwestern corner of the town grid, the project area was almost certainly unimproved at this time. This area was distant from Alexandria's proto-urban epicenter along the Potomac River waterfront as well as the arterial thoroughfares linking it to the surrounding countryside. Due to lost or incomplete land records, it was not possible to identify the project area's ownership during the second half of the eighteenth century, but this lack of information is not a severe deficit to the property's overall history. All landowners at this time are expected to have held the property in absentia, possibly as an investment in the event of Alexandria's rapid development. Furthermore, it was almost certainly vacant land, as subsequent documentation strongly suggests it was not developed until the early twentieth century.

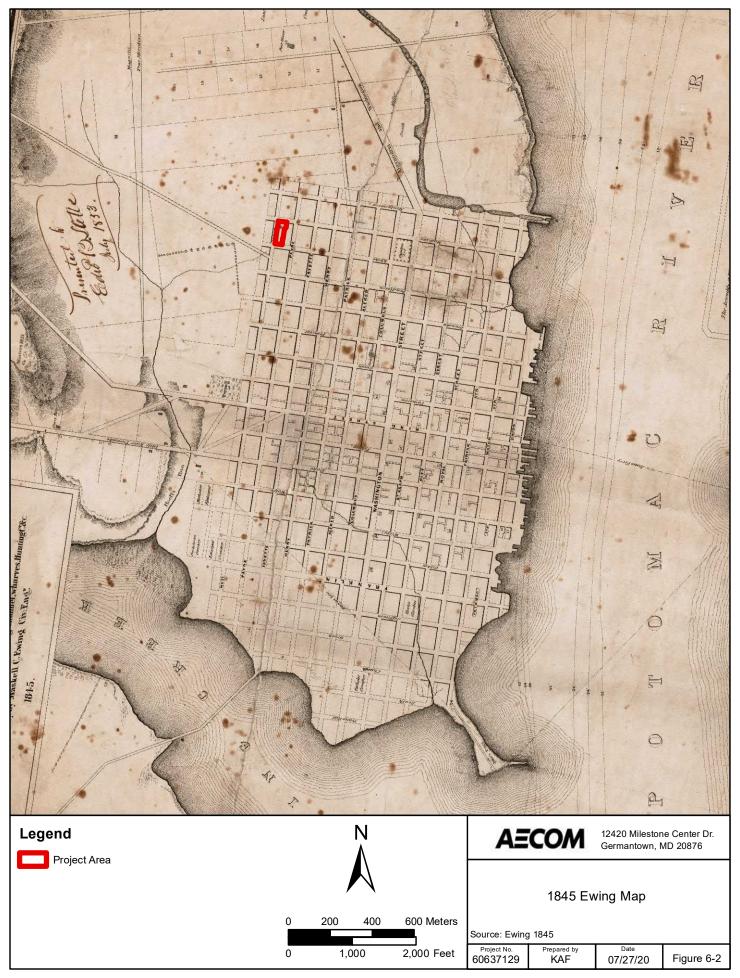
During the first half of the nineteenth century, some land and tax records were located that partially chart project area ownership. According to an 1830 tax assessment for Alexandria's Ward 3, the N. West-Madison-Payne-Wythe Street block was valued at \$300 and owned by Francis Swann (Tax Assessment 1830). While Francis Swann appears in the land records prior to 1830, no deed, will, or other instrument could be located to determine when or how he acquired the block. According to the 1830 Census, Swann was a resident of Alexandria whose household included eight "free white persons" along with 14 individuals Swann enslaved (Census 1830). While the sheer number of people associated with Swann could suggest some portion of the project area may have been used for their lodging, this is highly unlikely for several reasons. First, there is no indication that the project area was improved by 1830, and indeed it likely remained vacant land for nearly a century afterward. Second, Swann owned multiple Alexandria properties and likely housed his family and enslaved laborers elsewhere, presumably closer to the economic and residential areas closer to the Potomac River waterfront. Third and finally, the \$300 tax assessment is a relatively low value compared with improved blocks elsewhere in Alexandria at this time, providing additional support for its vacancy at the time.

In 1840, Francis Swann relocated to Washington, D.C. and began to divest the N. West-Madison-Payne-Wythe Street block in two stages (Census 1840). In a deed dated October 16, 1840, he transferred the southern half of the block to William B. Alexander (Alexandria City Deed Book [ACDB] B2:72), followed by the northern half on November 30, 1841 (ACDB C3:73). Nothing in the language of the deed suggests it contained any improvements by this time.

Within a few years of Alexander's purchase, Ewing's map of Alexandria was issued (Figure 6-2). As with Gilpin's town plan produced nearly 50 years earlier, no detailed representation of the built environment was included. Rather, the largely schematic map depicts the town grid, its linkages with the main roads leading north and west, and some of the outlying farm fields and countryside dwellings. The northwest corner of Alexandria was surrounded by what appear to be farm fields, suggesting an agricultural rather than urban character. A tributary of Hooff's Run, which has since been channelized north of Duke Street, can be seen closely approaching the project area from the west.

The full period of William Alexander's ownership is unclear, but he appears to have possessed it by at least 1850. That year's tax assessment lists William B. Alexander as the owner of more than one Ward 3 property, and though the record is largely illegible, it appears to have included the N. West-Madison-Payne-Wythe Street block (Tax Assessment 1850). Since this entry is difficult to





decipher due to the microfilm exposure, the property's assessed value could not be precisely read, though it appears to have been only a few hundred dollars. This appears to be consistent with the 1830 valuation and suggests Alexander had not improved the property in the 10 years since he began acquiring it.

There is no clear record for the property's disposition throughout the remainder of the 1850s and the 1860s. William Alexander and members of his family appear in the land records as grantees numerous times throughout these two decades, but it was not feasible to examine each deed to determine whether the Alexander family sold the project area. An 1863 bird's eye view of Alexandria just barely includes the project area in frame, showing it as vacant space surrounded by a pastoral landscape on the far fringes of town (Figure 6-3). While some city blocks in the vicinity boasted residential and/or industrial improvements by this time, it appears that the road network that now surrounds the N. West-Madison-Payne-Wythe Street block was not even fully built in 1863.

Hopkins' 1877 atlas of Alexandria is the earliest available map to depict project area ownership and nearby built improvements (Figure 6-4). Nearly the entirety of the block was vacant and owned by George and John Seaton, with the exception of a single residential lot where Michael Weeden lived (east of the project area). According to the 1880 Census, Michael Weeden was a 45-year-old African-American laborer who lived in this house on Payne Street with his 50-year-old wife, Harriet (Census 1880). While the Weedens did not reside within the project area, their presence on the block by 1877 was a harbinger of the African-American community that would coalesce here some 50 years later.

It is unclear when and how the Seaton's acquired the property, as no deed, court order, or other instrument could be located that documents their ownership. According to the 1860 Census, George Seaton was a 34-year-old master carpenter and head of a household that included his wife, Maria (32), and their six children (Census 1860). His real estate was valued at \$4,000, which is relatively high among his neighbors and could be an indication that he held investment properties, such as the project area block, by this time. Unlike several neighbors, whose racial identification was left blank, each member of the Seaton family was described as having white and African-American heritage. No clear record for John Seaton was found in the 1860 Census.

The 1870 Census also includes a record for George Seaton, though some of the family details have changed and/or are inconsistent with the previous Census records (Census 1870). George was listed as a 48-year-old "Builder and M. of the Va. Va." and head of a Ward 3 household that included six children and no spouse. Two grown children that appeared on the previous census, George C. and E. Allen, both worked as grocery clerks while the remaining four children were all attending school. George and two of the children were listed as African-American, while the remaining four children were described as having white and African-American heritage. By this time, George's real estate was valued at \$15,000, which was comparably higher than his neighbors. This is likely an indication that George increased his investment real estate holdings during the 1860s, which could be the decade when he acquired the project area.

George Lewis Seaton was one of Alexandria's wealthiest African-American citizens, venturing outside of master carpentry to pursue opportunities in the grocery and real estate development businesses. He was instrumental in trying to ease racial tensions in Alexandria following the Civil War and was closely involved in political movements (Holland et al. 2012).



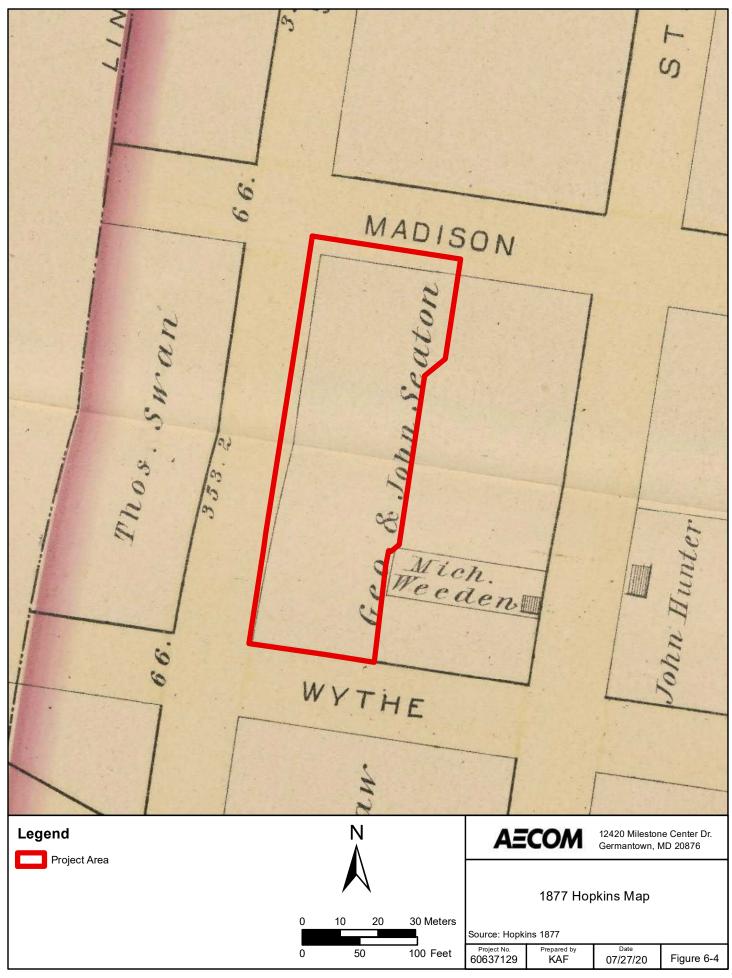
AECOM

12420 Milestone Center Dr. Germantown, MD 20876

1863 Bird's Eye View

Source: Magnus 1863

Project No. 60637129 KAF 07/22/20 Figure 6-3



The April 10, 1868 edition of the *Alexandria Gazette* notes that George Seaton was a member of the Radical Republican Club of the Third Ward of Alexandria who was closely involved in the debate for selecting a "Radical candidate" for the next state governorship (*Alexandria Gazette* 1868a). A subsequent article lists Seaton as the chair of the Radicals of the Fourth Ward, and numerous other articles from the late 1860s include similar mentions of George Seaton's role in political debate (*Alexandria Gazette* 1868b). It appears that George Seaton was deeply involved in Republican politics, having served as a delegate to the Richmond Radical Convention in 1867 and receiving a nomination as a Radical candidate for the House of Delegates in 1871 (*Alexandria Gazette* var.). He was even suggested as a candidate for Alexandria's mayor in 1867 to help represent the interests of the African-American community (*Alexandria Gazette* 1867a).

His appearance in contemporary periodicals, largely centering on political issues, was not limited to this form of civic engagement. Newspapers also recognized George Seaton for his involvement in other activities in service to the African-American community, including providing carpentry on an African-American schoolhouse on Alfred Street (*Alexandria Gazette* 1867b) and managing a recreational Potomac River excursion for the African-Americans in Alexandria (*Alexandria Gazette* 1867c).

John Seaton, who jointly owned the project area with George by 1877, also appeared on the 1870 Census. Here he is listed as a 39-year-old carpenter and head of a Ward 4 household that included his wife, Virginia, and their 7-year-old son, John (Census 1870). John was listed as African-American, while his wife and child were described as having white and African-American heritage. Virginia's profession was listed as keeping house while John attended school. John Seaton was George's younger brother. The former's real estate was valued at \$4,000 in 1870, which is moderately high among his closest Ward 4 neighbors. This could be an indication that John Seaton owned more than just his residential property by this point, and possibly jointly owned the project area with George Seaton.

The 1880 Census lists George Seaton as a 57-year-old invalid and head of a Royal Street household that included his 36-year-old wife Kate and their three children (Census 1880). It is unclear if this is the same George Seaton as noted in the 1870 Census; his age is consistent between the two records, but all other family information is entirely different. Of course, it is possible that George simply remarried in the 1870s and began a new family with Kate. John A. Seaton also appeared on the 1880 Census and was enumerated as a 43-year-old sheriff and head of a household that included his wife, Alice, their son Adolphus, and John's son from his previous marriage to Virginia as noted on the 1870 Census, John A. Seaton. It is unclear if at this time, either man still held any interest in the project area.

It appears that sometime between 1877 and 1887, the N. West-Madison-Payne-Wythe Street block was once more under the Alexander family's ownership. No deed between the Seatons and Alexanders could be found, and the Alexander family's ownership is inferred from a string of court records in the late 1880s. In 1887, the project area was involved in a legal dispute between Charles Alexander et al. (plaintiff) and John Alexander et al. (defendant). While the details of the proceedings were not available for review, they resulted in a June 30, 1887 Circuit Court decree mandating the N. West-Madison-Payne-Wythe Street block be sold at public auction. A.W. Armstrong was appointed special commissioner in the sale, which did not occur until March 26, 1889 (ACDB 21:475-476). The block was divided into north and south halves and sold separately. Contemporaneous periodicals ran terse advertisements for the properties, describing them only as half-squares of ground and did not note any improvements, use, or prior ownership.

In a deed dated April 17, 1889, A.W. Armstrong conveyed the south half of the block to Samuel G. Brent and J.K.M. Norton for \$305 (ACDB 21:475-476). The north half of the block was transferred to Joshua A. Seaton, Jr. in a deed dated April 22, 1889 (ACDB 24:467-468). Joshua Seaton, Jr. retained his interest in the property for just over two years, ultimately selling the north half of the block to Samuel Brent and J.K.M. Norton in a deed dated July 7, 1891 (ACDB 26:163-164). Thus, by the summer of 1891, Brent and Norton owned the entirety of the block, including the project area.

However, they soon sold the land to Montrose W. Houck in a deed dated April 26, 1893, who in turn sold it to John J. Phyfe in a deed dated January 1, 1896 (ACDB 30:180-181; 64:594). The rapid succession of owners suggests they were not occupants but rather investors or speculators who anticipated Alexandria's expansion into its northwestern corporate outskirts and sought to make a profit. Unfortunately, the deeds do not note the actual amount paid for the land, so it is not clear if the block's real estate value was rapidly rising at the time.

There is still no direct indication that the project area was improved by this time, and whether or not the Weeden's residence on the east side of the block still stood into the late nineteenth century. At a time when the interest in Alexandrian suburban development was gaining momentum, ownership of a whole block of vacant (or largely vacant) land may have been an appealing investment for those seeking to attract developers. Unfortunately, contemporary mapping provides no useful insight into the project area's appearance at this time. Highly detailed maps of Alexandria produced by the Sanborn Map Company (Sanborn) are available for the 1880s and 1890s, but they do not include the project area.

The Phyfe family held the block for nearly a decade, but little is known of the project area's disposition during this time. The Phyfe family does not appear in the 1900 Census, and neither John nor his wife Lydia are listed in the 1903 city directory. This suggests that they were not Alexandria residents by this time. As with previous periods of ownership, there is no evidence that the project area was anything but vacant land when the Phyfes owned it.

In a deed dated January 17, 1905, Anna Amelia Phyfe (possibly the daughter or sister of John Phyfe) sold the entirety of the block to Harrie F. Wheat (ACDB 61:20-21). Harrie Wheat was listed in the 1903 and 1907 city directories as a real estate agent residing at 414 Duke Street (*Richmond's Alexandria Directory* 1903, 1907). He appeared in the 1910 Census as a 43-year-old widowed white male living with his in-laws and 17-year-old daughter Virginia at 414 Duke Street (Census 1910). He still worked as a real estate agent, presumably still a partner in his Washington, D.C.-based firm Wheat & Suter (Becker 2020a). His profession and residence in a separate part of the city from the project area suggests he purchased the latter as an investment property.

As with his predecessors, however, Harrie only owned the project area for a few years. In a deed dated March 28, 1911, he sold the entire block to Elizabeth Payton Robinson (ACDB 61:20-21). She in turn sold it to Cornelius B. Hite and Harold E. West on April 6, 1911 in a deed of trust used to secure a \$2,000 promissory note (ACDB 61:21). She defaulted, however, prompting the trustees to sell the entire block at public auction on March 24, 1917. The property was advertised in the *Alexandria Gazette* (1917:5) and simply described as "an entire square of grounded bounded...on the north by Madison Street, on the East by Payne Street, on the south by Wythe Street, and on the west by West Street." However, the headline for the auction described the property as a "desirable manufacturing site near main line of the Southern Railway Company". The block's potential as a

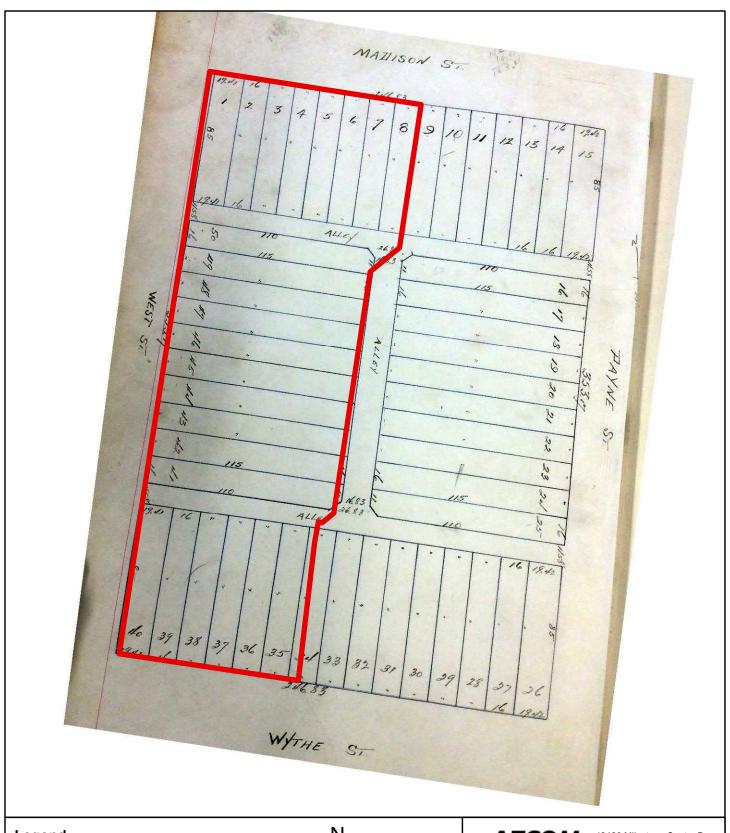
manufacturing "site" may indicate it was a largely unimproved and underutilized block in a part of Alexandria where industrial operations and small residential lots existed side by side.

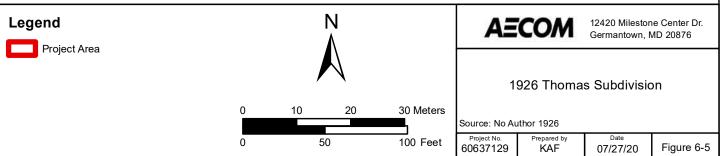
The block was officially transferred to the estate of Harrie F. Wheat on March 29, 1917 for \$2,100 and appears to have been held in trust for Harrie's daughter, Virginia (ACDB 66:138). Ultimately, however, Virginia had to outright purchase the property from Richard M. Green, who served as the administrator of her father's will, for \$2,630.93 on September 28, 1926 (ACDB 88:248-249). By this time, Virginia (1893-1987) had wed Augustus Howell Thomas and was a "musician, white socialite, heiress, third generation realtor" who was involved in the development of one of Alexandria's African-American neighborhoods, known as "Colored" Rosemont (Becker 2020b). She rejected the prevailing legalistic encumbrances at local and national levels that supported housing segregation, instead making concerted efforts to create homeownership opportunities for Alexandria's African-American middle class. The Colored Rosemont neighborhood was incubated on property that Virginia Thomas owned immediately south of the project area, later expanding to include it (Becker 2020a). She was an ardent supporter of African-American homeownership and was instrumental in transforming the project area from a "desirable manufacturing site" into a residential subdivision for predominantly African-American homeowners.

Immediately after purchasing the N. West-Madison-Payne-Wythe Street block, Virginia had it surveyed for residential subdivision in October 1926 (Figure 6-5). Between 1928 and 1947, Virginia Thomas sold all of the lots within the project area to African-American families, creating an anchor of small-lot development within the Colored Rosemont and Uptown African-American neighborhoods.

Prior to the Civil War, Alexandria's African-American population was widely dispersed throughout Old Town, living as free or enslaved people among white property owners on virtually every inhabited block in the city. The northwest quadrant of Alexandria was poorly developed by this time, exhibiting a scattering of buildings among largely vacant lots and blocks. By 1810, a few small enclaves of free African-Americans began to live within what is now the Uptown vicinity, but the area remained largely vacant up to the Civil War. At this time, parts of the eventual neighborhood were used for military operations, including temporary encampments and more permanent facilities such as an industrial bakery that occupied an entire city block (Miliaras 2015).

Railroad lines linking Alexandria to Maryland and other parts of Virginia came to the area in the 1860s as well, attracting numerous manufacturing firms and other large employers by the end of the nineteenth century. This in turn spurred residential growth, though African-Americans had already begun settling in the area in greater numbers following the Civil War. Eventually, these communities developed population and building densities similar to the rest of Alexandria by the turn of the twentieth century. Uptown, and the smaller neighborhoods it encompassed, was eventually subsumed within the larger Parker-Gray neighborhood, which one long-time resident described as the "mecca of the African American community" throughout the twentieth century (Ferdinand T. Day, quoted in Miliaras 2015:1). It was also the only part of Alexandria where, by the mid-twentieth century, African Americans were able to purchase property. This underpins the neighborhood's centrality as a hub for homeownership and African-American businesses, since segregationist policies forestalled opportunities elsewhere in the city. The project area, as part of the Colored Rosemont community within the larger Uptown neighborhood, was one of the early anchors for homeownership.





6.1.2 Subdivision and Occupation (1926–Present)

Virginia Thomas' subdivision of the block in 1926 ushered in a new chapter in the project area's history, transforming what was almost certainly a vacant swath of land throughout the historic period into part of one of Alexandria's burgeoning African-American neighborhoods. Her efforts to develop the square in a manner that aligned with her advocacy for African-American homeownership in Alexandria shaped the physical and social character of the project area from the early twentieth century to the present.

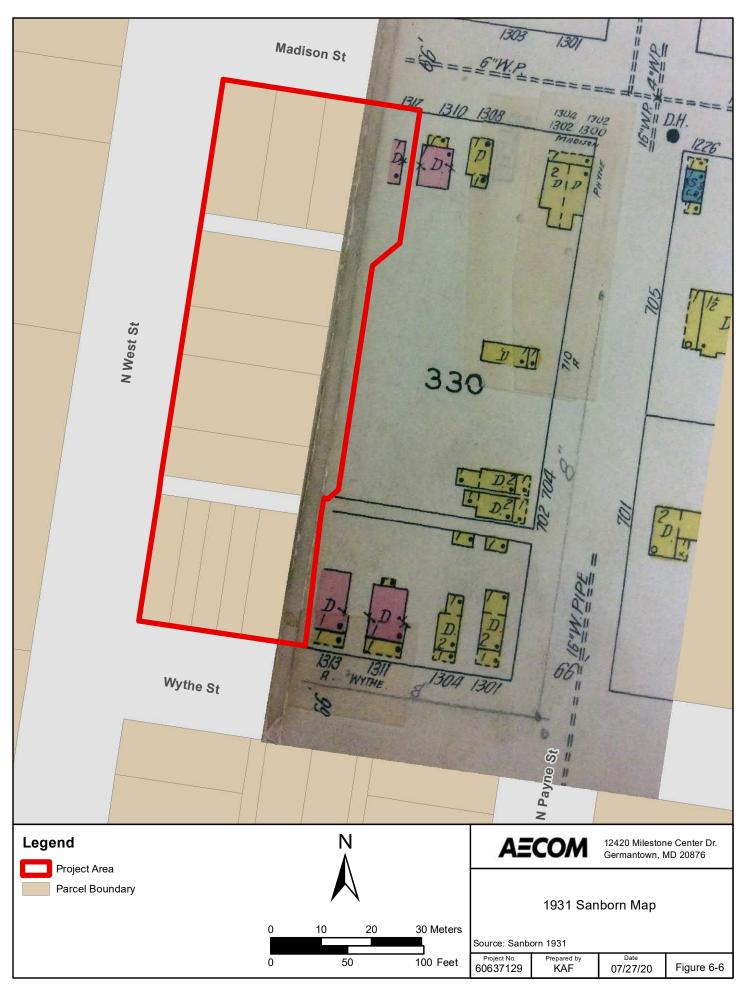
For the purposes of this section, the physical development of the project area as a whole will be addressed first, followed by a discussion of the ownership and occupancy of the individual properties. As noted at the beginning of section 6.1, however, several data gaps arising from legal restrictions on certain records (e.g., post-1940 censuses), or inaccessible resources due to Covid-19 repository closures (e.g., tax records, directories, supplemental genealogy), place unavoidable limitations on the individual property narratives.

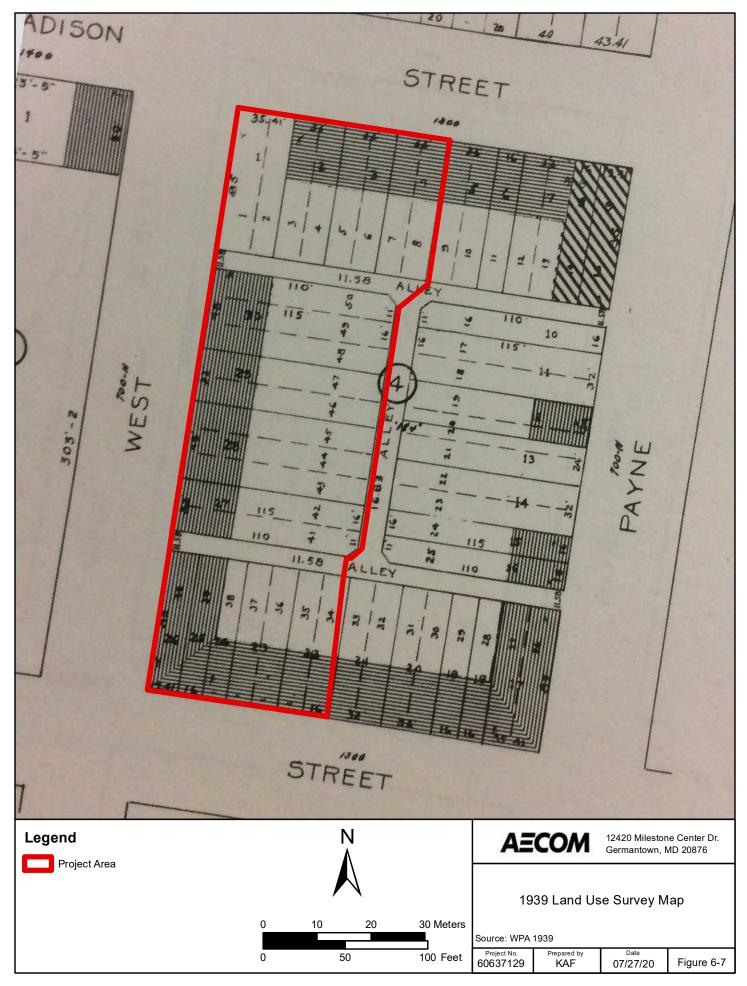
6.1.2.1 Built Environment

Following the subdivision of the N. West-Madison-Payne-Wythe Street block in 1926, the built environment began to assume its current form. Charting the early evolution of this development is somewhat difficult, given that there are few detailed historic maps that depict the built environment in any great detail. Though it largely only shows the east half of the block, the 1931 Sanborn map is instructive (Figure 6-6). When this block was partially included on previous Sanborn maps, it was consistently depicted as vacant land, lacking buildings, alleyways, and utilities. The 1931 map, however, shows substantial residential development was underway since Virginia Thomas subdivided the block only five years prior. A similar degree of development is expected for the west side of the block at this time as well, given that most of the project area lots were occupied by this time. What is now 1352 Madison Street was even partially included on this map. In addition to the buildings, it is important to note that 6- and 8-inch water lines had been extended west down Madison and Wythe streets from the 16-inch watermain on Payne Street. This is the first time a Sanborn map shows water service extending toward the project area and strongly suggests that dwellings in the Thomas subdivision had running water integrated into their initial construction.

A 1939 real property survey is the earliest map to provide direct information on the project area's built environment (Figure 6-7). Unfortunately, the map is highly stylized and does not illustrate individual buildings, but rather shows which lots had been improved, the basic location of the principal improvements (i.e., dwellings) along the road frontages, and whether the dwellings were single-family (parallel vertical or horizontal lines) or two- to four-family (parallel diagonal lines) accommodations. Despite its schematic nature, the map is instructive and indicates that nearly every property within the project area had been improved by 1939. The only exceptions are Lots 1 and 2 at the corner of Madison and N. West streets, which have never been developed.

The 1941 Sanborn map is the earliest available map to provide a highly detailed view of the project area's built environment (Figure 6-8). This map shows that all of the extant historic dwellings within the project area had been constructed by this time. Those on Madison and N. West streets were single-story brick construction with projecting frame porches and the occasional frame rear addition constructed on at least two separate lots. Each also had at least one single-story frame outbuilding at the rear of the property, most of which still survive. On Wythe Street, developments within the project area followed a different pattern. Rather than sprawling across multiple lots, the two dwellings at 1327 and 1329 were built within the original lot lines of the Thomas subdivision.







The dwellings were one- and two-stories tall, respectively, and entirely of frame construction. To the east, no dwellings are shown at 1323 and 1325 Wythe Street, though each lot featured an outbuilding at the rear. A single-story brick building is shown at 1321 Wythe Street with an outbuilding in the rear, apparently built in a similar style to the houses along N. West and Madison streets. At 1319 Wythe Street, a narrow single-story frame dwelling had been constructed by this time, reminiscent of the dwellings at 1327 and 1329 Wythe Street but of smaller construction. This built environment is partially visible on a 1946 aerial photograph of Alexandria, the earliest available direct image of the project area, though the resolution is insufficient to see more than just the general building pattern (Figure 6-9).

The 1977 Sanborn map shows a built environment similar to that illustrated in 1941, with the notable loss of the single-story frame dwelling at 1319 Wythe Street (Figure 6-10). Though not evident from this or later maps, the existing north-south alley on the east edge of this property partially cuts into the former dwelling's location. This may have been constructed in the 1970s as part of the major redevelopment of the eastern two-thirds of the block, evident on the 1977 Sanborn map as the Andrew W. Adkins apartment complex. No significant alterations to the project area's structural appearance would come until the twenty-first century, and even then the alterations only affected one property. In the early 1990s, a very large addition was built to the north and east of 1327 Wythe Street, occupying portions of the adjacent two lots that lay largely undeveloped until this time.

6.1.2.2 Individual Properties

Once Virginia Thomas subdivided the project area, its historical trajectory becomes inextricably tied to the individual properties and the families who came to own them. This section will examine the ownership and occupation of each address as currently listed within the project area, beginning with its sale from the Thomas family to the parcel's first homeowners.

6.1.2.2.1. 1352 Madison Street

What is now 1352 Madison Street corresponds to Lots 7 and 8 of the Thomas subdivision and was sold to Dennis and Lucy Lane Jackson on April 16, 1929 (ACDB 97:597-599; Figure 6-5). As with all properties in this section, it is unclear if a house was already constructed at the time of purchase, or if one was built immediately thereafter. Most homes appear to have been constructed between the 1926 date of subdivision and the 1930 Census, when most of the properties were occupied. This runs counter to the dates listed on the VCRIS forms and should supersede prior construction period assessments.

According to the 1930 Census, Dennis Jackson was a 48-year-old railroad foreman and head of an African-American household that included his 45-year-old wife, Lucy (Census 1930). Dennis and Lucy had only been married two or three years by the time of the census and must have been newlyweds when they purchased Lots 7 and 8 from Virginia Thomas. By 1930, their home at what is now 1352 Madison Street had been constructed and was valued at \$2,500.

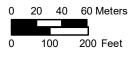
By 1940, Dennis Jackson was enumerated as a 61-year-old widower and retired railroad worker who nevertheless found part time work in an unspecified field (Census 1940). His wages totaled \$756 for 24 weeks of work in 1939, in many cases earning considerably more than his neighbors who worked a full 52 weeks. Though Lucy was no longer alive, Dennis was not living alone at 1352 Madison Street, having the company of his 22-year-old cousin Francis Mosby. Their home, still under Dennis' ownership, had lost more than 20 percent of its 1930 value, presumably due to





Project Area



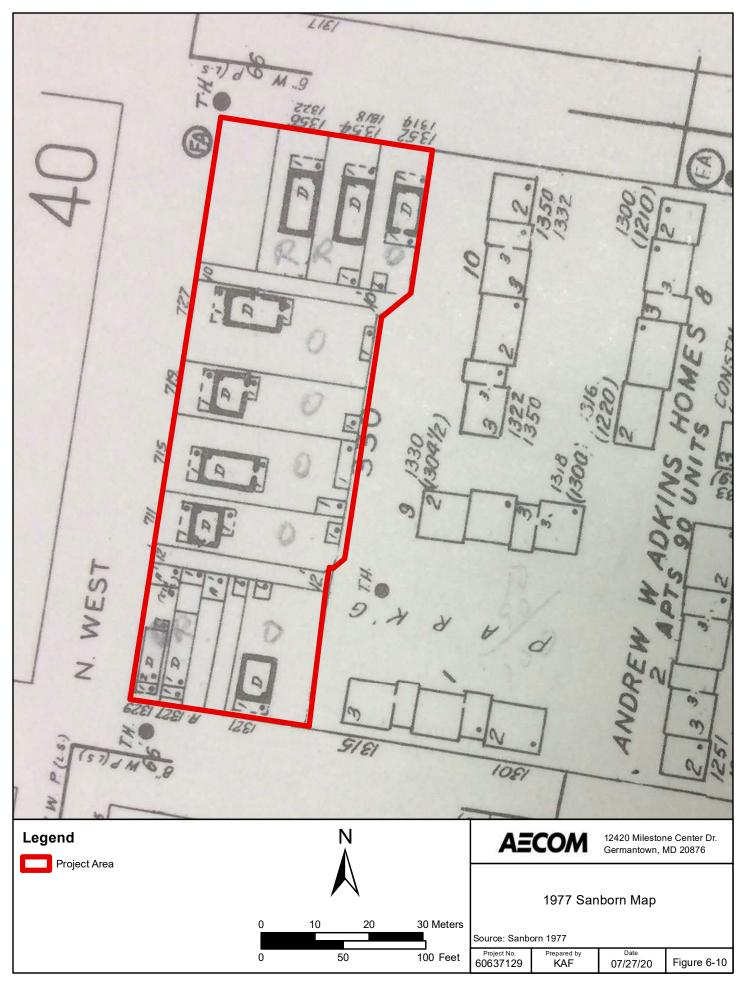


AECOM

12420 Milestone Center Dr. Germantown, MD 20876

1946 Aerial Photograph

Source: United States Army Map Service 1946



slumping real estate during the Great Depression, and was assessed at only \$1,950. On November 11, 1940, Dennis Jackson sold his home back to Virginia Thomas (ACDB 168:383-384).

Virginia held 1352 Madison Street for nearly a decade after purchasing it back from Dennis Jackson, and the nature of its occupancy during this time is unclear. It is unlikely to have sat vacant for such a long time and presumably was rented until it could be sold. However, no information on the potential renters during this period was found during the records review.

On January 22, 1949, Virginia Thomas sold the property to Charles D. Bates, his wife Annie, and their son Alexander (ACDB 277:500-504). Though no census records are available during the Bates' period of ownership, the 1940 Census lists Charles Bates as a 36-year-old African-American pipe corker working 48 hours per week for the Alexandria Water Company (Census 1940). He rented a house at 608 S. Pitt Street, where he lived with his 37-year-old wife, Annie, and their 16-year-old son, Alexander. At the time, Charles earned \$14 per week, which was a decent wage among his immediate neighbors. Charles appears in city directories as a laborer through 1952, after which he was no longer listed. Annie Bates appears on the 1953 directory as a maid living alone at the property; by 1957 she was described as Charles' widow (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995).

On April 5, 1990, Annie Lee Bates Jones (widow of Charles Bates) and her son, Alexander (a widower by this time) sold the property to the trustees of Lincoln Lodge No. 11 of the Free and Accepted Prince Hall Masons (ACDB 1294:1467-1469). This lodge, whose organization dates to 1865, was founded in Maryland as part of a masonic organization originally established under Prince Hall. It received its Virginia charter in 1875. Until 1975, the lodge was located at the Odd Fellows Hall at 400 South Columbus Street before being forced out and relocating to 1321 Cameron Street until the mid-1980s. Once that property was sold, members met at the Nannie J. Lee Community Center until finally securing the purchase of 1352 and 1356 Madison Street. Since then, these properties served as the location of the organization's social, charitable, and ceremonial activities (Lincoln Lodge #11 F&AM 2020).

The trustees of Lincoln Lodge No. 11 retained ownership of the Madison Street property for nearly 30 years. On March 30, 2017, the trustees sold the lodge to WSA, the current owner (ACDB 170004702:373-374).

6.1.2.2.2. 1356 Madison Street

What is now 1356 Madison Street corresponds to Lots 5 and 6 of the Thomas subdivision and was sold to William and Mary Hickman in a deed dated August 1, 1932 (ACDB 111:416; Figure 6-5). According to the 1930 Census, however, William and Mary Hickman already owned and occupied the property (known then as 1318 Madison Street), suggesting that the deed may have been recorded well after the sale of the property occurred and possibly upon completion of any mortgage payments (Census 1930). At this time, William Hickman was a 66-year-old Georgia native working as a janitor in an unidentified packing house. He was the head of a large African-American household that included his wife Mary (56); daughters Bertha (19, a children's nurse) and Martha Merriweather (21, private house maid); sons Harry (16, battery factory janitor), Joseph (16), and Alexander (22, private house cook); daughters-in-law Nellie Smith (23; private house maid) and Frittie (21); son-in-law Wilbur Smith (26); and grandchildren Maggie M. Smith (4), Wilmer Smith (2), and James Merriweather (5).

By the time of the 1940 Census, William Hickman was deceased and his widow, Mary, was enumerated as the head of an even larger household at what was then 1318 Madison Street (Census 1940). Mary's relationship to each household member is not always clear, as the enumerator incorrectly listed at least two other people as head-of-household, somewhat obscuring the family tree. Living with her in 1940 were a widowed daughter, Emma Rogers (38, private house domestic worker); another daughter, Bertha McCray (24, private house domestic worker) and her husband, William McCray (30); a possible daughter or niece, Bessie M. Sanderson (23), her husband, Salon (26, construction worker), their daughter Joan (11 months) and sons, L.A. (3) and Azel (2); granddaughters Maggie M. Smith (14) and Sallie Rogers (6); and grandsons Wilmer Smith (12) and Joe J. Hickman (18).

Mary Hickman was listed as a resident of 1318 Madison Street in city directories up to 1950, after which she no longer appear (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995). On her last entry, she resided at the property with Harry Hickman, a laborer of uncertain relation, as well as Harry's wife, Annie M. Her daughter Emma Rogers still lived with her as well, but no one else listed in the 1940 Census appears to have remained in the household by 1950. Emma Rogers was last listed as a resident of 1318 Madison Street in 1957, while Harry and Annie Hickman last appear there in 1959 (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995). Directory information after 1959 was not available for review, and it is unclear who resided at the property during the 1960s and 1970s.

On October 31, 1977, the Alexandria Redevelopment and Housing Authority (ARHA) received a deed vesting them with full title interest to the property (ACDB 874:236-238). It appears that the ARHA applied for and assumed ownership of the property pursuant to a series of court proceedings when no heir, assign, or administrator of William and Mary Hickman's estate came forward to challenge ARHA's pursuit of ownership. By this time, William and Mary Hickman were both deceased, and it is possible that each died without a will or other estate directive. Presumably some descendants of the Hickman family still resided in Alexandria by 1977, but due to a lack of awareness, interest, or qualification, no one in the family sought control of 1356 Madison Street.

In a deed dated March 26, 1980, the ARHA conveyed the property to Robert and Pamela Smith (ACDB 984:372). As noted in the 1930 and 1940 censuses, there is a connection between the Hickman and Smith surnames, but no genealogical ties linking Robert and Pamela to members of the Hickman household could be established. However, it may be reasonable to suspect that descendants of the Hickmans eventually became aware of the ARHA acquisition in 1977 and subsequently pursued reclaiming the family home on Madison Street.

On January 19, 1988, the property was sold to Robert Smith pursuant to his divorce from Pamela (ACDB 1233:896-899). A few days later on January 24, Robert and his new wife Kristine H. Smith sold the property to the trustees of Lincoln Lodge No. 11 of the Free and Accepted Prince Hall Masons (ACDB 1233:899). This was the first Madison Street property acquired for the use of the Lodge, which later purchased 1352 Madison Street in 1990 as noted in section 6.1.2.2.1. As with 1352 Madison Street, the Lodge trustees sold the property to WSA, the current owner, on March 30, 2017 (ACDB 170004702:373-377).

6.1.2.2.3. 1360 and 1362 Madison Street

The properties at 1360 and 1362 Madison Street share the same chain of title, from their original purchase in 1932 to WSA's acquisition in 2017. While 1360 Madison was improved with a dwelling and used as a residence for more than 75 years, 1362 Madison has remained a vacant property with no known prior developments.

On April 1, 1932, James Lloyd Churchill and Mamie Wiley Johnson purchased Lots 1 through 4 of the Thomas subdivision from Virginia Thomas (ACDB 110:363-364; Figure 6-5). Then known as 1322 Madison Street, Lots 1 and 2 correspond to 1362 Madison while Lots 3 and 4 correspond to 1360 Madison. This is the earliest deed that could be found documenting the properties' original transfer following the Thomas subdivision, but it appears that 1322 Madison street was occupied before this time. According to the 1930 Census, the home was already owned and occupied by William R. Johnson, a 40-year-old janitor who was the head of an African-American household that included his wife, Mamie (41, seamstress) and a boarder, James Churchill (30, plasterer; Census 1930). It is unclear why William Johnson was not named in the 1932 deed, as he is known to have resided there at that time according to the 1932 city directory (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995).

In a deed dated December 1, 1933, James Churchill conveyed his interest in the property to Mamie Wiley Johnson (ACDB 116:113-114). Again, it is unclear why William Johnson was not included, as he and Mamie owned the property until they sold it in 1955. However, they do not appear to have resided at 1322 Madison during their entire period of ownership. The 1938 city directory indicates that they relocated to a rental property at 409 S. Alfred Street (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995). By the time of the 1940 Census, neither William nor Mamie are listed as residents of Alexandria, and it appears that their rental property at 409 S. Alfred Street may have foreshadowed their ultimate departure from Alexandria altogether. No residents are listed for 1322 Madison Street on the 1940 Census, as the property itself was omitted for unknown reasons.

Between 1938 and 1955, the property was home to a few dozen different renters, none of whom appear on the 1940 Census or any available documentation other than various city directories (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995). On September 23, 1955, Mamie and William Johnson sold the property to Lydia Dundas (ACDB 417:348-352). It appears that Lydia did not purchase the house as a residence, given that she already lived at 727 N. West Street and continued to do so through at least the end of the 1950s according to available city directories (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995). Instead, the house remained a rental property where, according to city records, maid Isabella Johnson lived from 1956 to 1958 alongside laundress Pearl Carter from 1957 to 1958. Documentation for subsequent renters was not available for review.

Lydia Dundas died on January 31, 1991, leaving Bernice D. Cross and Estelle M. Lucas as her heirs with one-half interest each in the property. Both heirs subsequently died, in turn leaving their interests to a total of 15 other people. These latter individuals ultimately sold what had come to be known as 1360 and 1362 Madison Street to WSA in a deed dated March 30, 2017 (ACDB 170004707:415-416).

6.1.2.2.4. 711 N. West Street

What is now 711 N. West Street corresponds to Lots 41 and 42 of the Thomas subdivision and was sold to William McCray and Bertha Hickman on August 7, 1947 (ACDB 97:597-599; Figure 6-5). Prior to their purchase of Lots 41 and 42, William and Bertha were residents of 1356 Madison Street, the home of Bertha's parents, as noted in section 6.1.2.2.1. According to the 1940 Census records cited in that section, William McCray was a 30-year-old African-American employed in an unknown profession and married to Bertha McCray (maiden name Hickman). Bertha, originally from Georgia, was a 26-year-old domestic worker in a private household earning approximately \$364 per year. The two were married in Alexandria on December 2, 1939 (Virginia Marriage Records, 1936-2014). According to William McCray's undated WWII draft registration card, he

was an employee of the Alexandria City Sewer Department (WWII Draft Registration Cards for Virginia, 1940-1947). It is unclear if William was ever pressed into service, as no record of a potential military background was located. City directories through 1959 list William and Bertha as residents of 711 N. West Street, after which directory information is not available. While Bertha's profession is not listed in the directories, Williams is initially described as a generic employee of the U.S. government, then later as working as a laborer for the U.S. Army (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995).

The McCray family was among the project area's longest enduring residents. Apart from granting the ARHA rights to an alleyway on their property in 1965 (ACDB 625:53), 711 N. West Street remained in the family's possession until 1999. At this time, Bertha McCray was widowed and sold the property to Nazar J. Shabbar in a deed dated February 23, 1999 (ACDB 1686:328-329). On June 29, 2017, he in turn sold it to WSA (ACDB 170009802:549-551).

6.1.2.2.5. 715 N. West Street

What is now 715 N. West Street corresponds to Lots 43, 44, and 45 of the Thomas subdivision and was sold to John William Watson and Virginia Sims Watson on August 1, 1929 (ACDB 99:107-109; Figure 6-5). According to the 1930 Census, J. William Watson was a 54-year-old janitor for an unidentified apartment house. He was head of an African-American household that included his 27-year-old wife Virginia; brother-in-law Mack Woodson (42, private house janitor); sister Rebecca Woodson (26, laundress); sister-in-law Rosa Lee (13); and a "boarder" named Francis Taylor (under 2 years old). It appears that Francis was subsequently adopted as the Watsons' daughter.

John and Virginia still resided at 715 N. West Street when the 1940 Census was collected. John worked privately in an unknown industry earning unknown wages, while Virginia was a domestic worker in a private home earning on average \$10 a week working 66 hours. At the time, their household included six other people, all of African-American descent. These included their daughter Francis (11; i.e., "Francis Taylor" from the 1930 Census); sister-in-law Rosalee (23; i.e., "Rosa Lee" from the 1930 Census); brother-in-law Mack Woodson (55, janitor in a private home); sister-in-law Rebecca Woodson (35, laundress in a private home); Mack and Rebecca's son Percy (7); and Shirley Harris (11), a Pennsylvanian whom it appears the Watsons had adopted.

According to city directory records, Francis Watson remained in the home until at least 1950, Mack Woodson remained until 1942, and Rebecca remained until 1940 (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995). No record of the others could be found.

John and Virginia lived the remainder of their lives at 715 N. West Street. According to his death certificate, John died suddenly on September 22, 1950 and was buried in Alexandria's Union Cemetery (Virginia Death Records, 1912-2014). Virginia survived him by another three decades, passing away on November 21, 1980 at the age of 77 in Alexandria Hospital (Virginia Death Records, 1912-2014). She, too, was buried in Union Cemetery. According to her will, dated October 17, 1975, all interest in her home at 715 N. West Street was to be equally shared among her sister, Rosa L. Collins, and her daughter, Frances W. Burke (Alexandria City Will Book [ACWB] 137:777-778).

In a deed of gift dated March 15, 1984, Frances W. Burke and Stephanie V. Burke Benefield transferred 715 N. West Street to Stephanie V. Burke and her husband Steven W. Burke (ACDB 1119:391-392). While the deed does not specify how Stephanie Benefield came to share an interest

in the property, it is likely that she was either an heir of Rosa L. Collins or received the property from her in an unidentified deed of gift. Rosa L. Collins' will, death record, and genealogical details could not be located during this review, so her familial and legal relations to Stephanie Benefield remain speculative. This deed officially transferred all of Frances Burke's interest in the property to Stephanie and her husband, though it is unclear if they used it as a residence or rental property.

On February 10, 1999, Steven Benefield transferred all of his interest in the property to Stephanie pursuant to their divorce (ACDB 1686:5-9). Stephanie retained ownership until January 23, 2002, when she sold it to Philip Mackay Hocker and his wife Jean Witmeyer Hocker (ACDB 020003081:302-304). It is unclear if the Hockers lived there or purchased it as an investment property, as they sold it just over three years later to Sang Hee Lee on May 24, 2005 (ACDB 050017449:754-756). Lee's relation to the property is unknown, serving as either an occupant or a landlord. On March 20, 2017, Lee sold 715 N. West Street to WSA (ACDB 170004699:363-365).

6.1.2.2.6. 719 N. West Street

What is now 719 N. West Street corresponds to Lots 46 and 47 of the Thomas subdivision and was sold to Robert L. Burke and Shirley P. Burke on July 3, 1948 (ACDB 269:87; Figure 6-5). This is the only property in the project area that was not directly sold by Virginia Thomas. The grantor is instead listed as Kate Wheat Thomas, Virginia's 26-year-old daughter. It is unclear why Kate was the one selling the property, especially given that her mother and father were still alive at this time and remained active in local real estate. No deed was found between Kate and her mother that could have included 719 N. West Street, suggesting instead that Kate may have been employed in her mother's real estate business and vested with the legal authority to sell this particular property.

While the Burke family may have been the original owner-occupants of the dwelling at 719 N. West Street, they were not the first residents. A review of the 1930 Census does not include an entry for 719 N. West Street, indicating it was not occupied by this time. The 1940 Census, however, reveals that the Robinson family was renting the home for \$20 per month (Census 1940). This family, all of African-American heritage, appear to have been relatively recent transplants from South Carolina, as the family had been living at 719 N. West Street for fewer than five years. Ossie Robinson, a 45-year-old apartment janitor, was listed as the head of a household that included his wife Emma (29), their son Ulysses (16), and daughter Bessie (13). If Emma's age was correctly given, it would suggest that Ulysses and Bessie may have been Ossie's children from a previous marriage. Sometime prior to 1942, the family relocated to 1012 Cameron Street (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995).

It is unclear who may have lived at 719 N. West Street between the Robinsons 1940-1942 departure and the Burke's 1948 purchase. As late as 1947, Robert and Shirley Burke rented 1002 Oronoco Street and do not appear to have any prior association with the subject property (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995). At that time, Robert was working as a clerk for the U.S. government and was listed in city directories generically as a government employee through 1954. In 1957, he was described as a Department of Defense analyst, and by 1959 was a recreation leader for the Department of Recreation (presumably for Alexandria; U.S. City Directories 1822-1995). Robert's work for the U.S. government may stem from his WWII experience. According to his tombstone,

located in Quantico National Cemetery, Robert was a sergeant in the U.S. Army during the war (Find a Grave 2020a).

Robert and Shirley Burke (nee Harris) were married on January 25, 1947 (Virginia Marriage Records, 1936-2014). Aged 23 and 18 at the time of their marriage, they would have been only 24 and 19 when they purchased 719 N. West Street, making them the youngest first-generation homeowners in the project area.

The Burkes divorced on September 6, 1974 after having been separated since September 27, 1971 (Virginia Divorce Records, 1918-2014). According to their divorce report, they had two unnamed children under the age of 18 at the time and each had separate residences: Robert still lived at 719 N. West Street, while Shirley had relocated to 1721 Euclid Street in Washington, D.C. sometime prior. On August 7, 1974, Shirley transferred all of her interest in 719 N. West Street to Robert (ACDB 790:651-652).

Robert Burke retained ownership of the property until July 19, 2006, when he conveyed it to his children Frances A., Robert L., Jr., Kevin J., and Rosier O. Burke shortly before his death on September 17 (ACDB 060020096:658-659; Find A Grave 2020a). The deed between the Burkes and WSA could not be located due to an erroneous transfer reference, but according to current parcel data, the sale occurred on March 21, 2017.

6.1.2.2.7. 727 N. West Street

What is now 727 N. West Street corresponds to Lots 48, 49, and 50 of the Thomas subdivision and was sold to Walter William Dundas and his wife, Lydia, on July 8, 1929 (ACDB 98:511-514; Figure 6-5). According to the 1930 Census, Walter Dundas was a 36-year-old WWI veteran, agricultural laborer, and head of an African-American household that included his wife Lydia (26, laundress in a private home); their daughter Bernice (7); and three boarders: Lucy Gibson (21, cleaner in a private home), Gean Gibson (26, laborer in the fertilizer industry), and a girl named Evelyn (7 months) who was presumably their daughter (Census 1930).

The Gibson family may have been living in the single story quarters at the rear of the property, rather than in the principal dwelling. According to a series of personal communications provided by Alexandria Archaeology, there was some suspicion that these quarters served as a segregationera "tourist home" (motel precursor) where African-American families could safely lodge on their travels (i.e., a *Green Book* property; National Trust for Historic Preservation 2020). However, based on conversations with descendant family members, it appears that this building was not used as tourist lodging, but rather as a place that friends and family were able to rent as needed. Based on the Sanborn maps presented above, the building that serves as the guest house was constructed by 1941. If indeed the Gibson family was living in this building by 1930, it would presumably date to 1929/1930.

No boarders were listed on the 1940 Census entry for the Dundas household (Census 1940). Walter Dundas was still the head of the family, working 48 hours a week as a machine operator for a feed factory; his 1942 WWII draft registration card gives his employer as Washington, D.C.-based Norton & Company, though his place of employment was in Arlington County (U.S. World War II Draft Registration Cards 1942). His income of \$20 a week was quite substantial by comparison with his neighbors, and he was the highest earner within the project area in 1940 by a fairly large margin. The other members of the Dundas household were all immediate relatives, including

Lydia, daughters Bernice (17) and Estelle (14), and son Roger (7). No one was reported as renting the accommodations at the rear of the property on the 1940 Census.

Available city directories from 1940 to 1959 were examined to determine who may have lived in the rental lodgings at the rear of 727 N. West Street (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995). In 1942, Bernice Dundas was listed as a renter, appearing again in 1945 and 1947 as a renter along with Esther (Estelle?) Dundas. In 1950, a hotel maid named Mrs. Rebecca Harris was listed as a renter at 727 N. West Street, as was Roger Dundas in 1952 and 1959. In each of these instances, it is unclear if the renters were occupying the main house or if they lived in the lodging at the rear of the property. Haywood Cross, an orderly at Alexandria Hospital and former resident of 1321 Wythe Street, was also listed as a renter, along with his wife Bernice (a Department of Defense supervisor), in 1952 and 1956. In the directories between 1953 and 1959, however, Mrs. Rebecca Harris was specifically listed as occupying the rear of 727 N. West Street. It is unclear how long this building continued to serve as a rental property and whether any other individuals might have occupied it.

Walter Dundas died in Alexandria Hospital on March 7, 1967, two days after he turned 73 (Virginia Death Records, 1912-2014). Lydia survived him by nearly 32 years, passing away on January 31, 1991. In her will, she devised 727 N. West Street to her children, Bernice D. Cross and Estelle M. Dundas (ACWB 235:34). Later that year, Estelle M. Lucas (nee Dundas) and her husband, Rush, conveyed any interest they had in the property to Bernice (ACDB 1338:1381-1383). When Bernice passed away on April 14, 2007, the property descended to her children Lydia C. Jones and Eleanor M. Winbush per her May 26, 1991 will (instrument CW08001319). Lydia and Eleanor held the property for almost a decade, ultimately selling it to WSA on March 28, 2017 (ACDB 170004701:370-372).

6.1.2.2.8. 1319 and 1321 Wythe Street

What are now 1319 and 1321 Wythe Street correspond to west half of Lot 34 and the entirety of Lots 35 and 36 of the Thomas subdivision. Robert Cross and his wife Daisy Pegram Cross purchased the properties from Virginia Thomas on April 1, 1932 (ACDB 110:36). While this is the date the deed was formally drafted, the Cross family was already residing on the property when the 1930 Census was taken; the address at the time was erroneously given as 1325 Wythe Street (Sherman Berry's property, see section 6.1.2.2.9), but was later corrected to 1321 Wythe Street (Census 1930). Prior to moving into their Wythe Street property, Robert and Daisy owned a home nearby at 621 N. West Street (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995). They are first listed as residents of 1321 Wythe Street in 1928 (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995).

At the time of the census, Robert Cross was a 42-year-old wage laborer working in a brick yard. He was the head of a large African-American family, all of whom were listed as having been born in North Carolina. Robert's place of birth was given as Hollow Spring, North Carolina on his WWII draft registration card (U.S. World War II Draft Registration Cards 1942).

Among the nine other members of the Cross household were his wife of 20 years Lilly D. (frequently named Daisy in the historical record), a 39-year-old laundress working in a private house. Robert and Daisy were married on December 17, 1911 in Durham, North Carolina and started their family within just a few years (North Carolina, Marriage Records, 1741-2011). Living with them in 1930 were their eldest son Haywood (15, brick yard teamster); younger sons Richard (11) and Harris (3); and daughters Thelma (12), Vivian (7), Lois (5), Margery (2), and Inez (under 1). Given that Robert and his wife were living in Alexandria by at least 1926, it is very likely that

their two youngest children were not born in North Carolina, as the census notes, but rather in Virginia; the 1940 Census seems to corroborate this.

According to the 1940 Census, 10 people were living in the Cross household at the time. Robert Cross was listed as a 49-year-old unspecified employee of a hydraulic brick yard where he was earning about \$18.00 per week. His 1942 WWII draft registration card indicates that he was working for the Hydraulic Press Brick Company at "South West Wash., Arlington, Virginia" (U.S. World War II Draft Registration Cards 1942).

In 1940, his wife Daisy (49) was a domestic worker in a private house, earning \$13.00 per work week, recently logging 24 hours per week. Their daughter Thelma (22) was also employed as a domestic worker in a private house, though she earned considerably less than her mother at \$7.50 per week working 60 hours sometimes. Haywood, their 24-year-old son, was employed as a "service man" in a hospital where he earned about \$14.50 per week, sometimes working 52 hours. His wife Lucy (22) also lived in the Cross household and worked as a house cleaner in a "nurses home" making just under \$8.00 per week sometimes working 30 hours. Their son Charles (17) worked as a laborer in a hydraulic brick yard, perhaps alongside his father, earning just over \$17.00 per work week. The remainder of the Cross family, including daughters Lois (15), Vivian (14), and Marjorie (12), as well as son Horace (13), all attended school.

As the 1941 Sanborn map illustrated, a single-story frame dwelling was built immediately next to the Cross household and designated 1319 Wythe Street (Figure 6-8). This dwelling was used from the early 1930s until at least the end of the 1950s as a rental property. According to available city directories, a laundress named Hannah Barno was renting the home by 1932, after which a woman named Sallie Lee, a domestic worker, was listed as the resident in 1934, 1936, and 1938. Between 1940 and 1945, Richard Cross (listed as Robert's and Daisy's son on the 1930 Census) and his wife Teresa rented 1319 Wythe Street. They moved to Patrick Street sometime before 1950, and for the remainder of the decade 1319 Wythe Street served as a rental property for different residents in 1950, 1954, 1956, 1957, 1958, and 1959 (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995). The presence of a detached rental property onsite echoes a similar pattern seen within the project area at 727 N. West Street.

City directories also shed light on some occupants and their employment during the 1930s to late 1950s. In 1934 the Cross' son Haywood was listed as an orderly working at the Alexandria Hospital and as a renter at 1321 Wythe Street. The same is true of the 1936 directory, but the 1938 directory indicates that he had moved to a Patrick Street property with his wife, while his younger brother and sister, Richard and Thelma, were both listed as renters at 1321 Wythe Street. Haywood again appeared as a renter in 1942, as did his sister Lois Cross, who was an elevator operator at the Alexandria Hospital, where Haywood still worked as an orderly. As noted, Richard and his wife Teresa relocated to 1319 Wythe Street in the early 1940s before moving out of the neighborhood altogether. The 1950 directory shows Richard's siblings Haywood (Alexandria Hospital orderly), Horace (laborer,) and Vivian (janitor) all as renters at 1321 Wythe Street. In 1953, Beatrice (Alexandria Hospital maid), "Hayward" (hospital attendant), Horace (shoemaker), Inez (maid for Colonial Tourist Home), all grown children of Robert and Daisy, were living with them as renters at 1321 Wythe Street (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995).

By 1954, Haywood moved from 1321 Wythe Street to 727 N. West Street, where he was listed as a renter along with his wife, Bernice. Horace remained at 1321 Wythe Street as a renter and appears to have been the only of the Cross children to have done so that year. By 1956, Inez returned as a

renter, by this time working as a waitress at the Superior Sandwich Shop. Her brother Horace continued on as a renter at 1321 Wythe Street, listed in 1956 as a shoe repairman for Star Valet. Both were still renters in 1957 as well.

Robert Cross died in 1957, leaving his property to his wife Daisy (ACWB 39:504). She appears on the 1958 and 1959 city directories, the most recent available for review. Haywood, by 1959 an X-ray technician for Alexandria Hospital, Inez (working as a maid), and Horace (still a shoemaker) all lived with their mother at 1321 Wythe Street. The 1959 directory also includes the last available entry for the rental property at 1319 Wythe Street. In that year, a janitor for Belle View Management Associates named Sonny Pratt was listed as a renter along with his wife Margaret (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995).

On February 11, 1964, Daisy Cross passed away, leaving nine children as her heirs (ACWB 70:35). At this time, brothers Horace and Haywood Cross were still residents of 1321 Wythe Street and appear to have continued in that capacity until the 1990s. When Horace died on January 1, 1992, he left his interest in the property to his siblings; it was noted that Haywood Cross still resided at 1321 Wythe Street. In a deed dated April 18, 2003, the surviving Cross heirs transferred 1321 Wythe Street (inclusive of what was once 1319 Wythe Street) to Felix Reyes after more than seven decades of family ownership (ACDB 040008843:2010). Reyes used the property to secure a loan, defaulted, and it was ultimately transferred to the Bank of New York Trust Company on January 9, 2007 (ACDB 060000465:271; 070002243:5). Within months it was soon sold to William and Thomas Lee (ACDB 070007093:192), with Thomas acquiring William's interest in 2015 (ACDB 150003912:465). Just over a year later, Thomas Lee sold the property to Blue Home Ventures, LLC (ACDB 160004004:44), which in turn transferred it to WSA on April 28, 2017 (ACDB 170006858:81).

6.1.2.2.9. 1323, 1325, and 1327 Wythe Street

What are now 1323, 1325, and 1327 Wythe Street correspond to Lots 37, 38, and 39 of the Thomas subdivision and were each purchased separately by Sherman L. Berry. He purchased Lot 37 (1323 Wythe Street) from Virginia Thomas on May 24, 1931; Lot 38 (1325 Wythe Street) on December 8, 1928; and Lot 39 (1327 Wythe Street) on November 27, 1928 (ACDB 108:142; 96:444; and 101:538, respectively; Figure 6-5). Once in Berry's possession, all three lots shared the exact same chain of title up to the present and therefore are treated together.

While Berry owned all three lots, only one was historically developed as a residence. As the 1941 Sanborn map shows, 1327 Wythe Street was the only of Sherman's three lots to feature a dwelling (Figure 6-8). The only improvements noted on this and the 1977 Sanborn map (Figure 6-10) are two single-story outbuildings located at the rear of 1323 and 1325 Wythe Street; the former featured what was likely a shed, while the latter had a metal-clad frame garage.

According to the 1930 Census, Sherman L. Berry was a 24-year-old plaster building contractor (Census 1930). He was enumerated as the head of a small African-American household that included his 20-year-old wife Louise and their 2-year-old daughter Ruth. Sherman Berry was originally from Maryland, and his wife was a native of Washington, D.C.

No record of the Berry's occupation of 1327 Wythe Street was included on the 1940 Census, as the address was skipped for unknown reasons (Census 1940). City directories from 1940 to 1950, however, confirm Sherman and Louise continued to live in this home. During this period, Sherman is often listed as a laborer, and his undated WWII draft registration card indicates he worked for

the N.Y. Decorating Company based out of Washington, D.C. (U.S WWII Draft Cards Young Men, 1940-1947). Louise' occupation, if any, remains unknown throughout the 1940s. After 1950, she no longer appears in the Alexandria city directories, though Sherman is still listed at 1327 Wythe Street throughout the decade (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995).

While Louise' whereabouts from the 1950s onward could not be determined, an additional resident of the Sherman household was identified. It appears that up until 1951, Sherman Lee Berry, Jr., Sherman's and Louise son, was living with his father at 1327 Wythe Street. By the age of 18, he was married to Shirley Sherman and working as a deliveryman. Unfortunately, Sherman Berry, Jr. died suddenly in a motorcycle accident in the early hours of October 5, 1951 and was buried in Washington, D.C. (Virginia Death Records, 1912-2014).

On August 25, 1989, Sherman L. Berry conveyed 1323, 1325, and 1327 Wythe Street to Ruth B. Dyson in a deed of gift (ACDB 1279:1066-1069). Though the deed does not specify it, Ruth B. Dyson is almost certainly Ruth Berry Dyson, Sherman's daughter and possibly his only surviving child. She owned the property for nearly 15 years, during which time it appears that the large, two-and-a-half-story addition extending north/northeast from the original bungalow was constructed (according to VCRIS records discussed in section 4.3). On January 20, 2004, she sold the property to Michael G. Cummins (ACDB 040003061:895-897). It remained under Mr. Cummins' ownership for a similar period of time, until it was most recently sold to WSA on March 26, 2018 (ACDB 180004129:217-219).

6.1.2.2.10. 1329 Wythe Street

What is now 1329 Wythe Street corresponds to Lot 40 of the Thomas subdivision and was sold to Frank Worthy on August 15, 1928 (ACDB 96:129-130; Figure 6-5). He almost immediately sold it to Jordan Morrison and his wife Pearl in a deed dated October 9, 1928 (ACDB 96:130-131). According to the 1930 Census, Jordan Morrison was a 36-year-old railroad flue cleaner and WWI veteran living at 1329 Wythe Street with 34-year-old wife Pearl. Both were originally from South Carolina and of African-American heritage (Census 1930). According to his 1917/1918 WWI draft registration card, Jordan was born in Woodward, South Carolina in June 1888 and worked in Chatham, Virginia for the Southern Railway Company (U.S. World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918).

As noted in section 4.3, the style of home evident at 1329 Wythe Street is unusual not only for the neighborhood's historic architectural trends, but is uncommon for Old Town Alexandria as a whole. It is possible that the Morrisons, being from South Carolina originally, built the house in accordance with architectural styles reminiscent of their former homeland. This is speculative, as it is not clear whether the Morrisons chose the home's design and on what basis, but offers a possible explanation to the dwelling's unique appearance.

By the time of the 1940 Census, the Morrison household had expanded (Census 1940). Jordan, whose age was given as 40, no longer worked for the railroad and was instead listed as an "arch brick worker" in the fruit growing industry. His wages, approximately \$18.48 per 48-hour week, were among the highest in the project area according to the census. Pearl, whose profession in 1930 was simply given as "house", by 1940 was a domestic worker in a private home, earning about \$5 per 20-hour week. At this time, their household also included their 12-year-old son, Booker Morrison, who was not enumerated on the 1930 Census. A "roomer" named Mary Moore lived with Bookers as well. She was a 29-year-old South Carolinian domestic worker earning \$7 per 48-hour week. According to the 1940 city directory, Mary Moore and her husband John were

both renters at 1329 Wythe Street, and it is unclear why John was not included on the census (U.S. City Directories 1822-1995). They are not listed at this house on any other available directory.

Jordan and Pearl continued to own 1329 Wythe Street until their deaths more than three decades later. Jordan passed away on August 19, 1971 and Pearl followed on December 17, 1973 (Find a Grave 2020b). Pearl's will, drafted May 29, 1973, devised her home and household furnishings at 1329 Wythe Street to her foster son, Booker T. Morrison, and her nephew, Sam Morrison (ACWB 101:205-210). Just over a year later, Booker Morrison and his wife Gloria Jean Morrison conveyed Booker's half-interest in the property to Ronald Davis on July 26, 1974 (ACDB 1104:436-437). Sam Morrison followed suit, conveying his half-interest to Ronald Davis and his wife Mable R. Davis on September 19, 1983 (ACDB 1110:293). The Davis family held 1329 Wythe Street for the next 34 years, ultimately selling it to WSA on March 30, 2017 (ACDB 170004698:360-362).

6.2 ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVALUATION

To evaluate archaeological potential, AECOM examined environmental (e.g., soils, landform, proximity to water), cultural (e.g., proximity to recorded archaeological sites and surveys), and historic (e.g., maps, land records, secondary documents) data. These factors were independently assessed, then synthesized to compare how they collectively influence the kinds of resources that may be present and the anticipated state of archaeological preservation.

6.2.1 Environmental Considerations

Environmental data, including distance to water, landform, and soil type, was examined primarily as a means to gauge the potential for prehistoric archaeological resources. The project area's preurbanization landform and distance to water would not have precluded prehistoric occupation in the vicinity, but more favorable settings would have been readily available nearby. The landform here is relatively level and the elevations do not appear to have been dramatically altered based on a comparison of modern and historic topographical data. However, slope is not the only landform attribute informing prehistoric site selection, as the distance to water would have been a key consideration. Historically, the project area would have been approximately 0.25 mi (0.4 km) from the main channel of Hooff's Run, which has since been channelized as noted above. Ewing's 1845 map shows a small, eastern tributary to Hooff's Run within a short distance of the project area, but Ewing's is the only historic map to depict this feature (Figure 6-2). Therefore, it may have simply been a stylized representation of the stream's headwaters rather than a faithful depiction of its true location (other maps show the headwaters much farther west).

Soil type is also an important factor in determining prehistoric site potential, particularly in urban areas where historic and modern developments frequently compromise the integrity of the natural stratigraphy. According to the USDA NRCS data presented in section 2, the project area is composed of Urban land and the Urban-Grist Mill soil complex. As noted, Urban soils represent fill material and generally indicate that a given area has experienced some degree of prior ground disturbance (e.g., cutting, grading, deep excavation, infilling). The Grist Mill soil series has also been mapped within the project area and is expected to co-occur alongside Urban soils. While Grist Mill soils can exhibit undisturbed stratigraphy, the series more commonly features an intermixing of parent fluviomarine materials with recent fill to produce a heavily compacted, excessively drained soil common among urban areas (Fairfax County Public Works and Environmental Services and Northern Virginia Soil and Water Conservation District 2013). Given that Grist Mill soils have been mapped as part of an Urban land soil complex within the project area, it is expected that the chances of encountering undisturbed stratigraphy are minimal.

Commonly, the Urban-Grist Mill soil complex is a result of grading and compaction of natural and fill soils, activities unfavorable to prehistoric archaeological preservation.

6.2.2 Cultural Resources Considerations

Cultural data, including the locations of previously recorded archaeological sites and surveys, were examined to provide a profile of archaeological resources and research in the vicinity. An eighteenth century French infantry campsite, 44AX0208-0001, has been mapped as partially overlapping the project area, but as noted in section 4.2, the boundaries are effectively meaningless. The site form indicates that while the campsite is known to have existed somewhere in Alexandria, the precise location is entirely unknown and has never been archaeologically substantiated. The boundaries, as the form notes, do not correspond to the known or suspected location of any archaeological material related to the campsite, and were instead arbitrarily selected to enable the registrant to list the site in VCRIS. Therefore, there is no expectation that the project area will contain intact deposits associated with this campsite. No other sites are known to overlap the project area.

Most of the remaining sites in the vicinity represent domestic or industrial occupations dating from the nineteenth century or earlier. Often, these occur on parcels/blocks that have undergone various phases of redevelopment, cycling through different building programs and burying earlier occupations in the process. These episodes of construction, demolition, and reconstruction are common to much of Alexandria but not the project area. As the documentary evidence presented above indicates, there is nothing to suggest the project area ever exhibited structural improvements or was otherwise intensively utilized prior to the 1926 Thomas subdivision. Therefore, the earlier deposits common to nearby archaeological sites are not at all anticipated.

Previously recorded sites in the vicinity do not exclusively feature eighteenth and nineteenth century remains, however. In several instances, twentieth century materials have been recovered, though it is worth noting that these are almost always associated with the end phase of an earlier occupation. No sites with occupational periods *beginning* in the early twentieth century have been recorded based on the VCRIS forms.

As discussed in section 4, no archaeological surveys have been conducted within the project area, and its archaeological potential has not been directly assessed. Several surveys conducted within the vicinity have commonly yielded historic deposits associated with earlier phases of a given parcel's or block's development, including foundations, infrastructural features, and other archaeological resources. These reports, along with previously recorded sites, indicate that while the general area is archaeologically rich, most resources largely date to a period before the project area was occupied. This is not to suggest that exclusively twentieth century occupations would not leave archaeological evidence, only that there is limited evidence for potentially significant deposits dating to that time period in the project area's vicinity.

It is worth noting that one of the 34 archaeological sites previously recorded within 0.5 mi (0.8 km) of the project area has yielded prehistoric material. Located to the north/northwest, 44AX0223 yielded nine nondiagnostic lithics from a plowzone context. While generally indicative of prehistoric activity in the area, this site does not have considerable bearing on the prehistoric archaeological potential of the project area.

6.2.3 Historical Considerations

The project area's historic development has been described in detail above but is worth briefly summarizing. Prior to the nineteenth century, there is very little documentary evidence to indicate land ownership and potential uses. Given the project area's location on the far western fringe of the eighteenth century city grid, it was likely vacant; if used at all, it was presumably part of the agricultural district sprawling westward from Alexandria at the time and may have been part of a farm field.

The same could be true of the property during the nineteenth century, when it first appears in tax, land, and court records. It seems to have been the property of several absentee landowners without any indication that it was ever built upon during this time. By 1877, it was the shared property of George Seaton, one of Alexandria's wealthiest and most influential African-American citizens, though it still was not developed. The lone residence of Michael Weedon was located on the same block, east of the project area by 1877, perhaps foreshadowing the residential developments that would come the following century. By the late nineteenth century, the project area frequently changed hands, very likely as an investment property for those seeking to profit off of the potential creation of suburban communities on the outskirts of Alexandria proper.

In the early twentieth century, the entire block eventually became the property of Virginia F. Thomas, a well-known real estate developer who specifically sought to create opportunities for African-American homeownership. Local and national policies on housing segregation deprived this community of opportunities readily afforded to their white counterparts, with many of the burgeoning suburban neighborhoods more or less closed to people of color. In 1926, she subdivided the N. West-Madison-Payne-Wythe Street block and sold all of the lots within the project area to African-American families. It is unclear when the dwellings (all of which remain extant) were originally built, but the period between 1926 and 1930 is appropriate for most of the houses (719 N. West Street could have been built later, but it is unclear). According to the 1941 Sanborn map, all dwellings and outbuildings known to have ever existed within the project area had been constructed. This built environment has remained very stable, with the sole loss of the small, single-story frame rental property at 1319 Wythe Street; an alley appears to partially overlap the former building's footprint. Some of the other dwellings have since been modified, and in the case of 1327 Wythe Street a large addition has been constructed, but these modifications have not removed historic structures.

Since the loss of the dwelling at 1319 Wythe Street represents the largest known change to the historic building stock, consideration was given to potential archaeological deposits associated with its construction and use. While substructural portions of the rental dwelling at 1319 Wythe Street could be present in the grassy area immediately east of 1321 Wythe Street, these remains are likely limited to lightly built substructural supports such as brick piers or a continuous brick foundation. This is likely to be insubstantial in construction given that it only had to support a single-story frame building. It is unclear if the building incorporated a cellar or crawlspace that could have been backfilled when the house was demolished. Even if this is the case, it is unlikely that it contains meaningful archaeological deposits. Given that it was used as a rental property, the home was likely regularly emptied of its contents; as the city directory information from the 1950s shows, there was a relatively high rate of renter turnover and it is unlikely the potentially significant material associated with these residents would survive intact even if the cellar/crawlspace was buried.

It is possible that not all buildings were historically mapped, and some consideration was initially given to the possibility that the dwellings could have been constructed without indoor plumbing and thus may have had outhouses. It would not be uncommon for these to have been omitted from historic mapping, and given that outhouses often received domestic and personal refuse (whether accidentally or intentionally), they can present archaeologically rich contexts. While the possible lack of indoor plumbing also could have necessitated onsite wells, it is extremely unlikely that in the 1920s/1930s domestic wells would have been open shafts typical of earlier forms. Instead, they would have likely relied on a pump and piping system and thus would not have received the downcast archaeological deposits that older wells often contain.

Upon further examination, however, the potential presence of outhouses seems highly unlikely. An effort was made to determine when water service was made available to the subject properties. They are of too late a construction to have been included in Erikson's (1988) study of the first 1,000 Alexandria Water Company permits (1851-1922), and were not included on 1920s/1930s maps that show local infrastructure. The 1931 Sanborn map, however, shows the east half of the project area block and illustrates the trajectories of contemporaneous water lines. At this time, a 16-inch water main ran down Payne Street, with a 6-inch branch extending west down Madison. A hand-drawn amendment shows an 8-inch branch extending west down Wythe Street, which later Sanborn maps substantiate. Given that the west side of the block was known to have been developed by this time, it can be assumed that the water lines shown on the 1931 Sanborn would have brought water service to the subject dwellings. Therefore, the properties presumably were built with indoor plumbing, leaving little reason to suspect outhouses would have been present.

Consideration was also given to refuse collection services available to the project area's early residents. Absent this service, it is possible that some residents could have discarded their trash in a discrete location of their property, producing midden deposits that can be valuable archaeological resources. It is equally possible that they would have devised other means for refuse disposal, but the possibility for early twentieth century middens has to be evaluated.

While it was difficult to determine, it appears that Alexandria enjoyed regular, systematic garbage collection for nearly a decade before the project area was occupied. According to a March 31, 1920 column in the *Alexandria Gazette* entitled "Garbage Collection New Ordinance", the Health Department crafted "An Ordinance to provide for the storage, collection, and disposal of garbage within the limits of the city of Alexandria, Va., to regulate the collection by licensed collectors under the direction of the City Health Officer" (*Alexandria Gazette* 1920:1). It further notes that the ordinance was passed by the City Council and signed by the Mayor on March 26, 1920. The law was intended to fully overhaul the previous, insufficient methods of garbage collection, which relied on the occasional "few farms who came into the city when so disposed, and wandered about at will seeking such garbage as they considered suitable for their hogs to devour" (*Alexandria Gazette* 1920:1). Prior to 1920, there were no garbage regulations in Alexandria. With the passage of the 1920 ordinance, garbage collection occurred twice a week during warm months and once a week during cold months. Furthermore, it specifically forbade depositing garbage in one's own yard, thereby disincentivizing the creation of middens by penalizing the activity.

Given the foregoing considerations, it is highly unlikely that the project area includes the locations of former buildings, outhouses, open wells, or middens. The only other potential sources of discrete, archaeologically significant deposits considered for these properties may be those produced as a result of occupants' engagement in an onsite cottage industry of some kind (e.g.,

woodworking, smithing). Occupational data from census, directory, and military records provides no evidence for such activities.

6.2.4 Archaeological Potential

Based on the considerations presented above, the project area has a low potential to contain potentially significant archaeological resources. Potentially significant prehistoric resources are not anticipated given the dearth of prehistoric artifacts recovered from the 34 nearby archaeological sites; the project area's pre-urbanization quarter-mile distance from the nearest significant water source (Ewing's 1845 depiction of a Hooff's Run tributary notwithstanding); and the disturbed soils likely produced as a result of the project area's twentieth century urban development. While the recovery of nine lithics from 44AX0223 demonstrates that prehistoric artifacts can occur in nearby, developed areas relatively distant from pre-urbanization water sources, these represent insignificant deposits with a fairly small chance of discovery.

Potentially significant historic resources are not anticipated, despite that the project area has changed little since it was first developed in the late 1920s/early 1930s. However, it is precisely because the properties were developed relatively late in the historic period that they have a low potential for significant archaeological resources. First, no historic resources predating the 1926 Thomas subdivision are anticipated, as documentary sources furnished no evidence to suggest prior improvements or intensive land uses. Second, the early twentieth century built environment has remained relatively highly stable up to the present, excepting the loss of the dwelling at 1319 Wythe Street; as noted, however, any potential remnants of this house are not likely to be significant given its historic context. Third and finally, when the properties were developed, they benefited from modern conveniences such as indoor plumbing and garbage collection, thus precluding the creation of potentially archaeologically rich deposits associated with outhouses, middens, and open wells. Lacking evidence for prior occupation, potentially significant remnants of nonextant buildings, and discrete archaeological contexts often associated with high research-value deposits, the potential for significant historic archaeological resources remains low.

This is not to suggest that soils within the project area are culturally sterile; it is entirely expected that diffuse scatters of historic domestic/structural debris will be found around each of the dwellings and likely extending across the yard spaces. However, it is very unlikely that these deposits will have the potential to yield significant information as they probably do not occur in stratified or spatially/functionally discrete loci that can otherwise be attributed to very specific periods.

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7.0 SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

WSA contracted AECOM to conduct a Documentary Study of the proposed Braddock West development on the following parcels in Alexandria, Virginia: 1352, 1356, 1360, and 1362 Madison Street; 711, 715, 719, and 727 N. West Street; and 1323, 1325, 1327, and 1329 Wythe Street. This project proposes to replace the existing twentieth century residential building stock with a seven-story apartment building and is subject to a City of Alexandria DSUP. Furthermore, both the City of Alexandria Board of Architectural Review as well as Alexandria Archaeology have requested a Documentary Study of the project area, with Alexandria Archaeology further requesting an Archaeological Evaluation. The project area corresponds to the legal boundaries of the properties listed above.

The primary goal of the Documentary Study was to develop a historic context for the project area as an aid to understanding and interpreting its use and occupation during the historic period. The primary goal of the Archaeological Evaluation was to determine the project area's potential to contain significant archaeological resources and provide recommendations for additional work, as appropriate.

The Documentary Study revealed that throughout most of the historic period, the project area was almost certainly an undeveloped piece of land. Though land transfer records are incomplete prior to the late nineteenth century, it appears from available documents that all of the property owners held the land in absentia and likely for investment purposes alone. There are no indications that the project area was improved or intensively utilized prior to the twentieth century.

When real estate developer Virginia Thomas acquired the project area as part of the larger N. West-Madison-Payne-Wythe Street block, she subdivided it and sold individual parcels to members of the African-American community. This was consistent with her criticisms of racially discriminatory housing policies and marks one of the early developments in the "Colored" Rosemont neighborhood, part of the larger and predominantly African-American Uptown neighborhood.

For many of the project area's original families, the Thomas subdivision provided their first opportunity to own a home. Some of the households initially consisted of a pair of newlyweds, such as was the case for Robert and Shirley Burke when they purchased 719 N. West Street. Others moved in with large, multigeneration families, such as the Hickmans at 1356 Madison Street. Though there may have been significant variation among the different household incomes, the residents were predominantly working class families. The tenures of some were relatively brief, such as the Jackson family's 10-year residency at 1352 Madison Street, while other were significantly longer, such as Robert L. Burke's and Sherman L. Berry's nearly 60 years at 719 N. West Street and 1327 Wythe Street, respectively. Even once the original owner-occupants sold the properties, many remained in the descendant family and were held by successive generations until WSA's recent acquisitions.

The project area stands as a modest surviving symbol of a historic African-American neighborhood in a portion of the City where many of the early twentieth century dwellings have been lost. The neighborhood emerged at a time when segregationist laws and attitudes kept many African Americans from enjoying the same residential advantages as their white counterparts, in turn leading to the creation of neighborhoods that have been nationally recognized as historically and socially significant properties. As part of the African-American neighborhood Uptown, the project

area was included in the National Register Uptown/Parker-Gray Historic District, with each of the extant, original dwellings considered to be contributing resources to this important cultural landscape.

The Archaeological Evaluation revealed that the project area has a low potential to contain potentially significant prehistoric and/or historic archaeological resources. This is based on carefully considered environmental, cultural, and historic factors that collectively do not favor the formation and/or preservation of such resources.

Potentially significant prehistoric resources are unlikely given the pre-urbanization distance from water; the very limited occurrence of any prehistoric artifacts among the 34 registered archaeological sites in the vicinity; and the presumably disturbed nature of the project area soils. Potentially significant historic resources are unlikely given that the property was unimproved prior to the late 1920s; its historic building stock has remained relatively stable since first constructed (the sole nonextant building site is unlikely to contain potentially significant deposits); and it is unlikely to contain significant archaeological deposits such as outhouse, well, or midden remnants due to the availability of city water and trash collection services since first constructed. There are no other indications that potentially significant deposits/features can reasonably be expected within the project area, though generalized domestic and structural debris scatters are predicted throughout most of the project area.

Given the project area's low archaeological potential, AECOM recommends no further work. However, AECOM recognizes that archaeological resources may be found in unexpected locations and therefore recommends the development and implementation of an unanticipated discoveries plan between WSA and Alexandria Archaeology. This plan should be developed prior to the commencement of any ground disturbing activities.

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Appendix A: Qualifications of Investigators



Peter Regan, MA, is a Registered Professional Archaeologist (RPA) with 13 years of experience in cultural resources management and exceeds the Secretary of the Interior's professional qualifications for archaeology and history. He specializes in historic site analyses, research, and developing public outreach platforms for archaeological sites and other places of cultural interest. Mr. Regan has worked throughout the United States for numerous federal, state, municipal, and private clients on a wide variety of sites under all phases of excavation. In addition to extensive compliance-driven experience, Mr. Regan has served as a volunteer research consultant for archaeology and cultural outreach projects and is Vice Chair of Frederick, Maryland's Historic Preservation Commission.

