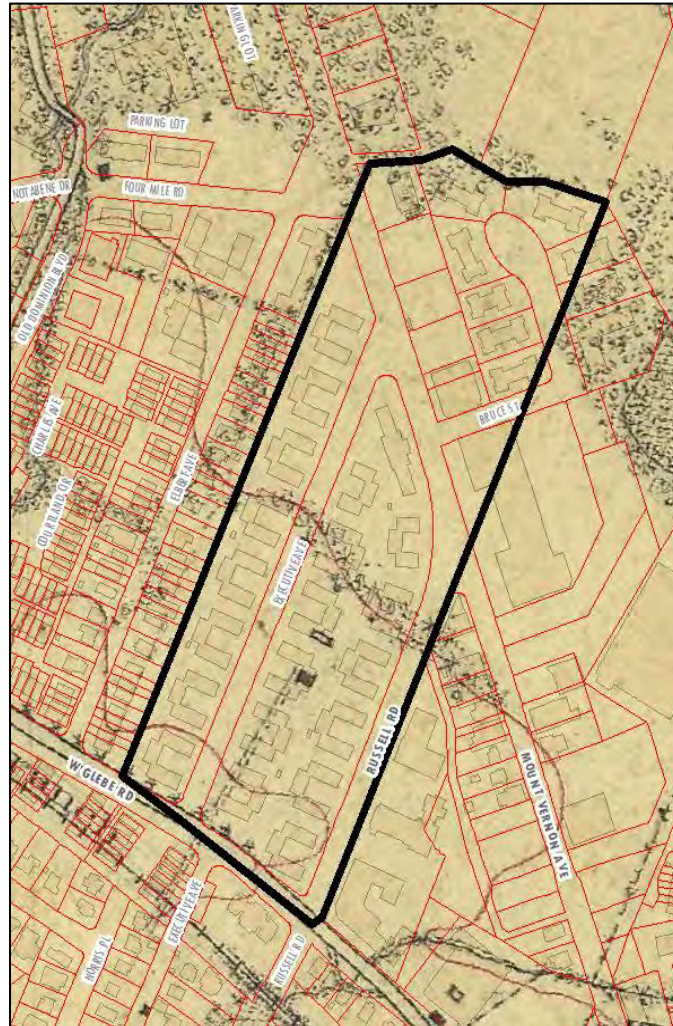


Alexandria County Almshouse and Burial Ground

Alexandria County Board of Supervisors Property ca. 1880s-1920s



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Introduction

Recent research by Alexandria Archaeology, a division of the Office of Historic Alexandria, a department of the City of Alexandria, Virginia, has identified the location of a previously undocumented historic cemetery within the modern boundaries of the City of Alexandria. This cemetery was associated with and located at the Alexandria County almshouse, which was established, owned, and operated by Alexandria County (today known as Arlington County and not to be confused with the City of Alexandria) between approximately 1880 and 1900. Records suggest the County used this cemetery between approximately 1891 and 1918, before selling the property in 1919. This almshouse and cemetery were on County-owned land, located between West Glebe Road and Four Mile Run, bounded on the east by Russell Road, and currently intersected by Mount Vernon Avenue in what is now the Arlandria/Chirilagua neighborhood of the City of Alexandria (Figures 1-2). The City of Alexandria annexed this area from the County in 1930.

In 1939, the cemetery was rediscovered by excavation crews linked to the construction of one of the current Presidential Gardens apartment buildings. The full extent of the cemetery was not then determined, and an unknown number of human remains were disinterred, collected, and reburied at the City's potter's field, Penny Hill Cemetery. The exact location of this cemetery at the former almshouse lot is currently unknown; however, the sequence of construction at the site suggests an area in the southwest quadrant of the lot, close to the location of the former almshouse (see Figure 32). The extensive development of this parcel, including the extension of Mount Vernon Avenue through the property and the construction of the Presidential Gardens and Beverly Plaza subdivisions, may have impacted additional buried cultural resources (including graves), but the extent of this impact is not currently known.

This report presents the findings of extensive archival research and looks at the history of Alexandria County's almshouse, paying close attention to the potential for buried human remains on the property and the 20th century development of the site. It also examines the support given to needy residents from the 1870s through the 1920s to provide context for the County's use of the property. This periodization aligns with Progressivism, in which American reformers increasingly demanded that the government address the social and economic issues facing the nation. Progressive ideals also play out in Alexandria County's turn-of-the-century policies towards poverty, long-term illness, and aging that facilitated the establishment of a variety of public and private institutions to provide care.

Beginnings

The practice of building almshouses, also known as workhouses, poorhouses, and/or poor farms, originated in Elizabethan England with the passage of a series of laws known collectively as the Poor Law (1601). The Poor Law required that each Anglican parish offer two types of

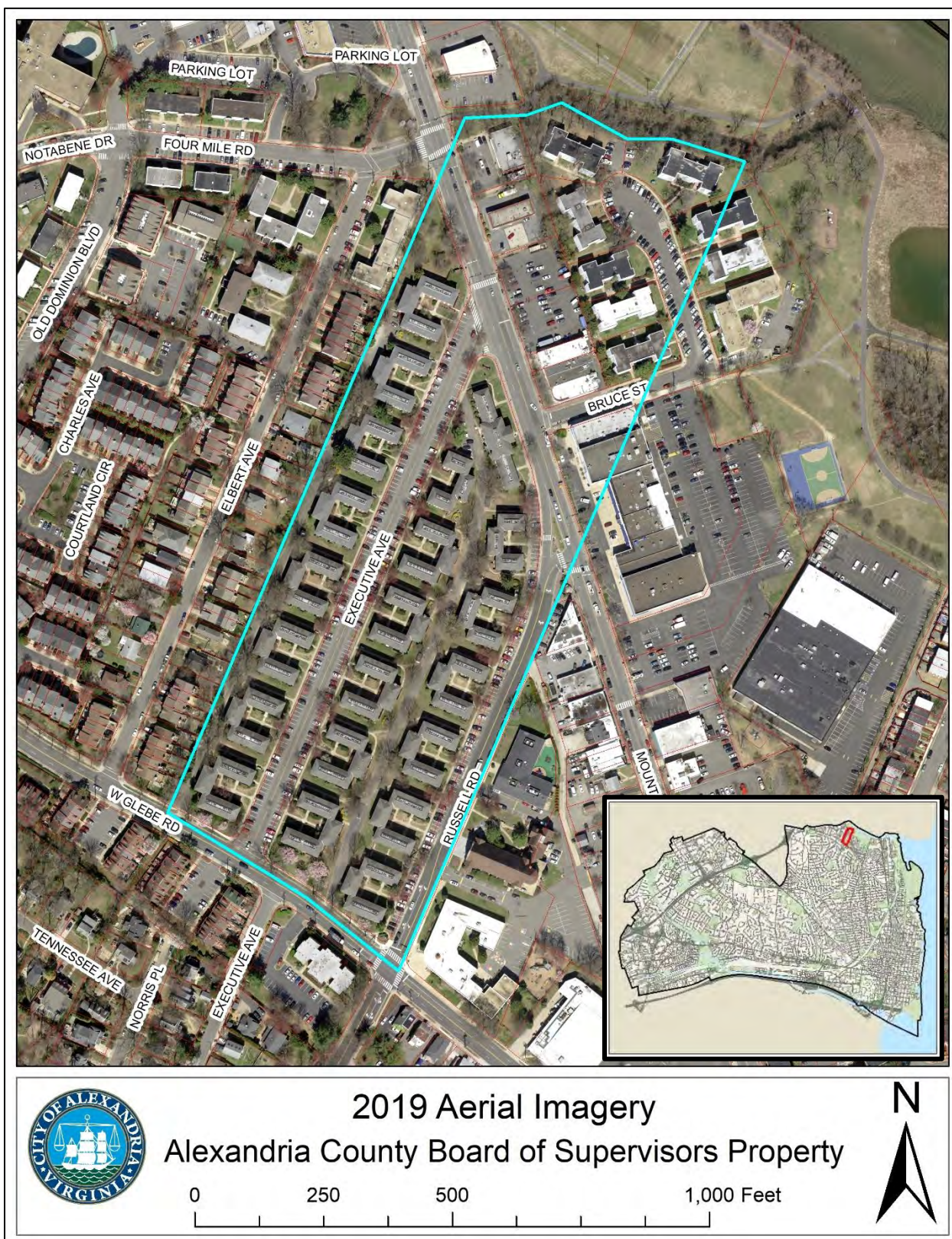


Figure 1. 2019 Aerial Imagery, location of former Alexandria [renamed Arlington] County almshouse property.

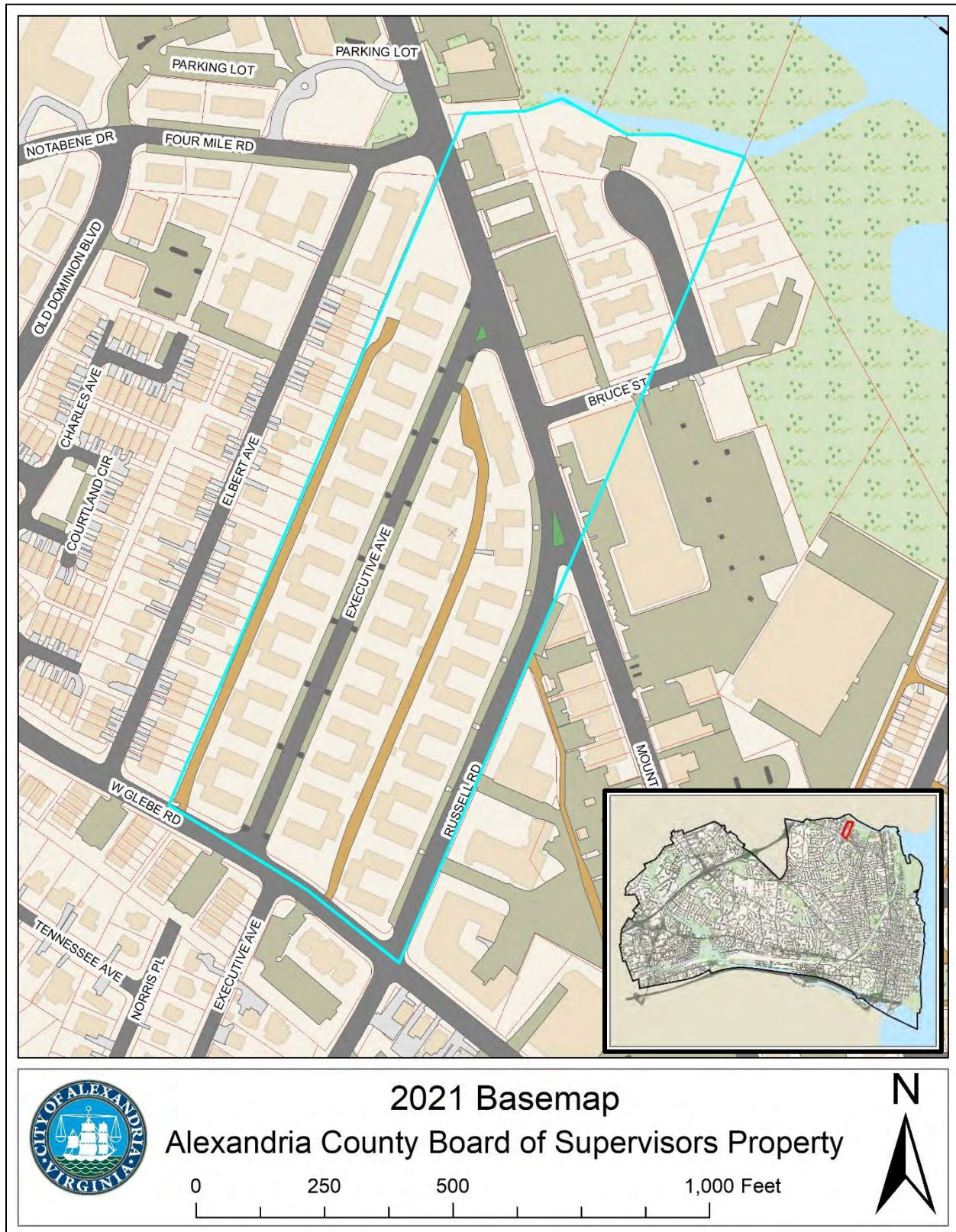


Figure 2. City of Alexandria Basemap, showing location of former Alexandria [renamed Arlington] County almshouse property.

relief, indoor (inside an almshouse) or outdoor (outside an almshouse), for indigent members. Virginia, an Anglican-affiliated colony, followed this practice until the American Revolution when the responsibilities of the Anglican Church were transferred to the newly formed county and municipal governments.¹

The town of Alexandria elected overseers of the poor for each city ward starting in 1785 when the Virginia General Assembly first mandated that local governments provide support.² Virginia's law required proof of residency for at least one year to access public support. Transient poor, a common problem in Virginia's seaports including Alexandria, were to be returned to their home counties or states.³ A year later, in 1786, Alexandria's overseers of the poor, James Wren, Robert Hooe, and William Brown, established a home where impoverished residents could live. The early Alexandria almshouse was located on property owned by William Summers. When he died in 1797, his executors first advertised his "Valuable Property now in the occupation of the Corporation as Poor and Work-Houses" for sale in 1801, and did so again in 1807, explicitly describing it as "A piece of Ground on Pitt and Princess-streets, containing nearly half an acre, subject to an annual rent of 25 dollars per annum, where the old poor-house stands."⁴

Although Alexandria's overseers of the poor had established a work farm as early as 1786, the corporation council passed legislation to establish an almshouse in 1800. A keeper of the poor, another elected position, was to manage the home. Residents included those unable to work and without family to support them, and those deemed to be the idle poor. The corporation council also permitted slave holders to send enslaved men and women to the facility. In her 2006 dissertation, Mary Ellen Henry conjectures that slaveholders used the almshouse when they decided not to provide long-term medical care or became frustrated with abled-bodied persons who refused to work. Thus, both Black and white residents, including enslaved, lived in Alexandria's early almshouse.⁵

On February 5, 1800, the Alexandria City Council authorized the establishment of the Alexandria almshouse, located along what is now East Monroe Avenue (previously known as Poor House Lane) and is presently within the footprint of a dog park at Eugene Simpson Stadium Park. In March 1803, city leaders solicited plans for the construction of this new poorhouse, just a couple of miles north of the city.⁶ By May, they were seeking proposals from

¹ Elna C. Green, *This Business of Relief: Confronting Poverty in a Southern City, 1740-1940* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 9-21.

² Mary Ellen Henry, *Refuge from Want?: Virginia's Almshouses, 1870-1930* (Ph.D. diss., American University, 2006), 24.

³ Henry, 25.

⁴ "Valuable Property," *Times and District of Columbia Daily Advertiser* May 14, 1801, 4; "Public Sale," *Alexandria Daily Advertiser*, July 16, 1807, 4. See also "Alexandria Corporation, in Account with William Summers, Deceased," *Times and District of Columbia Daily Advertiser*, February 8, 1798, 5.

⁵ Henry, 26-27.

⁶ "In Council," *Alexandria Expositor* March 7, 1803, 1.

carpenters and bricklayers to work on “a plan adopted by the Council and lodged with the Mayor.”⁷ A year later, City Council appropriated \$2,000 “to the finishing of the Poor House, and the enclosing of the ten acres of land adjoining.” By February 1805, proposals were solicited “from persons desirous of undertaking the Superintendence of the new Poor House.”⁸

Several prior works document the history of this almshouse, including a 2006 dissertation *Refuge from Want?: Virginia’s Almshouses, 1870-1930* by Mary Ellen Henry, *Alexandria Paupers’ Deaths, 1813-1904* by Timothy J. Dennée, “The Alexandria Alms House and Work House” by Ruth M. Ward, and the documentary study of Eugene Simpson Stadium Park. In the early 1930s, the Historic American Buildings Survey documented the structure with photographs and measured drawings.⁹ Given the presence of the City’s almshouse, it is often difficult to discern the Alexandria County almshouse in the historical record. The shifting jurisdictional boundaries between the City of Alexandria and Alexandria County, the similarity of the names of those two jurisdictions, and the fact that both jurisdictions had similar properties and institutions located in Alexandria County’s Jefferson District contribute to the confusion. This second, County-run facility is identified and briefly discussed in *A Cultural History of Arlandria-Chirilagua* by Anna Maas (pages 29-30, 42); however, her analysis of the 1900 U.S. Census conflates the two almshouses, which speaks to the difficulties of this research.¹⁰

As with other poorhouses, Alexandria’s building was located on the outskirts of town, presumably to keep residents isolated and out-of-sight of the public. The population of Alexandria’s poorhouse fluctuated between twenty-five and thirty persons, a relatively small population in comparison to larger, southern cities.¹¹ The 1860 US Census, however, documents that Alexandria’s poorhouse was home to over sixty residents, almost evenly split between men and women and mostly white.¹² Elected officials expected those who were able-bodied to work at the poorhouse, a common practice in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries tied to the belief that forced labor would teach people to avoid idleness. The work tended to be gendered, with men tasked with farming while women were assigned domestic chores. Financial statements relating to the City’s poorhouse published in the newspaper indicate that residents

⁷ “In Council,” *Alexandria Expositor* May 9, 1803, 3.

⁸ “An Act,” *Alexandria Daily Advertiser* July 14, 1804, 2; “In Common Council,” *Alexandria Expositor* February 18, 1805; Henry, 27-29.

⁹ Mary Ellen Henry, *Refuge from Want?: Virginia’s Almshouses, 1870-1930* (Ph.D. diss., American University, 2006); Dennee 2008; Ruth M. Ward, “The Alexandria Alms House and Work House,” *Alexandria Historical Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (October 1980) 64-67; Kathleen Jockel Schneider, John P. Mullen, and David Carroll, *Eugene Simpson Stadium Park, Documentary Study*, 2021 (on file, Alexandria Archaeology); Alexandria Alms House, Alexandria, Independent City, VA, Historic American Building Survey, accessed March 8, 2022, <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/hh/item/va1089/>.

¹⁰ Anna Maas, *A Cultural History of Arlandria-Chirilagua, City of Alexandria, Virginia*, Prepared for City of Alexandria Department of Planning and Zoning (Baltimore, MD: Environmental Research Group, LLC, 2021).

¹¹ Henry, 16.

¹² Henry, 36-37.

were making oakum (a caulking material used in ship building consisting of animal hair or rope fibers mixed with tar or pitch), growing turnips, and manufacturing “sundry articles” for sale.¹³

The American Civil War brought significant disruption to Alexandria’s social fabric, including its support for the poor. In December 1861, Robert Hodgkin (also spelled Hodgkins) took the place of James Stevenson as keeper of the poor. Although the almshouse continued to operate throughout the war, its number of residents declined from sixty-one to thirty-eight between August 1860 and January 1862.¹⁴ Thousands of refugees also fled to Alexandria to find freedom and escape the impact of the war; however, they received aid, including housing and food, through the federal government. Finally, Union soldiers briefly lived in the facility in 1862; however, after repeated mistreatment, Hodgkin stopped offering room and board to soldiers.¹⁵ In April 1863, Hodgkin resigned his position, and a joint meeting of the board of aldermen and common council selected John T. Sherwood as his replacement. Sherwood held this position until April 1865.¹⁶

Despite the radical changes that occurred in American society during and after the American Civil War, Alexandria’s poorhouse continued to provide room, board, and sometimes employment. However, in 1870 with the ratification of a new State constitution, the establishment of the City of Alexandria as a separate political entity from the County meant that elected positions and local services had to be reallocated between them. The City of Alexandria continued to operate the poorhouse, even though it was located in Alexandria County, and elected city residents managed the property. The City actively used its facility until 1927 when a district home near Manassas replaced it, and the structure stood until at least 1949.¹⁷ Meanwhile, the reconstituted Alexandria County needed to establish its own system to care for indigent residents.

¹³ “The Common Council of Alexandria in Account with the Trustees of the Poor and Work House,” *Alexandria Herald* March 5, 1819, 3; “The Trustees,” *Alexandria Herald* March 3, 1820, 3; “Dr. The Trustees of the Poor and Workhouse in Account with James Harris, Keeper,” *Alexandria Gazette & Daily Advertiser* March 6, 1821, 4; “The Poor and Work House,” *Alexandria Herald* March 3, 1823, 3.

¹⁴ 1860 U.S. Census, Alexandria, Virginia, 259-260, accessed December 28, 2021, Ancestry.com; Henry, 36; Ward, 64-66. Ward cites “the ledger of one Robert Hodgkin,” presumably then in the archives of the Arlington Historical Society. This volume contains the Day Book of the Alexandria Alms House and describes the finances of the institution from November 1861 through at least January 1862.

¹⁵ Henry, 36-39.

¹⁶ “City Council—Board of Aldermen,” *Alexandria Gazette* April 29, 1863, 1; “Local News,” *Alexandria Gazette* April 6, 1865, 3.

¹⁷ Timothy J. Dennée, *Alexandria Paupers’ Deaths, 1813-1904*, 2008, The Friends of Freedmen’s Cemetery, accessed March 8, 2022, <http://www.freedmenscemetery.org/resources/documents/paupersdeaths.pdf>. Dennée notes the structure “stood until the late 1930s;” however, it is clearly visible on the 1941 Sanborn Fire Insurance Atlas and in an aerial photograph from 1949. It appears to be gone by 1957.

Establishment of Alexandria County

In 1870, a new Virginia constitution granted to the independent City of Alexandria the same legal status as the surrounding counties. The City and County of Alexandria were split, and the County had to create its own government, separate from the City for the first time. Along with a Board of Supervisors, who ran the County, residents elected several new officers. These elections included candidates from each of the County's three magisterial districts (Jefferson, Arlington, and Washington) as overseers of the poor. The Board of Supervisors also appointed a superintendent of the poor, who oversaw the County's entire welfare system. In the early 1870s, there was no discussion of an almshouse for Alexandria County.

Interestingly, the male citizenry of Alexandria County elected several African American men to public office, including overseers of the poor, during the 1870s and 1880s.¹⁸ African American men were able to vote and run for political office with the passage of the 13th and 14th Amendments followed by a referendum on a new Virginia constitution in 1869 (known as the Underwood Constitution), which enfranchised all male citizens. The County's sizable number of African American elected officials reflected the political power of its African American residents, many of whom lived at Freedmen's Village. A refugee community established in 1863 on Robert E. Lee's former plantation, Arlington, Freedmen's Village provided homes for African Americans who had fled to Washington, D.C. during the Civil War. African Americans continued to live on the property, which the War Department owned, until 1900.¹⁹ A small number of white Radical Republicans, some of whom had migrated to northern Virginia from the Mid-Atlantic Region prior to the Civil War, also aligned themselves with the County's African American electorate.²⁰ In 1870, the male citizens of Alexandria County elected Henry Scott (Arlington) and Benjamin Pollard (Jefferson) as the first overseers of the poor.²¹ Little is known about these two men. Scott appears in the 1870 U.S. Census living in the household of L. Bingham, a 70-year-old African American woman. Scott's occupation was listed as a laborer; the census also notes that

¹⁸ Here is a list of additional African American men who were overseers of the poor in the 1870s and 1880s: Henson Thompson (Arlington; 1874); John Willis Wormley (Jefferson; 1877); Isaac Green (Jefferson; 1883); Shirley Snowden (Washington; 1885); and W. H. Lomax (Arlington; 1887). "Some Black History in Arlington County: A Preliminary Investigation (From the Files of the Historical Research Committee)," *Arlington Historical Magazine* 5, no. 1 (October 1973): 11-17; "Canvass of the Vote in Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* June 16, 1885, 2.

¹⁹ Joseph P. Reidy, "'Coming from the Shadow of the Past': The Transition from Slavery to Freedom at Freedmen's Village, 1863-1900," *The Virginia Magazine of Historic and Biography* 95, no. 4 (October 1987): 403-428.

²⁰ For a discussion of a similar shift in demographics in Fairfax County, see Curtis L. Vaughn, *Freedom is Not Enough: African Americans in Antebellum Fairfax County* (Ph.D. diss., George Mason University, 2014).

²¹ [Oath of] Henry Scott, Overseer of the Poor, Arlington Township, August 1, 1870; [Oath of] Benjamin Pollard, Overseer of the Poor, Jefferson Township, August 1, 1870; Arlington County, Box 1, Official Oaths, 1803-1899, n.d.; Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

he could read and write and was a voter.²² Pollard, like Scott, could read and write and was recognized as a voter. His occupation was listed as “overseer of the poor,” a position that he held for the next six years.²³

The specter of white supremacy, however, quickly appeared within the County’s government structure, including its care for indigent residents. Within a year of Scott and Pollard’s election, George W. Veitch was appointed to be Superintendent of the Poor. The Superintendent of the Poor oversaw the care given to indigent residents by Scott and Pollard, and presumably covered Washington District, which had not elected an overseer of the poor.²⁴ Veitch, a longtime resident of the County, was a Confederate veteran who had served in the Virginia 6th Cavalry throughout the entire war.²⁵ He was later recognized as a member of the Democratic Party and served the County in a variety of elected positions until his death in 1911.²⁶

Throughout the late nineteenth century, Alexandria County’s overseers of the poor provided specific services for indigent residents. For those residents who qualified, the County paid for groceries and clothing. The 1873 annual report from Pollard noted that his district spent \$95.50 for vouchers at local stores.²⁷ An itemized expense statement for November 1880 showed that the County covered the cost of cornmeal, meat, fish, and molasses for several needy residents. A few were also able to purchase sugar, tea, flour, and soap. Two recipients bought clothing, including socks, shoes, and shirts.²⁸

The overseers of the poor, along with a handful of County residents, provided long term care for disabled, sick, and elderly residents in their homes. Pollard’s 1873 annual report noted that he was reimbursed “\$4.50 for caring for a pauper.”²⁹ In the mid-1870s, the *Alexandria Gazette* reported that William Williams cared for two small children who were abandoned by their mother at his house with support from the County. Pollard was authorized to “bind out [the

²² 1870 U.S. Census, Arlington Township, Alexandria County, Virginia, 16, accessed December 29, 2021, Ancestry.com.

²³ 1870 U.S. Census, Jefferson Township, Alexandria County, Virginia, 22, accessed December 29, 2021, Ancestry.com; “County Election,” *Alexandria Gazette* May 28, 1875, 3.

²⁴ “Local News,” *Alexandria Gazette* February 5, 1872, 3; George C. Seaton, “County Levy, 1871,” *Alexandria Gazette* March 16, 1872, 2.

²⁵ “Special Schedule—Surviving Soldiers, Sailors, and Marines, and Widows,” Arlington District, Alexandria County, 1890, 2, accessed December 29, 2021, Ancestry.com; “Funeral of G. W. Veitch,” *Washington Post* May 10, 1911, 3.

²⁶ “A Hume Campaign Club,” *Washington Post* October 23, 1890, 2.

²⁷ Overseer of the Poor Report, March 5, 1874, Arlington Miscellaneous, ca. 1780-1903 [Papers]; Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

²⁸ Itemized Bills [Lots] to H.S. Johnston, November 1880, Arlington Miscellaneous, ca. 1780-1903 [Papers]; Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

²⁹ Overseer of the Poor Report, March 5, 1874, Arlington Miscellaneous, ca. 1780-1903 [Papers]; Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

children] till they attain their majority,” that is, they were obligated to work for others in a kind of a forced apprenticeship, and that they were “chargeable as paupers against the county.”³⁰

Sometimes, the County did not recognize the support that residents gave to the County’s poor. In 1877, Hampshire Fractious petitioned the Board of Supervisors to be compensated for the support that he had given to John Lumpkin, an elderly African American resident. Fractious, an African American landowner who had migrated to northern Virginia during the Civil War, complained that he had supplied food, clothing, and furniture along with laundry services for Lumpkin for over a year. In his petition, he stated that he wanted the County to pay him \$75 for his previous support and \$8 a month in the future.³¹ Unfortunately, the response from the Board of Supervisors to Fractious’ request is unknown; however, Lumpkin was listed as a “pauper” who was “kept by Fractious” in the 1880 U.S. Census. The 1880 “Federal Census Schedule of Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes” also noted that an unnamed County resident was providing care for Lumpkin, likely Fractious.³²

Alexandria County Almshouse

Throughout the 1870s, Alexandria County residents used many of the same municipal facilities as they had prior to the split with the City, but by the end of the decade, County residents began to discuss the need for separate facilities to run their local government. The County and City shared the courthouse and jail, which was located in the City on Columbus Street; however, while the City’s poorhouse was located in the County, it was legally owned by the City and did not function as a joint facility. In at least one instance, the City and County went to court about whose responsibility it was to provide care for an indigent individual. In 1882, the City sued the

³⁰ “A Runaway Mother,” *Alexandria Gazette* July 29, 1875, 3; “The Pauper Question—Two Negro Babies,” *Alexandria Gazette* August 3, 1875, 3; “County Court,” *Alexandria Gazette* March 1, 1876, 3.

³¹ [Petition of Hampshire Fractious], June 5, 1877, Arlington Miscellaneous, ca. 1780-1903 [Papers]; Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia; Alexandria Deed Book X-3-98; Land Deed Office, Alexandria Courthouse, Alexandria, VA; Arlington County Deed Books A-4-243; D-4-243; 111-409, Arlington County Courthouse, Arlington, VA; John Lumpkin Death Record, October 28, 1888, Virginia Deaths and Burials Index, 1853-1917; 1870 U.S. Census, Jefferson Township, Alexandria County, Virginia, 29-30, accessed July 15, 2016, Ancestry.com.

³² 1880 U.S. Census, Jefferson Township, Alexandria County, Virginia, Enumeration District No. 7, 11, accessed December 29, 2021, Ancestry.com.

Among Alexandria County’s 1880 U.S. Census entries, there were a few other people listed as “paupers.” Henry H. Williams, age 43, lived in the home of Nelson Wood, a “farm hand.” Caesar (Ceaser/Ceasar) Corbin, age 84, lived with William Williams, a farmer and possibly the same person who cared for two children in 1875-1876. John Bummery, age 85, lived with another farmer, James Pearson. 1880 U.S. Census, Jefferson Township, Alexandria County, Virginia, Enumeration District 7, 20-21; accessed December 29, 2021, Ancestry.com.

The 1880 Federal Census Schedule for Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes for Alexandria provides additional information about the county’s four paupers: “All of the above Paupers are in the Poor or Alms House for the City of Alexandria, Except Nos. 1, 26, 27, 28, all of whom are kept by the County of Alexandria in Private families as may be seen by the re???? to the pages.” Additionally, it notes that Bummery appears to have lived at Freedmen’s Village but received support from Alexandria County. Williams, the youngest of the four men, was described as “very feeble, having a pulmonary affliction.” 1880 Federal Census Schedule of Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes, Alexandria, Virginia, 78; accessed March 19, 2022, Ancestry.com.

County for \$1,370 for its support of Joseph Jacobs, who had lived in the City's almshouse from March 1870 until his death in April 1881. The City claimed that Jacobs was a County resident when he was admitted, and therefore was the County's responsibility. The court sided with the County, noting that it should not have taken the City over a decade to notify Alexandria County about any responsibility it had towards Jacobs.³³

To establish a more defined separation between the City and County, and to offset the costs of supporting the poor, Alexandria County residents demanded that local leaders establish their own poorhouse.³⁴

On June 20, 1878, County residents met at the Walker Schoolhouse to discuss the establishment of a poorhouse. At the meeting, Jefferson Tacey, Alexandria County's Treasurer, described the assistance that the County then gave poor residents, which was recounted in the *Alexandria Gazette*:

Mr. Tacey said the permanent paupers were, by order of the Superintendent of the Poor, put under the charge of some person or family, and that person or family would receive a certain sum of money every month from the county for the support of that pauper, which arrangement, said Mr. Tacey, very often gave dissatisfaction. He then referred to another class, which he termed temporary paupers—those that spend their money carelessly during the working months of the year, and when winter comes have nothing to live upon; they then represent themselves to the Superintendent of the Poor as being destitute and suffering, and he gives them an order on same store for so much provision, the said orders being paid by order of the County Supervisors.³⁵

Instead of this practice, some residents wanted to establish a poorhouse, much like other jurisdictions in the region. To fund the project, they hoped that the County could sell its portion of the courthouse and jail in the City of Alexandria and use the proceeds to pay for land and a poorhouse.³⁶ Demands for a poorhouse were tied to the rising costs of providing care for indigent residents, which had reportedly doubled between 1875 and 1877. Debates about a poorhouse, however, intersected local racial politics and the role of the federal government in the region.³⁷ A handful of County residents complained that many of the poor lived at

³³ "Alexandria Annals," *Washington Post* April 19, 1881, 4; "Decision Against the City," *Alexandria Gazette* November 9, 1882, 4.

³⁴ "Board of Supervisors," *Alexandria Gazette* January 5, 1876, 3; "Board of Supervisors," *Alexandria Gazette* February 8, 1876, 3.

³⁵ "The Proposed County Poor's House," *Alexandria Gazette* June 24, 1878, 2.

³⁶ For more information, see "The Court House Suit," *Alexandria Gazette*, April 2, 1897, 3; "Decided in Favor of the City," *Alexandria Gazette*, June 21, 1897, 3; and "The Old Court House Property," *Alexandria Gazette*, March 15, 1901, 3.

³⁷ In 1876, the Board of Supervisors requested that Edmund Burke, the county's commonwealth attorney, petition Congress to reimburse Alexandria County for expenses tied to its support of Freedmen's Village. "Board of

Freedmen's Village and wanted federal monies to cover the services provided by the County to those living on federal land. Additionally, repeated threats from the federal government to close Freedmen's Village propelled African American families to move to nearby neighborhoods, such as Green Valley, East Arlington, and Queen City. In response, white residents worried about the impact of Alexandria County's growing African American neighborhoods on local governance, including care for the poor.³⁸ Meeting attendees established a committee "to take into consideration the most feasible plan of providing for the poor of the County, and that if the committee deem the erection of a poor's house expedient, to take into consideration the entire matter and report at a meeting subject to a call of the chairman of the select committee."³⁹

While the committee's report has not been found, it appears that their recommendation was to establish an almshouse for Alexandria County. On February 19, 1880, the Virginia legislature approved "An ACT authorizing the conveyance of the state's interest in a lot of land in Alexandria county, of which James Hilton died seized, and which has escheated to the commonwealth, to said county for poor-house purposes."⁴⁰ The text of this act reads:

- 1) Be it enacted by the general assembly of Virginia, That the commonwealth's attorney for the county of Alexandria be and he is hereby authorized and directed to convey by proper deed to the county of Alexandria all of the interest of the commonwealth in and to a lot of land situate in said county which has been escheated as the property of James Hilton, deceased.
- 2) Said land shall be devoted to and used for the purposes of a poor-house, and the interest hereby authorized to be conveyed shall revert to the commonwealth upon the failure of such use.
- 3) Upon accepting the deed for said property the county of Alexandria shall pay all proper costs and charges incurred in and about the escheat and proposed sale of said land.
- 4) This act shall be in force from its passage.

Hilton had purchased this property on Four Mile Run in 1870 from the descendants of Lewis A. Sherwood after a judge ruled that the property should not be subdivided. The decision to not subdivide was tied to the quality of the land and its overall value. Robert F. Knox, an Alexandria-

Supervisors," *Alexandria Gazette* December 5, 1877, 3; "Board of Supervisors," *Alexandria Gazette* September 19, 1878, 3; "Proposed Poor's House for the County," *Alexandria Gazette* June 22, 1878, 3; "The Proposed County Poor's House," *Alexandria Gazette* June 24, 1878, 2.

³⁸ Lindsey Bestebreurtje, *Built by the People Themselves—African American Community Development in Arlington, Virginia, from the Civil War through Civil Rights* (PhD Diss., George Mason University, 2017).

³⁹ "Proposed Poor's House for the County," *Alexandria Gazette* June 22, 1878, 3; "The Proposed County Poor's House," *Alexandria Gazette* June 24, 1878, 2.

⁴⁰ *Acts and Joint Resolutions: Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia During the Session of 1879-80* (Richmond, VA: R. F. Walker, Superintendent Public Printing, 1880), 75, accessed December 11, 2021, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009790628>; "County Supervisors," *Alexandria Gazette* February 11, 1886, 4.

based real estate broker, noted that the property consisted “of a light sandy soil” that would be worthless if it was subdivided. John P. Baggott, a neighbor, also commented that the “land is pretty poor at present.”⁴¹

Because of the condition of the soil, it is unclear how previous owners used the land prior to the Civil War. For most of the early-to-mid-nineteenth century, the Swann family had owned the property as part of Preston Farm, their plantation located where Four Mile Run emptied into the Potomac River. Enslaved men and women farmed their estate, but it is unclear whether this section was under active cultivation.⁴² While there is some disagreement, several Civil War-era maps show the property as mostly cleared, fronting along what is now West Glebe Road (formerly Georgetown Road) (Figures 3-8).⁴³ These maps show the railroad running adjacent and to the south of the road. Additionally, a fence ran along the western property boundary and perhaps along the eastern boundary as well. Finally, a low, marshy area to the north of the property was marked off by a tributary of Four Mile Run. Only one map, the *Environs of Washington Map* (1864-1866), identified a single structure on the southern portion of the property located near Georgetown Road (Figure 6).⁴⁴ Some of these maps also indicated the presence of temporary Civil War encampments either on this property or on adjacent property to the east. It is also possible that encampments appeared in both areas. A Civil War-era sketch of Four Mile Run valley also shows the vicinity of the property.⁴⁵ This view includes Fort Blenker (later renamed Fort Reynolds), one of the 68 forts that encircled the nation’s capital as part of the Defenses of Washington, with an *abatis* in the foreground. Fort Scott appears to the northeast in the distance. The future Board of Supervisors property is located in the valley on the left side of the image (Figure 9).

Hilton had reportedly emigrated from Great Britain and lived on the property alone until his death in 1876. Unable to find any heirs (including possible heirs in Great Britain), the land

⁴¹ *Jesse R. Sherwood vs. Ellen Sherwood and Others*, 1870, Virginia Memory: Chancery Records Index, accessed January 3, 2022, https://www.lva.virginia.gov/chancery/case_detail.asp?CFN=013-1870-029; Arlington County Deed Book A4-111; Arlington County Deed Books, Arlington County Courthouse, Arlington, Virginia.

⁴² Arlington County Deed Book X-Z 9-160, X-Z 9-161, X-Z 9-169, X3-571; Will Book 7-126; Arlington County Courthouse, Arlington, Virginia.

⁴³ *Map of the Ground of Occupation and Defense of the Division of the U.S. Army in Virginia*, U.S. Coast Survey, 1861; *Right Bank of Potomac River*, United States Army, Engineer Department, 1861; United States Army, Corps of Engineers, *Detailed Map of Part of Virginia*, ca. 1860, Library of Congress, accessed March 6, 2021, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2001627680/>; *Environs of Washington*, 1864-6, RG 77, Records of the Office of Chief of Engineers, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; J. G. Barnard, “Defenses of Washington,” 1865, in *A Report on the Defenses of Washington* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1871); U.S. Coast Survey [multiple sheet mosaic], 1863-5, Office of the Coast Survey archive, on file, Alexandria Archaeology.

⁴⁴ “Environs of Washington,” 1864-6, RG 77, Records of the Office of Chief of Engineers, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁴⁵ Alfred Waud, *Valley of 4 Mile Run*, 1861-1863, Library of Congress, accessed April 23, 2022, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004660499/>.

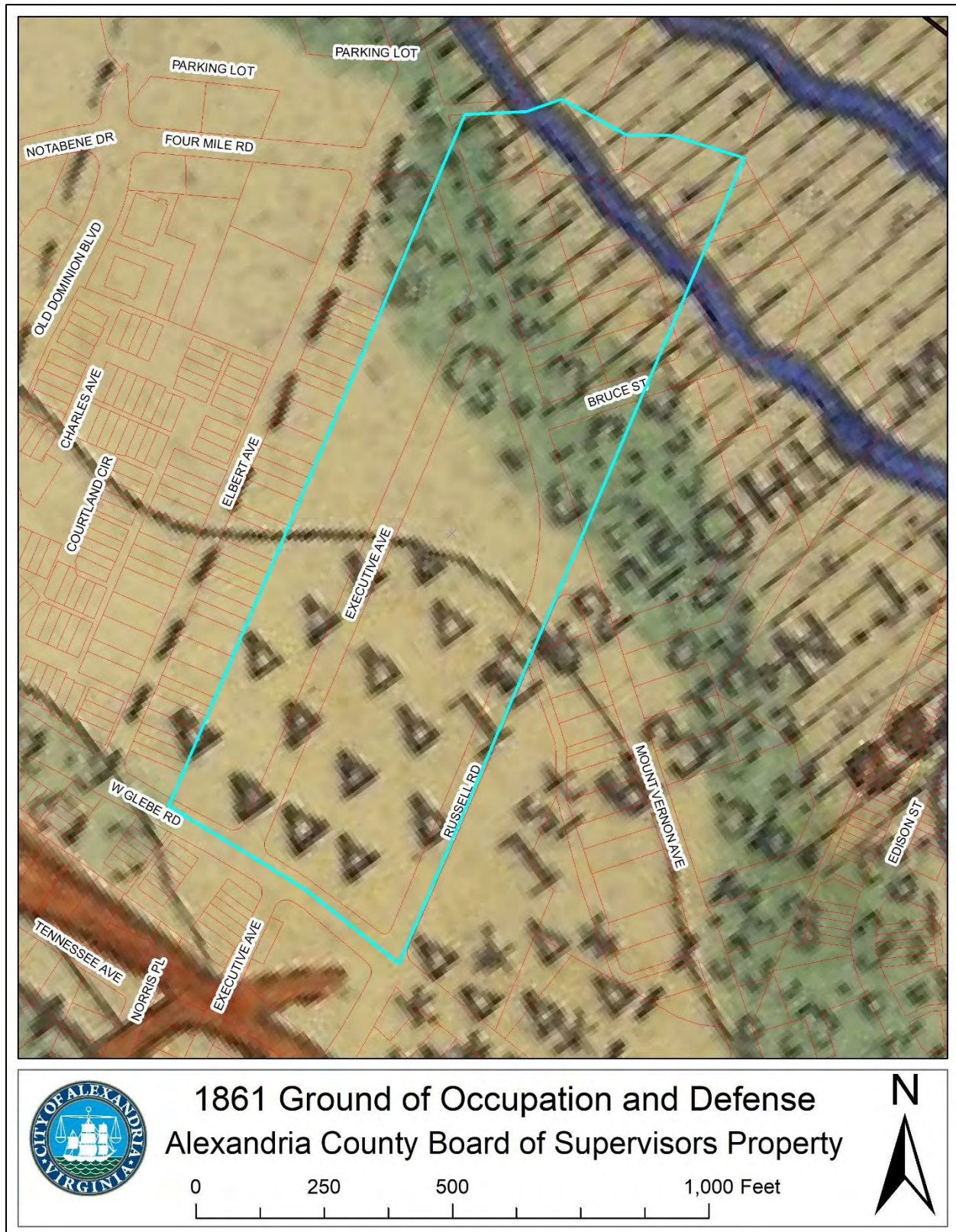


Figure 3. 1861 Map of the Ground of Occupation and Defense of the Division of the U.S. Army in Virginia, U.S. Coast Survey, 1861.

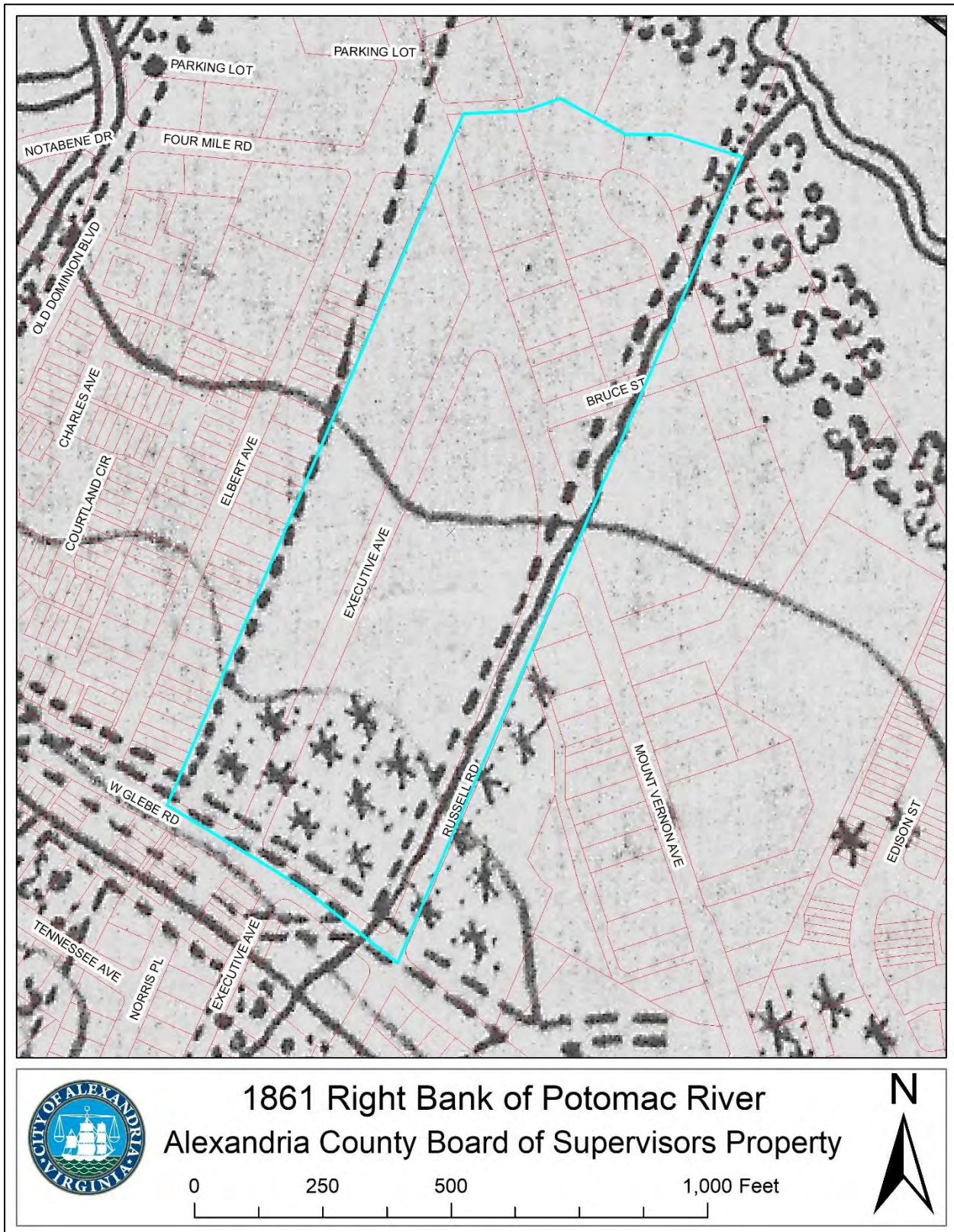


Figure 4. Right Bank of Potomac River, United States Army, Engineer Department, 1861.

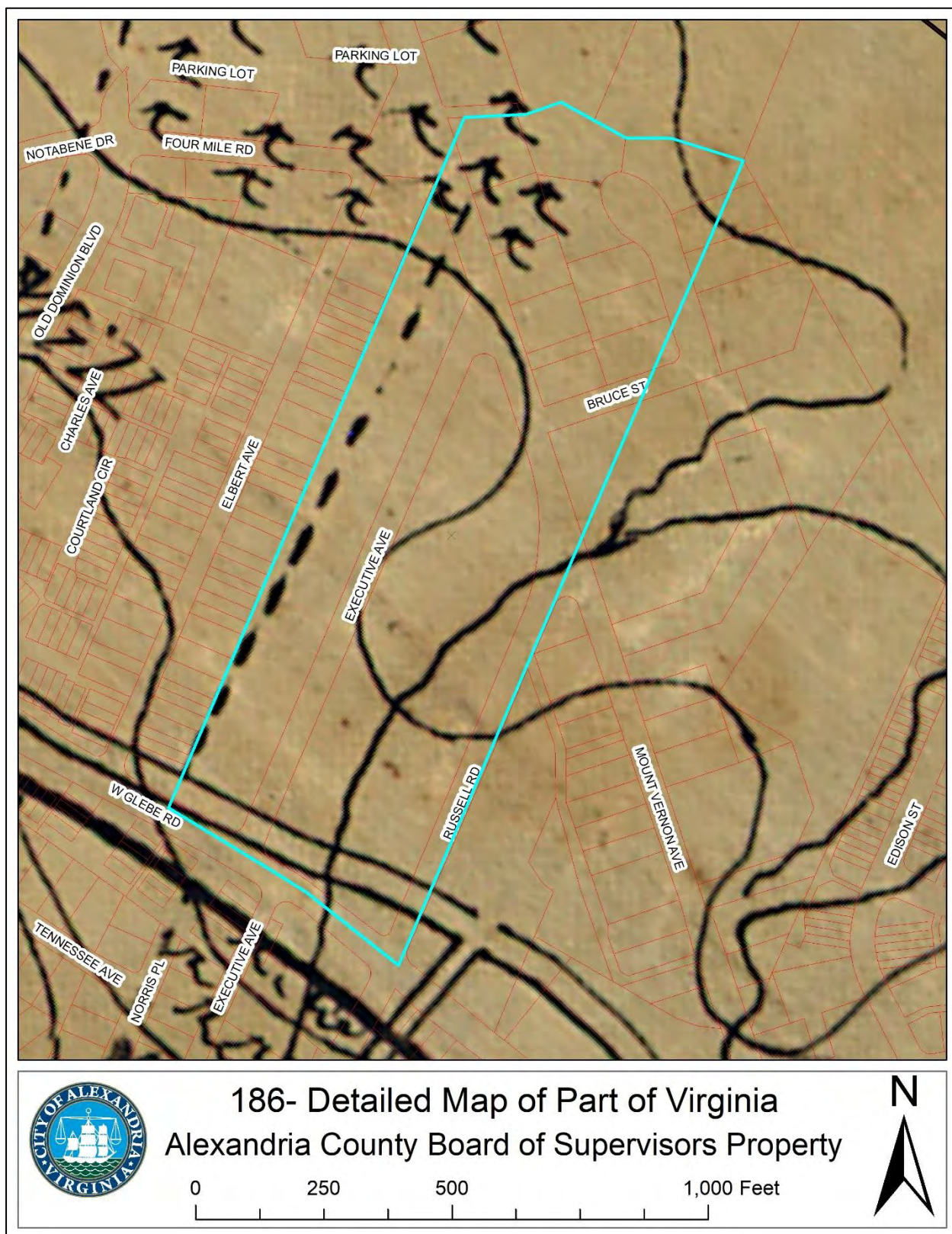


Figure 5. Detailed Map of Part of Virginia, ca. 1860, Army Corps of Engineers, Library of Congress,

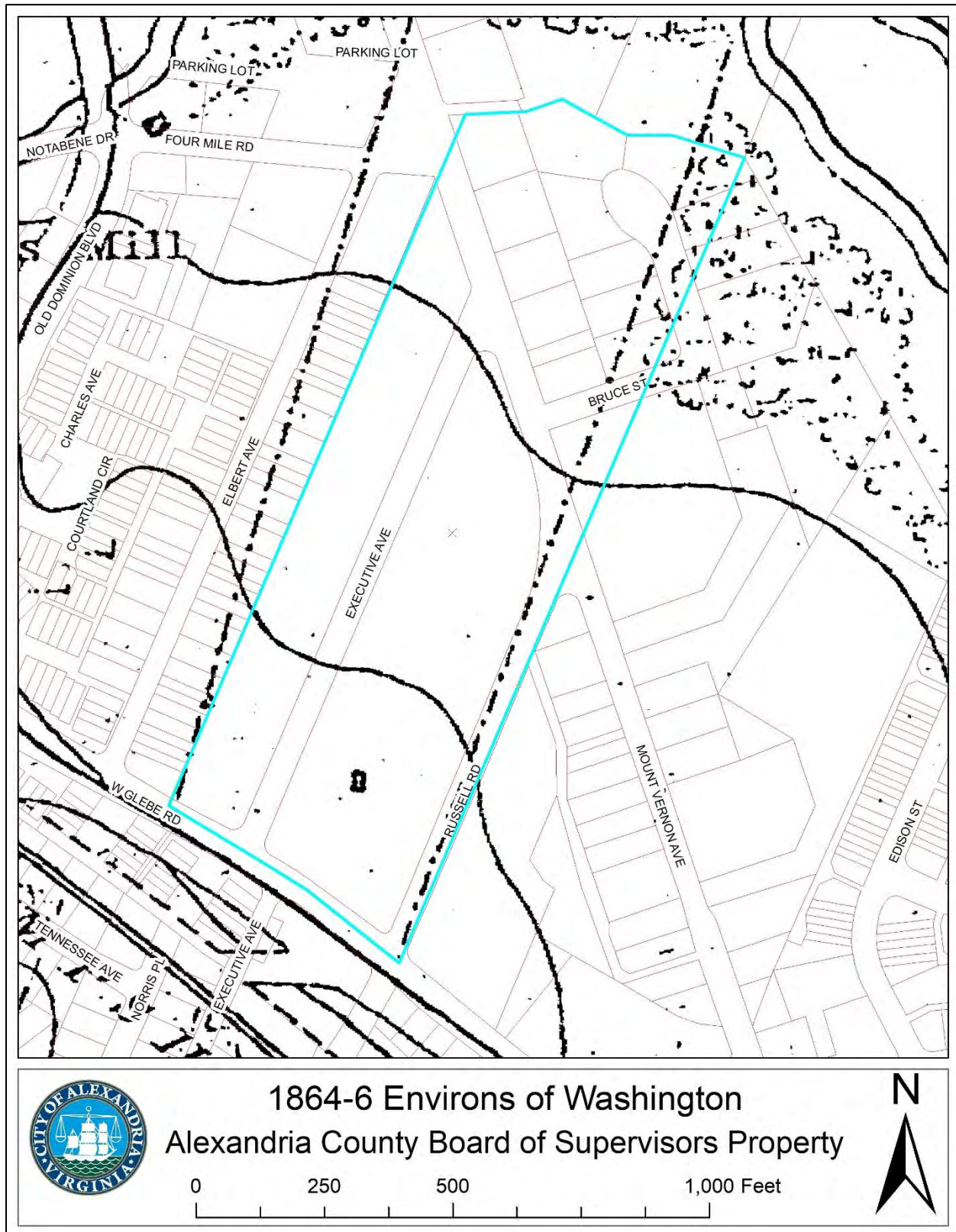


Figure 6. "Environs of Washington," 1864-6, RG 77, Records of the Office of Chief of Engineers, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

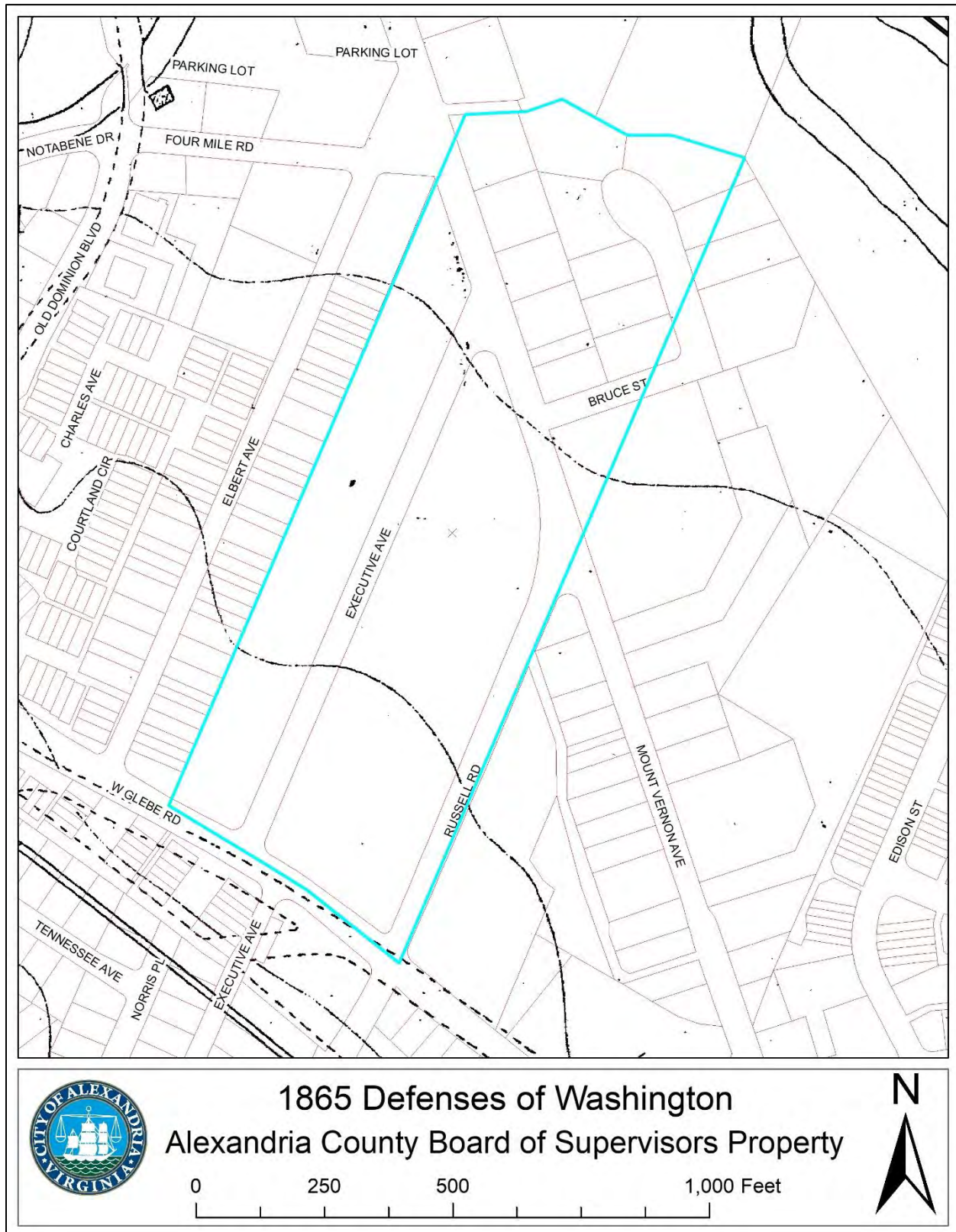


Figure 7. "Defenses of Washington," J. G. Barnard, 1865," in *A Report on the Defenses of Washington* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1871);

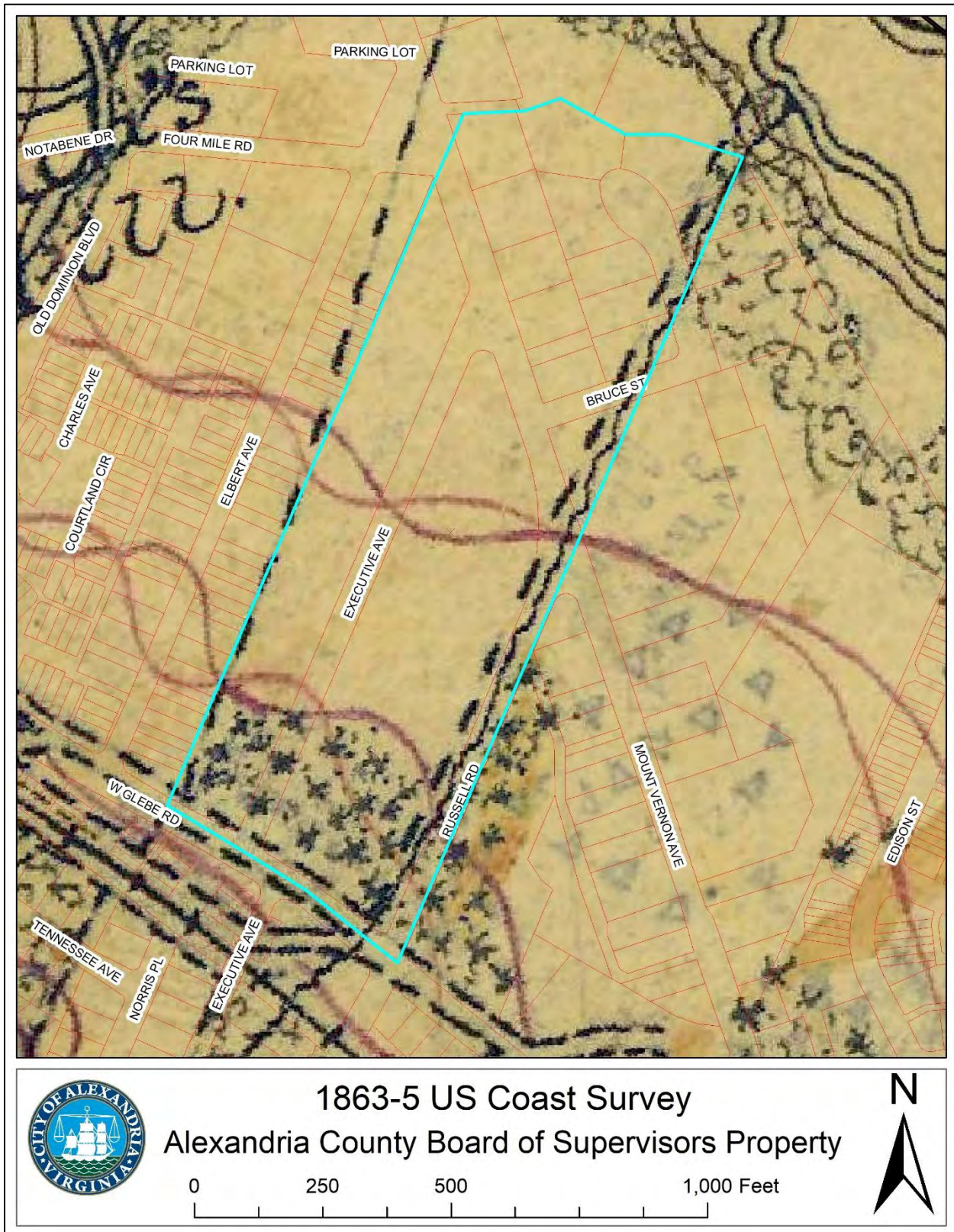


Figure 8. U.S. Coast Survey [multiple sheet mosaic], 1863-5, Office of the Coast Survey archive.

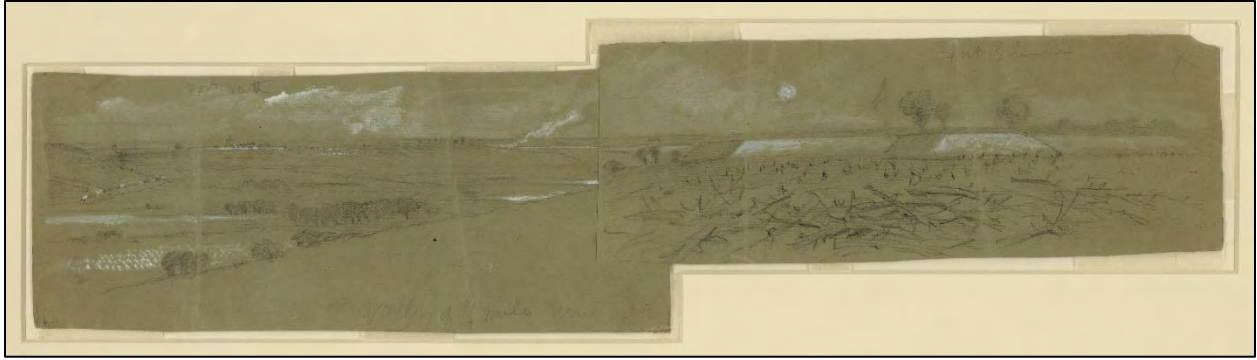


Figure 9. Valley of 4 Mile Run, Alfred R. Waud, Library of Congress.

escheated to the State of Virginia in 1877.⁴⁶ At first, the State of Virginia planned to auction the property on the steps of the Alexandria Courthouse; however, in April 1880, the State conveyed it to the County's Board of Supervisors "for poor house purposes."⁴⁷ The deed repeated the above act and noted that "the said County of Alexandria is willing and anxious to accept a deed for said property upon the terms and conditions of the act aforesaid." The boundaries of this tract of land are described in the following excerpt from the original deed:

Beginning at a chestnut oak on the edge of "Four Mile Creek," and running thence S 26° W 110 77/100 poles to the North side of the County road; thence with the said road N 54 1/2° W 30 92/100 poles,⁴⁸ thence N 26° E 101 38/100 poles to "Four Mile Creek", thence with said creek to the beginning containing twenty acres; also one other piece and parcel of land bounded as follows, to wit; Beginning at a point on the North side of the Old Georgetown Road which point is the South-east-corner of a lot of land belonging in 1867 to Thomas W. Swann adjoining the lands that belonged to the late-James Roach, and which was conveyed to him the said Thomas W. Swann by Francis Swann Executrix & others by deed dated April 9, 1857, and thence from the said South East corner, as a beginning point with the said "Old Georgetown Road." S 61 1/2° E 2 94/100 poles to the South-West corner of the lot of land first-hereinbefore described; thence N 26° E 88 1/2 poles to "Four Mile Creek" thence N 64° W with the said creek 2 94/100 poles and thence to the beginning containing one acre two Roods and twenty poles.⁴⁹

These metes and bounds do not exactly correspond to a known parcel today, but they are close to the subdivided parcel recorded in the City of Alexandria's 1937 tax map (Figure 10). It is

⁴⁶ "County Court," *Alexandria Gazette* June 27, 1876, 3; "Inquisition of Escheat," *Alexandria Gazette* November 23, 1877, 3.

⁴⁷ [Escheator's Sale], *Alexandria Gazette* December 19, 1879, 3; Arlington County Deed Book E-4-231; Arlington County Courthouse, Arlington, Virginia. This transaction is also reported in the newspaper, but for some reason, it appears two years later. "County Land," *Evening Star* April 24, 1882, 4.

⁴⁸ The original 1880 deed appears to record 38 poles; however, this number is difficult to read as the 3 has been written over. A typed transcript of the earlier 1870 James Hilton deed (Alexandria County Deed Book A-4-111) records this measurement as 30 92/100 poles. This smaller figure appears to be much closer to the original width of this lot.

⁴⁹ Arlington County Deed Book E-4-231; Arlington County Courthouse, Arlington, Virginia.

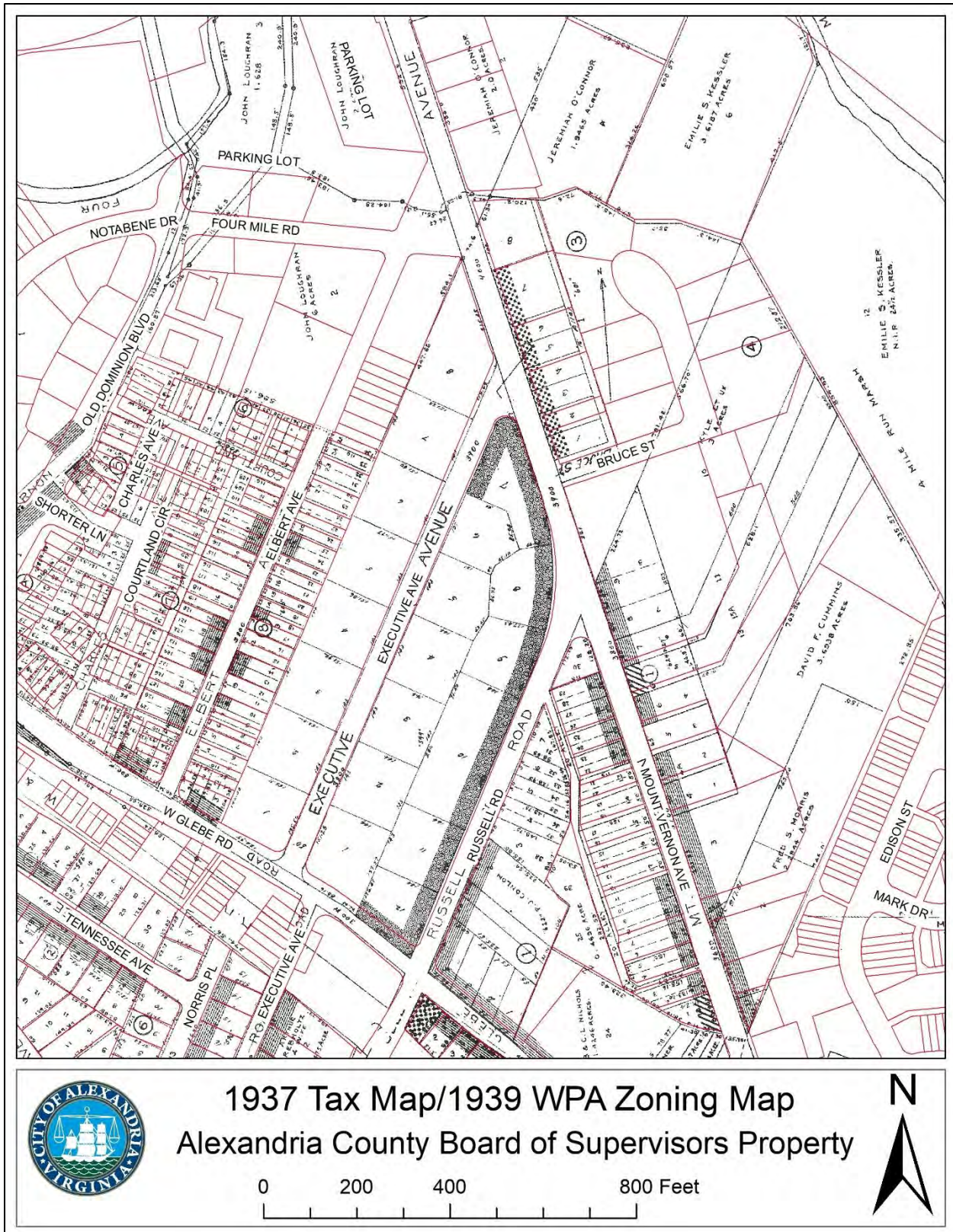


Figure 10. 1939 Real Property Survey, Land Use Survey Maps, Alexandria, Virginia (1937 City of Alexandria Tax Map and 1939 WPA Zoning Map).

possible that the original parcel survey used points located farther north and closer to Four Mile Run, which no longer could be located by the 1930s. Erosion of the bank along Four Mile Run could have also shortened the parcel. To further confirm that this parcel is where Alexandria County constructed its almshouse, the 1894 map, *The Vicinity of Washington, D.C.*, by Griffith M. Hopkins shows a structure on a 20-acre property labeled “Alms House” (Figure 11). A 1900 map of Alexandria County by the Virginia Title Company also locates this parcel between Georgetown Road (West Glebe Road) and Four Mile Run (Figures 12 and 13).⁵⁰ Furthermore, this map shows immediately to the west a parcel owned by the Watson family.⁵¹ The deed for this parcel from Thomas W. Swann to Charles A. Watson, dated August 1, 1870, included a survey that fit the size and shape of this adjacent parcel and indicated the Board of Supervisors parcel was previously owned by Sherwood (Figure 14).⁵²

In March 1881, a year after the transfer of the property to the County, the Board of Supervisors announced that they would advertise “for proposals for the building of an almshouse in said county,” but neither this advertisement nor any announcement that the work had been completed has been found.⁵³ In August 1881, Washington, D.C.’s *Evening Star* reported that there was “a movement on foot for the erection of a county poor house” and that “some of the most sagacious citizens favor[ed] a new levy in order to build the poor house this year.”⁵⁴ Construction of the new almshouse must have soon followed. In July 1882, “Superintendent of Poor Palmer was ordered to have an addition made to the county alms house so that all paupers can be kept in one place, the custom being heretofore to assist the needy and disabled ones at their own homes.” The *Alexandria Gazette* also noted that “[t]he custom of having supplies for the poor furnished for three months at a time was discontinued and the Superintendent of Poor was ordered to purchase the said supplies in open market.”⁵⁵ A bird’s eye view of the area titled “A Perspective View of Northwest Alexandria”, dated around 1890, shows prospective development in the Rosemont and southern Del Ray areas (Figure 15).⁵⁶ This depiction omits detail outside of this development area (and it omits the Alexandria County almshouse) but shows the proposed Mount Vernon Road and general vicinity of the County’s almshouse property. It also depicts the Alexandria City almshouse to the east.

⁵⁰ Griffith M. Hopkins, *The Vicinity of Washington, D.C.* 1894, Library of Congress; Howell & Taylor, G. P. Strum, and Andrew B. Graham, *Map of Alexandria County, Virginia for the Virginia Title Co.* (Alexandria: The Company, 1900), accessed March 28, 2023, <https://www.loc.gov/item/89692758/>.

⁵¹ The 1900 map lists “Charles A. Watson,” but he died in 1874. His spouse, Laura, continued to own the land. Charles Watson, November 9, 1874, Alexandria, Virginia; Virginia Deaths and Burials Index, 1853-1917, accessed March 25, 2022, Ancestry.com.

⁵² Arlington County Deed Book A-4-244; Arlington County Courthouse, Arlington, Virginia.

⁵³ “An Alms House for the County,” *Alexandria Gazette* March 23, 1881, 3; “Virginia News,” *National Republican* March 25, 1881, 4; “New Poor House,” *Evening Star* August 31, 1881, 4.

⁵⁴ “New Poor House,” *Evening Star* August 31, 1881, 5.

⁵⁵ “Board of Supervisors,” *Alexandria Gazette* July 27, 1882, 3.

⁵⁶ “Perspective View of Northwest Alexandria: showing location with reference to cities of Washington & Alexandria”, Gedney & Roberts, A. M. Gorman, c1890, Library of Congress, accessed April 23, 2022, <https://www.loc.gov/item/89692599/>.

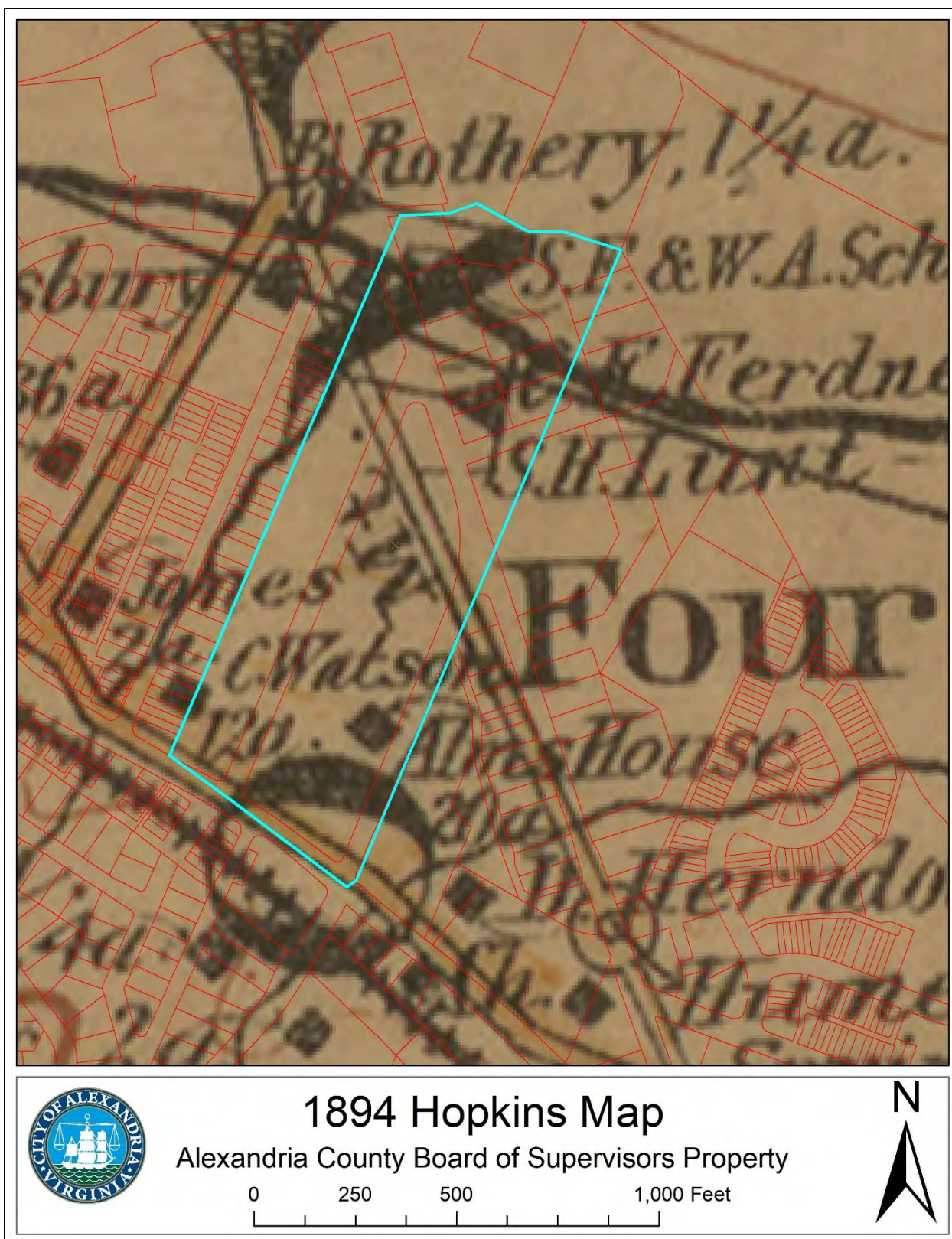


Figure 11. Griffith M. Hopkins, *The Vicinity of Washington, D.C.* 1894, Library of Congress.

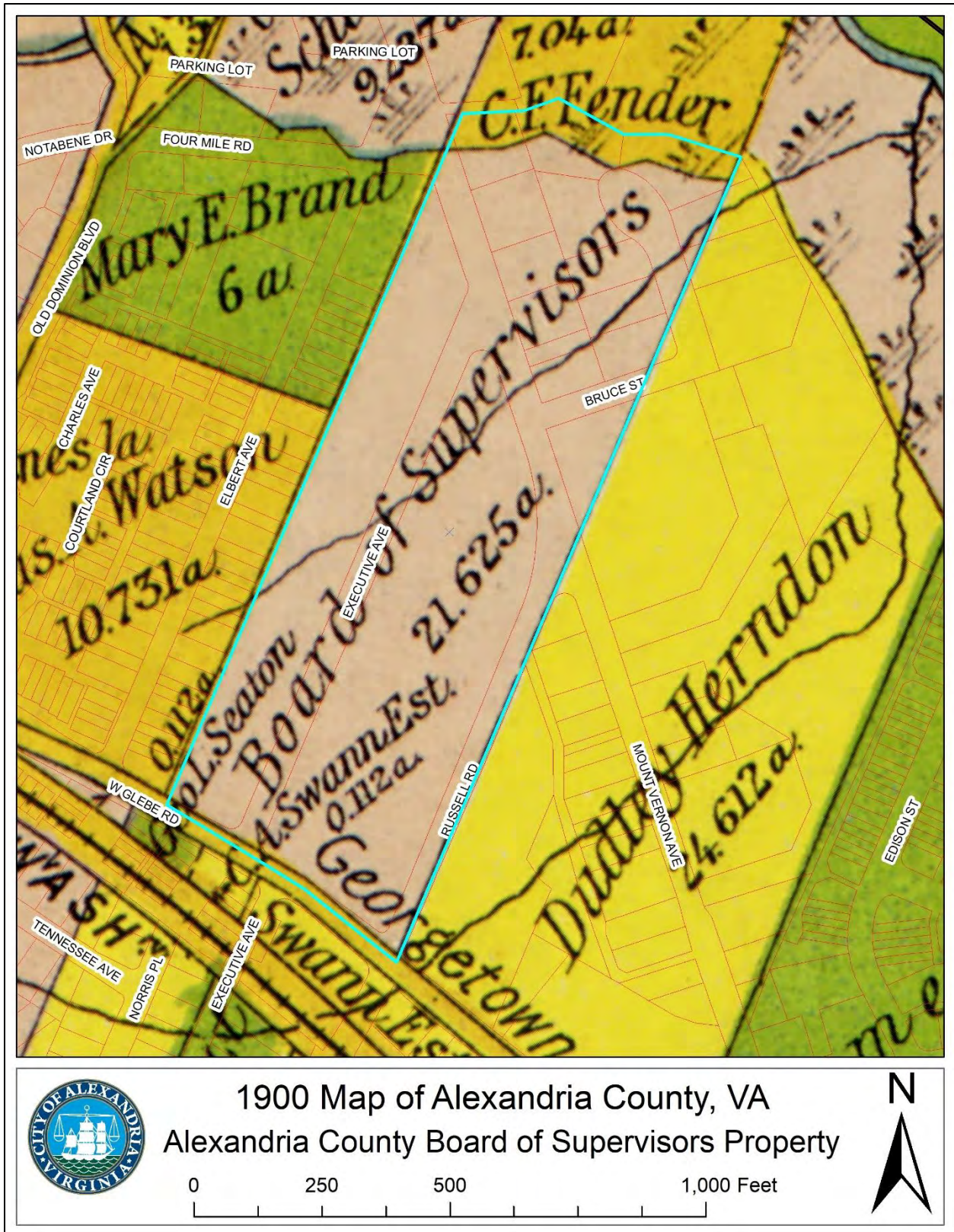


Figure 13. Map of Alexandria County, Virginia for the Virginia Title Co., Howell & Taylor, G. P Strum, and Andrew B Graham, 1900, detail

County records and newspaper coverage provided very little information about the day-to-day operation of the County's poorhouse.⁵⁷ Two items published in the *Evening Star* around the time that the County was building the new poorhouse described a new record-keeping system devised by the County to distribute food and supplies to the poor, which went into effect in September 1881.⁵⁸ Published financial reports in the *Alexandria Gazette* also documented repairs on the building. The minutes from the August 1886 Board of Supervisors meeting recorded that \$100 was spent on repairs.⁵⁹ The County's 1888 financial report published in the *Alexandria Gazette* noted that the County spent \$15.75 on repairs and \$34.25 on lumber.⁶⁰ Two years later, over \$100 in repairs were reported.⁶¹ Finally, the

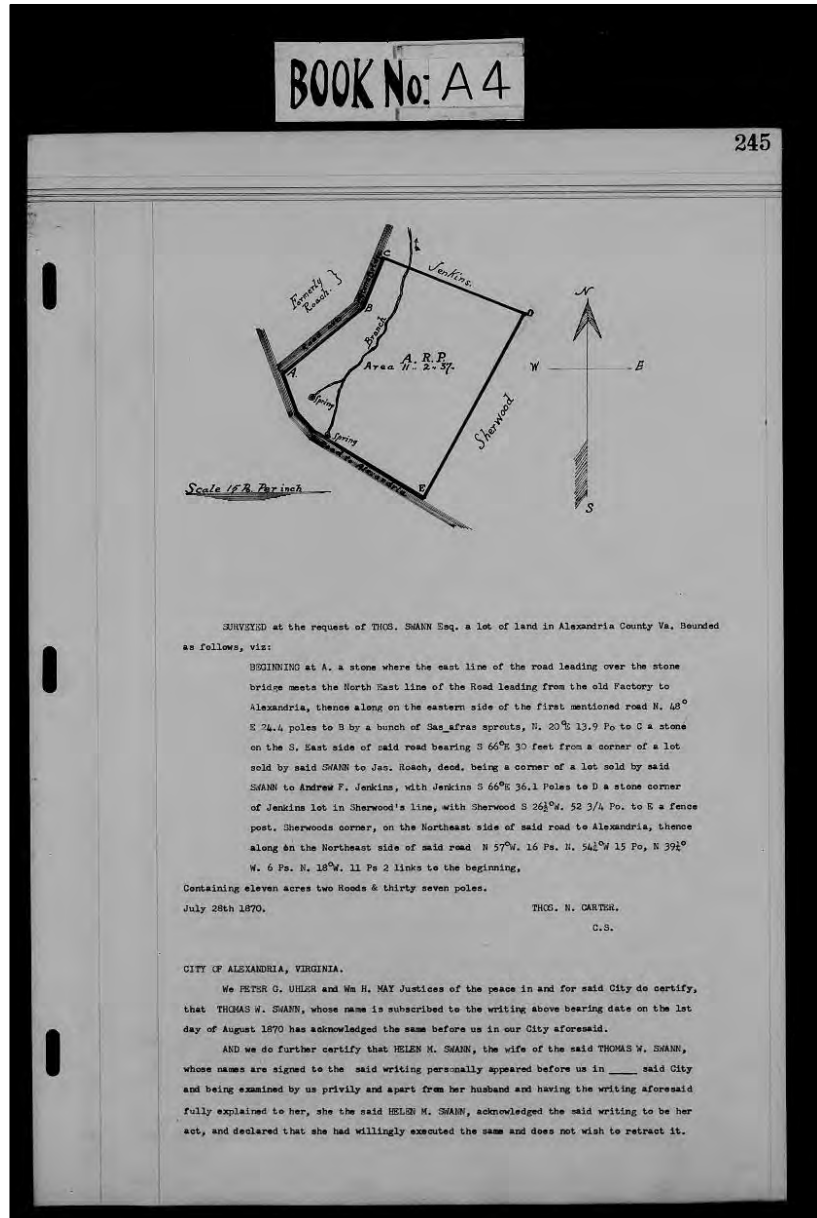


Figure 14. Alexandria County Deed Book A4, page 245.

⁵⁷ An anonymous reporter for the *Washington Post* complained in September 1884 that the county had not published its annual statement of receipts and expenditures for the past 6 years (1878-1884), which contributed to the difficulties in understanding the operation of the poorhouse. "Finances of Alexandria County," *Washington Post* Sept. 4, 1884, 2.

⁵⁸ "Alexandria County Poor Rate," *Evening Star* August 4, 1881, 1; "The County Paupers," *Evening Star* September 15, 1881, 4.

⁵⁹ Minutes, Board of Supervisors, Expenses, August 14, 1886, Arlington Miscellaneous, ca. 1780-1903 [Papers]; Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

⁶⁰ "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* January 21, 1889, 4.

⁶¹ "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* October 22, 1891, 4.

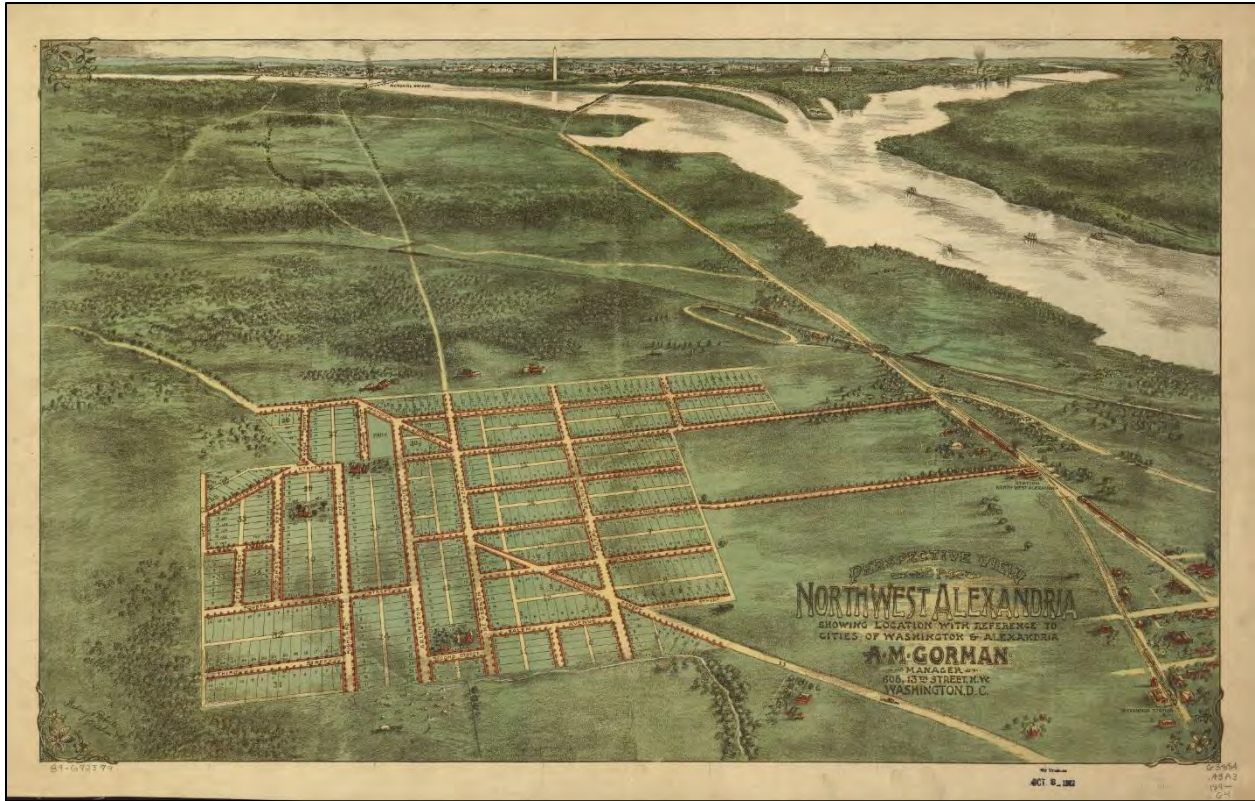


Figure 15. A Perspective View of Northwest Alexandria, Gedney & Roberts, c. 1890, Library of Congress.

financial report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895 included payments for whitewashing and lumber, presumably for additional repairs.⁶²

Other expenses were related to reimbursements. The County paid Thomas M. Talbott, a local white doctor, for insurance on the structure throughout the mid-to-late 1880s and early 1890s.⁶³ Additionally, the Board of Supervisors contracted dry goods merchants for food and clothing; however, the County's financial records did not disaggregate between support for residents of the poorhouse or elsewhere. In the early 1890s, Isaac Eichberg, a German Jewish immigrant who owned a dry goods store in the City of Alexandria, supplied materials for Alexandria County.⁶⁴ The County also contracted with William H. Carpenter, an African

⁶² "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* December 17, 1895, 4.

⁶³ "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* December 17, 1889, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* October 22, 1891, 4; 1880 U.S. Census, Arlington, Alexandria County, Enumeration District No. 6, 31, accessed January 5, 2022, Ancestry.com.

⁶⁴ "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* October 22, 1891, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria, County," *Alexandria Gazette* January 13, 1894, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* December 17, 1895, 4; 1880 U.S. Census, City of Alexandria, Enumeration District 3, 18, accessed January 6, 2022, Ancestry.com; "Funeral of Isaac Eichberg," *Washington Post* November 10, 1914, 14.

American carpenter, along with his assignee, Union veteran Alfred B. Grunwell.⁶⁵ Finally, William H. Veitch, Julian Magruder, and Oscar Haning, local grocers, provided foodstuffs.⁶⁶

In the mid-to-late 1880s and early 1890s, Alexandria County's vital statistics records provided the names for three keepers of the poor house: M. Cornwall, Laura Cox, and Thornton Hyatt.⁶⁷ These individuals managed Alexandria County's poorhouse and possibly lived there too. M. Cornwall, most likely Mary G. Cornwall (also spelled Cornwell), was keeper of the poor house at least for the summer of 1886. Cornwall's spouse, Samuel B. Cornwall, had been elected keeper of the almshouse for the City of Alexandria but had died suddenly in 1881. As a result, the City of Alexandria allowed her to take over the position, which she held through spring 1886.⁶⁸ Her 1909 obituary noted that "Mrs. Cornwell conducted the institution [Alexandria's almshouse] in a satisfactory manner several years subsequent to that event [her spouse's death]."⁶⁹ Presumably, because of her experiences working for the City of Alexandria, she was selected to manage the County's poorhouse.

After Cornwell's tenure, Laura Cox and Thornton Hyett (also spelled Hyatt), two African American residents of the County, held the position of keeper of the poor house. Both Cox and Hyett appear in the County's financial records for additional expenses related to caring for the

⁶⁵ "Financial Report of Alexandria, County," *Alexandria Gazette* January 13, 1894, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* December 17, 1895, 4; Alfred Butterfield Grunwell, Find a Grave, accessed January 6, 2022, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/42697674/alfred-butterfield-grunwell>; 1900 U.S. Census, Arlington District, Alexandria County, Virginia, Enumeration District 1, 22; 1880 U.S. Census, Washington District, Alexandria County, Virginia, Enumeration District 8, 4; accessed January 6, 2022, Ancestry.com.

⁶⁶ "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* December 17, 1889, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* December 17, 1889, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria, County," *Alexandria Gazette* January 13, 1894, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* December 17, 1895, 4; 1900 U.S. Census, Falls Church, Fairfax County, Virginia, Enumeration District 17, 8A; 1900 U.S. Census, Washington District, Alexandria County, Virginia, Enumeration District 3, 9, accessed January 6, 2022, Ancestry.com; U.S. 1900 Census, Arlington District, Alexandria County, Virginia, Enumeration 1, 24B, accessed January 6, 2022, Ancestry.com; C. B. Rose Jr., "The Map of Arlington in 1878—Places and People," *Arlington Historical Magazine* 2, no. 2 (October 1962): 22.

I have not been able to find information on J. W. McLearn and T. W. Langton, two other individuals contracted by the country to provision the poor.

⁶⁷ Alexandria County Vital Statistics, 1880-1896, microfilm, Center for Local History, Arlington County Public Library, Arlington, Virginia.

Mary Cornwall (also spelled Cornwell) does not appear in the county's published financial records, only the county's vital statistics as keeper of the poorhouse. Both Cox and Hyatt appear in the county's published financial records and its vital statistical records. Several people are listed as caring for the poor in the 1880s and 1890s, but I have not been able to find information as to whether they also were keepers of the poor. Mayadier/Manadier Taylor, Stephen Collins, and Anna Travers appear in the county's published financial records as providing care.

⁶⁸ 1880 U.S. Census, Jefferson Township, Alexandria County, Virginia, Enumeration District 7, 31, accessed January 5, 2021, Ancestry.com; Sam Cornwell, Virginia Deaths and Burials Index, 1853-1917, accessed January 5, 2021, Ancestry.com; "Corporation Affairs—Financial Exhibits," *Alexandria Gazette* June 23, 1886, 3; "City Finances," *Alexandria Gazette* June 30, 1887, 3.

⁶⁹ "Death of Mrs. Cornwell," *Alexandria Gazette* January 9, 1909, 3.

County's poor. Cox supplied shoes and clothing to residents, and Hyett whitewashed the poorhouse. When a resident of the poorhouse died, both dug graves, although the records do not specify where these graves were located.⁷⁰ Cox is first listed as a resident of the County in the 1880 U.S. Census, living with her spouse and three children. By fall 1887, the County had hired her to care for indigent residents, which she did through 1891.⁷¹ Interestingly, while she held this position, she and her spouse bought two acres of land near the poorhouse where she lived off and on until her death in 1935.⁷² By 1891, the County hired Thornton Hyett, a farmer who also lived in the same area as the poorhouse. He held the position through 1894 and died two years later at the age of 80.⁷³ In the *Alexandria Gazette*, Hyett was described as an "old and respected resident of the county."⁷⁴

Besides services provided by Cox and Hyett, the Board of Supervisors contracted with other individuals for burial services. Alexandria-based undertaker Benedict Wheatley sold coffins to the County, presumably for residents of the poorhouse and other individuals who could not afford burial services.⁷⁵ Shirley Snowden, another African American overseer of the poor in the mid-1880s, buried an indigent resident for the County.⁷⁶ Henry L. Holmes was compensated for "hauling pauper," presumably for burial purposes. Holmes, also African American, was elected Commissioner of the Revenue from 1876-1903, one of the longest tenures in political office in

⁷⁰ "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* January 21, 1889, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* December 17, 1889, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* October 22, 1891, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria, County," *Alexandria Gazette* January 13, 1894, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* December 17, 1895, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* October 22, 1891, 4.

⁷¹ 1880 U.S. Census, Jefferson Township, Alexandria County, Virginia, Enumeration District 7, 20, accessed January 6, 2022, Ancestry.com; "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* January 21, 1889, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* December 17, 1889, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* October 22, 1891, 4.

⁷² Elijah and Laura Cox bought two acres from Woolsey Hall, another African American resident, in 1890. Unfortunately, they did not own the property for long and sold it to Frank Hume in 1893. Hume promptly sold the property to Robert Rives, an African American farmer, who lived on the land until his death. When Rives died, Lucy Rives, his spouse, sold the land to Thomas Birrell, Laura Cox's son-in-law. The Birrells and Coxes lived on the property through the 1930s. Lucy Cox died in 1935. Arlington County Deed Book K4-485, M4-319, O4-247, and 151-581; Arlington County Courthouse, Arlington, Virginia; 1900 U.S. Census, Jefferson District, Alexandria County, Virginia, Enumeration District No. 2, 15; 1930 U.S. Census, City of Alexandria, Virginia, Enumeration District 101-2, 18B, accessed January 6, 2022, Ancestry.com; Laura Cox Death Certificate, #8613, April 1, 1935; Virginia Death Records, 1912-2014, accessed January 6, 2022, Ancestry.com.

⁷³ 1870 U.S. Census, Jefferson Township, Alexandria County, Virginia, 31; 1880 U.S. Census, Jefferson Township, Alexandria County, Virginia, Enumeration District 7, 11, accessed January 6, 2022, Ancestry.com.

⁷⁴ "Local Brevities," *Alexandria Gazette* April 9, 1896, 3.

⁷⁵ "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* January 21, 1889, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* October 22, 1891, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria, County," *Alexandria Gazette* January 13, 1894, 4; "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* December 17, 1895, 4.

⁷⁶ "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* January 21, 1889, 4.

the County's early history.⁷⁷ Finally, America Jane Austin, a white woman originally from New York who had moved to the County after the Civil War, provided care for an indigent resident and then paid for the burial.⁷⁸

One question that emerges in trying to understand how the County cared for indigent residents in the late nineteenth century was whether the poorhouse was a segregated facility. The City of Alexandria's poorhouse and work farm housed both Black and white residents, but it is unclear whether they were separated after the Civil War. Documents related to the County's poorhouse are conflicting about possible race-based segregationist practices. Vital statistics show that it is possible that one white male lived at the poorhouse in 1886; however, later residents recorded among the County's death records were African American men.⁷⁹ In 1891, "Roadside Sketches," a recurring column in the *Evening Star* about the author's travels in northern Virginia, included the only description that we have of the poorhouse building and its institutional name:

At the junction take the Georgetown and Alexandria road to the right. At Edward Jones', about a mile distant, you pass on the left Camp road. In the field on the right, as you near Jones', an unpretentious double frame house, with a brick chimney protruding from the center of its roof is noticed. This building bears the name of "The Alexandria County Poor House for Colored Persons."⁸⁰

It is possible that Alexandria County's poorhouse cared for both Black and white individuals and pivoted to caring for African American residents in the early 1890s; however, neither County documents nor published reports are explicit on this point.⁸¹

Other late nineteenth-century newspaper accounts briefly mention the presence of the County's poorhouse in passing. In June 1897, an item in the *Alexandria Gazette* noted, "[u]pon the application of F. P. Russell et al. to have established a road from Mt. Vernon Avenue,

⁷⁷ "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* January 21, 1889, 4; "Some Black History in Arlington County," 16.

⁷⁸ "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* January 21, 1889, 4; 1870 U.S. Census, Ward 6, Washington, D.C., 68; 1880 U.S. Census, Arlington District, Alexandria County, Virginia, Enumeration District 6, 38, accessed January 6, 2022, Ancestry.com.

Other names related to burial services include the following: W. C. Reeves, Robert Monroe, Jerry Oberton, John Murry, W. H. Butler, and G. H. Mortimore.

⁷⁹ Alexandria County Vital Statistics, 1880-1896, microfilm, Center for Local History, Arlington County Public Library, Arlington, Virginia.

⁸⁰ "Roadside Sketches," *Evening Star* June 27, 1891, 10.

⁸¹ An item published in the *Evening Star* on March 19, 1901 opens the possibility of a second almshouse in the county and notes "A meeting of the Alexandria county committee was held last night at the county poor house on Fort Myer Heights." Fort Myer Heights is approximately 3.5 miles north of this almshouse site and not likely to be confused for it. However, an item appearing in the *Alexandria Gazette* that same day describes the same meeting as being "at the county courthouse," which was located at Fort Myer Heights. Given the lack of other sources that place an almshouse in this part of the county, the *Evening Star* notice appears to be in error.

opposite the alms house, in a southerly direction to the proposed extension of Prince Street, R. M. Slaughter, D. N. Rust, U. E. Garrett and E. T. Sisson, were appointed viewers to view the proposed road and report to court.”⁸² Almost six months later, the court confirmed the report, which included possible damages to the lands of Chapman, Gray, Atlee, and Lloyd, whose land the road would impact.⁸³ The general description of this road, the timing of the construction, the names of those whose properties would be impacted, and the identity of the applicant indicates that this was in reference to the construction of Russell Road (sometimes called Russell Highway), which bordered the almshouse property to the east.

By 1900, less than 20 years after it opened, the Alexandria County poorhouse appeared to either have no residents or was already closed. The 1900 U.S. Census recorded a keeper of an almshouse, William M. Smith, and his wife, Harriett A. Smith, along with 28 “inmates” on June 1, 1900; however, it is clear, based on newspaper reportage, that Smith worked for the City, not the County, indicating that this is the City’s almshouse and not the County’s.⁸⁴ A cursory search through other late 19th and early 20th century censuses provide no record of Alexandria County’s almshouse because it was built after the 1880 U.S. Census and appears to be closed by 1900. The 1890 U.S. Census was largely lost in a 1921 fire.

Alexandria County Poorhouse Burial Ground

The County’s care of residents also extended to the grave. Documentary evidence indicates that Alexandria County provided for the burial of deceased residents of the almshouse, those who could not pay for funeral expenses, and those whose remains were not claimed by family or friends. Additionally, the County provided burial services for individuals whose identity could not be determined. The County’s burial practices, however, are poorly documented in the historical record, making it difficult to narrate and analyze local practices. To complicate matters, it is difficult to differentiate between the City and County almshouses in the historic record because of their proximity and similar names. Moreover, the method of burying either indigent or unidentified residents changed over time. However, from the available evidence, it appears that Alexandria County used its almshouse property on Four Mile Run for the burial of human remains from approximately 1891 through 1918.

As recorded in surviving financial records, one of the County’s major expenses by the mid-1870s was related to medical care and burials for indigent residents. The County covered expenses from local doctors, including post-mortem examinations; however, just a few years earlier, the

⁸² “County Court,” *Alexandria Gazette* June 1, 1897, 4.

⁸³ “County Court,” *Alexandria Gazette* November 26, 1897, 3.

⁸⁴ “Alexandria News in Brief,” *Washington Post* September 24, 1898, 8; “Alexandria News in Brief,” *Washington Post* May 24, 1902, 11.

County paid local farmers to be undertakers and coroners.⁸⁵ The 1873 annual report from the Supervisor of the Poor, George W. Veitch, documented that the County purchased sixteen coffins, not including ones purchased for those who had died from a smallpox outbreak. Jacob Foster, an African American laborer living in Freedmen's Village, was paid to be a gravedigger, and Washington Bagley, an African American farmer living nearby, received monies for hauling corpses.⁸⁶ Henson Thompson, an African American carpenter who lived in Green Valley and who would later become an overseer of the poor (1874) and superintendent of the poor (1874-1879), made coffins.⁸⁷ In response to the expenses tied to burials, Veitch wanted families or friends of indigent residents to provide transportation for remains and dig graves: "I think this grave digging might be dispensed with if a family is too poor to furnish coffins there [their] friend might at least dig a grave and haul them to the grave without seating[?] The County to the additional expenses."⁸⁸ By 1876, the superintendent of the poor regularly contracted with Benedict Wheatley, an undertaker in the City of Alexandria, for coffins and other burial services.⁸⁹ African American residents, however, also provided burial services through the early 1890s.⁹⁰

It is unknown where families or County officials buried indigent residents in the 1870s prior to the establishment of the County's almshouse, but there are several possibilities. Because Alexandria County remained mostly rural in the nineteenth century, white residents who owned farms buried loved ones in small graveyards on their property. The Whitings, Winslows, Wilsons, and Pelhams, prominent African American families, also established family graveyards.⁹¹ Alternatively, the County's churches, such as Mount Olivet Methodist Church (1854) and Walker Chapel (1871), had religiously affiliated cemeteries for their congregants. Wesley Zion Church, established at Freedmen's Village in 1863, became Little Zion Church (now known as Lomax AME Zion Church) in Green Valley in the early 1870s. The congregation also

⁸⁵ Voucher for Payment to Dr. R. C. Powell, December 10, 1873, Arlington Miscellaneous, ca. 1780-1903 [Papers]; Library of Virginia, Richmond, VA; George C. Seaton, "County Levy, 1871," *Alexandria Gazette* March 16, 1872, 2; "Claims Allowed," *Alexandria Gazette* January 15, 1874, 3.

⁸⁶ 1870 U.S. Census, Arlington District, Alexandria County, Virginia, 14-15; 1880 U.S. Census, Arlington District, Alexandria County, Virginia, Enumeration District 6, 4, accessed December 11, 2021, Ancestry.com; "Class No. 4 Names of persons residing at the Village, renting houses, without any visible means of support," District of Columbia, Freedmen's Bureau Field Office Records, 1863-1872, database with images, FamilySearch, accessed January 2, 2021, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q57-L937-FBPQ?i=594&cc=2333782&personUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AQ2QV-Y2QZ>.

⁸⁷ "Some Black History in Arlington County: A Preliminary Investigation (From the Files of the Historical Research Committee)," *Arlington Historical Magazine* 5, no. 1 (October 1973): 17.

⁸⁸ Superintendent of the Poor to Board of Supervisors Report, March 6, 1874, Arlington Miscellaneous, ca. 1780-1903 [Papers]; Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

⁸⁹ Wheatley Bill, December 4, 1876, Arlington Miscellaneous, ca. 1780-1903 [Papers]; Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

⁹⁰ "Financial Report of Alexandria County," *Alexandria Gazette* October 22, 1891, 4.

⁹¹ Phyllis W. Johnson, "Family Graveyards of Arlington County," *Arlington Historical Magazine* 8, no. 2 (October 1986): 30-36; see also "County News," *Alexandria Gazette* February 20, 1891, 4.

constructed a cemetery adjacent to the church. Stevens Lodge #1435 of the Odd Fellows established a cemetery for its African American members along Columbia Pike in 1870.⁹² The final possibility is that the County continued to use the City of Alexandria's municipal potter's field, known as Penny Hill. The City of Alexandria owned Penny Hill Cemetery and used it throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as its municipal burying ground, including for those individuals who died at the City's almshouse.⁹³

After the City was incorporated as an independent municipality in 1870, the use of Penny Hill by Alexandria County appears to have been revisited as the City and County worked to disentangle their services.⁹⁴ Throughout the late 19th century, it was reported that Penny Hill was running out of space for new burials.⁹⁵ As early as 1873, the City Council discussed the possibility of establishing a new public cemetery to replace Penny Hill.⁹⁶ By the last decade of the century, the County also recognized the need for its own burial ground. In March 1891, it was reported in the *Washington Evening Star* that "arrangements are in progress for the establishment of a public cemetery in some picturesque location of Alexandria county and a charter for this purpose has been gotten out by Messrs. W. C. Wilbert, S. B. Corbett, S. Bradbury and others."⁹⁷

Less than a month later, the issue of non-residents being buried at Penny Hill was discussed at a City Council meeting. During the meeting, a councilmember complained that "the burial of colored people in 'Penny Hill' who [had] not died in the city was quite common."⁹⁸ In response, City Council passed a resolution directing the Auditor "to furnish no burial permits for interments of the remains of any person or persons in the public cemetery known as 'Penny Hill,' unless such person or persons are residents of any [and?] may die in the city of Alexandria."⁹⁹ It was reported that this prohibition was to be "strictly enforced."¹⁰⁰ Over a year later, the *Washington Post* reported that the City's Contrabands and Freedmen's Cemetery had

⁹² Alexandria County's Odd Fellow's cemetery fell into disrepair by the early 1960s, and the graves were removed to Coleman Cemetery in Fairfax County, Virginia. Arlington Genealogy Club (comp.), *Graveyards of Arlington County, Virginia* (Arlington: National Genealogical Society, 1985), 65-68.

⁹³ Dennée, 2008; "Penny Hill: Who's Buried There?" *Evening Star* January 4, 1976, need page number; "Briefs," *Evening Star* December 2, 1912, 9; "A Potter's Field Wanted," *Alexandria Gazette* October 14, 1884, 4. See also collection of Commonwealth of Virginia Death Certificates (1912-1976) listing "Penny Hill" as place of burial on file with Alexandria Archaeology. Penny Hill was actually located in Fairfax County until it was annexed by the City of Alexandria in 1915 (see Vernon Miles, "How Alexandria Got Its Shape," *The Connection*, accessed March 31, 2022, <http://www.connectionnewspapers.com/news/2017/aug/29/how-alexandria-got-its-shape/>)

⁹⁴ See above for a brief discussion of separating interests in the courthouse and jail. See also Dennée, 2008; "Death of an Old Colored Man" *Alexandria Gazette*, July 26, 1890, 4; "Don't Want a Day Fixed," *Alexandria Gazette* July 21, 1885, 4.

⁹⁵ See "Local News – Yesterday," *Alexandria Gazette* March 10, 1873, 3; "A Potter's Field Wanted," *Alexandria Gazette* October 14, 1884, 4.

⁹⁶ "City Council," *Alexandria Gazette* March 12, 1873, 2; "City Council," *Alexandria Gazette* April 9, 1873, 3.

⁹⁷ "A County Cemetery," *Evening Star* March 24, 1891, 3.

⁹⁸ "Common Council," *Alexandria Gazette* April 15, 1891, 3.

⁹⁹ "Common Council," *Alexandria Gazette* April 15, 1891, 2.

¹⁰⁰ "The City Cemetery," *Evening Star* April 25, 1891, 6.

become an alternative site for public burial in the City. It noted that “[t]he old site has been used of late as a sort of potter’s field.”¹⁰¹ As a result of this decision by the Alexandria City Council, Alexandria County could no longer bury individuals at Penny Hill, and it needed to find an alternative location. No further details regarding the efforts to establish a public cemetery in the County have been uncovered, but several lines of evidence suggest the County found a partial answer in its almshouse property.

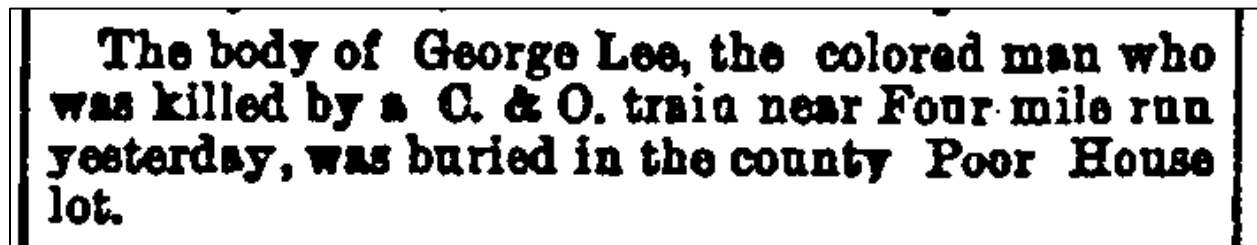
Newspaper Accounts

Regional newspapers frequently reported deaths in Alexandria County, especially those involving unusual circumstances. Several reports specified burials at an almshouse located in the County, which was most likely the property owned by the County, not the City. On August 11, 1891, several months after the City closed Penny Hill to non-resident burials, the *Alexandria Gazette* reported that “The body of George Lee, the colored man who was killed by a C. & O. train near Four mile run yesterday, was buried in the county Poor House lot” (Figure 16).¹⁰²

On the following day, the *Evening Star* provided additional details:

The remains of George Lee, killed on the Alexandria and Washington railway last Monday by a passing train, were yesterday interred by Undertaker Wheatley of this city at the public burial ground of Alexandria county. The body having been carried to the Washington depot on 6th street, was brought back to Four-Mile Run and there an inquest was held....The body was prepared for burial in this city, but the authorities of the county paid the funeral expenses.¹⁰³

One source describes the burial site for Lee as the “county Poor House lot” and the other describes it as “the public burial ground of Alexandria county.” It is possible one of these two paper accounts were incorrect about the location of Lee’s burial, but it is also possible the poor house lot was also the County burial ground. Two years later, a train near Four Mile Run killed an unknown white man. The County coroner held an inquest into the death and “the body was turned over to Undertaker Wheatley and was buried in the alms house lot” (Figure 17).¹⁰⁴ In 1898, the County coroner faced a similar situation when a body was found under a railroad



The body of George Lee, the colored man who was killed by a C. & O. train near Four mile run yesterday, was buried in the county Poor House lot.

Figure 16. *Alexandria Gazette*, August 11, 1891, 4.

¹⁰¹ “Alexandria Affairs,” *Washington Post* March 29, 1892, 6.

¹⁰² “Local Brevities,” *Alexandria Gazette* August 11, 1891, 3.

¹⁰³ “Lee’s Body Brought Back,” *Evening Star* August 12, 1891, 4.

¹⁰⁴ “Killed by a Train,” *Alexandria Gazette* June 19, 1893, 4.

bridge just north of Waterloo Station. The *Washington Post* noted that “Undertaker B. Wheatley, of Alexandria, was notified yesterday afternoon and conveyed the body to the almshouse, where it awaits identification. Should the identification not be made within a reasonable time, the body will be interred at the county’s expense, and the grave marked.” However, this report did not specify if the body would be interred at the almshouse where it had been removed to.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, in 1901, a “poorly clad, middle-aged white man” died at a camp near Addison Heights in Alexandria County. The County ordered a coffin from Wheatley, and the man’s remains were “moved to the almshouse, where they will be buried.”¹⁰⁶

Some newspaper references to burials at the almshouse are more specific and explicitly refer to a burial ground or cemetery located at or associated with the almshouse. In May 1903, a body was found along the railroad near Fort Runyon, between Jackson City and Arlington Station. The identity of the victim was initially reported to be Edward Osterman, “and the remains were buried in the poorhouse cemetery at Alexandria.”¹⁰⁷ This initial report, however, was unclear on whether the cemetery was located at the City’s or the County’s almshouse. Osterman was later found alive, and detectives reidentified the deceased as James Costello.¹⁰⁸ The paper subsequently reported that the body of Costello “was interred in the Alexandria county cemetery.”¹⁰⁹ Costello’s remains were then disinterred and reburied “in the National Cemetery” (now known as the Alexandria National Cemetery, where Costello is still buried).¹¹⁰ The specific locations in Costello’s case are far from conclusive, but Penny Hill, where the City buried almshouse residents, was not in Alexandria County, nor was it in the City of Alexandria either, but in neighboring Fairfax County. Finally, there is no known cemetery at the City’s poorhouse property in what was then the County. This

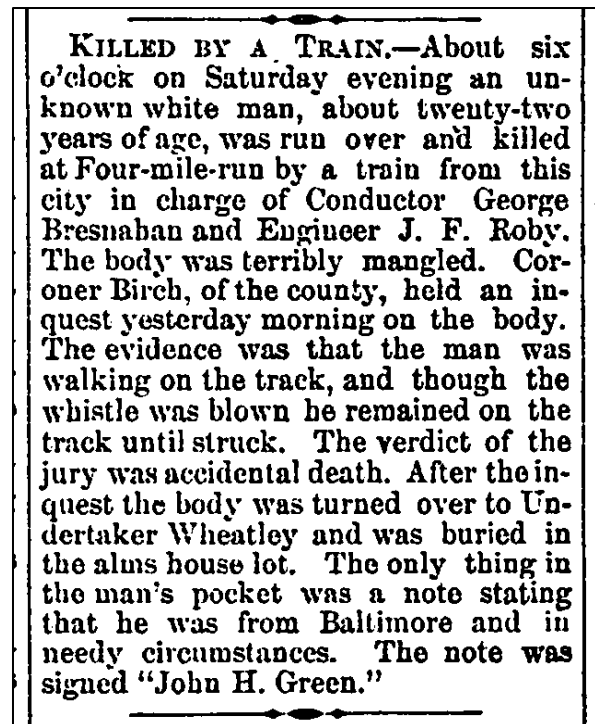


Figure 17. *Alexandria Gazette*, June 19, 1893, 4.

¹⁰⁵ “Dead in a Pool of Water,” *Washington Post* July 20, 1898, 9.

¹⁰⁶ “Alexandria News in Brief,” *Washington Post* September 30, 1901, 4.

¹⁰⁷ “Crushed Body Found,” *Washington Times* May 10, 1903, 1.

¹⁰⁸ “Edward Osterman Not Dead, as Reported,” *Washington Times* May 11, 1903, 12; “Body Identified,” *Evening Star* May 13, 1903, 8.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*

¹¹⁰ “Body Reinterred,” *Alexandria Gazette* May 16, 1903, 3; “James J. Costello,” Find-a-Grave, accessed March 31, 2022, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/3254803/j-james-costello>.

association of the cemetery with the County and the involvement of the police in identifying Costello suggests the possibility he was temporarily buried at the County's almshouse.

In 1907, the *Washington Post* reported on the death of William Henry Berry in Alexandria County, whom, it noted, would "be interred in the almshouse burying ground by Undertaker Wheatley to-day, unless claimed by relatives."¹¹¹ Two years later, the *Evening Star* noted that a baby had died after someone had thrown it from a train in Alexandria County (Figure 18):

"The body was turned over to a resident of the county by the coroner with instructions to have it buried in the cemetery at the almshouse."¹¹²

Newspapers described burials in these three cases specifically made by or in Alexandria County, and a cemetery associated with the almshouse. In the last case, the cemetery was explicitly described as being at the almshouse and not just associated with it.

A number of other newspaper articles describe human remains in the custody of the County, but do not specify the location of the burials.¹¹³ In 1902, the *Alexandria Gazette* reported on the death of John Braxton, an indigent, African American resident of the County whose relatives refused to provide care. His remains were located in "the jurisdiction of Alexandria county, [and] the body was left to be taken in charge by the county officials."¹¹⁴ A year later, Alexandria County asked undertaker Benedict Wheatley to remove the remains of an unidentified man who had been discovered under a railroad trestle. Wheatley "conveyed the body to the almshouse, where it awaits identification. Should the identification not be

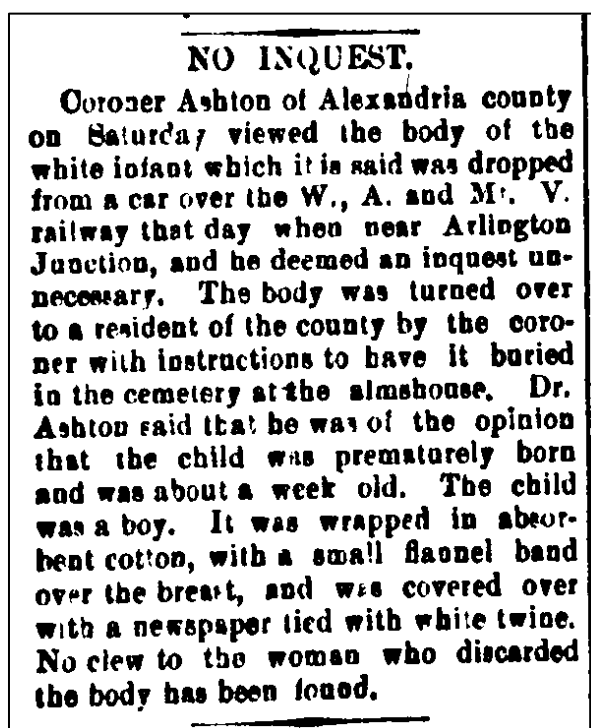


Figure 18. *Alexandria Gazette*, January 25, 1909, 4.

¹¹¹ "Baker's Slayer is Sought," *Washington Post* April 5, 1907, 11; "Happenings in Alexandria," *Evening Star* January 24, 1909, 10.

¹¹² "No Inquest," *Alexandria Gazette* January 25, 1909, 4; "Happenings in Alexandria," *Evening Star* January 24, 1909, 10.

¹¹³ "Dead in a Pool of Water," *Washington Post* July 20, 1898, 9; "Alexandria Affairs," *Evening Star* December 11, 1902, 15; "Killed by a Locomotive," *Alexandria Gazette* October 1, 1903, 3; "Killed by Negro Woman," *Washington Times* September 12, 1904, 9; "Local Brevities," *Alexandria Gazette* March 1, 1905, 3; "Was a Charlotte Youth," *Richmond Times Dispatch* July 8, 1908, 3; "Prisoner Dies in His Cell," *Evening Star* December 23, 1908, 10; "Workman Accidentally Killed," *Evening Star* November 7, 1910, 8; "News of Alexandria," *Washington Herald* March 18, 1912, 8.

¹¹⁴ "Alexandria Affairs," *Alexandria Gazette* December 11, 1902, 15. See also "Found Dead," *Alexandria Gazette* December 11, 1902, 3.

made within a reasonable time, the body will be interred at the county's expense, and the grave marked."¹¹⁵

Together, the reporting on these deaths point toward a pattern of County burials either at the County's almshouse or a cemetery associated with the almshouse over the span of approximately three decades. However, the difficulties that exist in researching this subject from these records make it difficult to state emphatically whether or not these burials occurred at the County's almshouse property. Nevertheless, these newspaper accounts seem to point to this location for at least some of these burials. For additional information, Appendix C summarizes relevant newspaper reports.

State Death Certificates and Other Vital Records

In 1912, the State of Virginia passed a law that required local jurisdictions to keep comprehensive birth and death records.¹¹⁶ The law laid out the process for obtaining and filling out death certificates, approving burials in the state, and completing burials of human remains. Among the items required on this form were "place of burial or removal," "date of burial," and the "signature and address of undertaker." The law specified that an undertaker "state the facts required relative to the date and place of burial, over his signature and with his address, and present the completed certificate to the local registrar in order to obtain a permit for burial."¹¹⁷ Once a death certificate was presented to the local registrar and a burial permit obtained, the undertaker was to present this burial permit to the sexton or other "person in charge of the place of burial," before burying the body. In theory, the undertaker provided the details regarding the burial location, obtained the burial permit, and delivered the body to the location specified.

Several potential burials at the County's almshouse property have been identified through these state death certificates.¹¹⁸ Fifteen death certificates, dated between 1912 and 1918, pointed to burials by the County presumably at the County's (and not the City's) poor house property. Thirteen of these death certificates stated the place of burial as the "Alex. Co. Poor House," and two more completely spell out, "Alex. County Poor House." These death certificates generally do not list the City of Alexandria as the place of death, but list either Jefferson or Arlington Districts in Alexandria County. The County's coroners, Robert J. Yates and Stewart T. Ashton, also signed these certificates. In each of these fifteen cases, the County hired

¹¹⁵ "Dead in a Pool of Water," *Washington Post* July 20, 1898, 9.

¹¹⁶ "An Act to provide for the immediate registration of all births and deaths," 1912, Encyclopedia Virginia, Virginia Humanities, 2020; accessed April 1, 2022, <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/an-act-to-provide-for-the-immediate-registration-of-all-births-and-deaths-1912/>

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹¹⁸ "Virginia, Death Certificates, 1912-1987," FamilySearch; accessed April 1, 2022; <https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/2377565>.

W. Demaine & Son, located in the City of Alexandria, as undertakers. For an example of these death certificates, see Figure 19.

Three additional death certificates listed "Potter's Field" as the place of burial with one of these documents further specifying "Potter Field Alex. Co. Va." Unfortunately, it is not clear to which site (or sites) this description referred. One of these "Potters Field" death certificates has a "Alex. Co. Poor House" death certificate filled out for the same individual (see Figure 20). John Green (Greene) died in Alexandria County on October 6 or 7, 1913. It is not clear why the County issued two death certificates for Green/Greene, although there are small differences between the two documents, including burial location. It is also unknown if "Alex. Co. Poor House" and "Potters Field" were the same place, or if his body was moved from one cemetery to the other. It is also possible that the place of burial was filled out in error on one of these two certificates.

H. D. V. S. Form No. 12, 200M. - 6-16-12.

CERTIFICATE OF DEATH

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA
STATE BOARD OF HEALTH
Bureau of Vital Statistics

1. PLACE OF DEATH.
County of Alexandria
District of Jefferson
Inc. Town of _____
City of _____ (No. _____ St. _____ Ward _____)

Registration District No. _____
Primary Registration District No. _____
Registered No. _____
File No. 16290

2. FULL NAME Mary Campbell
Residence In City _____ Yrs. _____ Mos. _____ Days _____

PERSONAL AND STATISTICAL PARTICULARS

3 SEX Female 4 COLOR OR RACE Black 5 SINGLE, MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED Married
(Write the word)

6 DATE OF BIRTH _____ (Month) _____ (Day) _____ (Year)

7 AGE 42 yrs. _____ mos. _____ ds. If LESS than 1 day, _____ hrs. or _____ min.?

8 OCCUPATION (a) Trade, profession, or particular kind of work Housemaid
(b) General nature of industry, business, or establishment in which employed (or employer) _____

9 BIRTHPLACE (State or Country) Not Known

PARENTS

10 NAME OF FATHER Chas. Howard
11 BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER (State or Country) Not Known
12 MAIDEN NAME OF MOTHER " "
13 BIRTHPLACE OF MOTHER (State or Country) " "

14 THE ABOVE IS TRUE TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE
(Informant) Alexander Campbell
(Address) Brick Haven, Va.

15 _____ 1913
LOCAL REGISTRAR

MEDICAL CERTIFICATE OF DEATH

16 DATE OF DEATH July 21st, 1913
(Month) (Day) (Year)

17 I HEREBY CERTIFY, That I attended deceased from _____, 191____, to _____, 191____
that I last saw him alive on _____, 191____
and that death occurred, on the date stated above,
at 6 PM m. The CAUSE OF DEATH* was as follows:
Apoplexy.
and (Duration) _____ yrs. _____ mos. _____ ds.

Contributory (SECONDARY) _____ (Duration) _____ yrs. _____ mos. _____ ds.
(Signed) W. Demaine M. D.
July 22, 1913 (Address) 600 Washington

*State the DISEASE CAUSING DEATH, or, in deaths from VIOLENT CAUSES, state (1) MEANS OF INJURY; and (2) whether ACCIDENTAL, SUICIDAL or HOMICIDAL.

18 LENGTH OF RESIDENCE (For Hospitals, Institutions, Transients, or recent Residents)
At place _____ mos. _____ ds. In the _____ State _____ yrs. _____ mos. _____ ds.
Where was disease contracted, if not at place of death?
Form of or usual Residence _____

19 PLACE OF BURIAL OR REMOVAL Alex Co. Poor House DATE OF BURIAL July 23, 1913
UNDERTAKER W. Demaine & Son ADDRESS Alex. Co. Va.

MARGIN RESERVED FOR BINDING

WRITE PLAINLY WITH UNFADING BLACK INK—THIS IS A PERMANENT RECORD.

N. B.—Every item of information should be carefully supplied. AGE should be stated EXACTLY. PHYSICIANS should state CAUSE OF DEATH and should be properly classified. Exact statement of OCCUPATION is very important. See instructions on back of certificate.

Figure 19. Death Certificate for Mary Campbell, showing place of burial as "Alex. Co. Poor House", 1913.

Several newspaper accounts mentioned a potter's field in the County, but did not specify a location. In an interview with a reporter, the mother of Benjamin Hines, who had been murdered in February 1896, explained that her family did not want Hines buried in a potter's field. "[T]he family was unable to bury the body, but they did not want the county to put him in Potters Field, so her boys had gone to Alexandria for a coffin, and to-day they will bury the body in the back yard."¹¹⁹ In 1908, a fifteen-year-old boy was struck by a train and "buried in Potter's field, Alexandria county," before his brother identified him and his remains were disinterred.¹²⁰ In March 1912, a cave-in near Alexandria County's Virginia Highlands neighborhood crushed four men. The newspapers reported, "No one having come to identify the bodies of the four colored men who met death Friday afternoon last as a result of the falling in of a cave near Virginia Highlands Alexandria County, the bodies were buried to-day in Potter's field, Alexandria County."¹²¹

The image shows two death certificates from the Commonwealth of Virginia, State Board of Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics. Both certificates are for a man named John Green/Greene, who died on October 10, 1913, at the age of 80. The certificates are filled out with handwritten information and include sections for personal and statistical particulars, medical certificate of death, and burial or removal details. The first certificate is for John Green, and the second is for John Greene. Both certificates are signed by the local registrar, Dr. J. B. P. Jones, and the date of burial is listed as October 12, 1913.

Death Certificate for John Green

1. PLACE OF DEATH: Alexandria
 County of: Jefferson
 District of: Jefferson
 City of: Alexandria
 Registration District No.: 44
 Primary Registration District No.: 44
 Registered No.: 55363

2. FULL NAME: John Green

3. SEX: Male
 4. COLOR OR RACE: Black
 5. SINGLE, MARRIED, WIDOW, OR DIVORCED: Not known
 6. DATE OF BIRTH: Not known
 7. AGE: About 80
 8. OCCUPATION: Laborer
 9. BIRTHPLACE: Not known
 10. NAME OF FATHER: Not known
 11. BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER: Not known
 12. MOTHER'S NAME: Not known
 13. BIRTHPLACE OF MOTHER: Not known
 14. THE ABOVE IS TRUE TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE (Informant: Benjamin H. Hines, Alexandria, Va.)
 15. Signed: Benjamin H. Hines, Local Registrar

Medical Certificate of Death

16. DATE OF DEATH: Oct 10, 1913
 17. I HEREBY CERTIFY, That I attended deceased from that I last saw him alive on Oct 7, 1913, and that death occurred, on the date stated above, at m. The CAUSE OF DEATH* was as follows: Natural Causes, Old age.
 18. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE (For Hospitals, Institutions, Transients, or recent Residents): At place of death, 10 yrs. 10 mos. 10 ds.
 19. PLACE OF BURIAL OR REMOVAL: Not known
 20. DATE OF BURIAL: Oct 12, 1913
 21. SIGNED: Dr. J. B. P. Jones, Local Registrar

Death Certificate for John Greene

1. PLACE OF DEATH: Alexandria
 County of: Jefferson
 District of: Jefferson
 City of: Alexandria
 Registration District No.: 44
 Primary Registration District No.: 44
 Registered No.: 55363

2. FULL NAME: John Greene

3. SEX: Male
 4. COLOR OR RACE: Black
 5. SINGLE, MARRIED, WIDOW, OR DIVORCED: Not known
 6. DATE OF BIRTH: Do not know
 7. AGE: Do not know
 8. OCCUPATION: No occupation
 9. BIRTHPLACE: Do not know
 10. NAME OF FATHER: Greene
 11. BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER: Do not know
 12. MOTHER'S NAME: Do not know
 13. BIRTHPLACE OF MOTHER: Do not know
 14. THE ABOVE IS TRUE TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE (Informant: Joseph A. Hines, Alex. Co. Va.)
 15. Signed: Joseph A. Hines, Local Registrar

Medical Certificate of Death

16. DATE OF DEATH: Oct 10, 1913
 17. I HEREBY CERTIFY, That I attended deceased from that I last saw him alive on Oct 7, 1913, and that death occurred, on the date stated above, at m. The CAUSE OF DEATH* was as follows: The Doctor gave a certificate of death to the undertaker.
 18. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE (For Hospitals, Institutions, Transients, or recent Residents): At place of death, 10 yrs. 10 mos. 10 ds.
 19. PLACE OF BURIAL OR REMOVAL: Not known
 20. DATE OF BURIAL: Oct 12, 1913
 21. SIGNED: Dr. J. B. P. Jones, Local Registrar

Figure 20. Death Certificates for John Green/Greene, 1913.

There is currently no known potter's field in Alexandria County, and the nearest documented one would have been the overcrowded Penny Hill cemetery located in the City of Alexandria.

¹¹⁹ "Nelson Still in Jail," *Washington Post* February 24, 1896, 2.

¹²⁰ *Richmond Times Dispatch* July 8, 1908, 3.

¹²¹ "News of Alexandria," *Washington Herald* March 18, 1912, 8. Other accounts describe this cave as a "brick cave, formerly used as a potato house", possibly an underground brick vault or cellar ("Four Unidentified Men Smothered to Death," *Richmond Times Dispatch* March 16, 1912).

Washington, D.C. also had several potter's fields, the first of which opened in 1806 at 7th and M Streets, NW.¹²² If Alexandria County did maintain a potter's field, this poor house property would be one likely candidate for such a site.

The place of burial listed on several additional death certificates also might point to the County's poorhouse property. For example, an unknown white man was buried at the "Co. Farm" (1912); an African American murder victim was buried at the "County Cemetery" (1913); and an African American man found dead near Arlington Junction was buried at "Cemety [sic] Poor" (1916). Two Black children, one of whom died in the City, were buried at "Alex. Co. Va Near Hume Spring" (1915) and "Alexandria Co" (1915). In total, death certificates and newspaper items for 18 individuals did not specifically state burial at the almshouse property, but indicated burial at the County's potter's field, at a County cemetery, burial by the County or at the County's expense, or otherwise suggested interment by the local government at this site or one similar to it.

As Dennée reports, many individuals who died at the City of Alexandria's almshouse were transported to Penny Hill Cemetery for burial. Most of the approximately 750 death certificates that specified Penny Hill as the place of burial also listed the City of Alexandria or its almshouse as their residency (N.B. The City's almshouse continued to operate through 1926).¹²³ Many of the City's death certificates that listed Penny Hill (sometimes "Penny Hill Cem" or "Penny Hill, Alex [or Alexa.] Va.") as the place of burial were filled out by the same individual from W. Demaine & Son that filled out Alexandria County's death certificates. This fact suggests the undertaker recording data on these forms understood these cemeteries to be two different places and that these jurisdictions used two different places for burial of their indigent residents. Appendix D summarizes these identified death certificates.

Ledgers of B. Wheatley & Son

The ledgers of undertakers B. Wheatley & Son recorded funeral services for at least 51 individuals charged to Alexandria County between 1899 and 1911. This figure includes 38 individuals for whom Wheatley specifically itemized hauling or removing remains. These same charges are not included for individuals listed under the account of the City of Alexandria (see Figure 21), which was burying people at Penny Hill, suggesting the possibility of different burial practices for bodies brought by the City and the County. At least seven of these individuals can also be found in the County's death certificates and newspaper articles, leaving 31 additional individuals not described elsewhere. Three individuals listed as "hailed" or "removed" by

¹²² "Glenwood Cemetery," National Register of Historic Places, Department of the Interior, 2016; accessed March 28, 2022, https://planning.dc.gov/sites/default/files/dc/sites/op/publication/attachments/DC_Glenwood%20Cemetery_opt.pdf.

¹²³ Dennée, *Alexandria Paupers' Deaths, 1813-1904*, 2008, *The Friends of Freedmen's Cemetery*, accessed March 8, 2022, <http://www.freedmenscemetery.org/resources/documents/paupersdeaths.pdf>.

Wheatley were also reported in the newspapers as having been taken to the almshouse or its burial ground (see James Costello, Gus Wilborn, and unknown white man buried October 1, 1901 in Appendix C). It is possible that a number of these other burials whose locations were not reported were also taken to the same place (or places). See Appendix E for relevant entries from the B. Wheatley & Son records.

Other records

While specific death certificates and newspaper articles point to the possibility of burials at the County's almshouse, other documents related to burials in Alexandria County are silent on the question. A bundle of County records from the early 20th century came to the attention of the Alexandria Historical Society in the 1980s. These documents detailed many aspects of local government, including burial services for County paupers. Ruth M. Ward notes that in September 1910, Wheatley submitted to the County a bid charging the County \$8 for large coffins, \$5 for small coffins, and \$3 to remove remains to the cemetery; however, no location for this cemetery was given. In February 1913, Wheatley wrote again to the Alexandria County Board of Supervisors to inform them he needed to increase the price of his services to \$12 for a coffin, \$4 for digging a grave, and \$5 for removing remains, for a total of \$21. In response, George H. Rucker, the County clerk, appears to have rejected this price increase and instead advertised for a new undertaker to provide services for the County.¹²⁴ Alexandria County Vital Statistics from 1853-1896 also included four deaths reported by keepers of the poor house and six deaths reported by overseers of the poor. Unfortunately, these records do not list where these men and women were buried.¹²⁵ Deeds for the property along with those adjacent to it (see Appendix A) also do not mention a burial ground on the site of the County's almshouse. Interestingly, there is mention of a nearby burial ground on Emma Hume's land, but little is known about this cemetery. Likewise, maps omitted any cemetery at the almshouse, although it should be stated that the map coverage of this area for the years the County owned the property is limited and tended not to include cemeteries in general. The 1900 title map by Howell & Taylor, G. P. Strum, and Andrew B. Graham generally did not show structures. It also only recorded the name of the property owner, "Board of Supervisors" (Figures 12 and 13).¹²⁶ George William Baist's maps, which were published in 1904 and 1918 and were based on Griffith M. Hopkins' 1894 map, *The Vicinity of Washington, D.C.*, (Figure 11) included the almshouse, but no cemetery. Some cemeteries, such as the Arlington and Alexandria National Cemeteries, Ivy Hill, several cemeteries in the cemetery complex southwest of the City, and the Swann family cemetery at Preston near Four Mile Run's outlet into the Potomac River, were included on the map. Many others, like Bethel; Christ Church; the Quaker Burying Grounds; St.

¹²⁴ Ruth M. Ward, "The Good Old Days," *Alexandria Historical Magazine*, Vol. 8, No. 1, October 1985, 22.

¹²⁵ Alexandria County Vital Statistics, 1880-1896, microfilm, Center for Local History, Arlington County Public Library, Arlington, Virginia.

¹²⁶ Howell & Taylor, G. P. Strum, and Andrew B. Graham, *Map of Alexandria County, Virginia for the Virginia Title Co.* (Alexandria: The Company, 1900), accessed March 28, 2023, <https://www.loc.gov/item/89692758/>.

Mary's; the Old Presbyterian Meeting House; and especially smaller, marginalized cemeteries like Douglass; Oakland Baptist; Contrabands and Freedmen Cemetery; Black Baptist Cemetery; and even Penny Hill were not included. Because Douglass was not founded until 1895, it would not have appeared on the 1894 Hopkins map, but it was an active cemetery in 1904 and 1918 when the Baist maps were published. Oakland Baptist was also founded after the 1894 Hopkins map was originally published, but before the two Baist maps appeared in print.¹²⁷ Finally, Arlington County's compilation of cemeteries written by the Arlington County Genealogy Club makes no mention of either a potter's field or a burial ground at the County's poorhouse, but it is not clear their methodology would have captured such a site.¹²⁸

Information about burials for Alexandria County's poorer residents became clearer by the end of the 1910s, just when the County sold the poorhouse property. By 1919, Alexandria County records, which are housed at the Library of Virginia, provide much more consistent and systematic information about overall municipal operations. The cross-referencing of names among surviving overseers of the poor accounts from 1919-1920 with death certificates from the early 1920s help us identify cemeteries where some indigent residents were buried in this later period (Table 1). The burials of this sample of individuals speak to a variety of locations used in Alexandria County, but unfortunately, only after the County sold its almshouse property in 1919.

A reading of the above documents suggests a pattern of County burials, most likely at its almshouse property, but not until after April 1891 when the City of Alexandria closed Penny Hill to non-resident burials, and only until approximately 1918, shortly before the County sold the

Table 1. Death Certificates for Individuals in Alexandria County's Overseers of the Poor Accounts, 1919-1920¹

Name	Age	Gender	Race	Death Date	Burial Date	Burial Location
Lucy Ellen Goings	72	F	White	2/3/1920	n.d.	Family Burial Ground
Nancy Green	67	F	Black	5/11/1925	5/14/1925	Lomax Chapel
Gertie Jackson	76	F	White	11/29/1922	11/29/1922	Columbia Garden
Felix Page	75	M	Black	6/7/1920	6/8/1920	Washington, D.C.
Amanda Petitt	83	F	White	10/9/1920	10/16/1920	Mt. Olivet Church
Mary Wilson	50?	F	Black	1/30/1920	2/2/1920	Galaway Church

¹ There are several more names among the accounts of the overseers of the poor, but death certificates could not be found, or their death date was after 1925.

¹²⁷ Griffith M. Hopkins, *The Vicinity of Washington, D.C.* 1894, Library of Congress; George William Baist, *Baist's Map of the Vicinity of Washington, D.C.* (Philadelphia: G. Wm. Baist, 1904), accessed March 28, 2023, <https://www.loc.gov/item/87691445/>; George William Baist, *Baist's Map of the Vicinity of Washington, D.C.* (Philadelphia: G. Wm. Baist, 1918), accessed March 28, 2023, <https://www.loc.gov/item/87691477/>.

¹²⁸ Arlington Genealogy Club (comp.), *Graveyards of Arlington County, Virginia* (Arlington: National Genealogical Society, 1985).

property. While some confusion might still exist as to whether these records refer to the County's almshouse property on Four Mile Run, the City's almshouse property also in Alexandria County, Penny Hill in Fairfax County, or some other site or sites not yet identified, human remains encountered on the former almshouse property in 1939 (see below) strongly point to this site.¹²⁹ From the incomplete and vague nature of some of these records, it is hard to quantify the number of documented individuals potentially buried at the County's almshouse property.

Closing of the Alexandria County Almshouse

By the turn of the century, the need to have a County-run almshouse declined. Private charities, often run by religious organizations or women's groups, and state-wide institutions provided specialized, long-term care for specific populations. Some residents and politicians also preferred a more regional approach, which they hoped would cut costs. Finally, Alexandria County's increasing suburbanization, largely a result of the expansion of the federal workforce, meant that developers wanted to purchase large tracts of land to build subdivisions for would-be commuters. Land that had at one time been deemed unproductive was now valuable and would potentially be more profitable as a subdivision. As a result of these broader phenomena, Alexandria County's system for caring for the poor changed substantially in the early twentieth century.

By 1900, the County's poorhouse appears to no longer be in use. In January, David. N. Rust, County Supervisor for Jefferson District, noted at a meeting of the Board of Supervisors that the "county poor farm...was now bringing no income, but could be rented at \$50 or \$75 per year."¹³⁰ He was authorized to find a tenant for the property, and the County's attorney was directed to look into selling it, which the original deed from the State did not authorize. Attendees to the meeting also debated the best manner in which the County could support the poor. Some argued "it was better to provide suitable buildings and compel all paupers supported by the county to go to the poor house." This statement suggests that by 1900 the condition of the County's poorhouse may have become unacceptable, resulting in its abandonment; however, some County residents were arguing for a return to this model. Others thought that this model "would be a more expensive method than the one now pursued."¹³¹

Despite public discussions of the condition of the building, it is not clear when the structure was demolished. The clearest cartographic depiction of Alexandria County's almshouse is from a 1902 US Coast Survey map, *Potomac River, West Shore, Alexandria to Rosslyn, Virginia* (Figure 22).¹³² This map shows a small driveway leading from Georgetown Road (now West Glebe

¹²⁹ "Old Graveyard Is Uncovered In Alexandria," *Loudoun News* August 3, 1939, 6.

¹³⁰ Research and Records Committee, "County Officials in Arlington 1870-1960," *Arlington Historical Magazine* 3, no. 3 (October 1967): 42.

¹³¹ "County Notes," *Alexandria Gazette* January 15, 1900, 3.

¹³² *Potomac River, West Shore, Alexandria to Rosslyn, Virginia*, U.S. Coast Survey, 1902.

Road) to a structure in the middle of the property. Behind it is another feature, possibly a shed, barn, or stable, although the possibility cannot be ruled out that this rectangle represents a demarcated space for burials. The specific mapping conventions used in the preparation of this map have not been located, but *Special Publication 249, Topographic Manual*, published by the U.S. Coast Survey in 1949, describes the department's mapping conventions and suggests the solid polygons were classified as Class I buildings, which are "of *substantial* construction with a roof and *enclosed* sides that are designed and built for human occupancy—either as dwellings or as places of employment or congregation." Polygons with only an outline were Class II buildings, which were:

all buildings and similar structures of substantial construction as large as or larger than the average dwelling in the locality and that are excluded from class I. Class II buildings generally have roofs, but are not necessarily enclosed on all sides. Included in this category are barns, grandstands, railroad sheds, fruit packing sheds, large open sheds, large greenhouses, snowsheds, open-air refineries, and buildings of a similar nature.¹³³

The 1902 map seems to reflect the conventions from the U.S. Coast Survey from 1949, but it remains difficult to determine what this open rectangle represents.

Other historical documents provide additional details for the closure of the County's almshouse. *A brief history of Alexandria County, Virginia*, published in 1907, states, "Pauperism is unknown here and the county poor house has not had an occupant for five years," suggesting 1902 as the last known residence in the almshouse and that the building was still standing.¹³⁴ County Supervisors, who wrote this report, seemed to have forgotten about John Braxton, who died in 1902. In response to the inhumane conditions that Braxton had lived and died, the *Alexandria Gazette* ridiculed the County's funding priorities:

It is thought that it is about time Alexandria county had erected a poor's house for the accommodation of indigent folks.... There have been several fine school houses erected in the county recently and the rapid growth of that part of Virginia has placed the inhabitants in a position to enjoy many things denied other rural communities.¹³⁵

Later, a 1909 report by the State Board of Charities and Corrections to the Governor stated that "Alexandria [County] has no almshouse" (see Figure 23).¹³⁶ In a 1940s report on almshouses in

¹³³ *Special Publication 249, Topographic Manual*, US Coast Survey, 1949, 372-5.

¹³⁴ Alexandria County Board of Supervisors, *A Brief History of Alexandria County, Virginia: Its Wealth and Resources, Great and Growing Industries, Educational and Social Advantages* (Falls Church: Newell Printing, 1907).

¹³⁵ "Found Dead," *Alexandria Gazette* December 11, 1902, 3.

¹³⁶ *First Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections to the Governor of Virginia for the Year Ending September 30, 1909* (Richmond: Davis Bottom, 1909).

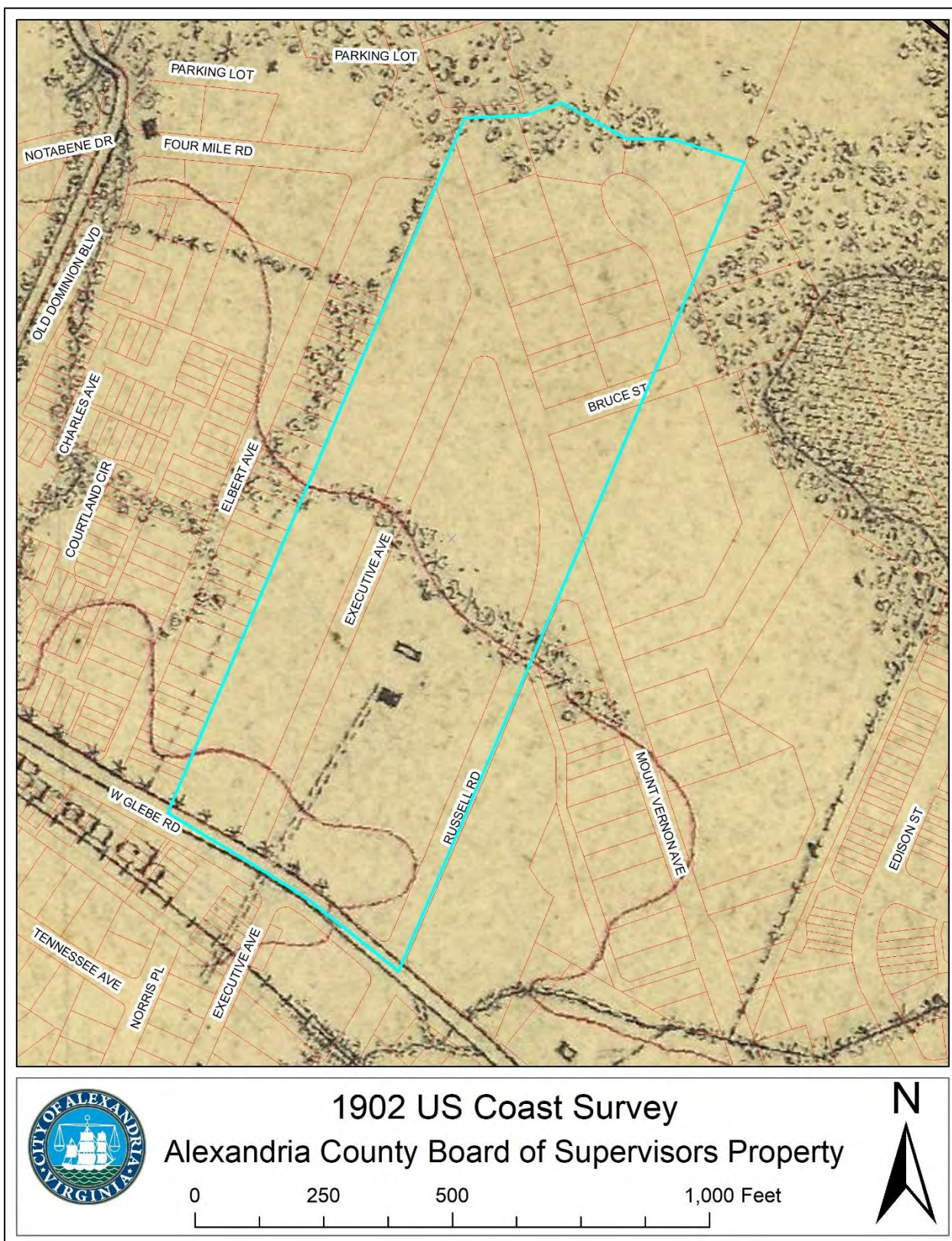


Figure 22. US Coast Survey, Potomac River, West Shore, Alexandria and Arlington Counties, VA, 1902.

ALEXANDRIA COUNTY ALMSHOUSE		
<i>Population of county 6,430</i>		
Alexandria has no almshouse. The paupers are supported by out-door relief through the overseers of the poor.		
1	Total number supported in almshouse during year.....	
2	Number receiving temporary relief outside of almshouse.....	20
	Amount.....	\$ 354 77
3	Superintendent—Salary (cash).....	144 00
	Other compensation.....	
4	Total expense in connection with almshouse.....	
5	Number of acres of land attached to almshouse.....	21 ⁶ / ₁₀
	Number of acres cultivated.....	
6	Estimated market value of land and buildings.....	4,500 00
7	Stock and crops.....	
8	Estimated value farm products.....	
	Receipts from sales.....	

Figure 23. Alexandria County Almshouse, *First Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections*, 1909, 41.

Virginia, Robert Kirkwood also reported that Alexandria County closed its almshouse prior to 1908.¹³⁷

The structure appears to have been repurposed at least one time during a 1910 smallpox outbreak at Fort Myer. Alexandria County officials traced the outbreak to Green Valley, an African American neighborhood first established by Levi Jones prior to the Civil War. County officials converted “an old building that formerly served as [the] poor farm” into a small makeshift hospital.¹³⁸ In 1911, the annual report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections noted a decrease in the estimated value of the property (including any buildings, if present) from \$4,500 to \$2,500. This devaluation possibly reflected the demolition of the almshouse structure after it was used to house smallpox patients, although the structure continued to appear on several maps through the 1920s.¹³⁹ It is possibly depicted on a 1915 soil survey map of Fairfax County based on a USGS topographic map and a US Postal Service map created sometime during the 1920s (Figures 24 and 25). However, the first systematic aerial photography of the region in 1927 shows that the almshouse was no longer standing (Figure 26). The imagery shows the remnants of a driveway or path through the center of the lot and an area of exposed dirt in the vicinity of where the 1902 US Coast Survey map showed the almshouse structure to be. The photograph also included a pair of informal baseball diamonds

¹³⁷ Robert H. Kirkwood, *‘Fit Surroundings’: District Homes Replace County Almshouses in Virginia* (Richmond: Department of Public Welfare of Virginia, 1948).

¹³⁸ “Case of Smallpox Develops at Fort,” *Washington Times* April 18, 1910, 17.

¹³⁹ *First Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections to the Governor of Virginia for the Year Ending September 30, 1909*, Richmond, 1909; *Third Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections to the Governor of Virginia for the Year Ending September 30, 1911*, Richmond, 1911.

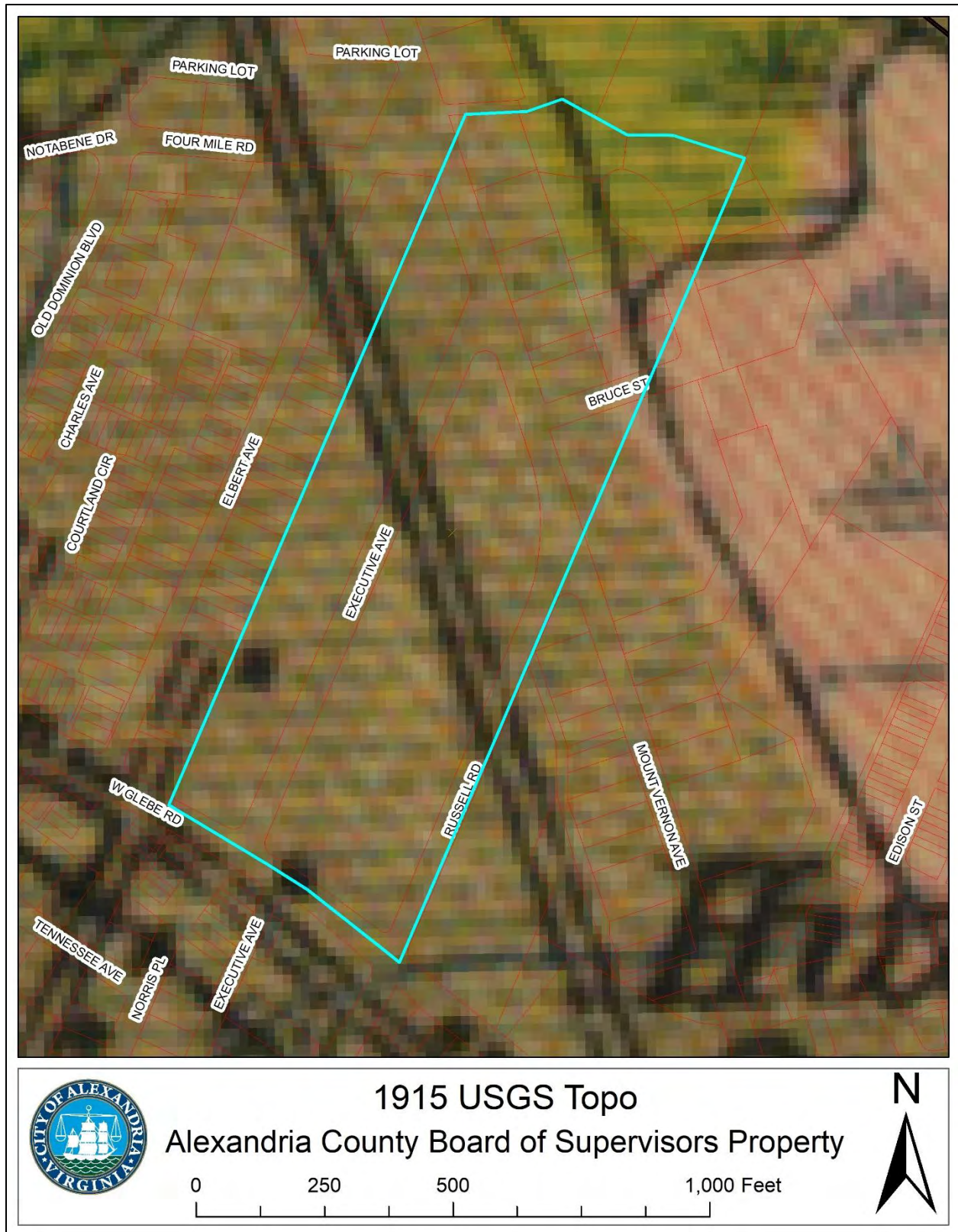


Figure 24. Virginia, Fairfax-Alexandria counties, soil map, US Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Soils, 1915.



Figure 25. Rural delivery routes, Arlington County, Va, 192-.

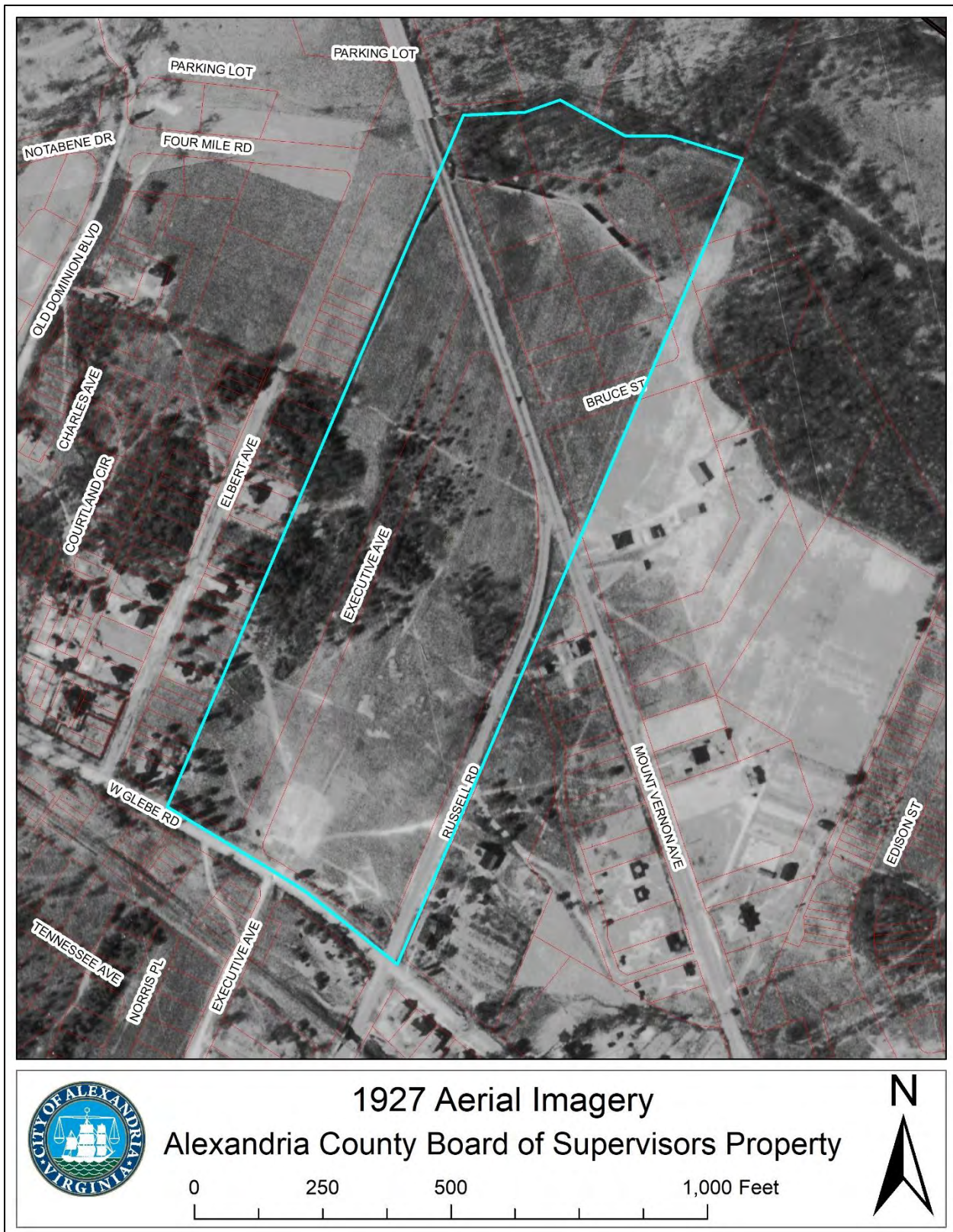


Figure 26. 1927 aerial photography, Army Air Corps, National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Record Group 328.3, National Archives.

along West Glebe Road and Mount Vernon Avenue, which extended and cut through the northern portion of the lot. In her history of Arlandria, Maas notes a segregated African American team, the Hume Spring Nine possibly used this baseball sandlot.¹⁴⁰

Following the closure of the Alexandria County's almshouse, the County appears to have returned to caring for indigent residents through the overseers of the poor. A 1908 report by Virginia's Board of Charities and Corrections noted that twenty individuals received support from the County's overseers.¹⁴¹ Businesses and individuals provided food, housing, medical treatment, and clothing for needy residents, and the County reimbursed them. Receipts dated from 1919 and 1920 highlight that the County limited recipients to \$2.00-to-\$5.00 a month for foodstuffs and other provisions.¹⁴² Despite the cap on the cost per month, the items that residents bought with vouchers expanded in comparison to the 1870s. In January 1920, Susan Hicks purchased the following items for needy individuals:

- 1 can tomatoes
- 1 can corn
- 1 lb. sausage
- 12 lbs. flour
- 12 lbs. cornmeal
- ½ lb. butter
- 2 lbs. butt meat
- 2 lbs. sugar
- 3 lbs. shoulder
- 2 loaves bread
- 2 gallons oil
- 1 sack salt
- 1 box pepper

Fuel continued to be supplied to those who could not afford to heat their homes. In a letter to the County, Lillie M. Milstead requested that wood be delivered to the Thompson family. She noted that "Mr. Thompson has come home & it is very important that he be kept warm."¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Maas, 7.

¹⁴¹ *First Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections* (Richmond, VA: Davis Bottom, 1909), 41.

¹⁴² Overseer of the Poor Receipts, August 1919, Board of Supervisors, County Fund 1919; County Fund, Board of Supervisors, January 12-19, 1920; Board of Supervisors Records, Box 13, 1900-1920; Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

¹⁴³ Lillie M. Milstead, to Mr. Patten, no date; Arlington County, Various Series, 1921-1923; Board of Supervisors Records, Box 13, 1900-1920; Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

Although no year is included on Milstead's letter, it is presumed that Thompson had returned from fighting in World War I.

Like other parts of the United States, private and state facilities also provided care for needy families in the early twentieth century. For example, the State of Virginia had created a segregated system for treating long term illnesses. In 1908, it purchased property in Salem, Virginia to open a tuberculosis sanatorium, and opened a similar facility for African American patients in Burkeville, Virginia about a decade later. By 1910, the state opened the Virginia State Colony for Epileptics and Feeble-minded in Lynchburg, Virginia. Privately-run, local facilities also provided specific care, although it is unknown whether the County contracted with them. In Fairfax County, Dr. Kate Waller Barrett opened Ivakota Farms as part of the Florence Crittenden Mission in 1917 to house and treat women suffering from syphilis. Around the same time, Reverend Patrick Murphy opened the Washington Emergency Home for Children at Barcroft in Arlington County, and a group of white women opened the Children's Home in Alexandria.¹⁴⁴ Although these latter homes did not appear in the Board of Supervisors papers, it is likely that they were contracted with the County. Receipts from 1920 show that Arlington County's Board of Supervisors paid the Women Home for the Aged in Washington, DC and Havens Home for the Aged to care for a handful of elderly residents.¹⁴⁵ Meanwhile, Arlington County (Alexandria changed its name in 1920) had joined the discussion with other counties and cities in northern Virginia about establishing a district home. In 1908, Virginia had created the Board of Charities and Corrections, led by Reverend Joseph Thomas Martin, to assess conditions at the state's almshouses and jails and suggest possible reforms. The board became proponents of district homes, which they believed would not only be much more affordable, but also provide more modern facilities. In 1917, the Virginia General Assembly passed legislation allowing for the creation of district homes, but it took a decade for the first facilities to open.¹⁴⁶ In northern Virginia, the first meeting, held in fall 1925 included Stafford, Loudoun, Fauquier, Prince William Culpeper, Orange, Louisa, King George, Fairfax, and Arlington Counties, and the City of Alexandria. Arlington County, however, dropped out of the process. The first in the state, Northern Virginia's district facility opened in Manassas on

¹⁴⁴ 1920 U.S. Census, Arlington District, Arlington County, Virginia, Enumeration District 12, 9B, accessed December 20, 2021, Ancestry.com; Elizabeth Walter, "The Original Developers of Barcroft," *Arlington Historical Magazine* 12, no. 3 (October 2003): fn 54; *Sixth Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections* (Richmond, VA: Davis Bottom, 1915), 42; *Seventh Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections* (Richmond, VA: Davis Bottom, 1916), 60.

¹⁴⁵ Bill, Women Home for the Aged, May 10, 1920, Board of Supervisors, County Fund; Bill, Havens Home for the Aged, February 9, 1920, Board of Supervisors, County Fund; Board of Supervisors Records, Box 13, 1900-1920, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

¹⁴⁶ *First Annual Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections* (Richmond, VA: Davis Bottom, 1909); Robert Hudson Kirkwood, 'Fit Surroundings'; *District Homes Replace County Almshouse in Virginia* (Richmond: Department of Public Welfare of Virginia 1948), 34-35, 53.

January 28, 1927, and participating counties transferred residents there.¹⁴⁷ Despite not participating in the establishment of the district home, Arlington County was permitted to board residents at the Manassas Home when space was available. In the 1940s, it had between three-to-seven residents at any one time.¹⁴⁸

Suburban Development at the Former Almshouse Property

Suburbanization, along with road construction, impacted the neighborhood surrounding the poorhouse. In 1915, Alexandria County completed the construction of Mount Vernon Avenue across Four Mile Run. To build the road, the County bisected the poorhouse property. An item published in 1915 titled, “Alexandria Road is Being Improved: Work on Russell Highway, Costing \$60,000, to Form Link in Mt. Vernon Route,” reported that “contractors commenced grading on that portion extending from the corporation line of Alexandria city through Braddock and Mt. Ida to the Alexandria county poorhouse property, west of Hume Springs, where it connects with the main line of Mt. Vernon avenue.”¹⁴⁹

Some white residents supported the expansion of the road, but they worried about its impact on the character of the area. A petition to the Board of Supervisors demanded that the County ban billboards along Mount Vernon Avenue, a road that connected Washington, DC to George Washington’s plantation, Mount Vernon. It argued: “The damage to one of the finest drives out of the National Capital by its defacement with advertising sign boards would be incalculable and the general welfare of the entire county demands that its principal highways be protected from defacement.”¹⁵⁰ It is unknown whether the County responded to this petition, but aerial photography from both 1927 and 1937 appear to show multiple billboards flanking Mount Vernon Avenue as it crossed the parcel (Figures 26, 27, 28).¹⁵¹

Approximately 20 years after the closure of the Alexandria County almshouse, the Alexandria County Board of Supervisors finally sold the property at auction, which the Board of Supervisors

¹⁴⁷ Kirkwood, 55.

¹⁴⁸ Kirkwood, 58, 85.

¹⁴⁹ “Work on Russell Road,” *Alexandria Gazette* July 13, 1915, 2; “Work on New Roads,” *Alexandria Gazette* August 20, 1915, 2.

¹⁵⁰ Petition to the Board of Supervisors, n.d.; Board of Supervisors Records, Box 13, 1900-1920, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

¹⁵¹ 1927 aerial photography, Army Air Corps, National Capital Park and Planning Commission, Record Group 328.3, National Archives; 1937 aerial photography, Farm Service Agency, FG series, Record Group 145.8, National Archives, 1937 aerial photography, provided by Fairfax County GIS and Mapping Services (<https://www.fairfaxcounty.gov/maps/aerial-photography>).

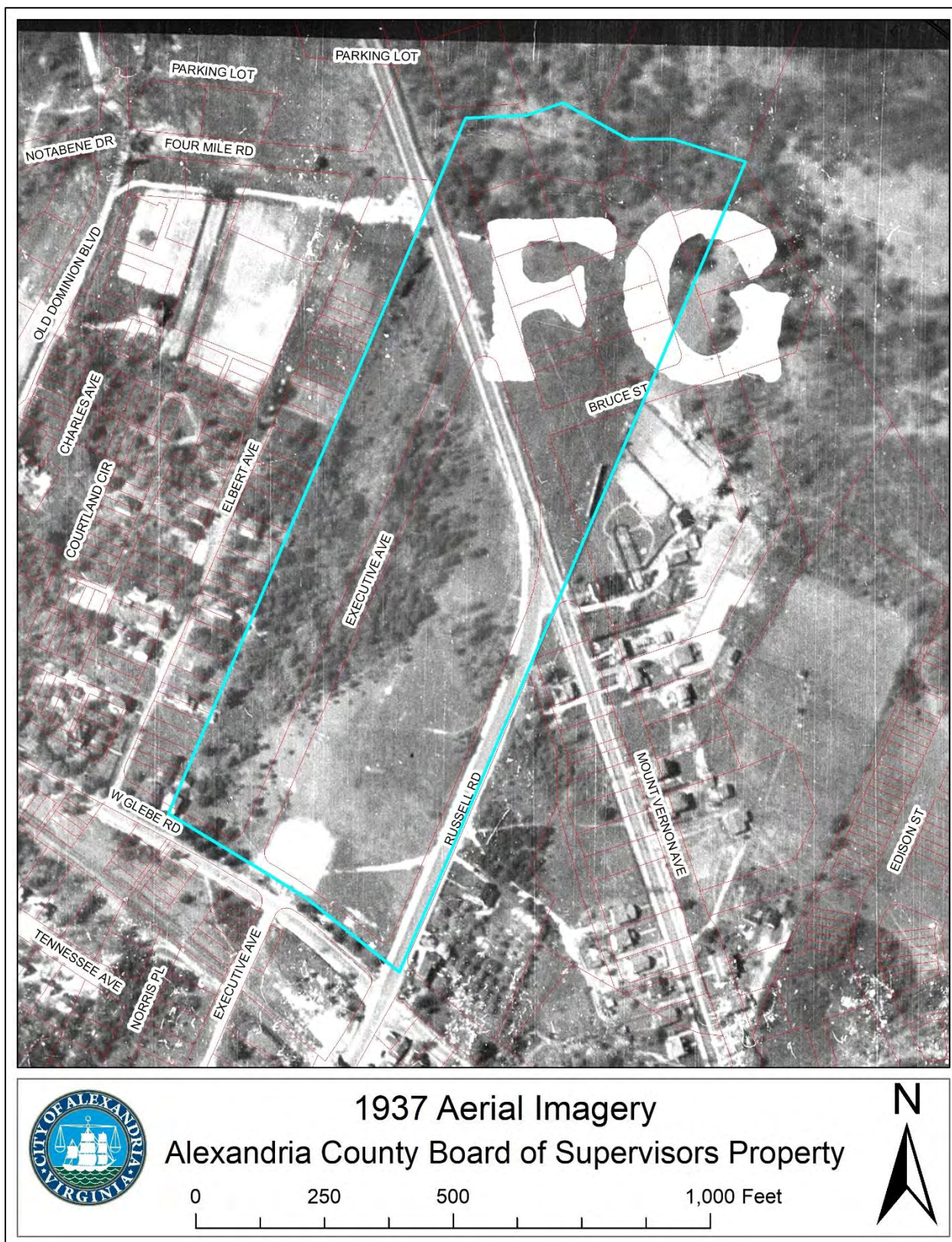


Figure 27. 1937 aerial photography, provided by Fairfax County GIS and Mapping Services

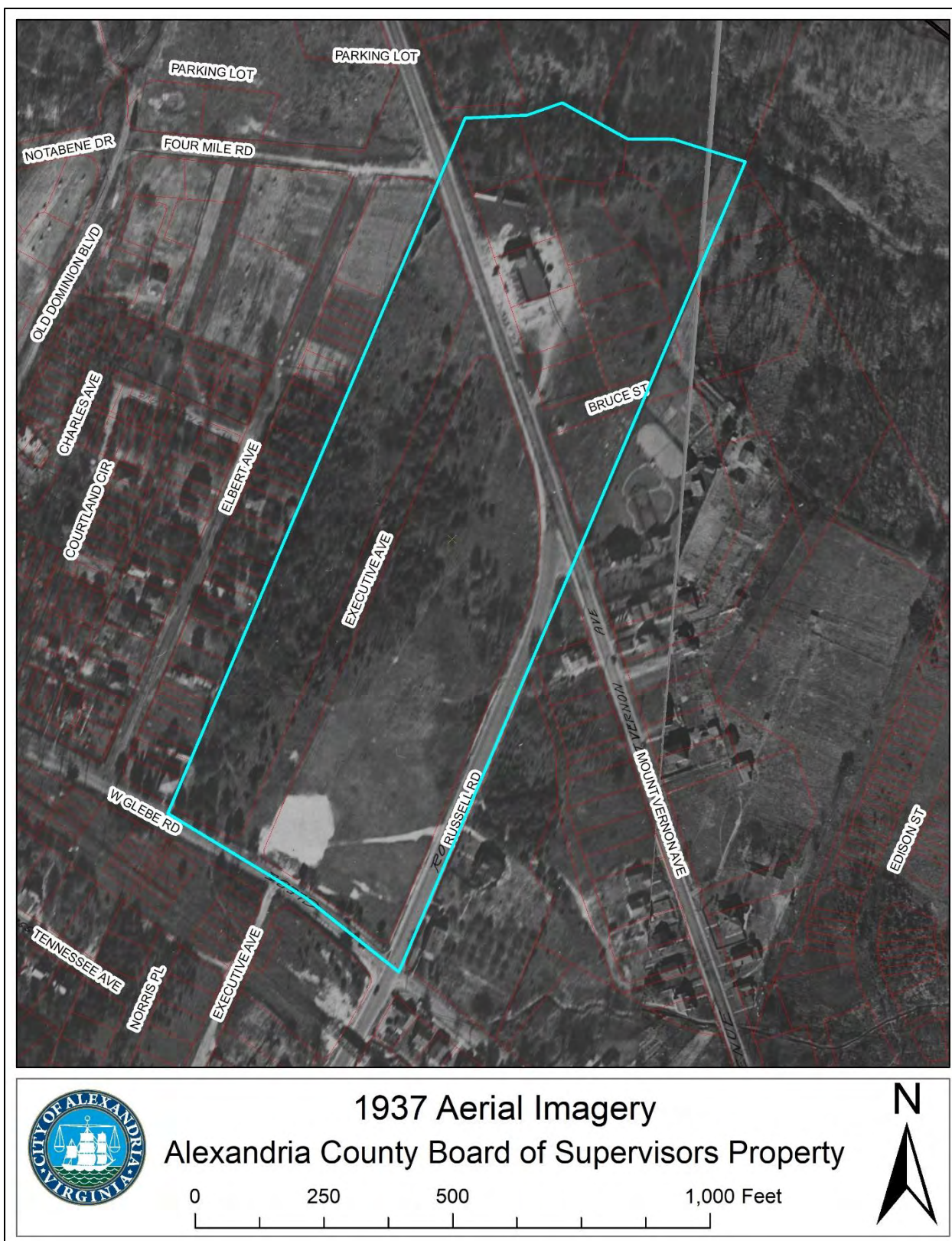


Figure 28. 1937 aerial photography, Farm Service Agency, FG series, Record Group 145.8, National Archives.

approved in 1920.¹⁵² However, to sell the property, the county needed the State of Virginia to remove the use requirement in the deed and give the County the ability to put the property to other uses or to sell it outright. In 1914, the legislature passed a law that addressed the language in the deed and “hereby, remised, released, granted and conveyed” to Alexandria County “reversionary interest of the Commonwealth in and to a lot of land situated in the county of Alexandria... conveyed to the county of Alexandria for the purposes of a poorhouse.”¹⁵³ The purchasers, John C. Nelson and James Dougherty, seemed to have lived in Alexandria County for several years. Nelson was a farmer who rented land near the Long Bridge between Alexandria County and Washington, D.C. In 1918, he had begun to sell his livestock and other farm items, presumably to purchase property.¹⁵⁴ Unfortunately, Dougherty got in trouble with the law for running a gambling house, which might have forced Nelson and Dougherty to sell soon after they had bought the parcel.¹⁵⁵ By the late 1920s, Albert H. Ney, an employee of Hechinger Corporation, purchased the property, and a year later, sold part of the property to his employer, Sidney L. Hechinger.¹⁵⁶ A 1927 plat of the property can be found in the Arlington County deed books. None of these deeds mention burials or a cemetery on the property (Figure 29).

The former Almshouse property was included in the land annexed in 1930 by the City of Alexandria from Arlington County. For almost a decade, Hechinger and Ney appeared to have done nothing with the property; however, in 1937, they sold a little over five and a half acres to H. G. and Frances McCartney.¹⁵⁷ McCartney was an engineer for the City of Alexandria, and was working on improving the street conditions around the poorhouse property, most likely to

¹⁵² Arlington Deed Book 168-143, Arlington County Courthouse, Arlington Virginia; In re: Sale of poorhouse Farm Board of Supervisors Minutes, April 12, 1920; Board of Supervisors Records, 1900-1920, Box 13, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

This deed also referenced Section 834 of the Code of Virginia, 1904, which discussed the power of Boards of Supervisors to (among other things) buy, control, and sell land in the county.

¹⁵³ Senate Bill 366, in *Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia*, Chap. 290, “An Act to authorize the conveyance of the reversionary interest of the Commonwealth in a lot of land in Alexandria county....” Richmond, VA, 1914, 499-500. See also “Governor Signs Primary Bill” *Alexandria Gazette* March 26, 1914, 1.

¹⁵⁴ 1910 U.S. Census, Jefferson District, Alexandria County, Virginia, Enumeration District 13, 14A, accessed January 7, 2022, Ancestry.com; “City News in Brief,” *Alexandria Gazette* February 13, 1919, 1; “City Briefs,” *Alexandria Gazette* September 22, 1922, 3.

¹⁵⁵ Arlington Deed Book 176-96, Arlington County Courthouse, Arlington, Virginia; “4,000 Deeds Recorded in Arlington County” *Washington Post* December 31, 1922, 10.

¹⁵⁶ Arlington Deed Book 256-590, Arlington Deed 289-197, Arlington County Courthouse, Arlington, Virginia; “Albert H Ney,” *Washington Post* December 24, 1946, 2.

¹⁵⁷ Alexandria Deed Book, 139-101, Arlington County Courthouse, Arlington, Virginia.



promote suburban development in the area.¹⁵⁸ Later that year, McCartney sold the land to Don Loftus, a developer working in Alexandria under the company name, Permanesque Homes Village, Inc. Loftus used the land to build Beverly Plaza, one of the first suburban shopping centers in Alexandria, along with a handful of apartment buildings.

Cemetery Found at the Former Almshouse Property

In 1937, Hechinger broke ground on Presidential Gardens, which consisted of 540 garden apartments, in the Arlandria neighborhood.¹⁵⁹ A subdivision plat for Presidential Gardens was recorded in the Alexandria City Deed Books in October 1937, and construction of the apartments started shortly thereafter. Work on the complex continued, several units at a time, when on August 3, 1939, the *Loudoun News*, a weekly paper published in Leesburg, Virginia, ran an article entitled, “Old Graveyard [had been] Uncovered In Alexandria” (Figure 30).¹⁶⁰ The item is reproduced here in full:

Old Graveyard is Uncovered in Alexandria

Alexandria—An ancient graveyard containing an unknown number of bodies was uncovered here by a steam shovel excavating for a new apartment project. The steam shovel was working on the foundation for a new unit of the Presidential Gardens apartment house at Mount Vernon Ave and Russell Road when the discovery was made. City officials said there was no way of estimating the number of bodies in the plot, nor could any record be found showing when the graveyard was established or who was buried in it. The officials added that in all probability it was the burial plot of some early Virginia family. Dr. William Lewis Schafer, city health officer, issued a permit under which the remains unearthed by the shovel were placed in a box and buried in Penny Hill Cemetery – the city’s potter’s field.

From the contents of this report and the evidence presented above regarding Alexandria County’s use of its almshouse property to possibly bury human remains there, several inferences can be made.

First, it should be noted that no other reference to this discovery of human remains has been found. The authors of this report were unable to find coverage of this story in either the contemporary issues of the *Alexandria Gazette* (on microfilm) or in other local papers like the

¹⁵⁸ “Street Repair Contract let in Alexandria,” *Washington Post* July 26, 1935, 5; “Russell Road Construction Resumes Today,” *Washington Post* July 27, 1936, X11; “Street Repair Bids Opened at Alexandria,” *Washington Post* August 26, 1938, 28.

¹⁵⁹ Alexandria Deed Book 139-104, 139-344, 139-422, Alexandria Courthouse, Alexandria, Virginia; “Hechinger Project Head Since 1938,” *Washington Post* June 27, 1966, B2; [Advertisement], *Washington Post* March 5, 1939, R1; “Beverly Plaza Park-and-Shop Center Liked,” *Washington Post* January 30, 1938, R3.

¹⁶⁰ “Old Graveyard Is Uncovered In Alexandria,” *Loudoun News* August 3, 1939, 6.



Figure 30. Loudoun News, August 3, 1939..

Evening Star and *Washington Post* (digitized and searchable). It is not clear why this story ran in the *Loudoun News*, but not in the *Alexandria Gazette* or other regional newspapers. Additionally, the article did not explain how the paper learned of the story without local coverage.

Second, based on the research presented above, it appears likely that the remains encountered during the summer of 1939 belonged to individuals interred by the County between 1891 and 1918. The *Loudoun News* reported that City officials thought that these burials belonged to “some early Virginia family,” but this conclusion was reached only after local authorities conducted some kind of search and no records were found to document these burials. It is certainly possible these remains belonged to the colonial or early republican periods, but the title search and map survey of this parcel provide no details to support this argument. In 1961, William H. Price, author of an article in the *Arlington Historical Magazine* on the opening months of the Civil War in Northern Virginia, speculated in his concluding paragraph that the “unidentified graves [that] were uncovered by construction workers” at Presidential Gardens could

be nine Union soldiers from Ohio. He believed that these men were buried “at Camp Lincoln near the old cotton factory known at [sic] Roche’s Mill,” located on Four Mile Run about a quarter of a mile to the west of the almshouse property.¹⁶¹ Several Civil War-era maps depicted encampments on or adjacent to the site (see Figures 3 and 8), but none included cemeteries. Again, it is possible the human remains recovered in 1939 belonged to Union soldiers killed in

¹⁶¹ William H. Price, “Civil War Military Operations in Northern Virginia in May-June 1861,” *Arlington Historical Magazine*, 2, no. 1 (October 1961): 7.

May and June 1861, but Price did not provide citations or additional documentation to support his claim. Other than his speculation, no specific evidence pointing to Civil War burials on this parcel has been uncovered.

Third, the *Loudoun News* publicly reported on this cemetery discovery and described actions taken by City officials, including the issuing of a permit for the removal and reburial of human remains. This suggests the handling of the cemetery was not carried out in secret, and that developers were not trying to hide it. Because of this fact, additional documentation may exist in extant City or County records from this period.

Fourth, the news report does not provide numbers (or even estimates) for the number of graves disturbed by construction activities, but it appears that more than one burial was disturbed, but few enough remains were encountered that they fit into a box which was reburied at Penny Hill. It does not appear that archaeological excavations were undertaken to identify individual grave features; nor was the full extent of the cemetery delineated. A literal reading of the report in the *Loudoun News* indicates the remains were placed in a single box, but other interpretations suggest that there were multiple boxes. It would appear likely that after the initial discovery, construction activities continued at the site and any human remains encountered were placed aside for reburial. In either case, no City records have been found that described their reburial at Penny Hill.¹⁶²

Fifth, while the report in the *Loudoun News* does not specify the exact location of these burials, further investigation into the construction sequence at Presidential Gardens can narrow the search for this cemetery. Building permits filed with the City of Alexandria exist for 18 of the 21 apartment buildings at Presidential Gardens. Table 2 provides the date each building permit was submitted, establishing a rough order for the development of the complex. These documents include a date of submission but do not state when construction for each building started. In two cases, the dates on the building permits can be coupled with newspaper articles to roughly determine the amount of time that elapsed between the filing of the building permit and occupation of the apartment building. The permit for the “Andrew Jackson” was filed September 9, 1938, and four months later, the newlywed Abrahams announced they would reside there after they returned from “a wedding trip.”¹⁶³ Likewise, the permit for the “James Polk” was filed March 29, 1939, and six months later, another married couple said they would be residing in that building starting October 1, 1939.¹⁶⁴ It is not clear if these two buildings were complete by the time of the newspaper announcements, but if not, it would appear they were close enough to completion that people were making plans to move in. A July 14, 1939 article in

¹⁶² See for example Walter Sanford, *Burial Records of Penny Hill Cemetery, 1912-1976*, Special Collections, Kate Waller Barrett Public Library, Alexandria, Virginia; Penny Hill Death Certificates and Burials, on file, Alexandria Archaeology.

¹⁶³ “Weddings Share in Attention of Alexandria Society,” *Evening Star* January 29, 1939, 46.

¹⁶⁴ “C.H. Fletcher, Jr., Weds Miss Penn,” *Washington Post* September 24, 1939, S5.

the *Washington Post* also noted the robbery of three residences at the “John Tyler,” adding it to the list of apartments completed by August.¹⁶⁵ Based on these news reports and permits, each building took an estimated four-to-six months to construct.

While existing building permits and newspaper articles provide some insight as to the possible location of the cemetery, other primary sources help to further establish which structures were built and occupied prior to August 3, 1939. City directories are a great way to disaggregate where people lived; however, they do not provide specific information as to when directory publishers collected information. *Hill’s Alexandria (Virginia) Directory* for 1938 only listed “Presidential Gardens Apartments” and not individual buildings within the complex.¹⁶⁶ The 1940 edition of the same directory names twelve apartment buildings, which are the same twelve buildings found in the 1940 U.S. Census (see Table 2). The census taker stopped at Presidential Gardens on April 1, 1940, and presumably directory publishers visited about the same time.¹⁶⁷ The 1942 edition of Hill’s directory includes entries for all 21 apartment buildings at Presidential Gardens.¹⁶⁸

Maps can also provide important information about the sequence of construction. The 1939 WPA land use survey, dated May 1939 and based on the 1937 City parcel atlas (see Figure 10), shaded sub-lots for the six apartment buildings along Russell Road and the one along Mount Vernon Avenue between Executive Avenue and Russell Road as “Apartments.” It did not shade the other 14 sub-lots, suggesting they were either empty or otherwise unoccupied. The Library of Congress’s copy of the 1941 Sanborn Map Company atlas for Alexandria (Figure 31) must have been published before September 31,

Table 2. Building Permits for Presidential Gardens Apartment Buildings

Building Name	Permit Date
George Washington*	January 1938
John Adams*	January 1938
Thomas Jefferson*	January 1938
James Madison*	April 19, 1938
James Monroe*	[no known date]
Andrew Jackson*	September 9, 1938
Martin Van Buren*	October 10, 1938
John Tyler*	[no known date]
James Polk*	March 29, 1939
Zachary Taylor*	[no known date]
Franklin Pierce*	April 24, 1939
Abraham Lincoln*	April 24, 1939
Ulysses Grant	April 24, 1939
James Garfield	April 24, 1939
Grover Cleveland	April 24, 1939
Benjamin Harrison	April 24, 1939
Chester Arthur	April 24, 1939
Rutherford Hayes	April 24, 1939
Andrew Johnson/ Woodrow Wilson	April 24, 1939
James Buchanan	April 24, 1939
Millard Fillmore	April 24, 1939

*Building names with an asterisk denote buildings listed in the *Hill’s Alexandria (Virginia) Directory* for 1940 and the 1940 U.S. Census and known to be occupied by April 1, 1940.

¹⁶⁵ “Apartments Robbed,” *Washington Post* July 14, 1939, 15.

¹⁶⁶ *Hill’s Alexandria (Virginia) City Directory* (Richmond, VA: Hill Directory Co., Inc., 1938).

¹⁶⁷ *Hill’s Alexandria (Virginia) City Directory* (Richmond, VA: Hill Directory Co., Inc., 1940).

¹⁶⁸ *Hill’s Alexandria (Virginia) City Directory* (Richmond, VA: Hill Directory Co., Inc., 1942).

1941. Their copy is stamped with this date, and it appears to have been in their possession by then. Many of the pages included initials of a drafter, editor, or other person involved in the production of these maps in the lower right-hand corner along with a date. “8/41” and, in one case, “9/41” indicates a production date for the volume of August and September 1941. This atlas depicted all 21 buildings at Presidential Gardens but indicated that three of them were drawn “From...Plans,” suggesting 18 of the buildings had been completed by August or September 1941. Only the “Andrew Johnson,” “James Buchanan,” and “Millard Fillmore,” the three northernmost buildings fronting on the east side of Executive Avenue, remained uncompleted.

Intriguingly, the *City of Alexandria Virginia Parcel Map Atlas* on file with Alexandria Archaeology shows a penciled-in square feature on Presidential Gardens (Figures 32 and 33).¹⁶⁹ It is unknown what this feature is supposed to represent, by whom it was drawn, or when it was drawn. Aside from block numbers added to the blocks of Old Town, no other penciled notations are present on the map. Nothing is currently known about the origin of this atlas, which might explain this penciled-in square. It is suspected that another City department used the map during the middle of the 20th century and gave it to Alexandria Archaeology at some point in the last 45 years. If this feature is supposed to represent the former Alexandria County almshouse cemetery, it could have been added by whichever City department(s) used this atlas to conduct its business. On other map pages are notations indicating property sales and values, suggesting the atlas came from an office involved in planning, taxes, or real estate. Nothing is indicated on the detailed parcel map for Presidential Gardens, only the City-wide map. The map is in poor condition, but it shows a date in the lower left-hand corner of 1943 and is consistent with other known maps from that period. The location of Executive Avenue is offset on this map, but once the map is georectified, this square feature falls within the “Andrew Johnson” (sometimes called “Woodrow Wilson”) sub-lot. Perhaps not coincidentally, this feature appears to also coincide with the hollow rectangle behind the main almshouse structure on the 1902 U.S. Coast Survey map (Figure 22). Because nothing is currently known about the origins of this specific City map or the square feature depicted in pencil, it is difficult to draw conclusions regarding this map or feature, except to note their existence and to suggest further study.

The 1939 Personal Property tax assessment from the City of Alexandria can also be used to establish which buildings were completed and occupied prior to August 3, 1939, but only in conjunction with the 1940 U.S. Census, which took place after the discovery of the cemetery.¹⁷⁰ The tax laws in effect in 1939 stated that each taxpayer owning certain classes of personal property on January 1, 1939 should file their returns with their local commissioner of the

¹⁶⁹ *City of Alexandria Virginia Parcel Map Atlas*, Alexandria Corporation, [ca. 1943], on file Alexandria Archaeology.

¹⁷⁰ City of Alexandria, Personal Property Tax Records, 1939, microfilm, Alexandria Library Special Collections; 1940 U.S. Census, City of Alexandria, Virginia, accessed May 8, 2022, Ancestry.com.



Figure 31. 1941 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Sanborn Map Company, 1941.

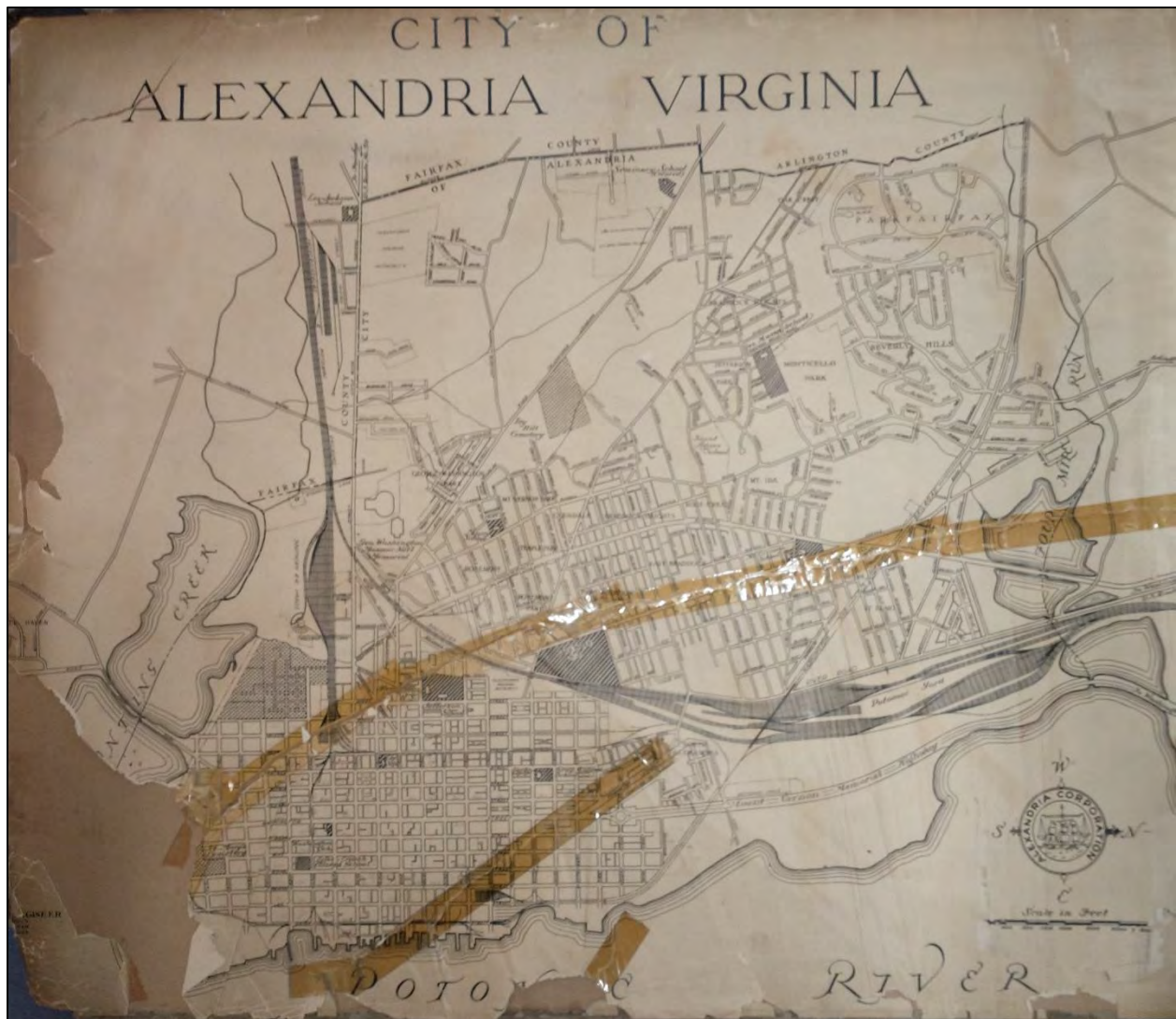
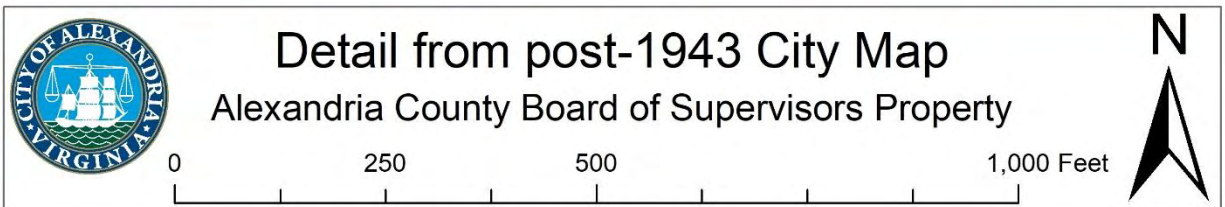


Figure 32. City of Alexandria, Virginia, post-1943, on file, Alexandria Archaeology.

revenue by June 1.¹⁷¹ Therefore, this list captures the residences of Alexandrians as of January 1, 1939 (although it is not clear how the address of an individual who moved between January 1 and June 1, 1939 would be reported).

In most cases, the 1939 tax assessment only recorded residents as living at “Presidential Gardens” and not specifically to individual apartment buildings. However, working backward from the list of names in the 1940 U.S. Census, residents of eight apartment buildings can be found at Presidential Gardens in the 1939 tax assessment. This analysis relies on the assumption that residents of Presidential Gardens in 1939 had not moved to another building in the same complex by the time of the census. Six of these buildings had between three and nine

¹⁷¹ *The Tax code of Virginia. With all amendments enacted at the sessions of the General Assembly of 1928, 1930, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1936, 1936-7, 1938 and 1940*, Department of Taxation of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Richmond, 1940, 209-224, see especially Chapter 19, Section 286.



Detail from post-1943 City Map Alexandria County Board of Supervisors Property

Figure 33. Detail from City of Alexandria, Virginia, post-1943, on file, Alexandria Archaeology.

households listed in both 1939 and 1940, but two buildings only had one household each. Given the limitations of this analysis, these two buildings might have been occupied by the 1939 tax assessment, but there is less confidence in this conclusion than for the other six buildings.

Given the sequence of construction, it appears that the unit whose basement was being excavated in August 1939 was either one of the southern units along the west side of Executive Avenue or any of the units along the east side of Executive Avenue (see Figure 34) . Those buildings include:

Franklin Pierce
Abraham Lincoln
Ulysses Grant
James Garfield
Grover Cleveland
Benjamin Harrison

Chester Arthur
Rutherford Hayes
Andrew Johnson/Woodrow Wilson
James Buchanan
Millard Fillmore

There are three other buildings to possibly add to this list. “Martin Van Buren” is coded as apartments in the May 1939 WPA land use map but no households from the 1940 U.S. Census and 1939 City tax list could be located for this building. A single household inhabited “James Polk” and “Zachary Taylor” based on the 1940 U.S. Census and 1939 City tax list. Most likely, if built prior to August 1939, these three buildings were probably recently completed (or soon to be completed) at the time of the tax assessment. Given the limitations of this analysis, however, it cannot be completely ruled out that they had not just been finished by August 1939. The Russell Road and Mount Vernon Avenue-fronting buildings all appear to have been completed by the time that the article was published in the *Loudoun News*.

Future Research

This report gives an overview of Alexandria County’s almshouse and burial ground, as well as the support apparatus for its poorer residents, primarily from the 1870s through the 1920s. Future avenues of research include the following. First is the impact of Freedmen’s Village on the County’s support for indigent residents. Newspaper articles allude to the County government petitioning the U.S. Congress for funding, but we have not found information on the federal government’s response. Correspondence and other documentation for the post-Civil War period possibly exists at the National Archives. Additionally, the Library of Virginia has unprocessed boxes from the Arlington County government. It is unknown whether additional relevant materials are located there, but it is possible that any extant collections created by the County related to the care of the poor, beyond those already processed, would be housed in

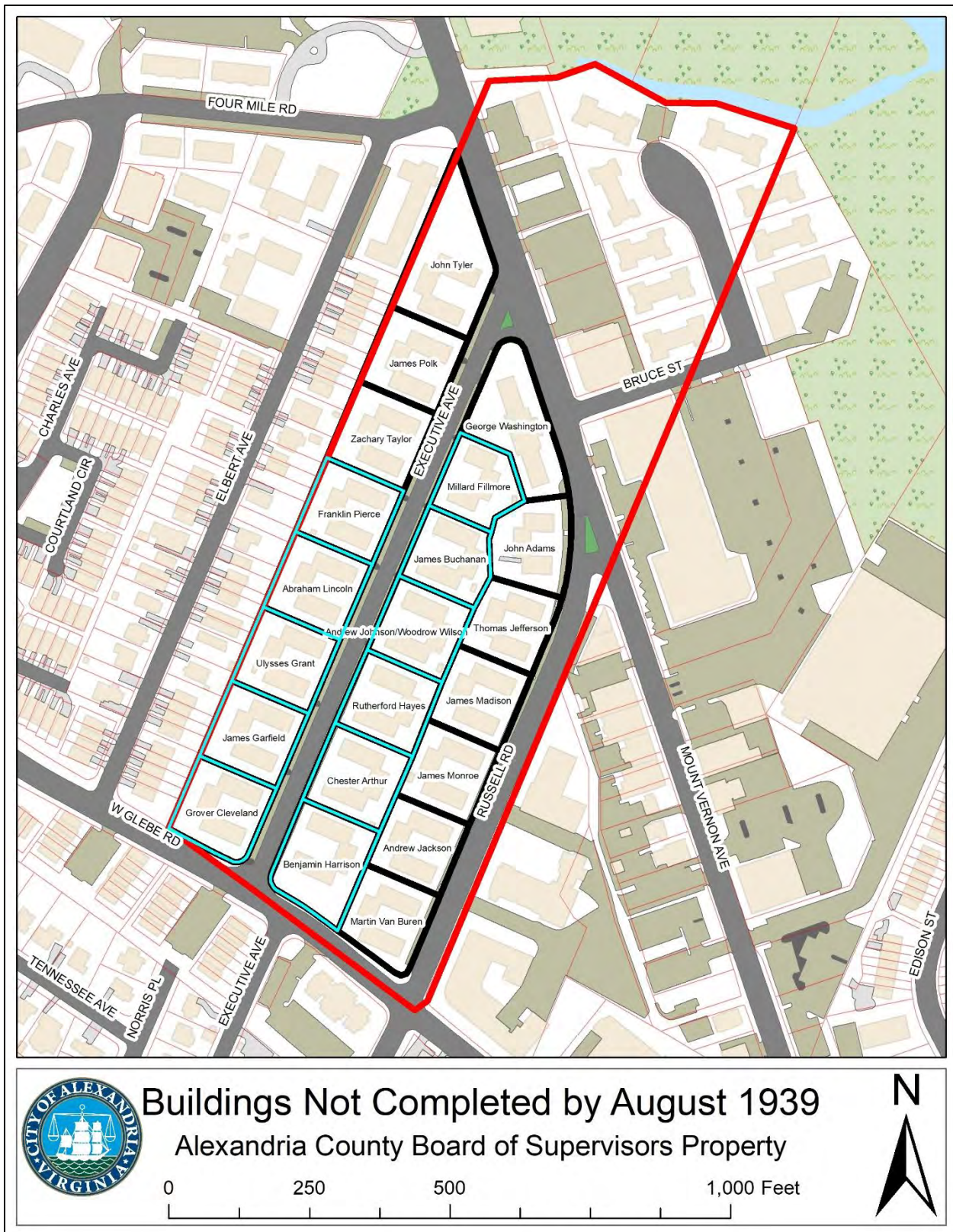


Figure 34. Buildings not completed by August 1939 and potential locations for the encountered human remains.

this collection. In addition to unprocessed boxes, there are minutes from Washington Township (1871-1875) in Alexandria County, which might provide further insight into the day-to-day workings of the County. Finally, one of the biggest questions relates to the County's burial of indigent residents and unidentified persons. Additional archival research in both Arlington County and City of Alexandria records may shed more light on the almshouse and cemetery. Finally, research into the construction of Presidential Gardens may refine the development chronology of the complex and identify the likely location of the cemetery encountered in 1939.

Summary

Alexandria County (now Arlington) constructed an almshouse or poorhouse sometime in 1881 or 1882 on property conveyed by Virginia in 1880 "for poor-house purposes." This facility was separate from the one run by the City of Alexandria on Poor House Lane (now Monroe Avenue), also located in the County. Prior to 1900, Alexandria County seems to have abandoned this facility, but the structure remained on the property for at least several more years. By 1927, the County's almshouse was no longer standing. This property was included in the portion of Arlington County annexed by the City of Alexandria in 1930.

The available evidence suggests that Alexandria County interred deceased almshouse residents and other indigent or unidentified individuals on this 20-acre property. However, the documentary evidence is inconclusive. Records suggest burials began here in 1891, when the City of Alexandria closed its municipal cemetery to non-residents, and continued until 1918. The County sold the property the following year.

The discovery of human remains during the construction of Presidential Gardens as reported in the *Loudoun News* in 1939 is the strongest evidence of this property being used as a burial ground. Death certificates, newspaper items, and other records presented above also possibly document the County's use of this property as a burial ground. No reference to a cemetery here has been found on deeds, plats, legal instruments, or maps. Other historic Alexandria cemeteries frequently appear in these kinds of documents, but not always. Many cemeteries like this one, especially smaller cemeteries, those used for shorter durations, and those of marginalized communities, are less-well documented in the historical record.

Recommendations

The Alexandria County almshouse and associated burial ground will be registered by Alexandria Archaeology as an archaeological site with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. Alexandria Archaeology will review any ground disturbance as part of the Archaeological Protection Code to ensure work is done by a qualified archaeologist.

Appendix A: Almshouse Property Chain of Title¹

Date	Grantor	Grantee	Description	Deed Book
Sept. 13, 1854 (Probated Oct. 6, 1856)	Frances Swann	Thomas W. Swann (son), William T. Swann (son), Charles A. Swann (son), Edward Swann (son), Frances B. Swann (daughter), Mary Swann (daughter) Virginia Alexandria (niece— daughter of William B. Alexander); Executors: William T. and Frances B. Swann	<p>First. I devise unto my two Daughters Frances B. Swann and Mary M. Swann, their heirs and assigns forever as tenants in common [at] my Preston Farm, bounded by the Potomac River, Four Mile Creek, the Alexandria and Washington Turnpike Road and Daingerfields Land (exclusive however of the Graveyard), the said Preston Farm to be divided equally between them, according to value.</p> <p>Second. Whereas I have heretofore conveyed to my Son Thomas W. Swann, twenty five acres of Land, being part of a larger tract of Land near the Columbian Factory which larger tract is bounded by the Lands of Brown and King on the East of Lippitt and of Lloyd on the South Dr. R. B. Alexanders Land and others on the western and north western sides thereof, and Four Mile Creek on the northern and north eastern sides thereof; and where I have also conveyed to my son William T. Swann fifty acres of Land and some perches being also a part of the said tract of Land near the Columbian Factory. Now I give and devise unto my said son Thomas W. Swann his heirs and assigns for ever, in addition to the said twenty five acres heretofore conveyed to him, the piece of Land on the southern side of the old George Town road adjoining the said land heretofore conveyed by me to him, and between his said Land and that portion of the Land conveyed by me to my son William which lies South of</p>	7-126 (Will Book)

			<p>the old George Town Road. I desire my son William T. Swann and his heirs to have the Land heretofore conveyed by me to him. I give and devise unto my son Charles A. Swann his heirs and assigns forever so much Land to be laid off out of the residue of the said Tract of Land near the Columbian Factory, as may be equal in value to the land heretofore conveyed by me as aforesaid to my son William the same to be laid off in equal quantities on both sides of the old George Town Road. I devise unto my son Edward Swann his heirs and assigns forever so much land to be laid of also out of the said residue of the said tract of land near the Columbian Factory as maybe equal in value to the land heretofore conveyed by me as aforesaid to my son William, the same to be laid off in equal quantities, on both sides of the old George Town road. I also give unto my son Thomas W. Swann his heirs and assigns forever, so much land from the said residue of the said tract of land near the Columbian Factory as will, computing the said twenty five acres which were heretofore conveyed to him by me, each sive[?] of such improvements as he may have made on the property since it was conveyed to him, and computing also the piece of Land herein before devised to him, be equal in value to the land heretofore conveyed by me as aforesaid to my son William.</p> <p>Eleventh. I desire all my children to have the Grave yard at Preston and I hereby devise the same to them and their heirs with the right</p>	
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			of ingress and egress to and from the same. ¹⁷²	
Oct. 20, 1858	Edward and Maria Louisa Swann, and William B. Webb	Thomas W. Swann	BEGINNING for the same at a chestnut oak on the edge of the Four Mile Creek and running thence South twenty six degrees West (S. 26° W.) one hundreds and ten poles and seventy seven hundredths of a pole (110-77/100) to the north side of the County road; thence with the north side of the said County road North fifty four and a half degrees West (N. 54-1/2° W.) thirty poles and ninety two hundredths of a pole (30.-92/100 poles); thence North twenty six degrees East (N. 26° E.) one hundred and one poles, and thirty eight hundredths of a pole (101-38/100) to the Four Mile Creek; thence with the said creek to the place of beginning containing twenty acres, and all the right, title, and interest of him the said Edward Swann and Maria Louisa Swann his wife in and to the said creek.	X-Z 9-160 (Bargain & Sale)
Aug. 5, 1859	Frances B. Swann (executor for Frances Swann); Charles A. and Louisa I. Swann, Edward and Maria L. Swann, and William T. and Rosina M. Swann	Thomas W. Swann (also an executor for Frances Swann)	BEGINNING at a point on the north side of the Old Georgetown road which point is the south east corner of the lot of land belonging to the said Thomas W. Swann adjoining the lands of James Roach and the same (except a small part sold by the said Thomas W.) which was conveyed to him the said Thomas W. by deed from Frances B. Swann, executrix of the land Mrs. Frances Swann, Charles A. Swann and wife and others dated the 9 th day of April, 1857 and thence from the said S. E. Corner as a beginning point with the said Old	X-Z 9-161 (Bargain & Sale)

¹⁷² This cemetery was located approximately a mile to the east of the Board of Supervisors almshouse property and was exhumed in 1922 prior to an expansion of Potomac Yard. For more, see Appendix A in Robert M. Adams, *The Archaeological Investigation of the Former Preston Plantation and Alexandria Canal at Potomac Yard, Alexandria, Virginia* (Hayes, VA: International Archaeological Consultants, 1996), accessed March 7, 2022, <https://media.alexandriava.gov/docs-archives/historic/info/archaeology/sitereportadams1996potomacyardprestonplantation.pdf>.

			<p>Georgetown road, south sixty one and a half degrees East, (S. 61-1/2° E.) two poles and ninety four hundredths of a pole, to the south west corner of a lot of land conveyed to the said Thomas W. Swann by Edward Swann, and by William B. Webb, trustee, (formerly a lot on the north side of the said Old Georgetown road owned by Estwick Evans) thence North twenty six degrees East (N. 26° E.) eighty eight and a half poles to Four Mile creek; thence North sixty four degrees West (N. 64° W.) with Four Mile Creek, two poles and ninety four hundredths of a pole, and thence to beginning. (the piece of land hereby conveyed being a slip of land between the two lots of land of the said Thomas W. Swann above herein named and referred to) containing one acre, two roods, and twenty perches, this grant, to include such right, title and interest, as the said parties of the first part may have in that portion of Four Mile Creek which lies on the water boundary of the piece of land hereby conveyed, below the line of the high water mark, between the said line of North twenty six degrees (N. 26° E.) extended into the creek and the line (which is parallel to it) running from the said end of the said line of North sixty four degrees West to the beginning, extended into the creek, TOGETHER with the appurtenances to the piece of ground hereby conveyed belonging or appertaining.</p>	
Feb. 9, 1867	Lewis A. Sherwood	Thomas W. Swann (second);	<p>WITNESSETH, that the said Lewis A. Sherwood, in consideration of the sum of five dollars doth grant unto the said Lawrence B. Taylor with general warranty two certain</p>	X-Z 9 165 (Trust)

		Lawrence B. Taylor (third)	tracts or parcels of land, in the said County of Alexandria, one containing twenty acres and the other one acre, two roods and twenty poles	
Feb. 9, 1867	Thomas W. and Helen Swann	Lewis A. Sherwood	<p>BEGINNING at a chestnut oak, on the edge of Four Mile Creek, and running thence S. 26° W. 110.77 poles to the north side of the County Road; thence with the said road N. 54-1/2° W. 30-92/100 poles; thence N. 26° E. 101-38/100 poles to "Four Mile Creek" thence with said creek ot the beginning, containing 20 acres being the same tract which was conveyed to the said Thomas W. Swann party hereto of the first part by deed from Edward Swann and wife, and William B. Webb, bearing date on the 20th day of October, in the year 1858; Also one other piece or parcel of land bounded as follows to wit:</p> <p>BEGINNING at a point on the north side of the Old Georgetown road which point is the south east corner of a lot of land belonging to the said Thomas W. Swann party hereto of the first part, adjoining the lands of the late James Roach, and which was conveyed to him the said Thomas W. Swann by deed from France B. Swann executrix of the late Mrs. Frances Swann, Charles A. Swann and wife and other dated the 9th day of April, 1857, and thence from the said south east corner as a beginning point with the said "Old Georgetown road" S. 61-1/2° E. 2 poles 94/100 to the southwest corner of the lot of land first herein before described; thence N. 26° E. 88-1/2 poles to "Four Mile Creek" thence N 64° W. with the said creek, 2.94-</p>	X-Z 9 169 (Bargain & Sale)

			100 poles and thence to the beginning, containing one acre, two roods and twenty poles, which piece or parcel of land was conveyed, to the said Thomas W. Swann, by deed from Charles A. Swann and wife and others bearing date on the 5 th August 1859.	
Feb. 17, 1870	Jesse R. Sherwood, Commissioner	James Hilton; Lawrence R. Taylor and Thomas W. Swann (third part)	Beginning at a Chestnut Oak on the edge of "Four Mile Creek," and running thence S 26° W 110 77/100 poles to the North side of the County road; thence with the said road N 54 1/2° W 30 92/100 poles, thence N 26° E 101 38/100 poles to "Four Mile Creek" then with said Creek to the beginning, containing twenty acres. Also one other piece or parcel of land Sounded as follows, to wit: Beginning at a point on the North side of the Old Georgetown Road which point is the southeast corner of a lot of land belonging in 1867 to the said Thomas W. Swann, adjoining the lands—that belonged to the late James Roach, and which was conveyed to him the said Thomas W. Swann by Frances Swann, Executrix & thereby deed dated April 9 th 1857, and thence from the said southeast corner as a beginning point with the said "Old Georgetown Road" S 61 1/2° E 2/94/100 poles to the southwest corner of the lot of land first hereinbefore described; then N 26° E 88 1/2 poles to "Four Mile Creek"; then N 64° W with the said Creek 2 94/100 poles and thence to the beginning containing one acre two roods, and twenty poles	A4-111 (Bargain & Sale)
Aug. 24, 1877	James Hilton Estate	Francis M. Mills, Escheator Alexandria County	The said land situated in the County of Alexandria containing Twenty-one Acres, two Roods, and Twenty one Poles described by metes and bounds in a certain deed from J. R. Sherwood et als. To the said James Hilton	Arlington Deed D4-26 (Escheat)

April 13, 1880	Edmund Burke, Commonwealth Attorney for Alexandria County <u>“for poor house purposes”</u>	Alexandria County Board of Supervisors	Beginning at a chestnut oak on the edge of “Four Mile Creek” and running thence S 26° W 110 77/140 poles to the North side of the County road; thence with the said road N 54 1/2° W 30 92/140 poles, thence N 26° E 101 38/100 poles to “Four Mile Creek”, thence with said creek to the beginning containing twenty acres; also one other piece or parcel of land bounded as follows, to wit, Beginning at a point on the north-side of the Old Georgetown Road which point is the South east Corner of a lot of land belonging in 1867 to Thomas W. Swann adjoining the lands that belonged to the late James Roach, and which was conveyed to him the said Thomas W. Swann by Francis Swann Executrix & others by deed dated April 9, 1857, and thence from the said South East corner as a beginning point with the said “Old Georgetown Road” S 61 1/2° E 2 94/100 poles to the South West corner of the lot of land first here in before described; thence N 26° E 88 ½ poles to “Four Mile Creek” thence N 64° W with the said Creek 2 94/100 poles and thence to the beginning containing one acre two roods [rods] and twenty poles	Arlington Deed E4-231 (Bargain & Sale)
April 12, 1920 (deed recorded) February 15, 1919 (property sold at auction)	Alexandria County Board of Supervisors	John C. Nelson and James Dougherty	FIRST: Beginning at a chestnut oak on the edge of “Four Mile Creek” and running thence south 26 degrees west 110.77 poles to the North side of the County road; thence with the said road North 54 ½ degrees west 30.92 poles, thence North 26 degrees east 101.38 poles to “Four Mile Creek,” thence with said creek to the beginning, containing 20 acres of land.	Arlington Deed 168-143 (Bargain & Sale)

			<p>SECOND: Beginning at a point on the North side of the Old Georgetown Road which point is the Southwest corner of a lot of land belonging in 1867 to Thomas J. Swan, adjoining the land that belonged to the late James Roach, and which was conveyed to him, the said Thomas W. Swan, by Frances Swan, executrix and others by deed dated April 9, 1857, and thence from the said Southwest corner as a beginning point with the said Old Georgetown Road South 61 ½ degrees East 2.94 poles to the Southwest corner of the lot of land first hereinbefore described thence North 26 degrees East 88 ½ poles to Four Mile Creek; thence North 64 degrees West with the said creek 2.94 poles and thence to the beginning, containing 1 acre, 2 rods and 20 poles. Less and except that portion of the said land which is occupied by Mt. Vernon Avenue and the Page Road as a right of way. <u>The said property is commonly known as the Poor House Farm, of Alexandria County, Virginia, and was formerly used as a Poor House Farm.</u></p>	
April 29, 1921	John C. Nelson	Edward Duncan	<p>FIRST: Beginning at a chestnut oak on the edge of "Four Mile Creek" and running thence south 26 degrees west 110.77 poles to the north side of the county road; thence with the said road north 54 ½ degrees west 30.92 poles; thence north 26 degrees east 101.38 poles to "Four Mile Creek," thence with said creek to the beginning, containing twenty acres of land.</p> <p>SECOND: Beginning at a point on the north side of the Old Georgetown road which point</p>	Arlington Deed 176-96 (Bargain & Sale)

			<p>is the south west corner of a lot of land belonging in 1867 to Thomas J. Swan, adjoining the lands that belonged to the late James Roach and which lands were conveyed to him by Frances Swan, Executrix, <u>et al.</u>, by deed dated April 9, 1857; and thence from said southwest corner as a beginning point, with the said Old Georgetown road south 61 ½ degrees east, 2.94 poles to the southeast corner of the lot of land first therein before mentioned; thence north 26 degrees east 88 ½ poles to said "Four Mile Creek"; thence north 64 degrees west with the said creek 2.94 poles, and thence to the beginning, containing one acre, two roods and twenty poles. Less and except that portion of the aforesaid land which is occupied by Mt. Vernon Avenue and the Page road as a right of way.</p>	
Feb. 5, 1927	William C. Gloth, Special Commissioner	Albert H. Ney	<p>BEGINNING at an iron pipe on the south edge of Four Mile Run Marsh, said pipe being at the site of a Chestnut Oak, an original corner, and being a corner common to the property lately belonging to Christopher Fendner and the property being described, thence south 23 degrees 56' West 1686.66 feet to a point on the North side of the Glebe Road, usually known as the Chain Bridge and Alexandria Road; thence with said north side of said road, north 50 degrees 15' 30" West 313.03 feet to an original Iron pipe at the corner of Sunnyside Subdivision; thence with the east line of said subdivision north 23 degrees 58' east 864.95 feet to an original stone; thence north 24 degrees 07' east 583.6 feet to an iron pipe at the southwest corner of said Fendner's property; thence following along</p>	<p>Arlington Deed 256-590 (Bargain & Sale with Plat)</p>

			the south marsh edge of said Four Mile Run and also the south lines of said Fendner's property as follows; north 87 degrees 58' east 120.2 feet to an iron pipe, north 70 degrees 18' east 72.6 feet to an iron pipe, south 60 degrees 20' east 145.2 feet to an iron pipe, south 88 degrees 36' east 9 5/7 feet to an iron pipe and south 68 degrees 12' east 144.3 feet to the point of beginning containing 17.6242 acres exclusive of the area contained within the lines of the Russell Road and Mt. Vernon Avenue, as the same is illustrated upon the accompanying plat which is attached hereto and made a part of this deed.	
Feb. 5, 1927	Albert H. Ney	Harry R. Thomas, Trustee	BEGINNING at an iron pipe on the south edge of Four Mile Run Marsh, said pipe being at the site of a Chestnut Oak, an original corner, and being a corner common to the property lately belonging to Christopher Fendner and the property being described, thence south 23 degrees 56' West 1686.66 feet to a point on the North side of the Glebe Road, usually known as the Chain Bridge and Alexandria Road; thence with said north side of said road, north 50 degrees 15' 30" West 313.03 feet to an original Iron pipe at the corner of Sunnyside Subdivision; thence with the east line of said subdivision north 23 degrees 58' east 864.95 feet to an original stone; thence north 24 degrees 07' east 583.6 feet to an iron pipe at the southwest corner of said Fendner's property; thence following along the south marsh edge of said Four Mile Run and also the south lines of said Fendner's property as follows; north 87 degrees 58' east 120.2 feet to an iron pipe, north 70	Arlington Deed 256-594 (Trust)

			degrees 18' east 72.6 feet to an iron pipe, south 60 degrees 20' east 145.2 feet to an iron pipe, south 88 degrees 36' east 9 5/7 feet to an iron pipe and south 68 degrees 12' east 144.3 feet to the point of beginning containing 17.6242 acres exclusive of the area contained within the lines of the Russell Road and Mt. Vernon Avenue, as the same is illustrated upon the accompanying plat which is attached hereto and made a part of this deed.	
Nov. 17, 1928	Albert H. and Birdie Frank Ney	Sidney L. Hechinger	BEGINNING at an iron pipe on the south edge of Four Mile Run Marsh, said pipe being at the side of the chestnut oak, an original corner, and being a corner common to the property lately belonging to Christopher Fendner and the property being described, thence S. 23° 56' W. 1686.66 feet to a point on the north side of the Glebe Road, usually known as Chain Bridge and Alexandria Road; thence, with said north side of said road, N. 50° 12' 50" W. 239.17 feet to an iron pipe and N. 58° 15' 30" W. 313.03 feet to an original iron pipe at the corner of Sunnyside Subdivision; thence with the east line of said subdivision N. 23° 58' E. 864.95 feet to an original stone, thence N. 24° 07' E. 583.6 feet to an iron pipe at the southwest corner of said Fendner's property; thence, following along the south marsh edge of said Four Mile Run and also the South lines of said Fendner's property as follows: N. 87° 58' E. 120.2 feet to an iron pipe, N. 70° 18' E. 72.6 feet to an iron pipe, S. 60° 20' E. 145.2 feet to an iron pipe, S. 88° 36' E. 95.7 feet to an iron pipe and S. 68° 12' E. 144.3 feet to the point of beginning, containing 17.6242 acres,	Arlington Deed 289-197 (Bargain & Sale)

			exclusive of the area contained within the lines of the Russell Road and Mt. Vernon Avenue, as the same is illustrated upon the accompanying plat. [NOTE: no plat attached]	
June 30, 1937	Albert H. and Birdie Frank Ney; Sidney L. and Sylvia F. Hechinger	H. G. and Frances H. McCartney	BEGINNING at an iron pipe on the South edge of Four Mile Run Marsh, said pipe being the site of the chestnut oak, and original corner, and being a corner common to the property lately belonging to Christopher Fendner and the property being described, thence S. 23° 56' W. 828.72 feet to the center line of Mount Vernon Avenue, thence N. 17° 58' W. 805.79 feet to the intersection property line and center line of said Mount Vernon Avenue; thence N. 24° 7' E. 98.64 feet to an iron pipe at the edge of the Marsh; thence following the South edge of the Marsh of said Four Mile Run and also the South lines of said Fendner's property as follows: N. 87° 58' E. 120.2 feet to an iron pipe, N. 70° 18' E. 72.6 feet to an iron pipe, S. 60° 20' E. 145.2 feet to an iron pipe S. 88° 36' E. 95.7 feet to an iron pipe and S. 68° 12' E. 144.3 feet to the point of beginning, containing 5.57 acres, more or less, exclusive of the area contained with the lines of Mount Vernon Avenue.	Alexandria Deed 139-101 (Bargain & Sale)
June 30, 1937	H.G. and Frances H. McCartney	Clarence R. Ahalt (trustee)	BEGINNING at an iron pipe on the South edge of Four Mile Run Marsh, said pipe being the site of the chestnut oak, and original corner, and being a corner common to the property lately belonging to Christopher Fendner and the property being described, thence S. 23° 56' W. 828.72 feet to the center line of Mount Vernon Avenue, thence N. 17° 58' W. 805.79 feet to the intersection property line and center line of said Mount Vernon Avenue; thence N. 24° 7' E. 98.64 feet to an	Alexandria Deed 139-102 (Deed of Trust)

			iron pipe at the edge of the Marsh; thence following the South edge of the Marsh of said Four Mile Run and also the South lines of said Fendner's property as follows: N. 87° 58' E. 120.2 feet to an iron pipe, N. 70° 18' E. 72.6 feet to an iron pipe, S. 60° 20' E. 145.2 feet to an iron pipe S. 88° 36' E. 95.7 feet to an iron pipe and S. 68° 12' E. 144.3 feet to the point of beginning, containing 5.57 acres, more or less, exclusive of the area contained with the lines of Mount Vernon Avenue.	
Sept. 20, 1937	H. G. and Frances H. McCartney	Permanesque Homes Village, Inc. (Don Loftus)	<p>Parcel #1: Beginning at an iron pipe on the South edge of Four Mile Run Marsh, said pipe being the site of the chestnut oak, and original corner, and being a corner common to the property lately belonging to Christopher Fendner and the property being described, thence S. 23° 56' W. 828.72 feet to the center line of Mount Vernon Avenue, thence N. 17° 58' W. 805.79 feet to the intersection property line and center line of said Mount Vernon Avenue; thence N. 24° 7' E. 98.64 feet to an iron pipe at the edge of the Marsh; thence following the South edge of the Marsh of said Four Mile Run and also the South lines of said Fendner's property as follows: N. 87° 58' E. 120.2 feet to an iron pipe, N. 70° 18' E. 72.6 feet to an iron pipe, S. 60° 20' E. 145.2 feet to an iron pipe S. 88° 36' E. 95.7 feet to an iron pipe and S. 68° 12' E. 144.3 feet to the point of beginning, containing 5.57 acres, more or less, exclusive of the area contained with the lines of Mount Vernon Avenue.</p> <p>Parcel #2: Beginning at an iron pipe on the east side of Mount Vernon Avenue, N. 17°</p>	Alexandria Deed 139-104 (Bargain & Sale)

			58' W. 576.4 feet from the point of curve of Russell Road to the west line of McCartney's property; thence N. 17° 58' West along the east side of Mount Vernon Avenue 57.66 feet to a pipe intersecting with the North line of said McCartney extended; thence with the extended line N. 87° 58' E. 42.8 feet to a pipe in the west line of McCartney's property; thence with said line bearing reversed, S. 24° 07' W. 61.34 feet to the place of beginning, as per description furnished by C. D. Nourse, Civil Engineer, dated September 16, 1937, and being the same property conveyed to H. G. McCartney et ux to be recorded prior hereto.	
Sept. 20, 1937	Permanesque Homes Village, Inc.	H. C. and Frances H. McCartney	Beginning at an iron pipe on the South edge of Four Mile Run Marsh, said pipe being the site of the chestnut oak and original corner, and being a corner common to the property lately belonging to Christopher Fendner and the property described; thence S. 23° 56' W. 791.29 feet to an iron pipe on the east side of Mount Vernon Avenue; thence along the east side of Mount Vernon Avenue N. 17° 58' W. 221.61 feet to the line of a proposed fifty (50) foot street; thence N. 72°02' E. along the east side of said street 141 feet; thence continuing along the east side of said street N. 25° 30' E 206. 68 feet to a point 291 feet east from Mount Vernon Avenue; thence N. 17° 58', parallel with Mount Vernon Avenue 390.62 feet to a pipe; thence S. 88° 36' E. 95.85 feet to a pipe; thence S. 68° 12' E. 144.30 feet to the place of beginning	Alexandria Deed 139-106 (Bargain & Sale)
Sept. 28, 1937	Beverly Plaza, Sec. 1		Beginning at a point located by a bearing S 25° 30' W 327.17 feet from the beginning iron pipe and chestnut oak, the original	Alexandria Deed 139-344 (Deed

			<p>corner of the whole tract; thence S 25° 30' W 206.68 feet; thence S 72° 02' W 141 feet to the east side of Mt. Vernon Avenue, thence along the east side of Mt. Vernon Avenue N 17° 58' W 641.66 feet; thence N 87° 58' E 163 feet; thence N. 70° 18' E 72.60 feet; thence S 60° 20' E 89.05 feet; thence S 17° 56' E 390.62 feet to the place of beginning, containing 3 ½ acres, more or less; this being part of the property conveyed by H.G. McCartney to Permanesque Homes Village, Incorporated, by deed bearing date on September 20, 1937, and duly recorded among the land records of the City of Alexandria, Virginia, in Deed Book 139, page 104.</p>	<p>of Dedication with Plat)</p>
<p>Oct. 13, 1937</p>	<p>Presidential Gardens</p>		<p>Beginning at an original stone in the northeasterly corner of Sunnyside Subdivision, (being the original stone referred to in a description contained in a deed dated November 17, 1928 and recorded in Deed Book 289 at page 197 of the land records of Arlington County, Virginia), and running from said stone north 24° 07' East 447.66 feet to <u>on</u> iron pipe in the westerly line of Mt. Vernon Avenue (50 feet wide); thence South 17° 58' East 806.01 feet to a point; thence south 23° 56' West 820.56 feet to a point on the north side of the Glebe Road, formerly known as the Chain Bridge and Alexandria Road; thence with said north side of said road north 50° 12' 50" West 239.17 feet to an iron pipe; thence north 58° 15' 30" West 313.03 feet to an original iron pipe at the southeasterly corner of Sunnyside Subdivision; thence with the east line of said Subdivision north 23° 58" East 864.95 feet to</p>	<p>Alexandria Deed 139- 422 (Deed of Dedication with Plat)</p>

			the original stone, constituting the point of beginning; containing 12.0486 acres exclusive of the area contained within the lines of Russell Road.	
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¹ References to Alexandria County's Almshouse or Poor House are underlined and bolded in the chain of title.

Other Relevant Nearby Property Deeds¹

Date	Grantor	Grantee	Description	Deed Book
Dec. 17, 1875	John S. Chapman, Commissioner	Israel C. O'Neal	Therefore in consideration of the premises, and the payment of all the purchase money by the said I. C. O'Neal to the said John S. Chapman, Commissioner, as aforesaid, <u>reserving the family Graveyard</u> , as designated upon the plat, aforesaid, containing three square poles, with rights of ingress and egress to all members of the family of the aforesaid Wm. T. Swann, doth grant unto the said I. C. O'Neal, with special warranty the following property, with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging to wit: the aforesaid lot No. 2, situated in Alexandria County Virginia and lying on the southside of "Four Mile Creek" Beginning at (F) a large red or swamp oak tree, on the south side of Four Mile Creek, corner to Wm. N. Brown's land, thence S 3° E, along a fence and ditch bank 58.4 poles to (G) a stake 2 ½ feet south of Brown's fence corner, on the north side of the old Georgetown road, to said Brown's corner, thence along on the north side of said road and binding therewith N 64 1/4° W. 68 poles to (H), N 63° W 6 poles to (I), N. 55 1/2° W 7.2 poles to (J), a stake on the north side of said road 4/10 of a pole North West of a locust stump with sprouts on it, thence leaving said road N 26° 48' E, (at 39.8 poles passed a stone at 2, bearing N 89° W 7.41 poles from a cedar stump at 1) 84 ¼ poles to (K) a stone in the marsh, near and on the south side of said creek, thence down the creek and binding with the meanders thereof S 25 3/4° E 42 ¾ poles to (L) S 40° 47' E 18 poles 9 links to the Beginning, 25 ¾ acres, exclusive of one Road and <u>5 poles</u>	Arlington Deed F4-323 (Bargain & Sale)

			<u>contained in the Graveyard</u> and the Outlet road belonging thereto:	
Nov. 17, 1887	Israel C. and Anna M. O'Neal	Emma P. Hume	Beginning at "F" a large red or swamp oak tree, on the South side of Four Mile Creek, corner to William N. Brown's land; thence S. 3° E along a fence and ditch bank 58.4 poles to "G" a stake two and a half feet South of Brown's fence corner, on the North side of the Old Georgetown Road to said Brown's corner; thence along the North side of said road and binding therewith N. 64 1/4° W. 68 poles to "H", N 63° W 6 poles to "I" N 55 1/2° W 7.2 poles to "J" a stake on the North side of said road 4/10 of a pole, Northwest of a locust stump with sprouts on it thence leaving said road N 26° 48' E. at 39.8 poles, passed a stone a 2 bearing North 89° to 7.41 poles from a cedar stump at 84 1/4 poles to "K" a stone in the Marsh near and on the South side of said Creek, thence down the Creek and binding with the meanders thereof S. 25 3/4° E 42 3/4 poles to "L" S. 40° 47' E, 18 poles 9 links to the beginning Containing 25 3/4 Acres, <u>exclusive of one rood and five poles contained in the Grave yard,</u> and the outlet road belong thereto	Arlington Deed H4-312 (Bargain & Sale)
April 16, 1888	Woolsey P. and Matilda C. Hall	Dudly [Dudley] Herndon	Beginning at a stone & old chestnut oak stump at the end of an old ditch bank on the Southern Side of Four Mile Creek corner <u>to Poor House tract, thence with said tract S 28° 1/4 W 26.01 chains to B.</u> the N. East side of an old bed of the old Georgetown road & S. West side said old Georgetown road and binding therewith S. 52° 1/4 E. 3.86 Chs. S 44° E 3.68 chs. S 40° E 304 chs. To C a stone on the N. East side of said road 10 links N. West from a locust stump with marked sprouts on it corner to I. C. O'Neal's land, thence with said Land N 28° 19 E (<u>at 39.8 poles passed a set stone at E. bearing N 87° 1/2 W 7.41 poles</u>	Arlington Deed H4-497 (Indenture)

			<p><u>from and old cedar stump & 2 small stones corner to the Grave Yard)</u> 21.06 chs, to D a stone in the marsh on the southern side of said creek I. C. O'Neals corner, thence up said creek and binding with the meanders thereof; which being reduced to a straight line bears N 24° 4 W 12.82 chains to the beginning, containing twenty four acres two roods and eighteen poles more or less.</p>	
June 6, 1904	Dudly and Catharine A. Herndon	Frank and Mary Beall	<p><u>BEGINNING AT A set stone on the north east side of the Georgetown road, which stone was set North 44° 33' East 12.5 feet from a point in the line of the County Alms House property, where the line is bisected by the north east boundary line of said road; thence with a line drawn parallel with the Alms house property line and 12 feet distant therefrom, North 29° 12' East 213.01 feet to a planted stone;</u> thence south 44° 33' East 213..01 feet to a planted stone; thence South 29° 12/ West 213.01 feet to another stone set in the north east boundary line of said road; thence with said boundary of said road north 44° 33' West 213.01 feet to the beginning, containing, one acre.</p>	Arlington Deed 110-101 (Bargain & Sale with Plat)
June 23, 1908	Dudley and Catharine A. Herndon	Frank E. DeMott	<p>All that tract or parcel of land lying in Jefferson District in the County of Alexandria County, Virginia and bounded as follows to wit: BEGINNING at an iron pipe in the line common to the property being described and the property of Emma Hume, said pipe being a corner to a tract heretofore conveyed to James A. McPherson; thence with the lines of the property so conveyed N. 76° 42' West 95.98 feet to an iron pipe; North 64° 54' West 41.3 feet to an iron pipe; S. 49° 11' West 78.27 feet; S. 62° 12' West 28.5 feet and S. 67° 16' 30" West 168.6 feet to an iron bar on the north line of the present Georgetown Road; thence with said line of said</p>	Arlington Deed 118-112 (Agreement)

			<p>road N. 42° 34' West 147.84 feet to a stake and N. 44° 21' West 36.53 feet to the south east corner of a tract heretofore conveyed to Frank E. Beall; thence departing from said road and following three lines of said Beall's property N. 29° 23' E. 213.04 feet, N. 44° 21' West 213.04 feet and S. 29° 23' West 213.04 feet to a stone said Beall's corner in said line of aforesaid road; <u>thence with said line of said road N. 44° 21' West 12.5 feet to a stake in the line common to the property being described and the Poor House property of Alexandria County, said stake being distant N. 29° 23' East 33.4 feet from an iron pipe at the south west corner of said Herndon's property; thence with the east line of said Poor House property N. 29° 23' East 1676.7 feet to an iron pipe on the edge of Four Mile Run marsh;</u> thence in accordance with the description of said Herndon's purchase South 23° 05' 30" East 854.95 feet to a stake; thence with said Emma Hume's west line S. 29° 45' West 1025 feet to the beginning containing 21.3127 acres as surveyed June 15th, 1908.</p>	
April 24, 1911	<p>Catharine A. Herndon (widow); Marvin Herndon and Eva Herndon; Laura Herndon (widow); and Charles H. Murphy</p>	<p>James A. McPherson and Albert B. Nichols</p>	<p>All that tract or parcel of land, lying in Jefferson District, Alexandria County, Virginia and described as follows, to wit Beginning at an iron pipe in the line common to the property being described and the property of Emma Hume, said pipe being a corner to a tract heretofore conveyed to James A. McPherson; thence with the line of the property so conveyed North 76° 42' W. 95.98 feet to an iron pipe, N. 64° 54' W. 41.3 feet to an iron pipe; S. 49° 11' W. 78.27 feet; S. 62° 12' W. 28.5 feet and S. 67° 16' 30" W, 168.6 feet to an iron bar on the north line of the present Georgetown road; thence with said line of said road N. 42° 34' W. 147.84 feet to a stake</p>	<p>Arlington Deed 128-535 (Agreement E. & Ind.)</p>

			<p>and N. 44° 21' W. 36.53 feet to the southeast corner of a tract heretofore conveyed to Frank E. Beall; thence departing from said road and following three lines of said Beall's property N. 29° 23' E. 213.04 feet, N. 44° 21' W. 213.04 feet and S. 29° 23' West 213.04 feet to a stone said Beall's corner in said line of aforesaid road;</p> <p>thence with said line of said road N. 44° 21' W. 12.5 feet to a stake in the line common to the property being described and the Poor House property of Alexandria County; said and stake being distance N. 29° 23' E. 33.4 feet from an iron pipe at the southwest corner of said Herndon's property; thence with the east line of said Poor House property N. 29° 23' E. 1688.7 feet to an iron pipe on the edge of Four Mile Run marsh; thence in accordance with the description of said Herndon's purchase S. 23° 05' 30" W. E. 854.95 feet to a stake; thence with said Emma Hume's west line S. 29° 45' W. 1025 feet to the beginning, containing 21.3127 acres, as surveyed June 15th, 1908.</p>	
May 11, 1915	Marvin and Eva Herndon; Laura Herndon (widow); Charles H. Murphy; C. Sydney Murphy	James A. McPherson and Albert B. Nichols	<p>BEGINNING at an iron pipe in the line common to the property being described and the property of Emma Hume, said pipe being a corner to a tract heretofore conveyed to James A. McPherson; thence with the lines of the property so conveyed N. 76° 42' W. 95.98 feet to an iron pipe, N. 64° 54' W. 41.3 feet to an iron pipe; S. 49° 11' W. 78.27 feet; S. 62° 12' W. 28.5 feet and S. 67° 16' 30" W, 168.6 feet to an iron bar on the north line of the present Georgetown road; thence with said line of said road N. 42° 34' W. 147.84 feet to a stake and N. 44° 21' W. 36.53 feet to the southeast corner of a tract heretofore conveyed to Frank E. Beall; thence departing from said road and following three lines of said</p>	Arlington Deed 147-536 (Bargain & Sale)

			<p>Beall's property N. 29° 23' E. 213.04 feet, N. 44° 21' W. 213.04 feet and S. 29° 23' W. 213.04 feet to a stone said Beall's corner in said line of aforesaid road; thence with said line of said road N. 44° 21' W. 12.5 feet to a stake in the line common to the property being described and the Poor House property of Alexandria County and stake being distance N. 29° 23' E. 33.4 feet from an iron pipe at the southwest corner of said Herndon's property; thence with the east line of said Poor House property N. 29° 23' E. 1688.7 feet to an iron pipe on the edge of Four Mile Run marsh; thence in accordance with the description of said Herndon's purchase S. 23° 05' 30" E. 854.95 feet to a stake; thence with said Emma Hume's west line S. 29° 45' W. 1025 feet to the beginning, containing 21.3127 acres as surveyed June 15th 1908.</p>	
Sept. 11, 1919	James A. and Eunice L. McPherson	Albert B. Nichols	<p>BEGINNING at an iron pipe in the line common to the property being described and the property of Emma Hume, said pipe being a corner to a tract heretofore conveyed to James A. McPherson, thence with the lines of the property so conveyed N. 76 degrees 42 minutes W. 95.98 feet to an iron pipe, N. 64 degrees 54 minutes W. 41.3 feet to an iron pipe, S. 49 degrees, 11 minutes W. 78.27 feet; S. 62 degrees 12 minutes W. 28.5 feet and S. 67 degrees, 16 minutes, 30 seconds, W. 168.6 feet to an iron bar on the north line of the present Georgetown Road; thence with the said line of said road N. 42 degrees 34 minutes W. 147.84 feet to a stake and N. 44 degrees 21 minutes W. 36.53 feet to the southeast corner of a tract heretofore conveyed to Frank E. Beall; thence departing from said road and following three lines of said Beall's property N. 29 degrees 23 minutes E.</p>	Arlington Deed 164-166 (Bargain & Sale)

			<p>213.04 feet, N. 44 degrees 21 minutes W. 213. 04 feet and S. 29 degrees 23 minutes W. 213. 04 feet to a stone said Beall's corner in said line of aforesaid road; thence with said line of said road N. 44 degrees 21 minutes W. 12.5 feet to a stake in the line common to the property being described and the Poor House property of Alexandria County, said stake being distant N. 29 degrees 23 minutes E. 33.4 feet from an iron pipe at the southwest corner of said Herndon's property; thence with the east line of said Poor House Property N. 29 degrees, 23 minutes E. 1686.7 feet to an iron pipe on the edge of Four Mile Run Marsh; thence in accordance with the description of said Herndon's purchase S.23 degrees 05 minutes 30 seconds E. 854.95 feet to a stake; thence with said Emma Hume's west line S. 29 degrees 45 minutes W. 1025 feet to the beginning, containing 21.3127 acres, as surveyed June 15th, 1908.</p> <p>AND WHEREAS the said James A. McPherson and the said Albert B. Nichols desire to have partition of the property herein above described, so that each of them will own his portion in severalty; now, therefore, this deed witnesseth, that the said parties of the first part hereto, in consideration of the sum of ten dollars to them in hand paid at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, doth grant and convey, with general warranty, unto the said James A. McPherson all that portion of the herein above described property lying to the north of the road generally known as Mount Vernon Boulevard.</p>	
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Sept. 11, 1919	Albert B. And Caroline L. Nichols	James A. McPherson	<p>BEGINNING at an iron pipe in the line common to the property being described and the property of Emma Hume, said pipe being a corner to a tract heretofore conveyed to James A. McPherson, thence with the lines of the property so conveyed N. 76 degrees 42 minutes W. 95.98 feet to an iron pipe, N. 64 degrees 54 minutes W. 41.3 feet to an iron pipe; S. 49 degrees, 11 minutes W. 78.27 feet; S. 62 degrees 12 minutes W. 28.5 feet and S. 67 degrees, 16 minutes, 30 seconds, W. 168.6 feet to an iron bar on the north line of the present Georgetown Road; thence with the said line of said road N. 42 degrees 34 minutes W. 147.84 feet to a stake and N. 44 degrees 21 minutes W. 36.53 feet to the southeast corner of a tract heretofore conveyed to Frank E. Beall; thence departing from said road and following three lines of said Beall's property N. 29 degrees 23 minutes E. 213.04 feet, N. 44 degrees 21 minutes W. 213.04 feet and S. 29 degrees 23 minutes W. 213.04 feet to a stone said Beall's corner in said line of aforesaid road; thence with said line of said road N. 44 degrees 21 minutes W. 12.5 feet to a stake in the line common to the property being described and the Poor House property of Alexandria County, said stake being distant N. 29 degrees 23 minutes E. 33.4 feet from an iron pipe at the southwest corner of said Herndon's property; thence with the east line of said Poor House Property N. 29 degrees, 23 minutes E. 1686.7 feet to an iron pipe on the edge of Four Mile Run Marsh; thence in accordance with the description of said Herndon's purchase S.23 degrees 05 minutes 30 seconds E. 854.95 feet to a stake; thence with said Emma Hume's west line S. 29 degrees 45 minutes W. 1025 feet to the</p>	Arlington Deed 164- 167 (Bargain & Sale)
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			beginning, containing 21.3127 acres, as surveyed June 15 th , 1908. AND WHEREAS the said James A. McPherson and the said Albert B. Nichols desire to have partition of the property herein above described, so that each of them will own his portion in severalty; now, therefore, this deed witnesseth, that the said parties of the first part hereto, in consideration of the sum of ten dollars to them in hand paid at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, doth grant and convey, with general warranty, unto the said James A. McPherson all that portion of the herein above described property lying to the north of the road generally known as Mount Vernon Boulevard.	
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¹ These deeds are for properties adjacent to the almshouse property, and either mention the almshouse/poor house or a graveyard.

**Appendix B: Modern Parcels Situated On or Partially On the Former Alexandria County Board
of Supervisors Property**

3811 Mount Vernon Avenue
3900 Mount Vernon Avenue
3901 Mount Vernon Avenue
3903 Mount Vernon Avenue
3905 Mount Vernon Avenue
3915 Mount Vernon Avenue
4000 Mount Vernon Avenue
4001 Mount Vernon Avenue
4007 Mount Vernon Avenue

3910 Bruce Street
3912 Bruce Street
3913 Bruce Street
3914 Bruce Street
3915 Bruce Street
3916 Bruce Street
3917 Bruce Street
3918 Bruce Street

Note: These addresses are tied to individual parcels. Some parcels contain multiple structures, each with additional unique addresses, or single structures with multiple addresses within them.

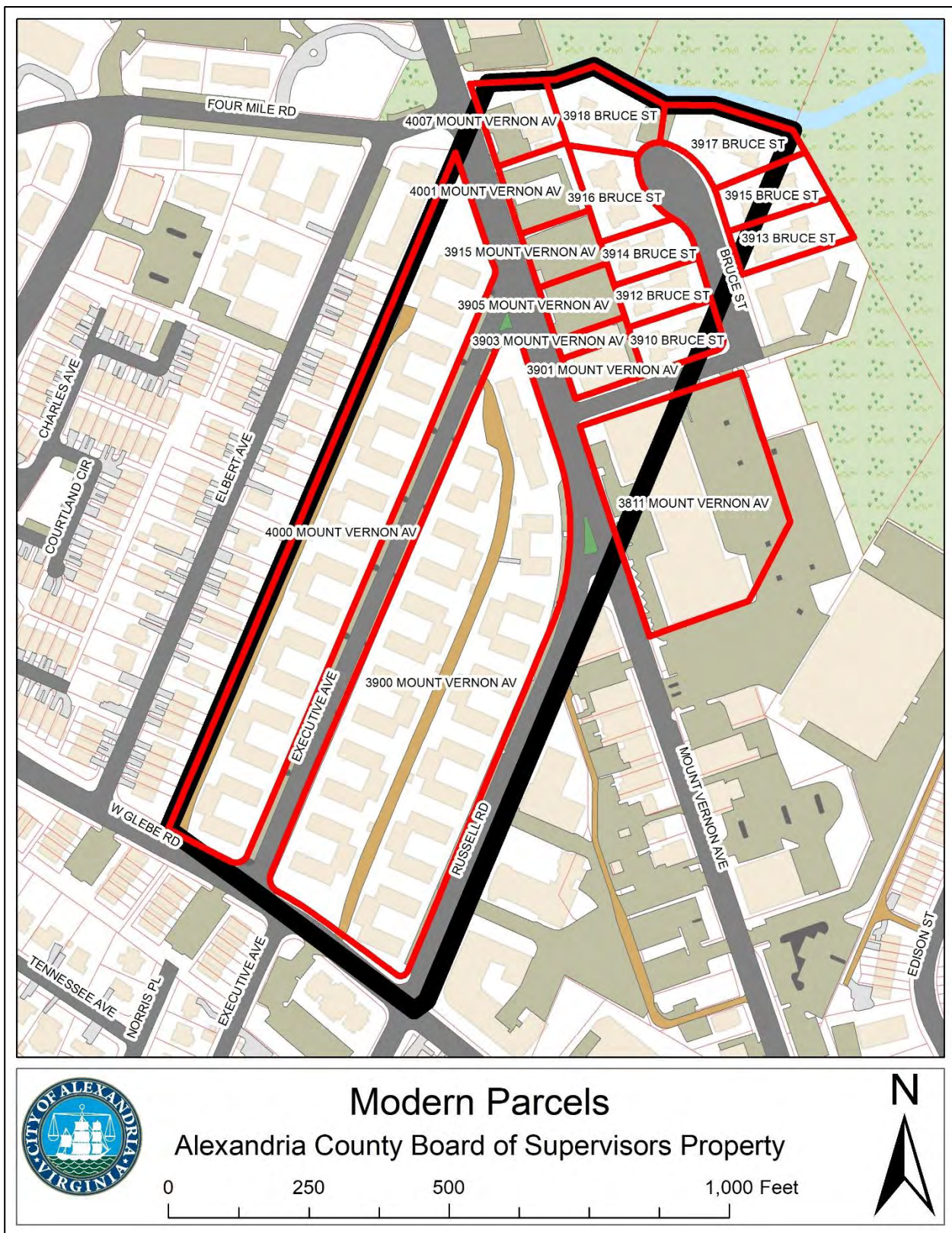


Figure 35. Modern parcels associated with the former Arlington County almshouse property.

Appendix C: Relevant Selections from Newspaper Accounts

Name	Date of Article	Paper	Description
George Lee	August 11, 1891	Alexandria Gazette	The body of George Lee, the colored man who was killed by a C. & O. train near Four mile run yesterday, was buried in the county Poor House lot.
	August 12, 1891	Evening Star	The remains of George Lee...were yesterday interred by Undertaker Wheatley of this city at the public burial grounds of Alexandria county. The body...was brought back to Four-Mile Run and there an inquest was held.... The body was prepared for burial in this city, but the authorities of the county paid the funeral expenses.
Unknown White Man	June 19, 1893	Alexandria Gazette	After the inquest the body was turned over to Undertaker Wheatley and was buried in the alms house lot.
Unknown Man	July 20, 1898	Washington Post	Undertaker B. Wheatley, of Alexandria, was notified yesterday afternoon and conveyed the body to the almshouse, where it awaits identification. Should the identification not be made within a reasonable time, the body will be interred at the county's expense, and the grave marked.
Unknown White Man	September 30, 1901	Washington Post	A gypsy who, with his family, is encamped on the Washington road, near Addison Heights, in Alexandria County, called on B. Wheatley, undertaker, in this city this morning with an order from the Alexandria County authorities for a coffin, the cost of same to be charged to the county poor fund.... According to order, the coffin was sent out from this city and the remains removed to the almshouse, where they will be buried.
John Braxton	December 11, 1902	Evening Star	As the point was within the jurisdiction of Alexandria county, the body was left to be taken in charge by the county officials.
James Costello	May 10, 1903	Washington Times	Nothing could be found in the clothes to establish identification, and the remains were buried in the poorhouse cemetery at Alexandria.
	May 13, 1903	Evening Star	The body was interred in the Alexandria county cemetery.

	May 16, 1903	Alexandria Gazette	The remains of the late James J. Costello, who was killed by a train near Fort Runyon, on the Washington-Southern Railway, about a week ago, were interred in the National Cemetery today by Mr. B. Wheatley. The body had been buried in Alexandria county.
James Lake	October 1, 1903	Alexandria Gazette	The remains were brought to Mr. B. Wheatley's undertaking establishment in the city where they will remain until tomorrow, when, if nobody claims them, they will be interred in the county
Jim Evans	September 12, 1904	Washington Times	Coroner Ashton held an inquest over the man's remains and that he was buried at the county's expense yesterday.
Charles Cury	September 22, 1904	Evening Star	The remains of the man who was killed on the Pennsylvania Railroad at Waterloo, between here and Washington, September 9, were taken from the public burying ground in Alexandria county yesterday afternoon and identified as those of Charles Cury, formerly a resident of Richmond, Va. The body was exhumed by order of the county authorities.... In company with Mr. B. Wheatley, the undertaker who had charge of the burial, he went to the grave and identified the remains as those of his relative.
Gus Wilborn	Feb 27 1905, Mar 1 1905	Alexandria Gazette	The remains of Gus Wilburn, colored, who was killed in a barroom in Alexandria county last Saturday night, were interred this morning in the county by Undertaker Wheatley, of this city. No relatives of the dead man could be found
William Henry Berry	April 5, 1907	Washington Post	be interred in the almshouse burying ground by Undertaker Wheatley to-day, unless claimed by relatives.
Charles Black	June 29, 1908	Washington Times	The body was taken in charge by Undertaker Wheatley, and prepared for burial. Coroner Ashton, of Alexandria county, has summoned a jury to meet at Wheatley's undertaking rooms, this afternoon.

	July 7, 1908	Evening Star	The remains of the unidentified boy who was killed by a railroad train here June 28, and buried in Alexandria county, were this afternoon disinterred and identified as Charles Black, the fifteen-year-old son of C.A. Black, a resident of Charlotte, N.C.
Roswell Bowles	July 3, 1908; July 5, 1908	Evening Star	John R. Bowles of Norfolk, Va., came here this afternoon and secured permission from Coroner Ashton of Alexandria county to disinter the remains of the unidentified boy he thought might be his son, Roswell Bowles, fifteen years of age, who disappeared from home June 23. Mr. Bowles secured the services of a digger and after examining the body said that it was not that of his son.
John Henderson	December 23, 1908	Evening Star	The body will probably be buried by the county.
White Infant	January 25, 1909	Alexandria Gazette	The body was turned over to a resident of the county by the coroner with instructions to have it buried in the cemetery at the almshouse.
Enrico Cocopson[?]	November 7, 1910	Evening Star	A coroner's jury, summoned by Dr. Stuart P. Ashton of Alexandria county, with Jacob Birch as foreman, returned a verdict that Cocopson came to his death by falling, as stated. The last known address of the deceased was 54 James street, New York. The body will be buried in Alexandria county tomorrow morning.

Four colored men	March 16, 1912	Evening Star	If the bodies are not claimed by tomorrow they will be buried in potter's field at the expense of the county
	March 17, 1912	Evening Star	"The bodies of four colored men who met their death by the falling in of a cave near Virginia Highlands, Alexandria county, yesterday afternoon, will be buried in potter's field in the county tomorrow afternoon, the bodies not having been claimed.

Appendix D: Relevant State of Virginia Death Certificates

Name	Date of Death	Date of Burial	Place of Burial or Removal
Benjamin Moore	November 7, 1912	November 9, 1912	Alex. Co. Poor House
Henry Pierce	May 19, 1913	May 20, 1913	Alex. Co. Poor House
Mary Martin	June 23, 1913	June 25, 1913	Alex Co. Poor House
Mary Campbell	July 21, 1913	July 23, 1913	Alex Co. Poor House
John Green	October 7, 1913	October 9, 1913	Alex. Co. Poor House
Infant of Mary Butler	October 16, 1913	October 20, 1913	Alex. Co. Poor House
Julia C. Hilton	March 29, 1914	March 31, 1914	Alex. Co. Poor House
Elizabeth Miller	August 7, 1915	August 10, 1915	Alex. Co. Poor House
Louis Daniels Butler	October 10, 1915	October 13, 1915	Alex. County Poor House
Virginia Fair	October 11, 1915	October 12, 1915	Alex. County Poor House
Mrs. Lula Jackson	December 10, 1915	December 15, 1915	Alex. Co. Poor House
Walter C. Green	January 4, 1916	January 8, 1916	Alex. Co. Poor House
Frank Nelson	August 28, 1916 /September 11, 1916	September 13, 1916	Alex. Co. Poor House
Nelson Lewis	December 22, 1917	December ?, 1917	Alexa. Co. Poor House
Unknown White Man	April 22, 1918	May 8, 1918	Alex. Co. Poor House
John Greene	Do not know/ October 6/7, 1913	Do not know	Potters Field
Sam Jackson	April 14, 1916	April 19, 1916	Potters Field
Unknown	January 22, 1918	January 25, 1918	Potter Field Alex. Co. Va.
Unknown	June 27, 1912	June 28, 1912	Co Farm
Joseph Wilkes	February 1, 1913	February 4, 1913	County Cemetery
Peter Fox	November 26, 1916	November 27, 1916	Cemety [sic] Poor
Mary Johnson	March 8, 1915	March 10, 1915	Alex. Co. Va Near Hume Spring
Newton Brogan	June 10, 1915	June 12, 1915	Alexandria Co.

Appendix E: Relevant Entries from Wheatley Ledgers

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Account</u>	<u>Services</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Unknown Man	September 1, 1899	Commonwealth of Va	Coffin	\$5.00
			Ground + Grave	\$6.25
Mrs. Reynolds	July 26, 1900	Commonwealth of Va	Coffin + Dig Grave	\$7.00
Mr. Morgan	June 31, 1900	Commonwealth of Va	Coffin	\$5.00
Child Davis	April 27, 1901	Alex. Va.	Coffin	\$3.00
			Hauling same	\$3.00
(no name)	July 8, 1901	Alexandria Co.	Coffin	\$3.00
			Hauling Remains	\$3.00
Frank S. [Kling]?	August 17, 1901	Alex County	Coffin	\$3.00
Bauks Child	August 22, 1901	Alex County	Coffin	\$3.00
			Hauling	\$3.00
Unknown Man	October 1, 1901	Alex'a Co.	Coffin	\$4.00
			Hauling Remains	\$3.00
(no name)	September 29, 1901	Alex County		\$7.00
(no name)	January 24, 1902	Alex County		\$7.00
(no name)	January 26, 1902	Alex County		\$7.00
Thomas Forkner	September 7, 1902	Alex'a County	Coffin	\$5.00
			Hauling body	\$3.00
James E. Heatley	October 20, 1902	Alex. Co.	Coffin	\$4.00
			Removing Remains	\$5.00
Henry Clarke	October 20, 1902	Alex. Co.	Coffin	\$4.00
			removing remains	\$3.00
(no name)	October 27, 1902	Alex'a county	small coffin for child	\$3.00
(no name)	November 6, 1902	Alex County	small coffin	\$3.00
John Braxton	December 12, 1902	Alex County	Coffin	\$4.00
			Hauling remains	\$3.00
Joseph Johnson	November 30, 1903	Alexa. County	Coffin for Joseph Johnson	\$4.00
			Hauling	\$3.00
Mary Cooke	February 9, 1903	Alex'a County	Coffin	\$4.00
			Hauling	\$3.00
Unknown	February 23, 1903	Alex'a County	Coffin	\$4.00
			Hauling	\$3.00

Luanne [Tinlick]	March 10, 1903	Alex'a County	Coffin	\$4.00
			Hauling	\$3.00
[P]aul Jones	March 14, 1903	Alex'a County	Coffin	\$4.00
			Hauling	\$3.00
[entry says coffin where a name should be]	May 9, 1903	Alex'a County	Coffin	\$4.00
			Hauling	\$3.00
James Lake	October 2, 1903	Alex'a County	Coffin	\$4.00
			Hauling	\$3.00
Fred Marshall	October 14, 1903	Alex'a County (entire entry crossed out)	Coffin	\$4.00
			Hauling	\$3.00
Wallace Seaton	November 5, 1903	Alex'a County	Coffin	\$4.00
			Hauling	\$3.00
Joseph Johnson	Nov 30 1903	Alex'a County		\$7.00
Thnsia Robinson	July 13 1904?	Alex'a County (entire entry crossed out)		
James Greene?	Sept 11 1904	Alex'a County		\$7.00
Jannus McCromick?	Dec 24 1904?	Alex'a County		\$7.00
Colored Man	January 28, 1905	Paupers [Commonwealth of Va; Alexandria County both crossed out]	Coffin	\$4.00
			Removing Body	\$3.00
Gus Wilburn	February 28, 1905	Paupers [Commonwealth of Va; Alexandria County both crossed out]	Coffin	\$4.00
			Removing Body	\$3.00
Unknown white man	March 18, 1905	Paupers [Commonwealth of Va; Alexandria County both crossed out]	Coffin	\$4.00
			Removing Body	\$3.00
Susan Chase	April 11, 1905	Paupers [Commonwealth of Va; Alexandria County both crossed out]	Coffin	\$2.00
Nelson [Erben]	April 22, 1905	Paupers [Commonwealth of Va; Alexandria	Coffin	\$4.00

		County both crossed out]		
Albert Eskridge	October 1, 1905	Paupers [Commonwealth of Va; Alexandria County both crossed out]	Coffin	\$4.00
			Removing Body	\$3.00
Wilkum Green	February 17, 1906	Alexandria County For Paupers	Coffin	\$4.00
John Jones	May 21, 1906	Alexandria County For Paupers	Coffin	\$4.00
			Removing Body	\$3.00
Jordon	January 25, 1907	Alex'a County	Coffin	\$4.00
			Removing Body	\$3.00
Ellan Mitchell	April 1, 1907	Alex'a County	Coffin	\$4.00
			Removing Body	\$3.00
Wm. H. Berry	April 4, 1907	Alex'a County	Coffin	\$4.00
			Rem body	\$3.00
Frank Lee	May 6, 1907	Alex'a County	Coffin	\$4.00
			Rem body	\$3.00
Child of [Biuborn]	August 1, 1907	Alex'a County	Coffin	\$3.00
			Removing body	\$3.00
Williamson	September 23, 1907	Alex'a County	Coffin	\$4.00
			Removing Body	\$3.00
Carters Child	September 27, 1907	Alex'a County	Coffin	\$3.00
			Removing Body	\$3.00
James Evans	September 11, 1907	Alex'a County	Coffin	\$4.00
			Rem Body	\$3.00
Unknown White Man	December 2, 1908	Alexandria County For Paupers	Coffin	\$7.00
			Removing body	\$3.00
Henderson	December 23, 1908	Alexandria County For Paupers	Coffin	\$7.00
			Removing Body	\$3.00
Henry Jacobson	November 6, 1910	Alexandria County For Paupers	Coffin	\$8.00
			Hauling Body	\$3.00
			Digging Grave	\$2.00
Mary Scott	November 20, 1910	Alexandria County For Paupers	Coffin	\$8.00
			Hauling Body	\$3.00
			Digging Grave	\$2.00
Richard Evans	February 15, 1911	Alexandria County For Paupers	Coffin	\$8.00
			Hauling Body	\$3.00

			Digging Grave	\$2.00
Unknown Man	April 1, 1911	Alexandria County For Paupers	Coffin	\$8.00
			Hauling Body	\$3.00
			Digging Grave	\$2.00
Child of Stewart	July 10, 1911	Alexandria County For Paupers	Coffin	\$5.00
			Rein	\$3.00
			Ground + Dig Grave in Alex.	\$3.75
Unknown Colored Man	August 17, 1911	Alexandria County For Paupers	Coffin	\$8.00
			Rein Body	\$3.00

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